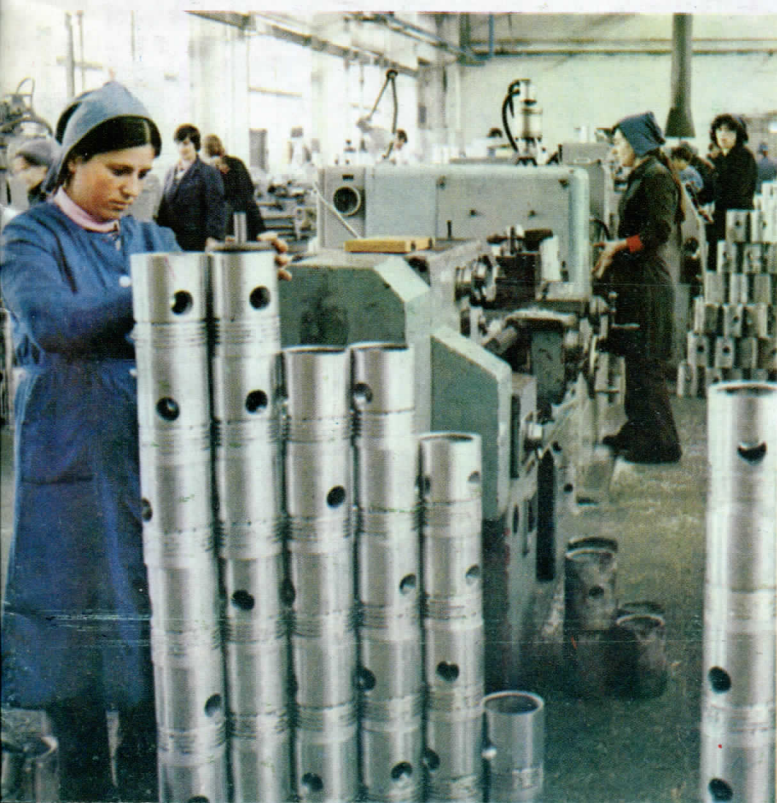


Albania today

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A DEEP-GOING REVOLUTION HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN THE PSRA
FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN, WITHOUT WHOM SOCIALISM CANNOT
BE CONCEIVED AND ITS CONSTRUCTION CANNOT BE CARRIED FORWARD.

~WITH SPRING~ — Nerhat Hajellari



Albania today



CONTENTS:

- Decision of the Central Committee of the PLA
«On Celebrating the 40th Anniversary
of the Liberation of the Homeland
and the Triumph of the People's Revolution»* 2
- The Problems of the woman are problems
of a profoundly political and social character* 6 LUMTURI REXHA
- The Policy of Prices, Their Stability and Reduction* 10 NIKO GJYZARI
- PSRA – a state of the dictatorship
of the proletariat* 14 ZIJA XHOLI
- The process of the uninterrupted development
of the cooperativist order in the countryside* 18 KOZMA SKARÇO
- The foreign trade of the PSR of Albania* 23 NAQO SINANI
- Industry in the service of the intensification
of agricultural and livestock-raising* 28 ROBERT LAPERI
- The new Albanian literature and the tradition* 32 DHIMITER SHUTERIQI
- Some aspects of the development
of the Albanian poetry* 36 ISMAIL KADARE
- The slanders and attacks of enemies
neither frighten nor disturb the Albanian people* 40 ZËRI I POPULLIT
- The chauvinist oppression
of the Albanian people in Kosova continues* 44 ZËRI I POPULLIT
- Conventional weapons also pose a threat
to the peoples* 46 ZËRI I POPULLIT
- The proletarian class essence
of the national character of literature and art* 48 RAQI MADHI
- Failures of the model of «consumer society»* 55 MUÇO AHMETAJ
- Press review* 60

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE «ON CELEBRATING THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA AND THE VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLE»

This year 40 years are completed from November 29, 1944 when the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, crowned the most brilliant victory in their history—liberated their Homeland, established the people's state power and entered a new epoch, the epoch of socialism.

In these 40 years socialist Albania has flourished in an unexampled and incomparable manner. It is a free and independent country with the most advanced political, economic and social order, has its developed and modern industry, a collectivized agriculture which has set out on the road of intensification, its new socialist school and culture, its advanced science and technique, its strong and unbreakable defence, its own independent, correct and revolutionary policy which finds support in the broad progressive opinion in the world.

Socialism, which we have been building, has secured the free democratic life of equality in rights and duties for the working people, has opened broad roads to their all-round advance, has made them active participants in the running of the state and governing of the country. Our people live full of joy and dignity. Lofty interests and aims, the sense of work and love and respect for each other characterize them.

The victories we have gained have not come of themselves, have not been donated by anyone. At their foundation lies the heroic National Liberation War, the blood of thousands of the best sons and daughters of the people, lie the efforts, the toil and sweat of the broad working masses. New pages were written in their glorious history, in the ceaseless irreconcilable struggle with the many and dangerous, internal and external, imperialist and revisionist enemies, over these years.

SION MMITTEE OF THE PLA HE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HOMELAND TRIUMPH S REVOLUTION»

The unity of the people was strengthened and steeled, our new man was educated and tempered in this struggle.

The forty years that have elapsed and the reality of socialist Albania have thoroughly proved the strength of Marxism-Leninism, the vitality of the socialist order, the correctness of the line our glorious Party has always followed.

Our society and economy develop in a secure and ceaseless manner. Their development is not conditioned on external aid and credits, but is based on our own forces, on the wealth of the country, on the economic potential we have created, on the creative capacity and work of our cadres and masses. The wise and far-sighted leadership of the Party is the guarantee for the socialist present and future. The political, economic and social stability of the country, the advance and development at high and stable rates in every field of life, are those factors that create the unshakeable confidence of our people in the future, factors of their all-round efforts for the general well-being and prosperity of the society.

Our country builds socialism in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, in the conditions of grave international situations. With their aggressive and expansionist policy the superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the other imperialist powers, threaten the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security. These situations require a thorough valuation and greater commitment in the work for the fulfilment of the tasks the Party has set for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, require a high level of the revolutionary spirit and vigilance of the Party and the people.

New still more beautiful prospects lie ahead of us for the development and advance of our beloved socialist Homeland. Let the celebration of the 40th anniversary become a special incentive for new victories in all directions. The Central Committee, hailing the initiatives and actions the working people of town and countryside have taken, calls on the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, all the working people, to work with new, greater impetus and a more creative spirit for the attainment of the objectives the Party has set. Let the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution be transformed into a year of all-out assault for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks in industry and agriculture, in the oil and mining industry, in constructions and education, in culture and defence.

In order to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution as well as possible, the Central Committee of the PLA instructs:

1. Broad educative and propaganda, cultural and artistic work must be carried out inside and outside the country in order to propagate the glorious war of the Albanian people for the liberation of the Homeland and the establishment of the people's state power, their gigantic efforts for the socialist transformation and the defence of the gains of the revolution, under the leadership of the Party.

The ideological work of the Party and social organizations should be intensified in order to inculcate socialist convictions in the working masses and, especially, the younger generation, to keep ablaze the patriotic and revolutionary spirit, to mould and temper them in the lofty communist virtues, to make them still more resolute fighters against the imperialist virtues, to make them still more resolute fighters against the imperialist-revisionist pressure and encirclement and against the leftovers from alien ideologies.

Commemorative and festive activities should be organized on the occasion of great historic events of the War and post-Liberation time, on a national or local scale, such as the 40th anniversary of the Historic Congress of Përmet, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Democratic Government in Berat, the Congress of the Youth and the Congress of Women, the anniversaries of the formation of partisan brigades, etc.

2. A powerful emulation must be organized among individuals, collectives and districts of the whole country for the fulfilment and over-

fulfilment of the planned tasks in all voices, in all economic-financial indices, in order to carry out the tasks set by the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party.

3. The cultural activity and the artistic-literary creativeness must reflect and render the whole extent of the heroic struggle and work of our working masses. Our creators must give the people artistic works of a good content and high level in which the spiritual life of our people is reflected still better. The contests for literary works, for music, for documentary and feature films, etc. must serve this purpose. Exhibitions must be opened in all the districts and the best specimens be displayed in Tirana, on the eve of the jubilee, in the central exhibition of figurative arts.

4. The finals of the national spartakiad and the great physical-cultural and sports manifestation of the younger generation must be organized at the «Qemal Stafa» National Stadium in October.

5. The military parade and manifestation of the working people of the Capital must be held on 29 November.

6. The press organs, the Albanian Radio-Television, the Film Studio and other cultural-artistic institutions must organize special programs to reflect, propagate and encourage the efforts and activity of the working people in all fields.

7. The party committees, social organizations, state and economic organs must take all the measures to ensure that the activities planned for the 40th anniversary are organized and carried out with success and at a high level.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses the conviction that the Albanian people, united closely around their Party, will make the jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of Liberation a year of unprecedented mobilization, in order to go to this historic event with new successes in the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE PROBLEM OF THE WOMEN OF A PROFOUND AND SOCIAL CHANGE

«A great historic victory is the liberation of the conscience of the working people from the spiritual shackles of exploiting societies, the emancipation of the woman, who has become an equal participant with man in our social life.»

ENVER HOXHA

THE MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ALBANIAN WOMAN IN THESE FOUR DECADES OF PEOPLE'S POWER, WHEN SHE LEFT BEHIND THE BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE CENTURIES, AFFIRMED HER PERSONALITY AND OCCUPIED THE PLACE THAT BELONGS TO HER IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE, FIGURE AMONG THE GREAT VICTORIES OF OUR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND ARE AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF THE QUALITATIVE CHANGE MADE IN HER LIFE. THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION FINDS THE ALBANIAN WOMEN IN STEEL UNITY WITH THE PARTY, HAVING MOBILIZED ALL THEIR FORCES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASKS OF THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, WITH A BETTER AFFIRMED PERSONALITY, WITH A HIGHER AUTHORITY AT WORK, IN SOCIETY AND IN THE FAMILY, ACTIVE BUILDERS OF SOCIALISM AND WORTHY SOLDIERS IN DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND. WITH THE TEACHINGS OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN THEIR MINDS AND HEARTS, THEY ARE HAVING THEIR SAY WITH INCREASING AUTHORITY AS ABLE WORKERS, TIRELESS COOPERATIVISTS, PEOPLE'S INTELLECTUALS, AND CAPABLE MANAGERS IN ALL THE SECTORS THEY WORK AND LEAD.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have constantly dealt with and emphasized in our revolutionary practice the struggle for the complete emancipation of the Albanian women which is a component and indivisible part of the struggle for national and social liberation and the construction of socialism, a component and indivisible part of the socialist revolution.

LUMTURI REXHA — President of the Women's Union of Albania

MS AN ARE PROBLEMS UNDLY POLITICAL

ARACTER *by LUMTURI REXHA*

The Albanian woman found her road of liberation, the road to the winning of her rights, in the struggle for national liberation. For centuries on end in the past, before the liberation of the Homeland, the Albanian woman suffered under a merciless twofold exploitation — in society and in the family. The ruling classes had worked out laws and canons to justify the political, economic and social oppression that weighed heavy on her, to impose on her the reactionary concept of her physical and intellectual inferiority, to create a conservative opinion which held in contempt her role in society, which limited her activity within the kitchen or by the cradle of her child.

Being problems of a profoundly political and social character, those related to women could be solved only within the framework of a society emancipated from oppression and exploitation. And precisely in the conditions of such a free society, after November 29, 1944, with the establishment of the People's Power, a new legislation was enacted in Albania which guaranteed to the woman all her rights and created for her real conditions and possibilities to enjoy them in her life and activity. These rights won with bloodshed were a real overthrow in the condition of the Albanian woman in the present and in the future. But it was only the beginning. For equality to be achieved in life, too, because as Lenin says, «Equality by law is not yet equality in life»,¹ an important problem is the participation of the woman in productive activities.

Our Party has seen the participation of the woman in work not only as the contribution of her great force to the socialist construction of the country, but also as an important factor for the enhancement of her personality. Her participation in work was the main factor which gradually developed the Albanian woman. So much so that now work has become a vital daily necessity for the Albanian woman. On the other hand, the participation of the woman in work called for her

ideo-political, cultural, educational, professional and scientific uplift, not merely to be on equal terms with man, but also to express her opinion with competence and make her contribution to the socialist construction of the country.

In all her activity the Albanian woman has justified the trust and assessment of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who says: «Only real life in all its diversity can give a true idea of the great vital forces the Party set free with the liberation of the woman, of the great progressive and creative forces that lay hidden in this great part of our people, of what wonders she has worked and will work in the future and with what incalculable moral and material values she will enrich our socialist life.»²

Today the Albanian woman cannot conceive her life apart from the whole life of society, apart from the problems of socialism. She considers her participation in production work not merely as a means to solve her economic problems, but also as a necessity for society and herself. Her interests have come out of the narrow circle of the family and children to a broader and more comprehensive field. All her efforts are aimed at the general advance of society, at actively assisting the development of our socialist society and, in this road, at enhancing her own personality, too.

Today's achievements are a far cry from those of the years when women were called on to engage in production work. Women today not only make up 46 per cent of the working people of the town and countryside, but they also play an important role in the scientific organization and management of the economy and culture. They attend middle schools, institutes of higher learning and universities and, together with the other working masses, promote science and the technical-scientific revolution courageously as an indispensable condition for the advance and progress of the country, and make their valuable contribution to the

solution of important problems in various fields. Socialism, which does not proceed by fits and starts, does not know stagnation, inflation and crises, but only the increasing stability of the economy, makes a high assessment of the woman's contribution to productive and social work, whereas capitalism calls for her contribution to work only when it needs her work power, especially in the intermittent periods of economic boom, and then throws her remorselessly into the street to swell the army of the unemployed which is made up 50-60 per cent by women. When we say that Albania does not know unemployment we do well know that it is socialism that created these conditions, that it is work in socialism that opened the way for all the rights the woman enjoys in our country.

The broad movement «To work for the further enhancement of the personality of the woman», which emerged immediately after the 9th Congress of the WUA which was convened in June 1983, has enveloped the whole mass of women in our country. It started at the «Enver Hoxha» Automobile and Tractor Combine and spread to the other women's organizations throughout the country. The objectives of this movement, namely that the worker, cooperativist, intellectual or activist women should meet better the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction, show that our women have made their own the demand of the Party for a broader understanding of the complete emancipation of the woman, for a correct understanding of the enhancement of her personality along with the development of society, such a personality as to respond not only to the requirements of the moment, but also those of the perspective, so that the woman, along her own emancipation, struggles also for the emancipation of the whole society.

Our women show themselves as builders and defenders of socialism also in the persistent struggle they carry out for the implementation and defence of the line of the Party in the whole life of the country, in the revolutionary class stands they maintain at social productive work and family life. The Party wants the woman to have her say with competence, to struggle unswervingly with difficulties in order to solve the problems she comes up against, to live up to the requirements of advanced technique and technology, it wants a woman with proletarian discipline, a woman that fights to raise work productivity, that struggles to raise her qualification and improve the quality of production. So the work of the WUA for a woman with her personality at work and in the family has to do, first of all, with education so that every woman becomes aware of the need for the fulfilment of the planned tasks, understands that the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) is realized in the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, in fierce struggle

with the internal and external enemy, on the basis of the great principle of self-reliance. Hence, the women's organizations call on every woman to acquaint herself with the situation in which she lives, to assess it correctly and precisely so as to be able to forge always ahead; call on women workers, specialists, and cadres to be well acquainted with the economic laws of socialism and consider every problem from the political angle.

The implementation of Marxism-Leninism by the Party of Labour of Albania in the concrete conditions of our country, the creation of new socio-economic conditions, our socialist reality itself have proved the interdependence existing between the socialist construction and the degree of emancipation of the woman. Our women have never lacked either the desire or the capacity for work. However, only socialism created such conditions and possibilities as to turn their desire into reality and brought about a powerful explosion of their physical and mental energies. This is what shows our vivid socialist life, the successes we have achieved in which, women, too, display their high sense of duty and their increasing abilities.

The Women's Union of Albania struggles for the ever better utilization of the many possibilities the development of our socialist economy has created and will create to facilitate women's work at the factory, in the field, at home and in the rearing and education of children so as to ensure an ever more active participation of the mass of women in the economic, political and social life of the country and satisfy their broad educational, cultural and scientific interests properly.

The more socialism is strengthened, the more the democratic rights of women are deepened and their direct participation in the whole life of the country and its government increases. Women are increasingly expressing their opinions with courage and competence on important problems of socialism while at the same time taking an active part in their solution. An evident expression of our democracy, of the emancipation of our women, is the place they occupy in the forums of the Party and the state and the innovations in our educational system. Women constitute 30 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly, 40.7 per cent of the members of people's councils of all instances, 30 per cent of the members of the High Court, etc. When we talk about the emancipation of the woman in our country, the question is not about one, two or several women raised to leading posts, a prime minister here or a minister there, as is advertised with great fuss in the bourgeois-revisionist world, but about a whole mass of emancipated women being members of the leading organs of the Party and the government, deputies to the People's Assembly, etc. While

before Liberation 94 out of 100 women and girls were illiterate, today all the girls are included in the 8-year education and constitute 50 per cent of middle school and 52 per cent of university students.

The struggle for the complete emancipation of the woman in our country, being a component part of the socialist revolution, has to do directly also with the further deepening of the ideological revolution which develops non-stop in our country to eradicate the leftovers of old mentalities and alien bourgeois-revisionist influences which hamper the emancipation of women and society in general. While keeping always sharp the edge of the struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology which represents a threat not only for the present, but also for the future, the Party forcibly stresses also the need for a stern struggle against the remnants of the old reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes which are just as harmful, because they inhibit the revolutionary drive of the working people and their active participation in socialist construction. In the same context is carried out the struggle for the all-round emancipation of the woman against backward customs and old norms. The Party instructs us not to be satisfied with what we have achieved, nor to measure our results with the past, but with what socialism calls for. Therefore, with the educational work of the Party and its levers, every communist, cadre, social activist, people of different categories and age-groups are being more and more convinced that the woman should be considered an equal co-fighter for the construction of socialism.

The participation of the woman in productive, political and social activities has become an important factor in the progressive development of our family. As a result of the great changes in the social life as a whole and of the emancipation of the woman in particular, our new family has been constantly strengthened from the economic, ideological and cultural viewpoint. The role of the mother, wife and daughter has been enhanced. A powerful influence here is exercised by the creation of our new family on the basis of mutual acquaintance and love which is already predominant everywhere and which has made the woman an equal member of the family from an inferior being without any right she was in the past. The radical transformations that have been made in our socialist family are the result of a true revolution which is linked with the establishment of the socialist relations of production. The constant strengthening of socialist democracy in the family has further enhanced the personality of the woman and led to a more correct understanding of the need for making her house work easier. A new concept of the relationship between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between the different generations has emerged. In ge-

neral this concept expresses itself in mutual love and understanding towards each other. The woman works in production, but also reads, studies, takes part in cultural and artistic activities, is involved in political, economic and social problems, struggles to exercise a positive influence on the establishment of sound socialist relations in the family, tries to perform best her duty as the natural educator of the child, by setting her own positive example.

During the whole period of the socialist construction in our country the growth-rate of the population has been relatively high. Everywhere in Albania great work has been done for the correct implementation of the demographic policy of the Party and the protection of the health of mother and child. The extension and expansion of pre-school education, the many socio-cultural and sanitary institutions which work on scientific pedagogical bases serve the good upbringing of children and their education. And the Albanian mother sees her personality indissolubly linked with her noble duty of educating the new generation. She wants to have healthy children, a new generation of mountain eagles who, relying on the fine national traditions, will develop them further on the basis of the socialist ideology and the sound optimistic spirit that pervades the whole life of our country.

Great are the successes achieved in the emancipation of the woman. The Women's Union of Albania, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and as its militant lever, sees and measures its work by the degree of fulfilment of the demand that every woman should be a militant for the implementation of the line of the Party and maintain a revolutionary class stand always and everywhere. A major role in the communist education of the masses of women, in their ideological uplift, along with the materials of the Party, have played in particular the major Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha which, with their theoretical and scientific depth, with their truthfulness and incontrovertible arguments, have strengthened the convictions of the Albanian women in the correctness of the general line followed by the Party. These convictions, our socialist reality itself, are the basic factor that has actively involved our woman, just as the entire people, more and more in the life of the country and in the struggle for her own emancipation and that of the whole society, that has given her strength and courage to cope with any difficulty, that has made her a resolute fighter for the cause of the revolution and socialism.

1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 30, p. 422, Alb. ed.
2 Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana 1976, p. 280, Alb. ed.

THE POLICY OF PRICES, THEIR STABILITY AND REDUCTION

by **NIKO GJYZARI**

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA SEES THE GUARANTEEING AND THE GRADUAL BUT SURE RAISING OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE MASSES CLOSELY LINKED WITH THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC LAW OF SOCIALISM OPERATES, WITH THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS CREATED AT EVERY STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, ABIDING BY THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF GUARANTEEING THE RAISING OF THE WELL-BEING NOT ONLY FOR TODAY, BUT ALSO FOR THE FUTURE, NOT ONLY FOR SOME PEOPLE, BUT FOR ALL THE MEMBERS OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY, NOT ONLY FOR THE CITY, BUT ALSO FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE.

Giving well-being such a revolutionary meaning, the Party has defined, harmonized and followed concrete roads for raising the standard of living of the working masses on the basis of the growth of production and efficiency of the socialist economy. During the whole period of socialist construction the occupation of all the able-bodied population with socially useful work, the perfecting of distribution according to work, the improvement of the system of wages and the planned raising of average wages, the increase of the social consumption fund, the stability and the successive reduction of prices for retail sale goods and of tariffs for services for the population and other such things constitute the main road for guaranteeing and constantly raising the well-being of the working masses. The harmonization of these roads is

NIKO GJYZARI — minister of finances

done in such a way as to bring about the narrowing of distinctions in the level of income and well-being between city and country, between the working people of mental work and the working people of physical work, as well as to ease the conditions of the working people with many children and those with lower wages. In this context of particular importance is the constant increase of the social consumption fund from which each family profits an average of 4,000 leks yearly. The state defrays all expenditure for creches and kindergartens, as well as for the operation of the system of social insurance both in city and country. State expenditure for social and cultural activities account for about 24 per cent of all the expenditure of the state budget.

Also in this five-year plan (1981-1985) the ways of guaranteeing the raising of the well-being of the masses are harmonized in a revolutionary

manner on the basis of the policy followed by the Party for the socio-economic development of the country and according to the principle of self-reliance. Thus, a new work force of 210 000 people will be added to those already occupied with work, mainly in the sphere of material production. The consumption fund will increase 21 per cent thereby ensuring the expansion of the fund of social consumption at higher rates. Measures have been envisaged and are being carried out for improving work norms and remuneration, for raising the average pay of the working people to the planned measure, especially increasing the income of the cooperativists which will grow at a rate twice as high as that of the working people of the city.

A new reduction of prices for a number of retail sale broad consumer goods and of tariffs for a number of communal services was done as a result of the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party for raising by 8-10 per cent the material and cultural level of the working masses this five-year period, too, and relying on the achievements reached in increasing production, in raising the social productivity of work and reducing costs. Thus, beginning

During the whole period of socialist construction the occupation of all the able-bodied population with socially useful work, the perfecting of distribution according to work, the improvement of the system of wages and the planned raising of the average wages, the increase of the social consumption fund, the stability and the successive reduction of prices for retail sale goods and of tariffs for services for the population and other such things constitute the main road for guaranteeing and constantly raising the well-being of the working masses

from June 16, 1952, retail sale prices for some food-stuffs were reduced 8-15 per cent, for some industrial goods 10-35 per cent and of some tariffs for a number of communal services 8-15 per cent. From this new reduction of prices the people have an annual profit of about 75 million leks. Likewise, in continuation of measures formerly taken such as the free of charge health service both in city and country, beginning from April 1st last year a new reduction of retail sale prices for both home-made and imported medicines was made resulting in a profit of 17 million leks for the population.

It is not the first time that retail sale prices for broad consumer goods and medicines are lowered in our country. In order to guarantee and raise the well-being of the working masses there have been from time to time several reductions of prices for broad consumer goods, along with the high-rate development of social production and the perfecting of socialist relations of production. Despite the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade on our country and all the attempts of the traitors and enemies, inside and outside the country, to hamper our development in the socialist road, even when the difficulties created have

been exceptionally great, the Party has never allowed retail prices for broad consumer goods to be raised. On the contrary, starting from 1950 to this day there have been 16 reductions of prices accompanied with other measures in favour of the working people. The fact that price reductions have been made for such primary articles as bread, flour, sugar, fats, rice, milk, woollen and cotton fabrics, etc. has very great importance. On the other hand, starting from 1956 confections and footwear for children and youth are sold at lowered prices with the state expending tens of millions of leks for this purpose each year. Prices for home-made and imported medicines are extremely low, while medicines for children up to 12 months of age are given free of charge. Rents are among the lowest in the world, accounting for only 1.5-3 per cent of a family's income.

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In the whole process of the socialist socio-economic development of the country the Party has always implemented an economic policy based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the knowledge and the creative

application of the economic laws of socialism. The successful application of the lever of prices as an important means for the improvement of the management of the economy and the high-rate development of social production, for the distribution and redistribution of the national income in the interest of the further strengthening of the national economy, of the narrowing of distinctions between city and country, of the constant raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working masses, and the constant strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, has occupied an important place.

Thus, the PLA has always considered the problem of prices not as a problem of a merely financial character, but also and in the first place as a problem of a political, economic and social character which is closely linked with the implementation of its whole policy for the socialist construction of the country. Hence, a correct and prudent course has been followed in the field of prices, with the concern for the constant raising of the well-being of the working masses on the basis of the ceaseless growth of social production being always prominent and the lever of prices being used also as a stimulant for

increasing the production of material goods at the lowest cost possible and the rational utilization of primary and raw materials, for the further encouragement of the local production of machinery, equipment, primary materials and broad consumer goods and the limitation of their import. Likewise, the implementation of the policy of the Party in the field of prices has had an influence on the perfecting of socialist relations of production, especially in the countryside, on the gradual narrowing of the main distinctions between city and village and within the village itself, between the plain zones and the hilly and mountainous zones. The measures taken in 1976 for the reduction of prices for some goods which are used more in the countryside, as well as some facilities created for the rapid development of agricultural cooperatives in hilly and mountainous zones served this purpose. The profit accruing to the population from these measures lie at about 140 million leks. This is also the aim of the decision of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA on the state defraying some investments of a productive character in the hilly and mountainous areas.

A distinctive feature of the economic policy of the Party in the field of prices has been the setting of retail prices in a conscious, centralized and planned manner, on the basis of unified principles and criteria for the whole country, utilizing the possibilities created by the existence of the people's power as a fundamental political factor and of the socialist social ownership of the means of production as a fundamental economic factor in the field of prices, too.

The results of the implementation of the policy of the Party in the field of prices assume a particular significance if we consider what is

happening in the capitalist, revisionist and bourgeois world today, where economic and financial crises, with their grave consequences for the working masses and the whole life of the country, have brought about stagnation and decline of production, constant rises of prices for broad consumer goods, increased taxation, higher rents, and in general higher living costs for the working masses.

Deep-going socio-economic transformations, which created the concrete conditions for the high rate increase of the social product, have been carried out in Albania within a short period. Proof of this are the data about the achievements made, compared not only with the years after Liberation, but also with the level reached 20 years ago. Thus, for example, in 1980, as against 1960, total social production increased 3.8-fold, whereas that per head of the population 2.4-fold, total industrial production 5.5-fold and that per head of population 3.4-fold, total agricultural production 2.6-fold and that per head of population 1.6-fold, and so on. The new industry of the country today produces steel, pig iron, iron, nickel, oil and its by-products, spare parts, machinery and equipment, as well as over 85 per cent of broad consumption goods. A modern multi-branched agriculture, which, among other things, for some years in succession fulfills all the needs of the population for bread grain, which supplies primary materials for the light and food-processing industry and fulfills the demands of export for agricultural products, has been set up in the country.

The 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) is the direct continuation of what was achieved in the previous five-year plans and marks a new higher stage in the non-stop socio-economic development of the country on the road

of socialism. Under this five-year plan it is envisaged to achieve an all-round development of the productive forces and a relatively high-rate increase of the social product, which guarantees the gradual improvement of the material well-being and cultural level of the working masses. The proportions envisaged to be achieved in the social product, national incomes, investments and constructions, export and financial sources are equal to those of the 3th-4th five-year periods, 1950-1970, taken together. The total social product, against the previous five-year period, will increase 34-36 per cent, industrial production 36-38 per cent and agricultural production 30-32 per cent. About 750 important socio-economic and cultural projects are envisaged to be built.

A concrete expression of the understanding and correct implementation of the orientations and directives of the Party for the fulfilment of the tasks set, are also the achievements of the last two years, during which industrial production realized a growth of 4.7 per cent and agricultural production 5 per cent against the year 1981.

The well-being of the people was further improved. More than 50 thousand young workers were given occupation. A new price reduction for retail trade goods and some food articles was made. The material damage caused by the earthquake of November 17, 1982 was liquidated within a very short time, with the state covering all the expenditure of 42 million leks. The state put in 50 million leks to finance a series of productive investments in the hilly and mountainous cooperatives, which positively influenced the increase of the incomes of the cooperativist peasantry. The state built 9 thousand dwelling flats, in which about 45 thousand inhabitants were accommodated. The purchas-

ing power of the people and the circulation of retail trade goods increased nearly 7 per cent. During 1983 the production of coal increased 8.4 per cent, copper 7.9 per cent, steels 29 per cent, production of light industry 6.4 per cent, food-processing industry 4 per cent, agricultural production nearly 9 per cent, the per capita national incomes increased 4 per cent, circulation of retail trade goods 6 per cent, and 10 500 apartments were built.

Alongside with the continuous increase of production, the Party has devoted special care also to the problems that have to do with the ceaseless increase of the effectiveness of the economy. In all its activity it has seen the effectiveness of the economy in harmony with the aim of the socialist production and has considered it as an objective necessity for the implementation of the principle of self-reliance in practice. The effectiveness of production and of our economy is neither partial nor dependent on circumstances or spontaneous, as in the bourgeois and revisionist countries in which effectiveness is guaranteed as a result of speculations in the field of distribution. On the contrary, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania it is general, planned and centralized, because it relies on the ceaseless growth of production, on the lowering of cost, on the continuous improvement of the qualitative indices of production, in which everything is organized and run on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism.

The successes achieved in the development of production and the economy, the all-round struggle that has been waged to establish a rigid system of frugality everywhere, to increase the productivity of social labour, to lower costs of production and so on, have brought about the improvement of the indices of the effectiveness of

the economy with each passing year, thus further strengthening the financial situation of the country. With our financial and valutory means we have coped with the growing expenditure required for the development of the economy, the social and cultural sectors and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

The measures which the Party has taken and implements for guaranteeing and gradually raising the well-being of the working masses serve to raise the mobilization of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia still higher for the realization of the planned tasks for 1984 and for the entire 7th Five-year Plan, for the strengthening and advance of our socialist Homeland, for attaining all the objectives set by the 8th Congress of our Party.

These typical phenomena of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world, are the result of the reactionary social policy followed by the old and new bourgeoisie. They are and will remain the constant fellow-travellers of these countries, which are eroding the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist system from within, which are deepening and exacerbating the antagonistic contradiction between labour and capital.

Today, when the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world has been immersed in an unprecedented chaos and crisis, the validity of the socialist order, of the socialist economy, emerges more and more clearly. Its characteristic features are the uninterrupted development and stability, continuous improvement of the standard of living of the working masses. The correct political, economic and social course which Albania has followed, has guaranteed the stability and reduction of prices even in the difficult conditions of the savage im-

perialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade.

It is known that the buying prices on the world market of goods which we import have increased appreciably. Nevertheless, prices of goods in our country have not only not been raised, but on the contrary some of them have been reduced, covering this with the internal state reserves, which have their source in the struggle and efforts of the working masses, under the leadership of the Party, to increase the social product and the effectiveness of the socialist economy. Therefore the Party has set the task that everyone, on his work front, must think and work to fulfil the plans, to increase production, to produce more goods and with better quality for export and to replace those goods which are imported with local products, etc.

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The increase of production, reduction of expenditure of production and circulation, the increase of the productivity of social labour and the general increase of the fruitfulness of our socialist economy constitute the main basis for the stability and reduction of prices of retail trade of consumption goods and tariffs for communal services, as one of the important roads that lead to the well-being of the working masses.

The main problem of the economic policy of the Party has been and remains the continuous high-rate increase of the total social product, taking account of the fact that without producing more and more material goods, without producing the means and production and broad consumption goods on ever greater proportions, with good quality and according to the required structure, there can be no improvement of the well-being of the people.

PSR OF ALBANIA - A STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

by **ZIJA XHOLI**

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental instrument in the hands of the working class for the construction of the new socialist life. Therefore, the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries defend the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the opportunists and renegades from socialism negate and distort it

ON NOVEMBER 29 OF THIS YEAR FORTY YEARS ARE COMPLETED FROM THE DAY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND FROM THE NAZI-FASCIST INVADERS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER WHICH IS THE MOST BRILLIANT VICTORY OF OUR PEOPLE IN THEIR CENTURIES-LONG HISTORY. OVER THESE 40 YEARS OUR COUNTRY HAS MARCHED AHEAD WITH DETERMINATION ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. IN THE PLACE OF THE SMALL, ALMOST NON-EXISTENT INDUSTRY, NOW A COMPLEX EXTRACTING AND PROCESSING, HEAVY AND LIGHT COMPLEX INDUSTRY HAS BEEN SET UP; IN THE PLACE OF A BACKWARD AGRICULTURE, BASED ON THE SMALL PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, NOW AN ADVANCED AND ALL-SIDED DEVELOPED AGRICULTURE, BASED ON THE LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP, HAS BEEN CREATED; IN THE PLACE OF IGNORANCE AND ILLITERACY, WHICH PREVAILED IN THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, NOW EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE HAVE EXTENDED AND ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE THE PROPERTY OF THE YOUTH AND THE BROAD WORKING MASSES AND A POWERFUL CONVEYANCE OF PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT.

The working people, freed once and for good from oppression and exploitation, have become masters of their life and future. Our People's Socialist Republic has made this irresistible advance because it has been set up on unshakeable foundations, has emerged from the blood of the thousands of martyrs and was built on the sacrifices of an entire people, is led by

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the Party which is loyal to the end to the interests of the people and is inspired by the ever-triumphant science of Marxism-Leninism, and relies on a new state power and organization which is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An important and main place among the factors that constitute the invincibility of our Republic is occupied by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The existence and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat

are vital for the present and future of the entire economic and social order of our country, therefore right in the beginning of the founding law of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we read in a clear and unequivocal manner that «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which expresses and defends the interests of all working people.»

The Party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, from the day when they issued the historic call or struggle for freedom and placed themselves in the leadership of this struggle, told the people that freedom can be won and guaranteed, that the dream for progress and social justice can be realized only when the state of the reactionary classes is destroyed together with these classes and the fascist invaders, and the new really democratic and popular power is set up on its ruins. In the program and in the practical and revolutionary activity of the Party, the defeat of fascist occupiers and reactionary classes and the establishment of the new people's democratic state power were two tasks which stood not as separate problems, but as two

state, that the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established and operated in the country. Under the leadership of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat became the powerful weapon to put industry, agriculture and the entire economy on new socialist bases, to neutralize the waverings of the petty-bourgeois strata of town and countryside and to put them on the road of socialism, to break the resistance and defeat the hostile efforts of the overthrown reactionary classes which had the powerful support of imperialist-revisionist foreign reaction. In the solution of these tasks which are as difficult as they were complicated, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been strengthened, has become a weapon which the people regard with love and confidence whereas its enemies regard it with awe and dread.

In establishing and organizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country the Party kept in mind a historical experience, the experience of the Commune of Paris and the October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin and Stalin; it was inspired and enlightened by a theory, the Marxist-Leninist science, by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. While respecting and appreciating the world revolutionary experience and remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party did not follow them in a stereotyped manner, but implemented them in a creative manner, in conformity with the concrete historical conditions of our country and drawing lessons from the negative experience that was created in the world with the revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the countries of the former people's democracy. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defended, enriched and further developed the whole theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the 40 years after Liberation and during the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from one Congress to the other, with repeated actions. The teachings and summing up made by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are so numerous and important that they constitute a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha

have defended and further developed the Marxist-Leninist concept on the organization and functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an entire complex system in which the Party plays and must play the leading role. On this question they stress, first, that the strength and success of the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of all the organs of power and mass organizations which constitute it, lie in the sole and undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, that «if this role is allowed to be weakened or is avoided, great dangers threaten the revolution and socialism, heavy defeats await them»; second, that the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a transient task, but a permanent task over the entire period of the complete construction of the socialist society, until communism is built. «The more the revolution advances and deepens, the more the leading role of the Party must be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life, and state and social activity,»¹ says Comrade Enver Hoxha. The tasks for the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat consist in the understanding and complete and correct application of these teachings and principles and, as the 8th Congress of the Party instructs, precisely so that the organs and organizations of the Party should ensure a concrete and qualified leadership of the organs of state power and mass organizations, increase their care and work with them and, at the same time, work and fight to ensure that the role and responsibility of the organs of state power and mass organizations are enhanced, that their initiative is developed, that they are strengthened politically and organizationally and made capable of performing their tasks in the best possible way.

The bourgeoisie and its ideologists grossly misrepresent the leading role of the Party in our society describing it as «violation of democracy», while claiming that the operation of many parties in the capitalist countries is a sign of «genuine democracy». This idea of the bourgeoisie is publicized by the modern revisionists, who have introduced political pluralism in their programs and in their daily propaganda. The whole falseness of this

tasks which conditioned one another and were in close interaction. The history of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people clearly shows that the more the National Liberation War developed and grew, the more the new state power, which was the direct offspring and at the same time the main support of it, grew and consolidated itself. And when the historic victory of the liberation of Albania was achieved forty years ago, the main organs, at the centre and in the base, the organs of the new state power which was soon to be transformed into a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat, were set up and ready to begin work.

The Party of Labour, as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, could not regard its work as achieved only with the liberation of the country, it saw very far and aimed very high-towards socialism and communism. Immediately after the conditions were created the Party issued the orientation for the socialist transformation of the society. A decisive factor for this orientation to be carried out with success was the fact that the proletariat was in the leadership of the

claim was scientifically shown by Lenin in his time, it is proved in practice both by the experience of the socialist country and the experience of the capitalist countries. The fact that many parties operate in the capitalist countries does not and cannot alter the nature of the bourgeois order, does not and cannot bring genuine democracy, democracy for the people. The capitalist order is an anti-democratic order contrived to secure and protect the privileges of an exploiting minority to the detriment of the broad working masses. Whereas the leading role of the Party in our socialist country serves only the extension and consolidation of genuine democracy, the people's socialist democracy.

Socialist democracy in our country finds its expression in many directions and, in the first place, in the fact that the working class and the working masses are masters of the country, that they participate directly in all state affairs, in the governing of the whole country. They cannot enjoy this great democratic right in a real and all-sided manner except under the leadership of the Party which deepens and extends the participation of the masses in the running of the country and ensures that this is done in practice. In the leadership of the Party, in the implementation of its line and policy lies the unbreakable strength of our socialist order, the surest guarantee of our socialist democracy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, because of its very existence and essence, as the leadership of the state and the entire society by the working class, presupposes not only the leading role of the Party as the most determined, most organized and most conscious detachment of the working class, but also the direct participation of the masses and their responsibility for every thing that is done in the state and society, which constitutes the main content of the socialist democracy and the fundamental direction of its development. For the content of socialist democracy to be extended and realized in practice, the Party has carried out broad creative work which has yielded great results. The broad working masses have gained, with each passing year, the awareness

that they are masters of the country and, at the same time, have been educated and made more capable of exercising this great right in practice. The drawing of the opinion of the working people in state affairs and in the running of the country remains, even today, the main task for the extension and strengthening of socialist democracy. It remains the main task in the efforts for the fulfilment of economic plans. As the socialist construction of the country has shown, the enthusiasm, discipline, massive qualification, the control by the masses can work miracles. In the revolutionary education of the masses, in the implementation of the orientations and teachings of the Party on this question, lies the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the invincibility of our socialist order, the decisive condition for the implementation of socialist democracy in practice.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy are threatened from within by two dangerous enemies — bureaucracy and liberalism. As the negative experience of the Soviet Union and the former socialist countries has shown, bureaucracy and liberalism not only constitute a stumbling block to the realization of the line of the masses in the exercise of state power and the running of the country, but also contain in themselves the seed of degeneration and the danger of capitalist restoration. Our Party has always taken account of the danger of bureaucracy and liberalism and has adopted a series of ideological, political and economic measures to combat them and bar the path to them. In this direction the Party has attached great importance to the establishment of the most correct relations possible between cadres and masses, between functionaries in state power and working people, relations in which the main, leading place belongs to the masses, the working class and working people, whereas cadres, state functionaries are in their service, must work and act always in the interest of the former. Whereas in the capitalist revisionist world predominates the concept and practice that functionaries and those in state power are these all-

powerful who make the law, in the socialist country predominates the opposite concept according to which the masses make the law, that they are all-powerful and must place cadres and state functionaries under their direct and daily control. The working class and the working masses exercise their control on cadres and state functionaries in different ways and means, through the election of deputies to the People's Assembly and representatives in the local organs of state power. The decisive role of the masses does not end with the election of deputies, but continues afterwards. During the entire period of the deputiship, the deputies are under the control of the masses, which have the right to revoke anyone of those elected who does not justify the faith placed in him. Not only the deputies, but also all cadres and functionaries of any rank are subject to the daily control of the masses in our country.

One of the forms of direct daily control of the masses on cadres and state functionaries, an expression of the socialist democracy in action is also the unlimited right of the working people to address themselves to the highest organs of the Party and state for any claim and criticism regarding anyone who violates their rights and acts against the spirit of the law and norms of our socialist society.

Besides, in order to realize the participation of the masses in the governing of the country in practice, in order to further revolutionize the cadres, to establish as correct relations as possible between the masses and cadres, the Party has encouraged and carried out in practice a series of initiatives and forms such as the control of the masses from below and, in the first place, the worker and peasant control, the rendering of account of the cadres to the masses, the participation of cadres in productive work together with the workers and peasants for a definite period, the reduction of pay differentials, the lowering of higher wages and the raising of lower ones, etc.

Socialist construction, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have proved with argument and the experience of our country is showing day by day, is not a spontaneous and calm process.

On the contrary, it is realized through a stern class struggle which has to do both with the communist education of the broad working masses and the suppression of resistance by old and new class enemies, and with coping with the foreign danger which stems from the aggressive aims of imperialism and social-imperialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that «we have coped with success with the different hostile pressures and overcome the innumerable difficulties that have emerged before us because we have waged the class struggle in all fields, against the hostile activity and against alien manifestations in society, in the ranks of the Party or in the consciousness of everyone, in an uninterrupted, principled and consistent manner.»² The powerful weapon which guarantees success in this fierce class struggle and carries the socialist revolution forward, until its complete and final triumph, up to communism, has been and remains the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party has never for a moment forgotten this important aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has known how to discover the different aspects and fronts of the class struggle, to understand the kinds of contradictions which operate in our society, and in conformity with this, to find the roads and use the most suitable means for their solution. In this manner, the alien manifestations in society, in the consciousness of individuals or in the ranks of the Party, which are not in antagonism with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist morality, are described as non-antagonistic contradictions, because they manifest themselves in the ranks of the working people, among those people whose interests are connected ideologically, politically and economically with the interests of the Homeland and socialism. This conditions the road of their solution, which is the road of criticism and self-criticism, revolutionary education and re-education.

Along with alien manifestations, hostile actions which aim at weakening socialism and undermining it and

which stem from the ranks of the class enemies or isolated degenerate elements, also crop up in socialist society. Here we have to do with antagonistic contradictions, with actions irreconcilable with the lofty interests of the Homeland and socialism. This conditions a different road for their solution, which is the road of vigilance and revolutionary violence, that of coercive measures and defeat of all diabolical attempts on the part of the various enemies. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been and remains the irreplaceable weapon and powerful instrument in the hands of the working class and the working masses in this stern class struggle. Therefore, today when the class struggle, as the main motive force of our society continues, when the hostile attempts of the class enemies and degenerate individuals have not ceased, when the danger of the revisionist degeneration and that of imperialist-revisionist aggression still exists, it is our duty to keep the revolutionary vigilance of the people high and to ceaselessly raise the capacity and readiness of all the organs and organisms which have to do with the struggle against enemies, evil-doers, and saboteurs, as well as with the defence of the socialist Homeland, in short, with the further and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx especially emphasized that the class dictatorship of the proletariat is a necessary step to going over to the liquidation of class distinctions in general, and one which would continue until communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental instrument in the hands of the working class for the construction of the new socialist life. Therefore the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries defend the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the opportunists and renegades from socialism negate and distort it. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in their struggle for the successful construction of socialism in Albania and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, have hit

and thoroughly exposed the various modern revisionists who negate and distort the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its complexity, or in some of its aspects, which amounts to the same thing. The Congresses of our Party and the numerous Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha bring out the whole anti-Marxist and liquidatory essence of the theories of the revisionists of all hues who negate the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, theories which open a gap between the dictatorship and democracy and describe the dictatorship of the proletariat as a negation of democracy, which divorce the concept on the dictatorship of the proletariat from the concept on the state, and claim that the rule of the working class should not take a state form, or that the dictatorship of the proletariat be replaced by the «state of the entire people».

Apart from the revisionist Soviet Union and the former socialist countries of Europe, there are countries in the world which pretend that they are socialist, there are governments which are headed by socialists, nevertheless the working masses there do not see anything of socialism, of the society without oppression and exploitation in their countries. The reason is that labels alone cannot make up for socialism, but more is needed, namely important social conditions, such as the carrying out of the socialist revolution, the raising of the working class to the head of society under the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, the organization of a new state power which is the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have proved with scientific argument, as life and the 40 years of the flourishing of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is showing.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 23, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «*Reports and Speeches 1974-1975*», pp. 33-34, Alb. ed.

THE PROCESS OF OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COOPERATIVES IN THE COUNTRY

The gradual transition of the ordinary agricultural production and the transformation of some of them into state order in Albania is in the process of uninterrupted development.

THE LAST FOUR DECADES OF PEOPLE'S STATE POWER IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA HAVE BEEN THE DECADES OF THE HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, BOTH IN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WHICH WAS ARCHITECTED AND LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (TODAY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA) OPENED UP BROAD PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE CREATED FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE RAPID-RATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN QUANTITY AND QUALITY.

THE UNINTERRUPTED INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION HAS BROUGHT ABOUT THE INCREASE OF THE COOPERATIVISTS' INCOMES AND THE RAISING OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF PEASANTRY.

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Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory on problems of agriculture the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued a correct policy for the harmonious, co-ordinated and planned development of the two fundamental elements of agricultural production: the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. On the basis of the conditions of the country and the development of the cooperativist movement, the PLA has enriched the theory and practice with the new experience gained, especially, in the field of the perfecting of the socialist relations of production.

It is a known fact that after the Second World War socialist relations of production were established in a series of countries of people's de-

mocracy. The recent decades showed that with the revising of the Marxist-Leninist theory by their parties the nature of the relations of production established, both in industry and in agriculture, would consequently change, too. In these countries now there can be no more talk of the socialist relations. In the revisionist Soviet Union, where some formal aspects of the old relations are still retained, their socialist nature has been transformed into capitalist, and private property is encouraged to develop.

The PLA has remained loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles. It has attached special attention to the socialist relations of production and works continuously to perfect them. The socialist relations of production are regarded and treated from the economic aspect, as a factor which

THE UNINTERRUPTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE COOPERATIVIST ORDER ON THE OTHER SIDE *by KOZMA SKARÇO*

development of the cooperativist order, on the road of the complete construction of socialist society

opens the road for and encourages the development of the productive forces, and as a very important socio-political factor in which the ideological, moral and political formation of the working people is realized. The appropriate and continuous perfecting of the relations of production, when the conditions are ripe, without making haste and without delay, by convincing the masses and pursuing the line of the masses, have brought about the development of the productive forces, the revolutionary education of the working people, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, and the ceaseless strengthening of our socialist order. As is known, even in the conditions of a general economic energy and financial crisis which has enveloped the whole world, Albania marches ahead at relatively high rates, fulfils its plans of the economic and cultural development, guarantees and raises the standard of living of the working people and continuously strengthens the people's state power and the defence capacity of the Homeland, relying entirely on its own forces.

The superiority of the socialist relations of production can be seen in our new countryside, too. From a primitive agriculture, based on private ownership and the feudal-bourgeois relations of production, agriculture entered the phase of the collectivized socialist economies, gradually going

over to the stage of its intensification and modernization. Albania, once a backward agrarian country, has been transformed into an agricultural-industrial country, and the objective now is to turn it into an industrial country with advanced agriculture. The psychology of work and ownership of the cooperativist peasantry develops ceaselessly. Instead of the former individual farmer, closely connected with his small personal property and plot of low profitability which narrowed his interests and restricted his human relations, today there is the new peasant whose traditional patriotism has gained a new dimension: the spirit of collectivism, love of the comrade, of the work and common property, a peasant who takes an interest in the progress of work and welfare of the family, the cooperative and the entire society, with which his personal interests are connected. Instead of the former peasant without schooling and full of prejudices, there is now the new cooperativist peasant with education and scientific knowledge, who works with might and main for the intensification of agriculture.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha orientated that in the course of the drafting and discussion of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), new steps be taken to further improve the socialist relations of production in agriculture, so that they are better adapted to the

present stage of the complete construction of socialist society, to bring closer together and finally transform the group ownership into the ownership of the entire people. In the spirit of these orientations work is continuing to gradually increase the number of the higher-type cooperatives and for some of them, in turn, to be transformed into state farms, to ensure the priority intensification of agriculture in the plains and coastal zones, in which the development of the productive forces at higher rates is accompanied with the perfecting of the socialist relations of production, and to reduce the cooperativists' personal plot and form common herds with the personal livestock of the cooperativists.

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The present level, incomparably higher against the past, with which our agriculture and countryside come to this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, as well as the great contribution they make to the strengthening of the independent and self-supporting national economy, which guarantees its uninterrupted development with its own forces, is not something achieved accidentally, but the fruit of a great work which extends

over the entire period from Liberation until today.

In these four decades the productive forces and the relations of production in agriculture have passed through the various stages of revolutionization. The road through which this radical transformation has taken place, has had its culminating points, some powerful revolutionary developments, such as the Land Reform which overthrew the old feudal and capitalist relations of ownership of the land, which has been called the first revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside, and the collectivization of agriculture, which has been correctly considered as the second revolution, the most thorough revolutionary change, in the socio-economic relations of the countryside.

The Land Reform, with which the centuries-old dream of the peasant to have his own land became a reality, began with the proclamation of the Law on the Land Reform on August 29, 1945 and had another landmark on November 25, 1945 when Comrade Enver Hoxha visited the village of Gore in the Lushnja district and distributed land deeds to the Myzeqe peasants in the name of the new Democratic Government, and ended with the final act of November 17, 1946 when this great political, ideological, economic and social action was carried out in all the country.

The collectivization of agriculture, which is characterized by the establishment of the socialist relations of production in agriculture, began on November 11, 1946 when the first agricultural cooperative, the first «swallow» of socialism in the countryside, was set up in the village of Kru-tja of Myzeqe, and continued up till the beginning of the '60, when collectivization was completed, in general, and when only some villages in the mountainous and hilly zones had remained uncollectivized. The later period is characterized by the economic strengthening of the cooperatives and the perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside.

The principle of volunteer participation has been and remains the basic principle for the inclusion of the peasantry in the process of collectivization and in every new step taken on

the socialist road. The PLA made the peasants conscious that only through the collectivization of agriculture, with the establishment of socialist relations in countryside, just as had been done in town, could objective conditions be created for increasing production and incomes, and the poverty and sufferings of the past be wiped out. The Party has observed this principle of voluntary participation not only during the setting up of the agricultural cooperatives, but also in the formation of the higher-type cooperatives, now that some of them are being transformed into state farms, when the personal plot of the cooperativists is being reduced and their livestock are gathered to form common flocks.

Loyalty to this principle can be seen also in the fact that the process of the establishment and perfecting of the socialist relations of production in agriculture developed in a differentiated manner as regards rhythms and regions. This process began in the plains zones of the country and gradually spread in the hilly zones. Later, after the 5th Congress of the Party, in 1966, when a series of other favourable, objective and subjective factors had been created, the orientation was issued for the completion of the collectivization of agriculture also in the remote hilly and mountainous zones. This differentiation is taken in consideration now in the formation of common herds with the cooperativists' personal livestock, in the creation of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives and in the process of the transition to the phase of priority intensification of agriculture in the plains and coastal zones.

In the development of the socialist relations of production in agriculture, the PLA and the people's state have not skipped the stages. Every step has been taken with care and in the proper time. Initially, only agricultural cooperatives of the artel type were created, with one village having one cooperative. When these were consolidated and in order to open the road to the development of the forces of production, the next step was taken towards the setting up of enlarged agricultural cooperatives,

which consisted of some smaller cooperatives. The creation of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives served to further perfect the cooperativist movement and bring the group ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people, thus the transition of some of them into state farms, in which social ownership dominates, came as a very natural thing.

The experience of socialist Albania is a concrete reality which shows that the only road to the building of socialism in the countryside, in the countries with a fragmented peasant economy, as Lenin teaches us, goes through the collectivization of agriculture and that any other road outside collectivization leads to the development or the restoration of capitalism in the countryside.

The correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings was proved again in the collectivization of agriculture in the hilly and mountainous zones. Albania is a small country with an irregular relief and with a limited arable land, mainly in the plains. About 45 per cent of the arable land and nearly half of the rural population of the country are in the hilly and mountainous zones. For agriculture to develop at high rates even in these zones, the Party issued the orientation for the setting up of agricultural cooperatives there, too, and at the same time adopted a series of important measures in support of this movement and for opening broad prospects to the development of the productive forces. Besides sending cadres and specialists to the mountainous cooperatives for the better organization of work and placing production on a scientific basis in these zones, the socialist state made a series of productive investments such as those for the opening up of new land, the building of irrigation canals, creation of blocks of fruit-trees, etc. Simultaneously, in order to increase the incomes of the cooperativists, special decisions and a number of other favouring measures were taken to raise the purchase prices of some agricultural and livestock products which the state bought from these zones and to reduce the prices of the sale of chemical fertilizers.

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The creation of the higher-type cooperatives is a unique step which is possible and was realized only in our socialist countryside. The higher-type cooperatives, which are set up in the most developed plains zones and in which the state participates with non-returnable social means, represent one of the higher forms of production. They retain the character of the relations of distribution which stem from the group ownership, whereas the forms of management, organization and remuneration of work are similar to those of the state farms, a thing which facilitates the transition of them, in the future, into state farms.

The agricultural cooperatives of this type have a great theoretical and practical importance, for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside. The immediate aim is to ensure that agriculture develops at higher rates in the most fertile plains of the country and that the agricultural and livestock products, which the people and the economy need, increase in a stabilized and systematic manner. The next aim is to ensure that, along with the continuous increase of the number of the higher-type cooperatives, new steps should be taken towards the socialization of the group ownership, and bringing it closer to and, subsequently, fusing it into one with the ownership of the entire people.

The gradual transition of the common agricultural cooperatives into higher-type cooperatives and the transformation of some of them into state farms shows that the cooperativist order in Albania is in the process of uninterrupted development, on the road of the complete construction of socialist society.

The setting up of the higher-type cooperatives and the work done for their economic and organizational strengthening is yielding its effects. From 1979, by increasing the value of the main means of production, 23.5 per cent of which was realized through the participation of society, the higher-type cooperatives supplied, among

other things, 50 per cent of the total amount of bread grain and sunflower, about 60 per cent of the cotton, sugar-beet, milk and meat which the state bought from all the agricultural cooperatives.

These figures tend to rise constantly, along with the increase of the higher-type cooperatives in numbers. The increase of their numbers and the productive investments, which the state makes in them (without for a moment diminishing attention to the other cooperatives of the plains and mountains, on the contrary, working for the further and continuous intensification of agriculture in the whole country), will enhance their role in the increase of total agricultural production and create the objective and subjective conditions for their gradual transition to state farms.

The Party has given orientations, which are being put into practice, for the transformation of some higher-type agricultural cooperatives, with a strong economy and high yields, into state farms. This is a qualitative transition, a step which ensures the transformation of the group property into the property of the entire society. Thus, the sphere of the relations of state ownership is expanded and the sphere of the relations of cooperativist ownership narrowed. Along with the perfecting of these relations, whole contingents of the cooperativists go over to the ranks of the state farm workers, the ranks of the working class. This important revolutionary transformation in the class structure of society is accompanied with a series of positive consequences.

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The formation of common herds with the personal livestock of the cooperativists and the reduction of the personal plot of land, in general, constitutes another step forward towards perfecting the socialist relations in the countryside. This step was prepared gradually, over more than three decades of the existence of the cooperativist order, with the raising of the political consciousness and the

well-being of the peasantry, the creation of greater material possibilities on the part of society. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that the merit of our Party lies in the fact that it prepared this situation gradually and in a planned manner and highly assessed the revolutionary initiatives of the peasants for the formation of common herds of livestock, supported these initiatives with all-round ideological, organizational work, with material and financial means, thus opening up new perspectives to the development and advance of the cooperativist order and socialist life in the countryside.

The Party's support for this initiative of the peasants marked the beginning of a large-scale action of all-sided values. It involved the formation of common herds which would include 40 per cent of sheep and goats and 69 per cent of the cattle of the whole country, which were personal property of the cooperativists.

For this initiative to be crowned with success the Party and its levers had to carry out a qualified educative, organizational, and scientific work. It was focussed on making every cooperativist conscious of the political and ideological values of this initiative, of its role in bringing personal ownership closer to that of the group, of its economic values, of the high yields and incomes which would be taken as a result of the scientific treatment of the common herds, as well as of the social values of it, of the fact that a large number of cooperativists would thus be relieved of the burden of tending their personal livestock and be available for work in the common direction.

The plot of personal land of the cooperativist is state property in our country. The personal plot of the cooperativist serves and will serve for some time as an auxiliary economy for the cooperativist families to fulfil that part of their needs for agricultural and livestock products which they cannot secure to the necessary extent from the cooperative. With the further strengthening of the cooperativist economy and the raising of the general well-being of the peasantry, the cooperativist plot loses its importance until it disappears completely,

thus freeing the cooperativist peasant of this type of personal property, which has, in a moderate form, some negative influence on the social psychology of work and ownership of the cooperativist. We in our country always bear in mind that, in the present situation, the cooperativists' personal plot becomes a private economy which begin to produce for the market, for profit, thus undermining the foundations of the cooperativist order and, indeed, of the entire socialist order, if it is allowed to submit itself to the laws of spontaneous development. Such phenomenon is seen in the revisionist countries, in which private property is encouraged to grow and expand, both in town and countryside, by decrees and laws.

Our peasants, through the persuasive work of the Party and on their own initiative, have, time and again, reduced the acreage of their personal plot and the number of livestock they raise in them. The structure of plants grown in these plots has also changed from bread grain to vegetables. This because with the increase of the production of bread grain by the agricultural cooperatives, the peasants began to cultivate forage crops instead, and now that the number of their personal livestock is reduced or has been gathered in common herds, they need not plant forage crops at all.

The formation of common herds with cooperativists' sheep and goats in the whole country and those of cattle only in the plains zones ended in October 1981. Work has begun to increase yields of them through management on a scientific basis, their better feeding, proper stables, zootechnical and veterinary care, on the same terms as the livestock which is pro-

perty of the cooperative. This helps increase and strengthen the herds, thus formed, which is a national asset, and raise the well-being of the peasants. In a letter which the cooperativists of Hoçisht, Korça district, sent to the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», wrote, among other things that now, three years after the formation of the herds, they see that many great changes have occurred. Those who said that no peasant could be imagined without animals in his barn, now speak differently: «It is better to have no animals in your barn and have plenty of milk at home.» Production of milk from the livestock of the common herd of this cooperative has increased 20 per cent against that of the last year, at a time when the supplies of the members of the cooperative with milk and other livestock products have increased 35 per cent.

The incomes distributed until now from the production of common herds in many cooperatives is equal the original value of the livestock itself. Now the peasants take in their share of the income without making expenditure or taking care of this part of the livestock. In order to serve the cooperativists better trading units have been opened at which bottled milk is sold and large refrigerators for the preservation of meat and other livestock products have been installed in some bigger villages.

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The perfecting of the socialist relations in the Albanian village has been done in unity with the perfecting of all the productive elements and for-

ces which have a direct influence on the intensification of agricultural and livestock production, on the strengthening of the national economy and the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the peasantry.

The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was held in February 1961, and which considered the construction of the economic base of socialism completed and gave the orientation for the transition to the complete construction of socialist society, defined that the intensification and modernization of agriculture was one of the most important requirements of that stage.

The party congresses that followed defined concrete and still greater objectives in this field. With the attainment of them our agriculture has deepened its intensive character. Now that production has been placed on scientific bases, work is concentrated on keeping books and charts for every kind of plant, defining and observing the technology that corresponds to the yields envisaged for in the annual and five-year plans. A clear proof of the development and intensification of our agricultural and livestock production are the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), according to which the increase of total agricultural production for this period must be 30-32 per cent greater than in the period 1976-1980, with 90 per cent of the increase of production to be achieved from the increase of yields of crops and productivity of livestock. The yields taken during the first three years of the current five-year plan in some field crops and in many economies and districts are equal to the objectives set for the future.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by **NAQO SINANI**

Consistently following the Marxist-Leninist economic policy of the PLA and resolutely implementing it in every stage of our socialist construction, in the last years of the past five-year plan our economy succeeded in balancing all the necessary import with export. This was done without affecting either the rates of development of the economy or the standard of living of the people

OUR FOREIGN TRADE HAS PLAYED AND CONTINUES TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. OUR TRADE RELATIONS DEVELOP IN CONFORMITY WITH THE GENERAL POLICY OF THE PARTY AND STEM FROM ITS ECONOMIC THOUGHT. WE BUILD OUR TRADE RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES ALWAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL INTEREST.

CONSISTENTLY FOLLOWING THE MARXIST-LENINIST ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PLA AND RESOLUTELY IMPLEMENTING IT IN EVERY STAGE OF OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE PAST FIVE-YEAR PLAN OUR ECONOMY SUCCEEDED IN BALANCING ALL THE NECESSARY IMPORT WITH EXPORT. THIS WAS DONE WITHOUT AFFECTING EITHER THE RATES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY OR THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE. THE PARTY PREPARED THE BALANCING OF THE IMPORT WITH EXPORT GRADUALLY AND CARRIED IT OUT AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS ACCORDING TO THE GREAT AND NECESSARY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE. THIS IS A GREAT VICTORY ON THE ROAD OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF THE ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF OUR COUNTRY. AS ALL OUR ACHIEVEMENTS OVER THESE FORTY YEARS OF PEOPLE'S POWER, THIS, TOO, HAS ITS SOURCE IN THE INTERNAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS OF OUR COUNTRY.

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The foreign trade of the PSR of Albania has developed and advanced along with the development of all

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the branches of the socialist economy. Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism, at the foundation of the foreign trade of our country lie the principles of equality and mutual interest, of respect for the freedom and national in-

dependence of each other. At present our country trades with over 50 countries and hundreds of firms on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Our socialist state has never accepted any inequality, discrimination, exploitation and political or economic submission. It has never accepted to trade with the superpowers or with the imperialist and revisionist inter-state economic groupings. The PSR of Albania has rejected all the proposals the imperialists and revisionists have made at various international conferences with the aim of conducting trade to the detriment of the economically less developed countries.

Our country has rigorously abided by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It has never interfered and does not interfere in the internal affairs of others, just as it has never allowed others to interfere in its internal affairs. At the same time it has never allowed that, together with commodities, other countries introduce into our

country the ideology, mode of life, concepts, tastes and practices of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist world.

The Party of Labour of Albania has unswervingly abided by the line of the independent development of the natural resources of its country. It has never allowed that our resources and raw materials be given in concession to foreign companies and enterprises. This has found its reflection also in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in which it is said: «...In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of concessions to, and the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited.»¹

With the countries we do trade we sign trade agreements of different terms on the exchange of goods and payments, transport, services and other related problems. Our foreign trade proceeds always from the policy of the Party and our socialist state. «Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. «Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore, it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and, in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.»²

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have resolved the problem theoretically and the experience of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union (in the time of Lenin and Stalin), as well as in our country, has convincingly proved that the establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade is a necessary revolutionary measure applied by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This monopoly precludes the interference of foreign capital, blocks a channel which is

fraught with grave consequences for the political and economic independence of the country, protects the economy from spontaneity and the crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world. Thus, the establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade is the only way for foreign trade to be successfully used for the construction of socialism.

The foundations of the state control on foreign trade were laid on the eve of the liberation of the country, at the first session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council on May 24 at Përmet, with the historic decision on the revision and annulment of all the agreements entered into by the Zog government to the detriment of the Albanian people.

When the country was liberated, with the nationalization of the Bank, of industry and the means of communication, with the implementation of revolutionary measures towards the industrial, commercial or agrarian bourgeoisie, the economic possibilities were created for the establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade and the relative organs were set up to define the volume and the structure of the export-import goods and to carry out trade activities proceeding from the needs and possibilities of the country.

The establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade, the concentration of all its activity in the hands of the state, the denunciation of all enslaving relations and agreements with other states protected our economy from the indiscriminate inflow of foreign goods, from the influence of spontaneity on the world capitalist and revisionist market, from ceaseless price rises. The establishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade, as a matter of major importance of principle, has enabled not only the vigorous development of the economy, but also the creation of possibilities for the expansion of the relations of exchange.

When foreign trade departs from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and does not implement them, when the principle of the state monopoly on foreign trade is violated, the process of the degeneration of the socialist relations of production into capitalist

relations sets on. This happened in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries where foreign trade has been transformed into a means in the hands of the revisionist bourgeoisie to deepen the political, ideological and moral degeneration, by opening the doors to the monopolies, taking foreign credits and plunging deep in debt.

Our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat destroyed the economic base of the old society, did away with the capitalist relations in all the sectors of the economy of the country. The socialist relations that were established in foreign trade, too, are based on the social ownership of the means of production. Foreign trade has become a new trade system which actively and vigorously serves the development of our socialist economy and culture. It helps ensure the independent economic development of the country, the successful overcoming of blockades and obstacles, the great difficulties created by the imperialists and the revisionists as well as the sabotaging activities of the internal and external enemy.

The goods turnover of our foreign trade before Liberation was extremely limited. The former policy in foreign trade was a policy of submission to the imperialist powers. It was characterized by a chronic deficit each year. In 1938 the income from export covered only 42.4 per cent of import, or only 33.3 per cent in real terms, if income from customs duties is subtracted. Export was made up mainly of primary materials and unfinished products, most of them of agricultural origin. In 1938 export was made up of 8.6 per cent of animals, 35.4 per cent of food-stuffs and 56 per cent of raw materials. On the other hand, almost everything was imported, from fancy goods and stationery to the few machines and equipment which were brought to Albania to meet the needs of foreign concessionary companies which barbarously exploited the assets of our country in collaboration with the local bourgeoisie.

After the liberation of the country, until 1948 the role of foreign trade was relatively limited, trade exchanges with other countries were few in the years 1945-1946. Foreign

trade had just begun to be organized. In the years 1947 and 1948, however, foreign trade exchanges reached the level of 1938. Still, the average annual volume of the goods turnover for four years (1945-1948) accounted for only 63 per cent of the volume of 1938. On this, among other things, the hostile stands and interference of the Yugoslav revisionists in the internal affairs of our country had a direct influence. They tried to make our economy develop as an appendage of the Yugoslav economy so as to hamper the socialist industrialization of the country and use its assets as primary materials for the «Yugoslav metropolis». «...The trade was virtually one way and in our disfavour,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work «The Titoites». «We gave more than we received. We gave good products and received rubbish. We expropriated the big merchants of their property and sold the fabrics to the Yugoslavs at prices which they set, while the razor blades and minor things of this type which they sold us cost us the earth. We imported bread grain from them, because we were short of it, some leather and iron plough-shares, and these they sold us at their internal prices which were very high. We sold them olives, cheese, olive-oil, etc., at a time when we did not have enough of them for ourselves...»³ So, through unequal exchanges they tried to exploit and plunder the assets of our country and our working masses, to isolate our country from the external world, to prevent it from creating links with other states.

The 1st Congress of the Party, which was held in 1948, while condemning the Yugoslav interference in our country, drew valuable lessons. In programming the tasks for the socialist construction of the country and for foreign trade, in particular, the Congress laid down the task: «We should make efforts to increase the quantity of the goods we export today and do our utmost to secure new goods for export so as to have more hard currency to cope with imports.»⁴

In 1950 against 1938 the production of oil was three times bigger, of chromium 7 times, of bitumen 2 times, of building materials about 3 times, of processed food-stuffs 5 times, etc.

A number of new projects were built, and there began the production of gasoil, benzine, blister copper, cotton textiles, and sugar which formerly were brought from abroad. Along with this our export increased and its structure improved. In 1950 mineral fuels and metals accounted for 62.2 per cent of all our exports, raw materials of vegetal and animal origin 32 per cent, food-stuffs 5.2 per cent, etc. New articles were added to our export list.

In 1951 the implementation of the 1st Five-year Plan began. It envisaged the transformation of our country from a backward agrarian country into an advanced agrarian-industrial country. At this stage, too, foreign trade had a direct influence on the creation of the new socialist industry which actually had begun to be built two years before. The main place in this plan was occupied by the mining industry as the major base for the development of the other branches of industry. The development of this industry increased, in the first place, the export value of its products and, as a result, added to the financial possibilities of our country to buy machinery and equipment for the industrialization of agriculture. In order to meet the needs of the country for broad consumption goods and a larger utilization of local raw materials, the plan envisaged the further development of the light and food-processing industries. Their development, of course, would lower the import of this kind of goods and raise their export. The elimination of the backwardness of agriculture was another very important task of the 1st Five-year Plan and an indispensable condition for the realization of tasks in the field of agriculture, for raising the well-being of the population, for the increase of exports and the decrease of imports.

In the end of 1955, the goods turnover in foreign trade was twice that of 1938. Equipment and machinery for complete projects, raw and primary materials the economy needed to implement the policy of the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country and the elimination of the backwardness of agriculture were imported. In 1959 machinery, equipment and spare parts accounted for 41.5 per cent of the total value of our import.

The development of industry brought along the increase of the volume of export goods in quantity and assortment. In 1955 the value of export was twice as high as that of 1950. The export of raw oil increased twice, chromium 5.5 times, tobacco leaves about 6 times, etc. To the export list were added such new articles as plywood, medicinal herbs, oil seeds, etc.

Compared with 1955, in 1968 industrial production increased 2.2 times, export 4 times and import about 2 times. Characteristic of the 2nd Five-year Plan, too, was that the import of machinery, equipment and spare parts continued to increase from year to year, almost doubling the figure of 1955.

In the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955) the main task envisaged the all-round development of industry, so most of the import was made up of machinery and equipment for the various branches of industry and, in particular, machinery and equipment for the oil and mining industries. In the 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960), which has entered the history of the construction of socialism in our country as the five-year plan of the collectivization of agriculture, the import of farming machines and spare parts for them had pride of place. Nevertheless, the development of industry did not lag behind, either. Foreign trade secured the equipment and machinery which would ensure the priority development of the group «A» — the production of the means of production, so as to impart a fresh impulse to the development of industry.

The development of industry, especially the extracting industry, and the collectivization and advance of agriculture brought about the increase of export in quantity, structure and value. The structures production of our economy was improved. Although, oil, copper and other minerals which were exported accounted for 55 per cent of the whole export in the end of 1960 as against 70.6 per cent they occupied in the end of 1955, their absolute value doubled. The part of agricultural products, fruit, fresh vegetables and products of the food-processing industry in the total volume of export rose from 2.2 per cent it was in 1955 to 19.7 per cent in 1960.

The textile industry not only met better the demands of the market with cotton fabrics, but also exported many of its products, such as cotton and velvet fabrics, woollen blankets, etc. The new food-processing industry met the needs of the market with its products and exported canned fish, fruit and vegetables, alcoholic drinks, cigarettes, etc. The wood-processing industry, apart from plywood, began the export of licus panels, parquet pieces, etc.

With the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965) a new phase began in the socialist construction of our country. The 4th Congress of the Party proclaimed the construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania and the transition to the complete construction of socialist society as the main task. The 3rd Five-year Plan would be realized in particular conditions for our country, in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement. The Soviet Union cut us all aid and credits. To the imperialist blockade was added the betrayal of the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union. Immediately after the endorsement of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the Soviet leadership extended its attacks to the field of the economy and culture as well. It violated the agreements it had entered into and ceased the supply of goods and industrial equipment to Albania. In these conditions, the Party called for the best possible utilization of the material and financial values and the establishment of a strict savings regime. In the struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan the concern for the development and better utilization of internal reserves increased, the spirit of initiative and self-reliance grew. Our foreign trade was placed fully in the service of the accomplishment of the tasks emerging from the new conditions created for our country in the period of the 3rd Five-year Plan. The revolutionary drive of the masses rose to new heights.

Relying on the material-technical base already set up, with the mobilization of all the reserves that the economy constantly created, our people, with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, made heroic efforts to overcome the difficulties

arising from the Khrushchevite betrayal. The tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan were on a whole fulfilled. The foreign trade secured new markets and became a powerful means to meet the demands of the various sectors of development. Industrial production served the other sectors of the socialist economy, too. The mechanization of agriculture in the end of 1965 was 82 per cent higher than in 1960, its material-technical base grew to the same proportion and it became an important base for the further development of agricultural production in the future. Industrial production in 1965 accounted for 56.6 per cent of the total industrial and agricultural production of the country. Industrial production grew at an average annual rate of 6.8 per cent, and agricultural production at an average annual rate of 6.4 per cent.

During this time many important industrial projects, such as a factory for the smelting of copper, a factory for the refining and processing of copper, a factory of copper wires, a factory of ferrous metallurgy, a factory for the production of coke, some paper mills, etc. were commissioned or began to be built. New sources of oil and gas were discovered, as well as new reserves of chromium, copper, ferro-nickel, etc. The hydro-power stations «Frederick Engels» and «Stalin» were commissioned. The machine-building industry took the first steps in the production of technical equipment and machines.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan the volume of goods turnover in foreign trade increased 39 per cent over that of the 2nd Five-year Plan.

During the 4th Five-year Plan foreign trade served the fulfilment of the tasks to step up the rates of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. During 1965-1970 important industrial projects, which were started in the 3rd Five-year Plan, were completed and commissioned, the complete electrification of the country was carried out, irrigation and drainage projects were built, the Rrogozhina-Fier railway was completed, etc. Foreign trade secured more equipment and machinery than in the 3rd Five-year Plan. The import

of high-technology metal-cutting machines of railway carriages, locomotives and automobiles increased at more rapid rates, our merchant fleet was expanded, the import of steel, rolled ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, etc. increased. The development of the rubber and plastics industry brought about an increase in the import of natural and synthetic rubber, PVC and other plastic primary materials.

Total industrial production in 1970 was 63.7 times that of 1938 and 83 per cent larger than in 1965. Agricultural production was 33 per cent larger than in 1965.

The all-round development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy brought about an increase in the goods turnover of foreign trade, imports grew, and the import-export structure was further improved. The goods turnover of foreign trade during the 4th Five-year Plan grew 44 per cent as compared with that of the 3rd Five-year Plan. Our chemical industry also began to contribute to the increase of exports with ammonium nitrate, caustic soda and soda ash, sulphuric acid, etc.

In the 5th Five-year Plan the goods turnover in foreign trade was 86 per cent larger than in the 4th Five-year Plan. Our foreign trade grew stronger and became a powerful support of the economy.

During the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) it expanded and developed at relatively high rates. In the years of this five-year period our economy succeeded in achieving a balanced trade. Our foreign trade enriched its experience, overcame many difficulties and obstacles, became more confident in its forces and in the possibilities of our economy to cover all imports through exports, to meet all the needs of the country and those of the extended socialist reproduction for internal accumulation without «aid» and credits from abroad. We carried trade with many states on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit, at conjunctural prices, thus going over to the methods of an active trade which utilizes all the possibilities created through the use of free currency. The slogan of the Party «Without export

there is no import» resulted in all the workers of the sector of foreign trade stepping up their efforts in this direction.

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In the end of the 7th Five-year Plan the export of goods is envisaged to be 58 to 60 per cent larger than in 1980, while the import will grow 56 to 58 per cent. The overwhelming part of our imports will be accounted for by machinery and some kinds of raw and primary materials for the expansion of production. With the further development of production, the part of machinery and equipment in our imports will rise while that of primary and other materials will fall.

Fighting for the implementation of the instructions of the Party and the tasks set by the 8th Congress, the number of markets in which we buy and sell has increased. Our country now trades with many states in different regions of the world, in Europe, Asia and Latin America. During the 7th Five-year Plan our foreign trade is struggling to keep the growth rates of our exports higher than those of our imports.

In the directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan it is said that the volume of goods turnover in foreign trade in 1985 will increase 57-59 per cent compared with 1980, giving priority to export over import so as to ensure that the export-import balance results in the increase of the valutory reserves of the country.

This high growth rate of our foreign trade comes about as a result

of the constant increase and improvement of our socialist industrial and agricultural production. It has its roots in the social ownership, in the self-denying work of our working people to overcome difficulties and obstacles, in the planned development of the economy, without crises, inflation and other negative phenomena which characterize the capitalist and revisionist economy.

In the export tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan fuels, electric power, chromium, ferrochrome, basic nickel carbonate, tobacco, fresh and canned vegetables and other industrial, agricultural and artisan goods occupy an important place. Meantime new articles are being or will be exported such as quartzite, bauxite, nickel-silicate, dolomite, olivinite, magnesite, alabaster, etc. Likewise, the structure of import goods will be improved further. Besides raw and primary materials, partial and complete projects will also be imported. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 8th Congress of the Party, «...during the 7th Five-year Plan, the instruction of the Party that machinery, certain raw materials and materials for the expansion of local production should make up the bulk, about 93 per cent, of our imports, will be realized to a higher degree and more fully. With the further development of production it will be possible to increase the proportion of machinery and equipment and decrease the proportion of import of raw materials and various other materials.»⁵ This development trend of our foreign trade speaks of the strength of our many-branched economy, of its accumulating possibilities and the sure perspectives of its development. Our economy today meets over 85 per cent

of the needs of the country for broad consumer goods and it is envisaged that in 1985 this figure will be even higher.

Our economy is constantly increasing the sources of financial means to meet the needs for import, especially, of machinery and equipment for the major projects that are being built during the 7th Five-year Plan and others which will be built in the coming years.

Our foreign trade keeps present the instruction of the Party «First to sell and then to buy, and not first to buy and then to sell». Along with our interest and goodwill in the development of trade in the markets we have relations with, we try to develop trade of mutual benefit also with countries and markets with which we have had no relations so far.

The PSR of Albania develops its economy relying on the economic laws of socialism and the concepts and practices of spontaneity and autarky are alien to it. By increasing the social product, relying on our forces and possibilities, at the same time we expand our trade relations and goods exchanges with the other countries, develop the activities of our foreign trade further and increase the goods turnover in our exports and imports.

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- 1 «Constitution of the PSR of Albania», Article 25, Tirana 1977, Eng. ed.
 - 2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 197-198, Eng. ed.
 - 3 Enver Hoxha, «The Titoites», Tirana 1982, p. 301-302, Eng. ed.
 - 4 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 415, Alb. ed.
 - 5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 49, Eng. ed.

INDUSTRY IN THE SERVICE OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK-RAISING

by **ROBERT LAPERI**

The harmonious and parallel development of industry and agriculture in our country is possible because in socialism the all-round relations of industry with agriculture, of the city with the countryside, are relations of cooperation and mutual aid and express the relations of close collaboration between the two friendly classes in power – the working class and the cooperativist peasantry

THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTOR FOR THE ALL-ROUND ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, ITS INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT, IN PARTICULAR. IN SOCIALIST ALBANIA THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ALL-ROUND ADVANCE OF AGRICULTURE GO SIDE BY SIDE AND IN CLOSE CONNECTION WITH EACH OTHER.

Forty years ago Albanian agriculture was in a lamentable state. During this period the Party has paid great attention to the harmonious development of industry and agriculture, just as all the other branches of the economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Our Party has worked out and implemented a Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy, taking account of the historical conditions and the

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concrete circumstances in which our people's revolution triumphed and the country embarked on the road of socialism. In the conditions of a very backward agrarian country, the Party had to solve two problems simultaneously: both the socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-round development of agriculture... «Achievement of these fundamental tasks required not any kind of development of agriculture, but precisely its socialist development on

the basis of modern, large-scale production closely linked with all the other branches and sectors of the economy.»¹ As a result of the policy followed by the Party in the development of agriculture, within about four decades of people's power agricultural production in our country has grown and is growing twice as rapidly as the population growth, 1.7 times per unit of arable land and 1.6 times per agricultural worker as against 1960.

Our agriculture has had the powerful support of industry in increasing production, especially, by means of increasing yields, which reach today the average yields of several developed countries. The 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) also envisages that

in socialism the all-round relations of industry with agriculture, of the city with the countryside, are relations of cooperation and mutual aid and express the relations of close collaboration between the two friendly classes in power — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Industry and agriculture are the two main branches of the national economy, in which industry plays the leading role and agriculture is the basic branch. «Strong reliance of the national economy both on industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development...»²

Industry has been and remains a decisive factor for the creation, strengthening and development of the material and technical base of agriculture. This purpose is served by the uninterrupted development and strengthening of the engineering industry, especially, the plants producing farming machines and equipment for raising the degree of mechanization in agricultural work and spare parts for the maintenance of farming machines; the development of the industry of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, as well as of various pharmaceutical preparates for the livestock; the electrification of all the villages of Albania and the utilization of electric power on an ever larger scale in agricultural and livestock production; the setting up in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives of industrial units to meet the needs of the peasantry and the whole country; the supplying of the countryside with various industrial goods, food-stuffs, construction materials; the linking of all the villages with the motor road and telephone network; the extension of the radio and television in the countryside; the bonification of a large area of land, etc.

The light and food-processing industry is processing an ever increasing amount of agricultural and livestock products, such as olives, tobacco, sunflower, cotton, sugar-beet, grapes, fruits, citrus-fruits, meat, milk, wool, maize, timber, etc. This has brought about the setting up of many industrial enterprises for the processing of these primary materials in different cities and villages of the country, including the remotest ones. The buying of indus-

trial and livestock products, both those planned and surpluses, for processing by various industrial enterprises increases the economic profitability of work in agriculture and animal husbandry. On these bases of cooperation and co-ordination no agricultural or livestock produce is wasted. So, agricultural and livestock products are consumed in the city and the countryside fresh or conserved, and part of them is exported to increase the national income.

The socialist state and the working class assist the development of agriculture proceeding from the slogan — «Agriculture a Question of the Entire People». Speaking about the assistance the Party has given agriculture and the measures it has taken for improving the economic and social condition of the countryside, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «From the Land Reform, to the collectivization of agriculture, from farming machines to the great projects of bonification and irrigation, from selected seeds and chemical fertilizers to large-scale financial help and credits, from the training of cadres to the raising of the educational and agrotechnical level of the peasantry and many other measures, such is the long chain of measures the Party has taken for the socialist transformation of the countryside.»³

In the feudal village of the past which was characterized by the savage exploitation of the peasantry and the extreme backwardness of farming implements, there could be no talk about the mechanization of work. In the first months after the liberation of the country (in 1944) work animals accounted for 99,3 per cent of the total energetic power. In that time our peasant knew only the animal drawn wooden plough and harrow, and all other farming work was done by hand. Albania had only 30 tractors in that time.

In the first years following Liberation, the Party attached great importance to the mechanization of agriculture as the main condition for the organization of large-scale agricultural production and raising the well-being of the peasantry. It is difficult to compare the present development rates of mechanization with those before Liberation. Such comparison can be made only if the different stages of the development of

industry should still more assist the intensification of agriculture.

On the course of their uninterrupted growth and development industrial production in 1985, as against 1980, will grow from 36 to 38 per cent, and total agricultural production from 30 to 32 per cent. Forty-nine per cent of investments will be made in industry, which will undergo vigorous development, and 29 per cent will be employed for the rapid development of agriculture. This development will enable our country to make further advance as a country with a developed industry and agriculture.

The harmonious and parallel development of industry and agriculture in our country is possible because

agriculture during the years of People's Power are compared with one another. So, for example, today compared with 1960 the volume of mechanized work has increased 7 times over. The number of tractors (reckoned in 15 HP) has increased 4 times compared with that period.

In 1980 the energetic power of agriculture was some hundred times that of 1938. Only during the five years 1971-1975 the number of tractors (reckoned in 15 HP) has increased 54 per cent. The same can be said about other farming machines such as bulldozers, header-threshers, graders, etc. About 93 per cent of the energy power in agriculture is motor power (in 1938 the motor power at the disposal of agriculture was negligible, in 1950 it accounted for 11 per cent, in 1970 for 84.7 per cent and in 1982 for 90.5 per cent of the total energy power). In 1983 all the main work processes in agriculture were mechanized, and it is many years since 100 per cent of threshing is mechanized.

Not only the volume of mechanized agricultural work, but also the number of its processes has grown from one year to the other. In 1981 farming machines performed about 130 work processes and in some crops almost the entire cycle of work was mechanized. In the future the process of mechanization will be extended to the planting of saplings, the harvesting of maize and fodder crops, etc.

In the 7th Five-year Plan the task is set for increasing agricultural production through the raising of yields, in the first place, by implementing the agrotechnical code in all its links. These objectives are being realized, in the first place, through the broad application of farming machinery in all the links of the agrotechnical code.

The broad application of mechanization calls for the constant increase of new kinds of machines produced by industry. Our engineering industry has already produced many new farming machines such as sowing machines which are also used for the spreading of chemical fertilizers, hoeing machines, fertilizer spreading machines, machines for the mechanization of work processes in fodder crops, etc; and it is working for the

construction of new types of machines. Likewise, work is being done for the further mechanization of maize harvesting and a whole series of processes such as the spreading of pesticides, the manipulation of production, the mechanization of cattle-feeding, etc.

The engineering industry, especially some plants specialized in the production of farming machines, equipment and spare parts, which are in Durrës, Fier, Shkodër, Gjirokastra, Korça and Tirana, are producing a number of new machines like rotating milling machines, sapling planting machines, special trailers for the distribution of forage and animal feed, 75 HP motors and tractors, irrigation equipment, etc., and are experimenting some other machines like header-threshers, etc.

The mechanical shops of the Machine and Tractor Stations (MTS) do a great deal of work for the small mechanization and the maintenance of various farming machines and equipment. Along with the production of a broad range of spare parts and the overhauling of tractors and other farming machines, they also produce machinery and implements for the agricultural cooperatives and agricultural enterprises which have resulted in the mechanization and facilitation of much agricultural work.

The expansion of mechanization is not considered as a technical and economic problem only, but also as a political, ideological and social problem, and all the necessary measures are taken for its development as a major factor for the intensification of agriculture and the advance of the socialist village. Mechanization promotes advanced concepts about an intensive agriculture, the rational utilization of objects and work means and the facilitation of the work of cooperativists. It plays a major role in the improvement of the conditions of living in the countryside, in narrowing the distinctions between city and country and strengthening the alliance between the peasantry and the working class.

Increased yields are closely connected with the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides. Compared with 1950, the use of chemical fer-

tilizers has grown about 7.2 times, and that of insecticides 150 times. The plants of Fier and Laç produce superphosphate, nitrate and urea and the chemical enterprise of Tirana produces diverse pesticides and insecticides.

The achievements made in agriculture and the annual growth of agricultural and livestock production, often in unfavourable weather conditions, are the result of the measures taken by the Party and State for bonification, irrigation and draining.

The State and the industry have paid particular attention to the supply of agriculture with heavy machinery, draining pipes of different kinds, cement and iron, various electric pumps, equipment for irrigation in the form of rain, etc. Many plants and enterprises are engaged in the production of those materials, such as the plant for the production of plastic pipes at Lushnja, the plants for the production of clay pipes at Tirana and Durrës, and the plant of farming machinery of Korça which produces electric pumps and equipment for irrigation in the form of rain, etc.

As a result of these measures, today 56.5 per cent of the arable land is irrigated, which has enabled us to reap good harvests also in years of drought, such as those of 1980-1983.

The electrification of all the villages of Albania, which was completed more than 13 years ago, gave fresh impulse to the development of our socialist countryside. The industry made a major contribution in this direction, producing all the necessary wire and cables, lamps, poles, transformers, turbines for hydro-power stations, interruptors, etc, as well as the working class which sent thousands of electricians and technicians to the assistance of the countryside.

The electrification of the village exercises a great influence on the raising of the cultural level, as well as on the economic development of the countryside enabling the utilization of machines on a larger scale in the countryside both for the everyday needs and the carrying out of many work processes such as siloeing of forage, shelling of maize and processing of many kinds of fruit.

At the 8th Congress of the Party it was stressed that «The fulfilment of the targets envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan for agriculture will be achieved, more than ever before, through intensification. More than 90 per cent of the increase in total agricultural production will result from higher crop yields and greater productivity of livestock, compared with 45-70 per cent in the past five-year plans. The land and all the relatively powerful and diversified material and technical base which has been created must be utilized with the greatest possible efficiency, with the aim of getting the maximum agricultural and livestock products with the least possible expenditure — this is the task set.»⁴

Along with the measures taken by agriculture like the establishment of more correct structures of crops and livestock a more correct distribution of crops and livestock, deepening of the specialization, and concentration of crops, graduation of the intensification of wheat, maize sunflower, cotton, beans, forage and other crops, a series of important measures have been taken by industry as well. So, in implementation of the tasks set by the 8th Congress it is doing a great deal of work for raising the degree of mechanization of work (in the zones of high intensification as well as in other zones), building and repairing machines and tools, increasing the production of fertilizers and other chemicals, in-

secticides and pesticides, producing materials needed to build irrigation projects, equipment for irrigation and draining, for the construction of many kinds of objects, for the processing of agricultural and livestock products, etc.

Likewise, in the sector of livestock raising, along with the measures that are being taken for the improvement of breeds, the setting up of sectors specialized in the production of milk, meat and eggs, the ensurement of the reproduction stocks, and the securing of the fodder base, industry is also doing good work for the building of machines and the setting up of plants for animal food, of lines of pelletization of diverse food-stuffs for complexes specialized in cattle, poultry and pig raising, for the processing of residues of sunflower and cotton, for the production of proteinic enzymes for animal food, for the production of some mineral substances and bi-calcic phosphate, etc.

The growth rates of agricultural and livestock production throughout the country, both in the plains and in the hilly and mountainous areas, are a direct result of the better application of advanced experience, of the introduction of scientific innovations into agriculture and industry as well as of the more effective utilization of the existing material and technical base.

The results achieved in increasing

yields and the modernization of agriculture in the recent years and in 1982 and 1983, in particular, with more bread grain, vegetables, milk, fruit, industrial crops being produced than in any other time (in 1983 there was an average of 31 quintals) are a reflection of the superiority of the socialist order, of the inexhaustible creative energies of the working class and cooperativist peasantry as well as of the correctness of the agrarian policy implemented by the PLA and our people's power.

The powerful assistance industry will give agriculture in this five-year plan too, and the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party will result in a further growth of agricultural production and, on this basis, the raising of the well-being of the peasantry and the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

- 1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 28, Eng. ed.
- 2 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 71-74, Alb. 1971 ed.
- 3 Enver Hoxha, «On the Economic, Social and Cultural Situation in the Countryside and the Measures for Its Further Improvement», p. 10, Alb. ed.
- 4 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 35, Eng. ed.

THE NEW ALBANIAN LITERATURE AND THE TRADITION

The centuries-old cultural patrimony has become part of our people's life, and from this the new begins to develop as a necessity with an irresistible leap forward

IN THESE MORE THAN FOUR DECADES OF EFFORTS FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, FOR SECURING INDEPENDENCE, SETTING UP A NEW SOCIAL ORDER, ALBANIA HAS EXPERIENCED A GREAT AND ALL-SIDED REVIVAL. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS ORDER IS THE GUARANTEE FOR THE PROGRESS AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY. THIS IS SOMETHING OF ABSOLUTE VALUE.

A NEW CULTURE, SOCIALIST IN CONTENT AND NATIONAL IN FORM, WAS CREATED IN ALBANIA IN THIS PERIOD. TO ACHIEVE THIS SOME PRINCIPLES HAD TO BE ESTABLISHED. THE FIRST REQUISITE, CERTAINLY MOST ESSENTIAL FOR THIS CULTURE, THAT IS, FOR THE NEW LITERATURE AND ART, IS THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE THE SCIENTIFIC MATERIALIST THINKING AS THEIR BASE, AND THAT THEY ARISE FROM THE REALITIES OF THE ALBANIAN LIFE, BECOMING, AT THE SAME TIME, A MEANS FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION OF THE MASSES, A MORE AND MORE EFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR THE ALL-ROUND SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

The Albanians have a centuries-old literature — popular and cultivated — with its characteristics formed in the course of history. It is an inseparable part of the life of yesterday and today. It is only natural that we should build our new literature relying on everything progressive in the previous Albanian literature. Reliance on it is vital. There is no doubt that many things of the past grow outdated, but they must be overcome so as not to become shackles to the present and the future.

There is a progressive world literature of today and of the past, which develops not in a «vase clos». To be remiss of profiting from the immense treasury of the other peoples' literature means to deprive your people of everything that the progressive world has produced. The great problem lies in this: «to im-

Prof. DHIMITËR S. SHUTERIQI —
Writer

port» that which you need and assimilate it for the good of your own literature. The present-day Albanian literature has furnished a considerable effort to do this and we might say that it has attained its objective.

The Albanian literature is not among the oldest ones of Europe, but not among the newest either. The first books in Albanian were known since the 16th century. But we know also that Albanian was written as early as the beginning of the 14th century. We might say that it was written even before that date. However, because of the ravages wrought, especially, during the time of the Albanian resistance against the Ottoman incursions in the 15th century, all that remains of the Albanian literature of the period before the 16th century is only some occasional fragment. Such damage is almost without precedent in the history of our continent.

ATURE ION

by **DHIMITËR S. SHUTERIQI**

The Frenchman Guillieme Adame, who speaks about the existence of books written in Albanian with a Latin alphabet, tells us also about the savagery of the Nemadian invasions in the regions of Northern Albania, about the devastations they brought about, and about how the Albanians readily rose against the invaders. I highlight on this in order to point out two truths which have to do with the existence of our people and their literature. If by vocation we understand a long and vital experience, the Albanians are «by vocation» a people with a spirit of resistance. And if we want to make the basic characterization of their literature, we must say that it is a traditionally patriotic literature. And add democratic.

There are cases in history in which various peoples have changed their language, hence their culture, too. The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians and an autochthonous stock in the western regions of the Balkans, developed both in their ethnic character and in their language, preserving their ancient identity. The Albanian popular literature, epic and lyrical, our folklore in general, preserve elements from the many centuries through which it developed, maintaining its national identity. I must note in passing that there exists an ill-famed «science» which tries to make nothing of the epic genius of a people, «par excellence» valorous, as our people, by negating their right to the «chanson

de geste», a thing which, according to it, they have had to borrow from the epic of their neighbours. The Albanian epic is mentioned at least from the 15th century and specimens of it date back to the 14th century. Many big and powerful invaders have ruled in Albania for centuries, but the autochthonous culture survived and never ceased to develop, despite the hecatombs it experienced.

Nothing of the written literature of the 14th-15th centuries, which were the centuries of the consolidation of the Albanian feudal states and later of the unexampled resistance led by Skanderbeg, has remained. But it rose again, we might say, from its ashes, in the time of Humanism, in the 16th-17th centuries, as an expression of the resistance against the occupiers and the struggle for the liberation of the country.

Albanian Humanism is the contemporary of the Italian counterpart of the 15th-16th centuries. Our historiography of that time, which focusses mainly on the wars against the huge armies of Sultan Murad II and his son, Mehmet II, was mainly written in Latin, a language in which our writers could address themselves both to the Albanian men of letters and to the foreigners, the latter translated or adapted them almost in all the languages of the continent. There are reports that speak about the existence of chronicles written in the mother tongue, but they were not printed and were lost. Bilingual manuals, typical of the period of Hu-

manism, dictionaries and grammars were also written. At a time when the need arose to cope with the danger of assimilation, a real threat stemming from the influence of Islamism, we see the development of Albanian prose and poetry in the service of the Church rituals.

Here we must remember with respect the outstanding Romanist, Mario Rocc, who did a great deal in finding old Albanian texts, and Emille Legend, who was also an Albanian student and has left an «Albanian Bibliography» of great authority even today, though not quite extensive.

As can be seen, it was by vocation and from more than one aspect a patriotic literature of resistance. This literature and our culture, in general, preserved its links with the great trends of European thinking, never losing contact with it despite the unfavourable conditions of the military Oriental occupation. The Ottoman occupation is responsible for holding Albania back for almost 500 years from developing in an all-round manner along with Europe in the centuries that followed the mediaeval times. Notwithstanding this, our culture never lost sight of its links with the culture of Europe. Let us give some examples.

The Albanian thinkers of the 18th century began their activity at the same time as and under the influence of the Encyclopaedists; they are disciples of rationalism and Cartesianism. The Albanian Romanticism was the contemporary of the great

European school of romanticism. The first outstanding Albanian book of the time, «Milosao» by Jeronim De Rada, was published in 1836, almost on the morrow of the «Battle of Hernalia». Influences from beyond the Channel (Byron) were felt. Our romanticism was essentially the herald of the Albanian national movement for liberation from Sultans' Turkey, relied extensively and powerfully on the popular literature of the country, laid the foundations of the new literary Albanian language. It did not have to fight against any sort of classicism, but had to and did fight sternly both against the literature of the occupier, which was a means of enslavement and a factor of backwardness, and against the Ottomanizing influences which had made themselves felt in part of our literature of the 18th century. Worth mentioning among a school of writers was our national poet, Naim Frashëri (1846-1900).

Our present literature is the offspring of the Albanian romanticism, which flourished in the last century, the offspring of the Albanian realism which emerged in the new century. Our romanticism had a general patriotic content and direction. As for realism, it contributed to the development of literature in content, especially on the basis of whatever there was in the previous literature which treated social themes. The change towards realism took place in the first decade of this century, when the democratic features that were characteristic of romanticism appear more persistently, at a time when the large-scale popular uprisings led to the creation of the Albanian national state in 1912. Realistic tendencies were not absent in our literature of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, before romanticism, either.

In the beginning of the 20th century the Albanians were outspoken and very active against monarchy and openly aspired towards the republic, taking the most developed democratic states of the capitalist West as their example. There was a nationwide anti-feudal movement, the aspirations of which emerged ever more frequently in the Albanian poetry, now with a rich tradition, and in the Albanian prose and theatre which emerged from romanticism but remained at that because romanticism could not carry them further forward. This realism would try to do, but did little because it had no time to do it thoroughly.

After 1912, difficult moments came for Albania with the many invaders from the belligerent powers during World War I — we had to drive the Italian imperialists out into the sea in 1920, with the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1924, with the coming to power of the monarchic regime of a despot king and, lastly, with the invasion of Albania by Italian fascist armies in 1939. These were great lessons of contemporary history. Formed in 1941, the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) took in hand the direction of the popular resistance, organized and led the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and within three years led it to victory. Albania was liberated with its own forces. The feudal and bourgeois classes, which had long ago betrayed the people, made common cause with the invaders and suffered the same fate as the fascists. The people in power under the leadership of the communists turned to the building of the regime of a new democracy.

The Albanian literature of today has its roots in our progressive culture of the past, in its patriotic and democratic part, and is closely linked

with our romanticism and realism. The overthrown classes had, without doubt, a whole literature of their own, which was placed in the service of the invaders. So it was necessary to combat it in order to raise our new literature. And the fight was begun, in the time when the initial steps were made for the organization of the war for national liberation, by poets such as Memo Meto, Shevqet Musaraj and others. Socialist realism began to develop from this stage.

The centuries-old cultural patrimony has become part of our people's life and from this the new begins to develop as a necessity with an irresistible leap forward.

If we examine the themes our literature treats today we will see that it takes its material mainly from the present Albanian reality which gives it its contents and makes the realism of today quite distinct from the realism of yesterday. The realism of yesterday, as a rule, is a negation of the present, often failing to affirm the future, seeing no possibility for revolutionary changes in society. Our realism affirms the possibility of such changes, which have taken place in fact in Albania. This gives it a romantic quality.

The present-day Albanian literature also treats themes of the past. I shall mention the novel of Ismail Kadare, «The Castle», a novel about the war of the Albanian people against the Ottoman invaders in the 15th century. It is an expression of the inborn historical optimism: the Albanians will never be defeated, the enemies will always be defeated.

From the past we inherited much poetry, little prose and still less plays, in quantity and quality. Romanticism in our country was not in a position to develop in all genres and, still less, to reach an equal stage of development of all of them. It did not

succeed in creating the desired novel, although some ambitious attempt was made. The Albanian life with its social problems was marginally reflected in our past literature, and this with inadequate realism. Our past prose and theatre had rather a sentimental character, due to the influence of the romantic and post-romantic prose and theatre of other countries.

Both when it treats actual problems and when it treats problems of the past, our literature focusses on the reflection of social clashes, through which the Albanian reality has developed. So, the prose and theatre found their road of rapid development, whereas poetry enriched its realistic fund more and more experiencing a period of all-sided revival. In this manner all genres developed in a relatively equal way. The Albanian novel and short story have acquired new features; they have risen to the rank of the most successful genres of the Albanian literature with such writers as Jakov Xoxe, Sabri Godo, Dhimitër Xhuvani, Teodor Laço, Nasi Lera, Koço Kosta, and others of different generations.

The literary magazine «Les Lettres Albanaises» publishes much of the present and past prose and poetry. Our publishing houses publish in English, Italian, Spanish and other languages.

This development of prose and theatre — today in Albania we have about 30 novels each year and there is no town without its professional theatre — is testimony of the vitality of our creative realist method. The same thing

is testified to by the development of arts, such as opera and symphonic music, choreography of the classical type, which did not exist before Liberation, the development of film-making, which we did not have before, and so on. And all this is achieved with efforts to avoid imitations and stereotypes. We have learned from Mayakovski and Gorky, we learn from the progressive literature and arts of the world, but not from the innumerable schools which have made art a mere play or a field for experimentations of extravagant ideas in the name of the «new», which does not seem to be so to us.

We have had to learn continuously from the prose and drama of the world, rather more from the realistic ones which have been closer to our mentality in time and to the requirements of the present-day Albanian literature. And it is no wonder that in Albania, where only a few decades ago a very small number of people could read Dante, Byron, Eluard and others in the original, today our bookstores and libraries are full of Albanian translations from the progressive literature of the world. They occupy an extensive place in our school programs, the repertoire of our theatres. In them our literature finds elements of experience which are worth assimilating.

From what was said above the conclusion can be drawn that the present-day Albanian literature is a literature with a «commitment», to use a term of which I do not completely approve for its lack of adequacy, but

which is used so often. The fact is that the Albanian literature, both popular and cultivated, has been so at all times. And that is the case with our arts and culture, too. The same can be said about the work of our great iconographer of the 16th century, Onufri, or the author of the first known Albanian book, «Missal», in 1555. At that time the struggle against the invaders was carried on the religious plane, too, not to mention other fields.

With its total commitment in the struggle for the liberation of the country from the Ottoman invaders, our literature became a strong support for the creation of the Albanian national state. And again starting from the positions of the great liberation war, it committed itself to the work for the good of the society, a society without antagonistic classes, which we have built. Let us mention one example. If our writers will have to reflect the truth about present-day Albania, or this is to be done in a poem or a film, they must not overlook, and they have not overlooked, a theme of unusual dramatic impact such as is, for example, the moment when a small people drives out of its territory the military base of a superpower. This can be done by relying completely on one's own forces and with confidence in them. In literature, in art, in culture this is done by relying powerfully on one's traditions, which have become the very sap of life of the nation, on the old traditions and in those which are created day by day and which the time preserves and carries ahead.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALBANIA POETRY *by ISMAIL KADARE*

ALBANIA IS A COUNTRY OF ANCIENT POETRY. THE ANCIENT ALBANIANS, NEIGHBOURS OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS, EXCHANGED WITH THEM TOGETHER WITH AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS, ALSO POETICAL SUBJECTS AND IMAGES. THIS IS PROVED BEST BY THE OLD ALBANIAN ORAL POETRY IN WHICH THERE ARE HOMERIC AND AESCHYLIAN UNDERTONES. ANALYSING THE OLD ALBANIAN ORAL POETRY, WELL-KNOWN SCIENTISTS AND STUDENTS HAVE FOUND THERE, AMONG OTHERS, FIGURES REMINISCENT OF ULISSSES, CIRCE, POLYPHEMOS, ORESTES, CLYTEMNOSTRA AND OTHERS. SUCH FINDS ARE IN THE LOGIC OF THINGS. IF «THE ORESTEIA» OF AESCHYLUS WAS READ TO AN ILLITERATE ALBANIAN LIVING IN SOME REMOTE PART OF THE NORTHERN ALPS IN THE 17TH, 18TH OR EVEN LATER CENTURIES, THE SUBJECT AND THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE GREEK TRAGEDY WOULD HAVE SEEM BUT TOO FAMILIAR TO HIM BECAUSE THE QUESTION THERE WAS ABOUT A MURDER WHICH WOULD HAVE REMINDED HIM OF ONE OF THE MANY CASES TRIED IN COURTS OF CUSTOMARY LAW WHICH DECIDED WHETHER A MURDER HAD INFRINGED THE CODE OF BLOOD FEUDS OR NOT.

One of the more ancient monuments of the oral poetry of the Albanians is the «Epic of the Kreshniks». It is a cycle of poems created and elaborated through the centuries. Apart from traces of old Illyrian-Greek poetry and mythology, in this Epic there are many reminiscences of the European Mediaeval Epic, the Chanson de Roland, the Nibelungenlied, the Songs of Cid or the Scandinavian Sagas. In an action that lasts hundreds if not thousands of years (it is normal for the heroes of this Epic to live, sleep or, better say, hibernate for tens or hundreds of years to wake up and resume the action afterwards), this cycle of poems

ISMAIL KADARE - Writer

describes the protracted wars waged between the Albanians and the Slavs who had migrated into the Balkans in the 7th - 8th centuries AD. Although it sings about a centuries-long enmity over boundary problems, this Epic has no trace of chauvinism. It tells about weddings between Albanians and Serbs, weddings which, although they do not take place (and this shows the real state of things), show the anonymous poet's aspiration to friendship and his message of peace.

The Epic of the Kreshniks is part of the Albanian legendary epic. There are also other balads of rare beauty on mythological and legendary subjects like that of the dead brother which has

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inspired Buerger to write the Balad of Lenore, or that of the walled-in wife which Jacob Grimm considered to be among the finest poetry of all times.

Apart from the legendary epic, the Albanians have also their heroic-historical epic. Unlike the former, which is full of supernatural beings and events, the latter has an amazing precision and concreteness. It is like a nugget archive of the history of the nation replete with abundant information, innumerable dates, names and events.

In general, Albanian oral poetry, whether epic or lyrical (the latter also occupies an important place in our literary legacy) have an encyclopaedic character. As the living memory of the nation over the centuries, poetry stood for the cultural and scientific institutions the Albanian people did not have. It was the university and daily press, the academy, diplomacy and jurisprudence of the Albanian life.

The principal and more important messages of the nation, its conception of life and, besides, its moral, juridical, religious, political and other concepts have been handed over from generation to generation through this poetry. As such its role in the formation of cultivated poetry, and not only poetry, but the whole Albanian literature, has been exceptionally great.

The history of the relationship between popular poetry and cultivated poetry in Albania is very interesting. For long periods they have existed parallel to each other, without excluding each other and in harmony.

The oppressive Turkish rule which began in the 15th century brought about a tragic interruption of the normal development of Albania and turned its history backwards. The long night of the five-centuries long Turkish occupation was a heavy trauma for the Albanian civilization. Everything was ruined, destroyed, undone. Just as the entire nation, the Albanian culture suffered the consequences of this catastrophe, too. It began to recover with difficulty, struggling against persecutions and cunning obstacles. Many of the poets were also martyrs for the national cause. Prometheism, the spirit of self-sacrifice, pervades Albanian poetry throughout. The parable of the poet who had to feed his poetry on his blood were a reality in Albania.

The first known poem in Albanian is that of the monk Lukë Matrënga in the 16th century and it is a dirge.

A pleiad of other poets emerged after Matrënga. Pjetër Budi and Pjetër Bogdani are the more outstanding among. Part of their poetry is of religious inspiration, nevertheless it does not lack the spirit of resistance to the

Turkish occupation, the more so as the religion of the occupier was religion alien to the Albanian.

A common characteristic of the Albanian poets of the Late Middle Ages, as well as of the poets that came after them, in the 18th and 19th centuries, was that they were generally people of great learning and broad culture. Knowing well many languages other than their own, especially, thinking and culture, it was for them normal and in the interest of the Nation to write both in Albanian and in another language, and to publish their books in Venice or Rome, in Paris or Constantinople, in Athens, Bucharest or London.

After the poets of the Late Middle Ages who carried the development of the Albanian poetry to a new stage, there came the great poets of the National Renaissance — Naim Frashëri, Jeronim de Rada, Zef Serembe, Ndre Mjeda, Anton Zako Çajupi, Gavril Dara and others. They were the representatives of a literary century of the more brilliant of the Albanian literature.

In 1836 «Milosao's Songs», the first novel in verse of the Albanian literature, was published by Jeronim de Rada. It was soon translated in several languages and aroused the admiration of the Rada's contemporaries, Hugo and Mistral among them upon

reading it, to de Rada: «Poetry will return to its birth place, to your shores.»

The poetry of Naim Frashëri, the greatest poet of the nation, and the other poets of the Albanian Renaissance was a great school for the nation and played an extremely important role in the national movement for liberation from the Turkish rule.

Those poets not only created fine works, but also made titanic efforts to make Albanian literature free from the influences and mould of the Islamic culture which was stifling it. Hence, their works, against the Mediaeval darkness of the backward Ottoman world, are full of light, life and freshness. Naim Frashëri's poems in the collection «The Summer Flowers» and De Rada's «Milosao's Songs» seem like bathed in a sea of light.

After Independence in 1912, our poetry went through a new stage of development, represented by such well-known poets as Fan Noli, Lasgush Poradeci, and Migjeni. Along with its traditional epic motifs, it enriched itself with lyrical motifs (Lasgush Poradeci), political-philosophical motifs (Fan Noli) and motifs of social protest in the restless poetical work of Migjeni, (the harbinger of the literature of the new Albania).

The poets of this period carried the emancipation of the Albanian poetry further, divested it of all romantic trappings and enriched it with the actual subjects of modern social conflicts.

The struggle for the liberation of the country from the nazi-fascist occupiers, as the greatest liberation action ever carried out by our people, brought in its wake a new revival of the Albanian poetry. The new world that was being born on the ruins of the old called for a new poetic art, an art that would inherit the best qualities of the Albanian poetical treasury while enriching itself with the ideas of modern times.

For those in Albania who loved poetry it was very significant to hear that one of the partisan battalions that fought against the German nazis bore Naim Frashëri's name. Symbolically, this fact more than any literary manifestation expressed the stand of the epoch that was dawning towards the poetical art of the past.

The first poets of the new times emerged from among the fighters for national and social liberation, the partisans. Their poetical creations were simple poems and some of them were put to music and sung during the war and in the first years following Liberation. Some of the poets who wrote these first expressions of socialist realism in Albanian literature, like Memo Meto, were killed in the war with the nazis, others continued to fight and write like Shevqet Musaraj, Andrea Varfi, Fatmir Gjata, Kol Jakova. Many «partisan songs» lost their authorship and became part of the great popular treasury repeating the ancient process which often merged cultivated literature with anonymous popular literature.

During the National Liberation War more complete works were created as well. Such is «The Epic of the National Front», a long satirical poem by Shevqet Musaraj, one of the veterans of Albanian socialist realism. The poem, which is the anti-epic of the Albanian collaborationists, became known as soon as it was published, in 1943. It was read in the partisan battalions and in the liberated zones of the country and even put on stage by the partisans on many occasions. After the liberation of the country, with the creation of the Albanian Writers and Artists' League, the first organization in the history of the Albanian culture to include all the creators of the pen, the development of poetry, along with other genres, assumed fresh vigour. To the partisan poets tens of other poets were added. In their poems is felt the pulse of the time, the joy and elation of the first years following the liberation of the

country, years full of work, of worries and poverty inherited from the past, but also of light and hope created by the emergence of new horizons.

Enthusiasm, sincerity, a broad democratic and popular spirit were the characteristics of the Albanian poetry of the first years after Liberation. Although young and without much experience, still it reproduced the spirit of the time, the social revolution that was sweeping away the leftovers of the feudal and bourgeois regime in Albania. On the other hand, the memories of the National Liberation War were still too vivid and as a consequence part of the poetical production could not fail to be inspired by it.

With the new poets, the offspring of the epoch, joined forces also other poets who had published their first works before Liberation like Nonda Bulka, Dhimitër Shuteriqi, Muzafer Xhaxhiu, and others. The evolution of these poets, who had formerly adhered to different literary trends, towards socialist realism is an interesting phenomenon which has often been taken up for study by our literary critique.

One of the poetical works written in this period is the poem «Prishtina» by L Lazar Siliqi, a militant poet participant in the resistance against fascism, ex-internee of the nazi concentration camp of Prishtina in Kosova. His poem, written and published in 1946, along with the macabre tragedy of the extermination camp, expresses the heroic spirit and the beauty of human resistance to the nazi beast.

During the Fifties new poetical talents emerged in the different spheres of life. The new Albanian poetry drew on the purest sources of the Albanian literary tradition as well as on the great treasury of world progressive poetry, especially the work of such poets as Mayakovski and Brecht.

In the process of its development it was natural that, along positive phenomena, which were predominant, there were also shortcomings and weaknesses among which a certain rheto-

rism and turgidity were more apparent. However, it is to the credit of Albanian literary thinking that it detected these shortcomings and weaknesses on time, pointed them out and combatted them.

The Sixties were difficult years for Albania. The conflict with the Soviet Union, our close ex-ally now transformed into an aggressive superpower, as well as with its satellites was reflected in our culture, too. The Khrushchevites predicted the degeneration of the Albanian literature after it freed itself from the influence of Soviet literature. According to them, the Albanian literature would be transformed into a decadent literature of the Western type or would eventually turn to nothing.

Our literature and poetry, as part of its vanguard, gave the lie to the predictions of the Khrushchevites. They neither were transformed into a branch of the bourgeois decadent literature, nor turned to nothing. On the contrary, continuing the finest tradition of world revolutionary literature, including Soviet literature, the Albanian poetry achieved new success and further development waging a struggle on two fronts — both against bourgeois decadentism and revisionism. The number of poets grew, the horizon of their interests expanded and, along with it, the artistic level of their productions rose to new heights. New lyrical and philosophical motifs were added to the favourite national subjects.

Precisely in the Sixties the Albanian poetry went through a period of regeneration through successful attempts

at going from the stage of development it had already reached over to a new, higher, stage. Innovations in poetry and prose became the subject of constructive debate which assisted the development of literature as a whole. To this period belong the collections of poems by Dritëro Agolli, Fatos Arapi and other poets who enlivened the new Albanian poetry further.

In the heat of debate there were, of course, misunderstandings and exaggerations over the relationship between tradition and innovation, but all this was temporary and was soon overcome.

The Sixties saw the infusion of new life into the Albanian poetry, its enrichment with new motifs and forms of expression, especially in the field of poetical figures. Poems such as «Devoll, Devoll!» and «The Fathers of the Nation» by Dritëro Agolli, «Bloody Alarms» by Fatos Arapi as well as the new productions of Llazar Siliqi, Dhimitër Shuteriqi, Agim Gjakova and others created a favourable poetical climate which contributed to the deepening of the links of poetry with real life and the explosion of a great number of new talents.

The Seventies were the years of the emergence of a great number of young poets who brought fresh air into the world of Albanian poetry. Poets such as Agim Gjakova, Xhevahir Spahiu, Spiro Dede, Ndoc Gjetja, Ndoc Papeka, Adem Istrefi, Bardhyl Londo, Natasha Lako and others enriched the treasury of the new Albanian poetry with fresh motifs from the new socialist life in Albania.

Along with them, poets of older generations, among whom Lasgush Poradeci who wrote his first poems at the outset of this century and writes today about the new Albania, continued to produce fine works. To this period belongs «Mother Albania» by Dritëro Agolli which our critique has rightly ranked among the major works of the Albanian literature. Other poetical works such as «The Message» by Llazar Siliqi and «Poetical Paths» by Fatos Arapi also belong to this period.

Poetry, an art dear to and valued by the Albanian people, develops successfully today. Its road of development knows no crises, because it is closely linked with life and finds a wide response among the broad mass of readers. In its strong links with its readers lies one of its keys to success. The Albanian reader, with his constant demands of a poetry of a high quality represents an important factor in the further development of the Albanian poetry. The ancient Albanian rhapsods sung their epic songs to a broad public and the process of balad singing itself was done according to a beautiful ceremonial. This public played a decisive role in the life of oral poetry, it called for it, kept it alive, approved or disapproved it. Fortunately, for the songs of present-day life, too, the broad public of the Albanian poetry continues to be just as active and plays its positive role in all the process of creation of the modern Albanian poetry of socialist realism. So, nourished with the art of this poetry, in return the public nourishes it with life.

THE SLANDERS AND ATTACKS OF NEITHER FRIGHT THE ALBANIAN P

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The current attacks and combined slanders of the Great-Serb chauvinists, Vorioepiriot reaction and the Pope of Rome, under the stage management of the American imperialists, are being made because they do not like the existence and development of socialist Albania which is successfully building socialism relying on its own forces.

ENEMIES EN NOR DISTURB EOPLE

IN RECENT TIMES, THE ANTI-ALBANIAN REACTIONARIES IN CERTAIN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES HAVE UNDERTAKEN A WIDE-RANGING CAMPAIGN OF ATTACKS AND SLANDERS AGAINST SOCIALIST ALBANIA. THIS TIME THE VORIOEPIRIOT COUNCIL, THE SERBIAN CHAUVINISTS AND THE POPE OF ROME, IN A JOINT CHORUS, ARE BLOWING THEIR BUGLES ABOUT «HUMAN RIGHTS» AND RELIGION, IN ALBANIA, ALLEGING THAT THE FORMER ARE NOT RESPECTED AND THE PRACTICE OF THE LATTER IS PROHIBITED, AND ABOUT PEACE IN THE BALKANS WHICH OUR COUNTRY IS ALLEGEDLY THREATENING, AND SO FORTH.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THIS HOSTILE CAMPAIGN IS BEING CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO A CAREFULLY PREPARED SCENARIO, UNDER A PRODUCER WHO HAS HAND-PICKED THE ACTORS. QUITE CLEARLY IT IS WASHINGTON, THROUGH THE CIA AND ITS OTHER ORGANS SPECIALIZING IN STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM-LOVING COUNTRIES, WHICH IS PULLING THE STRINGS TO SET THIS ANTI-ALBANIAN TRIO IN MOTION.

The current attacks and combined slanders of the Great-Serb chauvinists, Vorioepiriot reaction and the Pope of Rome, under the stage management of the American imperialists, are being made because they do not like the existence and development of socialist Albania, which is successfully building socialism relying on its own forces. They are being made because these reactionaries do not like the independent and revolutionary policy of the PSR of Albania, which denounces American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and fascism and which defends the interests of its own people

and the interests of the other peoples of the world.

Those who are not interested in the principled and consistent policy of good neighbourly relations which our country pursues and the constructive stand of Albania as a factor for genuine peace and stability in the Balkans are the organizers of this chorus of anti-Albanian reaction.

The Albanian people resolutely condemn this hostile campaign and denounce it before the public of the whole world as a dangerous conspiracy, not just aimed against our country, but intended to arouse the spirit of tension, hostility and confrontation amongst the peoples of the Balkans, to make our peninsula a powder keg once again and a field open for the intervention of imperialist powers.

Greek reaction, which has become very rowdy and provocative, is extremely active in venting its spleen against our country at present.

Openly challenging the Greek people and contrary to their real desires, contrary to the good results that have been achieved in the development of relations between our two countries, Greek reaction is trying to revive a non-existent issue, the bankruptcy of which has long been proved, the so-called Vorio Epirus question. In its attempts to fan up an anti-Albanian spirit in the country, the right-wing Greek press has placed whole pages at the disposal of notorious ultrachauvinists, professional provocators, and all the scum of Greek society. The Greek chauvinist reactionaries have even staged provocative demonstrations outside our embassy in Athens and have hindered the normal conduct of its work through their acts of hooliganism.

As has been widely publicized by the Greek press, the anti-Albanian demonstrations in Athens and the provocations against our embassy began precisely after the notorious priest, Sebastianos, and two Albanian fugitives returned from the United States of America, where they had held meetings and talks with various American functionaries who specialize in Balkan affairs and had secured aid and support for their dirty anti-Albanian activity. The fact is that im-

mediately following the statement of the chairman of a subcommittee of the American Senate that «in close collaboration with the Reagan government the necessary actions will be undertaken» in defence of human rights and religion in Albania, the whole of anti-Albanian reaction was set in motion.

According to the instructions it has received, Greek reaction has concentrated its campaign against our country on the Greek minority, which is allegedly oppressed and persecuted.

But the Greek minority in Albania has no need of protection, either from Athens or from Washington. The minority people have decided their own fate in complete freedom and sovereignty, and this they did through the people's revolution, in which, together with their Albanian brothers, they fought for the elimination of capitalist exploitation and national oppression. The rights which they won in this revolution are guaranteed to them under the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and by the new socialist life which they are building with their own hands.

The members of the minority people have neither more nor less rights than the Albanians. They have the same rights and duties towards the country and the society, enjoy the same fruits of socialism and struggle with the same confidence and devotion to ensure their future.

The victories which the minority people have achieved, the conditions which socialism has created for them, are known to and acknowledged by the whole world. The zones where the minority people live are open and all sorts of foreign visitors to our country have gone there and talked with them. Most of these visitors have been Greeks, who have been able to see whatever they wanted and to talk to whomsoever they wished. With the rare exception of someone who has come with predetermined evil intentions, all these visitors have pointed out the great progress of the mi-

nority people, have testified to the justice with which problems have been solved and have proved with concrete facts from the daily life of the minority people how baseless, biased, and provocative is that propaganda which the Greek reactionaries spread about the so-called Vorio Epirus. Ministers of various Greek governments, diplomats and top state functionaries, writers and publicists, ordinary tourists and visitors have written in the Greek press and spoken at public meetings in this spirit.

In a statement made in the Greek parliament on March 1, 1982, after the visit he made to Albania and the zones where the Greek minority people live, the minister Akritidhis said, «Today Albania protects the interests of the minority through its Constitution and gives them no less rights than those which the Albanian people enjoy. The newspaper of the Greek minority is published in the Greek language and 4-year and 8-year Greek schools function, as well as a school for training teachers for the primary schools».

Therefore, the words of the Greek prime minister, Papandreou, when he said in Janina, «the Greeks who live in Albania are in a difficult situation and the Greek government will fight for their personal rights», are as astonishing as they are out of place. There may be various reasons which have impelled Mr. Papandreou to come out in public with such a statement, which constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state, but in any case they are entirely without any foundation.

Moreover, the steadily escalating anti-Albanian campaign of Greek reaction is in flagrant contradiction with the political declarations of the Greek government that its inclinations and desires are for the establishment of friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, the achievement of all-round collaboration with the Balkan countries and the taking of any measure that will contribute to the

strengthening of peace and security on our peninsula.

Meanwhile, to the provocative fascist statements of Micotaqis, the spokesman for the «New Democracy», who is demanding changes in the status of the borders and raising the question of the partitioning of the south of Albania, the Albanian people reply: «Hands off Albania!» Its borders are inviolable, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said. There is not a square inch of foreign territory within them.

In recent days the Pope of Rome has taken part in the campaign against our country. Apparently Pope Woityla has been charged with a special mission to blacken Albania and denigrate the Albanian people and it must be said that he performs his mission with very great zeal. Twice within three years, a thing unusual in the thousand year history of the popes of Rome, he has come out on the shores of Puglia, across the water from us, to curse «the irreligious Albanians».

Whether by his own desire, or on the orders of others, the fact is that his speech on the steps of the basilica of St. Nicholas in Bari constitutes the second voice in the anti-Albanian liturgy, intoned by the reactionary bishops in the squares and churches of Athens. It is also a fact that, just as the Greek reactionaries aim through their activities to hinder and prevent the further normalization of good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania, Pope Woityla, too, is concerned about that predisposition and the desire of the Italian people and especially the people of Puglia and the other zones of the south, to create and preserve a friendly atmosphere between the two countries, a thing which has been welcomed in Albania.

As to the Pope's «concern» about the state of religion in Albania, it must be said that in the new Albania nobody has ever been persecuted for his religious sentiments. Our people's state power has considered

the question of religious belief as an individual matter for the conscience of each person. Our people, by their own free will, without any imposition, themselves decided their stand towards religion and the religious institutions. Therefore nobody has the right to ask, or even less compell, our people to believe in god or practice religious rites. For our part, we do not demand that others should not believe in god and follow our example. We Albanians do not base our respect and consideration for other peoples on whether or not they believe, but on their freedom-loving, democratic and progressive values. Our atheism has not and does not hinder us in having good relations both with believers and with non-believers.

Finally we want to say that there are atheists not only in Albania, but also in France, Sweden and all other countries. However, we have not seen Pope Wojtyla concerned about them as he is about the Albanians. It seems his inspiration comes not from god, but from anti-communism. For him, believe in the devil if you like, provided you don't accept socialism. That is why the Pope does not find it difficult to borrow the ideas and words of Mussolini. In his speech in Bari the Pope said: «My thoughts go to the brothers and sisters in Albania... I want to assure them that they occupy a special place in my heart.» The Duce also declared: «Albania is in my heart». But Albania is not Poland, and the Albanians have put the present Pope in his place, just as they did in the time of the Duce with other Popes who blessed fascism and collaborated with it to attack the peoples and rob them of their freedom.

In this article it is hardly worth while to dwell on a number of anti-Albanian statements by the top Yugoslav leaders. We have replied to their attacks and slanders and have made world opinion clear about the ulterior motives and chauvinist aims of Belgrade towards our country.

In the present anti-Albanian cam-

paign, however, they are playing a primary role, in unison with Greek reaction and the Vatican. The chauvinist hatred which they have for Albania and all Albanians leads the chiefs of Belgrade to collaborate and conspire with anyone and hatch up all sorts of intrigues against our country. The Greek newspaper «Eleftherotipia» of February 5, 1984, stigmatizes this devilry very correctly when it says «unconsciously we have become collaborators in the very dubious game of the Yugoslavs towards Albania, in which they have repeatedly displayed tendencies for the partitioning of that country.»

The very long article in the main Yugoslav newspaper «Borba» on the 25th and 26th of February is part of the intrigues of the Yugoslav leaders. In this article the attempts of Belgrade to disrupt the good friendly relations which exist between Albania and Italy are clearly evident. It emerges plainly from this article that the real Yugoslav policy is that of inciting hostility between neighbouring countries, regardless of the demagoguery of the Yugoslav leaders alleging that they are for open relations, collaboration and understanding between the countries of the Balkans, the Adriatic, the Mediterranean etc.

At the present period of the intensification of political and military relations between the Yugoslavs and the Americans and of the flirtation and honeymoon between Vorioepirot chauvinism and Great-Serb chauvinism, the chiefs of Belgrade are increasing their attacks and slanders against Albania with the aim of diverting the attention of the world from Kosova. By posing as experts on Albania, as though they are the only ones who can «understand» or «interpret» events in Albania, the intriguers of Belgrade are trying to convince public opinion that «Albania is creating tension in the Balkans» and is allegedly a danger to peace in the world.

But the Albanians have never provoked war, while it is known, for

example that the First World War began, not in Shkodra or Gjirokastra, but in Sarajevo. And it was no accident that it began there. At that time Serbia had become the site where the powers of the Entente and the Central Bloc met and clashed. Today, too, the policy of the game of balance between the two superpowers, which Yugoslavia is pursuing, the promises which it gives first to one and then the other, have turned it into an object of imperialist rivalry. Overloaded with debts and with many obligations both to the West and to the East, the Yugoslav ship of state is navigating in waters where anything could happen. Today Yugoslavia is wide open to all the combinations and interventions of superpowers, endangering not only that country itself, but also its neighbours.

The efforts which the Yugoslav leaders are making to paint socialist Albania in ominous colours, to blame it for the internal disturbances and troubles in Yugoslavia do not ease the situation for them. Yugoslavia is the sick man of the Balkans and the whole world sees this. The joy which the anti-Albanian screams of Greek reactionaries, or the diabolical attacks of the Vatican on Albania bring those who are ruling in Belgrade, cannot cure it. The assurances which they may have received from America that it will try to «tame» Albania cannot cure it, either.

Nobody, neither the Americans, the bishops of Greece, the Vatican, the Great-Serb chauvinists, or anyone else who might collaborate with them, can turn Albania from its socialist course and its principled policy. The Albanian people are not people with weak nerves. The threats and blackmail do not disturb them. The Albanian people have won their freedom and independence, their own people's state power and their socialist course at the cost of blood and sacrifice and they will never allow anyone to violate or rob them of these things. Let the dogs bark, our caravan will proceed steadily on its course.

THE CHAUVINIST OF THE ALBANIA IN KOSOVA CONT

The Great-Serbs continue to follow the course of oppression and persecutions of the Albanians, trying even to raise

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AGAINST THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE OF KOSOVA, WHAT OPPRESSIVE AND DISCRIMINATING MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN AGAINST THE ALBANIAN YOUTH AND POPULATION WHICH ARE BEING CALLED «IRREDENTISTS» AND «NATIONALISTS» IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE BOTH IN YUGOSLAVIA AND IN THE WORLD. NOBODY KNOWS FOR CERTAIN HOW MANY ALBANIANS WERE KILLED IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS OF 1981 AND AFTER THEM. ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAV PRESS, 2 884 KOSOVARS HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO DIFFERENT TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT, MANY OF THEM UP TO 15 YEARS, OVER THE TWO RECENT YEARS. THE SEGREGATION OF THE ALBANIANS, WHICH IN YUGOSLAVIA IS CALLED «DIFFERENTIATION», GOES ON. ALBANIAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE ARE UNDER CONSTANT ATTACK. THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ALBANIANS CONTINUE TO BE CURTAILED AND DENIED TO THEM.

As is publicly known, through the demonstrations of the spring 1981 and other manifestations following them, the Albanians called for the creation of a republic within the borders of the Federation and the present Yugoslav political system. The constitutional, historical and moral base of this demand has been emphasized many a time by world opinion and the press of many countries.

The Yugoslav newspaper «NIN» itself has recently been forced to admit the fact that the Albanians of Kosova demand only the setting up of a republic within the framework of the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. In an article published on January 15 this year, two imprisoned Albanians, Bajrush Xhemali and Ramadan Veliu, declared to the «NIN» correspondents:

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA. Article dated February 11, 1984

«By the slogan 'Kosova-Republic' we mean the equality of the Albanian nation with the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.» «By proclaiming Kosova a republic our country would lose nothing of its integrity. We do not attack the existing system, nor do we want to destroy it. We want only to have equal rights, because without economic equality there is no national equality. The granting of the republic status within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation to Kosova will not give rise to tendencies threatening the rights of the other nations and nationalities.» «The creation of an ethnically pure Kosova or a Greater Albania is only a reactionary and fascist concept which some people often identify with the Republic of Kosova.»

These declarations express in a clear and concise manner the stand of the Albanians of Kosova, a stand which they have maintained from the begin-

OPPRESSION N PEOPLE INUES «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

*Oppression and mass
this course to the level of an official policy*

ning and still adhere to. «NIN» is surprised that, despite all the measures taken, although the youth have been imprisoned and the whole of Kosova has been transformed into a camp surrounded by barbed wire, the Albanians «insist on their demands and do not admit that they are not right.»

The Belgrade magazine is surprised because it has not the courage to say that the Yugoslav leadership continues to display a lamentable lack of political wisdom and has not the necessary cool-headedness to solve such complex problems as those of Kosova and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. It expresses its surprise only because it has not got the courage to admit the failure of violence in Kosova.

The Great-Serbs continue to follow the course of oppression and mass persecutions of the Albanians, trying even to raise this course to the level of an official policy.

This policy, however, has gone so far that it has already begun to worry not only some individual people, but even some organs and forums in Yugoslavia. An open rebuff to it has come from the leadership of the province of Vojvodina which sees that by making Kosova «a Turk's head» the Serb nationalists want to establish their «rule» in the whole of Yugoslavia. Thus, in an official information for the coming plenum of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, which is reported by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG

on February 7 this year, it is said:

«The Serb nationalists blame everything on the system of socialist self-administration and point out that the events in Kosova are the result 'of the incorrect solution of the international relations in our country', that Kosova 'is lost for Yugoslavia' and that 'all the members of the Albanian nationality are nationalists and irredentists.' They condemn the measures for the regulation and normalization of the situation in Kosova, call for sterner measures against the Albanians, condemn the socio-political leadership there, claiming that 'it only manoeuvres', say that 'Kosova is lost for Serbia', that the counter-revolutionary events in Kosova are a 'shame' for the Serb people and the Orthodoxy... They say that 'the main aim of the Great-Serb chauvinism is to replace the struggle against irredentism in Kosova with the struggle against the Albanian nationality as a whole.»

The Great-Serb chauvinism has shown and continues to show, more and more with each passing day, its aggressiveness towards not only the Albanians, but also the other peoples of Yugoslavia. This has been admitted in many speeches, articles and even statements by personalities of some Yugoslav republics and their press, but only in general terms. Nobody has explicitly condemned the Serb chauvinists, nowhere have their actions been publicly condemned, nowhere have they been put on trial or im-

prisoned, as has been done with the so-called Albanian nationalists. This was apparent also at the recent meeting of the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia which was held on February 6.

The subject of the meeting was the struggle against nationalism. However, neither the report, the contributions to the discussion nor the long communique released by the TANJUG on this meeting mentioned the Serb nationalism and chauvinism. Nationalism was mentioned only in general terms. It was clear to everybody that «nationalism» here was attributed only to the Albanians.

The policy of national oppression has been tested other times, too, in Kosova, but it has always failed. The monarchist Serb bourgeoisie applied this policy before the war and Ranković and his consorts after the war.

We have stated several times our opinion that the problem of Kosova cannot be resolved by means of terror and violence. By so doing whether the Great-Serb chauvinists want it or not, the stability of the Yugoslav Federation, about which the Yugoslav leaders pretend to be so worried, is weakened. The only road to the solution of this problem is putting an end to national oppression and having a calm talk with the people of Kosova in order to find the most appropriate solution which would conform to the interests of both the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Federation.

CONVENTIONAL ALSO POSE A THREAT TO THE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

*Albania, which is resolved
in its opinion against
war and for peace and genuine security,
is against
the nuclear and conventional armament*

THE WORLD OPINION HAS BEEN RIGHTLY AROUSED IN MOVEMENTS OF PROTESTS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE SUPERPOWERS AND THE IMPERIALIST BIG POWERS POSSESS. ALBANIA HAS SUPPORTED THE MOVEMENTS AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE.

THE RAISING OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE'S MASSES, THEIR REVOLT AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILES AND WAR, IS JUST. BUT THE THREAT TO MANKIND FROM A NUCLEAR WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AND THEIR MILITARY BLOCKS SHOULD NOT OVERSHADOW THE THREAT WHICH THE CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS POSE TO THE PEOPLES. THERE IS A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO QUELL WORLD OPINION, TO MAINTAIN «CALM» AND TO COVER UP THE GREAT THREAT WHICH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS POSE TO MANKIND. THIS IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE CHIEF WAR-MONGERS, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION.

All wars that have been and are being fought, from the Second World War until today, either between the big powers or between other states, are fought with conventional weapons. Conventional weapons were used in the criminal aggressions the USA carried out against Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Grenada, or in the Soviet aggressions against Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan; these weapons are used

to kill and massacre hundreds of thousands of innocent people in Salvador, Angola, Namibia and Chad, everywhere there are local wars.

Repeated efforts have been made by those who possess the biggest arsenals of conventional weapons, the superpowers and their blocs, to make the conventional arms race a norm of international life and justify it. The mystification about the nuclear weapons is something which the superpowers need so that the peoples should

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — Organ of the
CC of the PLA

WEAPONS

PEOPLES

forget the conventional weapons.

The arms race and the arming with the most sophisticated conventional weapons have assumed unprecedented proportions and involved all countries, with the exception of Albania. Many governments and states are arming themselves rapidly. Why are they doing this? It is obvious that weapons are produced, sold and bought in order to be used, in order to incite war, as is being done in Lebanon, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Afghanistan, in the conflict between Iran and Iraq, etc., where people are killing each other with conventional weapons.

The imperialists make huge profits from the trade of sophisticated conventional weapons. From published sources only we learn that within one year the Middle East bought weapons to the value of 4.5 billion dollars, North Africa one billion dollars, Far East 887 million dollars, Southeast Asia 881 million dollars, South Africa 433 million dollars and Central America 385 million dollars.

The road of armament with conventional weapons has led many countries into debts to the superpowers. In some cases the arms traffickers are as generous as to sell their weapons «cheaply», but this is done in the hope and certainty that the country that receives the weapons will depend on them for spare parts and muni-

tions, for equipment and «instructors». Dependence on weapons entails political and economic dependence. He who buys weapons from the arms trafficker will grant him, in return, free access to his own seas and ports, his land and military bases, port facilities and missiles sites.

In the arms race and the trade of arms participate also some states which have become immersed in debts and have reached the brink of bankruptcy. Such one state is the so-called non-aligned Yugoslavia which through the mouth of its top officials boasts that it has increased the sale of weapons by 43.5 per cent in 1983 as against 1982. Whom does Yugoslavia sell its weapons to? Yugoslavia and the states that sell weapons encourage, through the traffick of arms, wars of one country against another and arms terrorists' groups which operate against the interests of the peoples. Not withstanding this, the arms traffickers do not refrain from engaging in demagogy about peace and denuclearization of the Balkans, indeed even from slandering about «Albania constituting a threat to peace». But world opinion does not believe this. It sees that the threat to mankind and world peace comes precisely from those who arm themselves and who make a profit from the bloodshed of the peoples.

Albania, which is resolved in its

opinion against war and for peace and genuine security, is against the nuclear and conventional armaments, is for the liquidation of all weapons, nuclear or conventional. When the Party of Labour of Albania warns that the present situation in the world is fraught with general wars and local wars and draws attention to it, it has in mind both the nuclear weapons and the conventional weapons. When the Party of Labour of Albania points out that the continuing armament is the condition for the existence of imperialism and social-imperialism, that the superpowers are the source of wars and aggressions, it never for a moment forgets the threat that comes from the nuclear armament or the threat that comes from the armament with conventional weapons.

The ignoring of the threat posed by conventional weapons may cost the peoples very dearly. The American imperialists' and Soviet social-imperialists' preparations for war have their basis on the nuclear and conventional weapons. The peoples who lived through the horror of the two world wars can easily imagine the consequences of a conflagration with conventional weapons. Therefore, the struggle against imperialist war for genuine peace cannot be conceived without opposing the armament with conventional weapons.

THE PROLETARIAN CLASS ESSENCE OF THE NATION OF LITERATURE AND ART

The national character of literature is broadened and deepened with the broadening of the range of themes and the completion of the great tableau of the socialist epoch, introduces into our artistic culture those new features that our nation has acquired in the struggle for the triumph and defence of socialism

THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL CHARACTER HAS BEEN AND REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND COMPLICATED QUESTIONS OF THE ARTISTIC CULTURE. IT HAS OFTEN BEEN THE SUBJECT OF MUCH DEBATE AND DISCUSSION, A WEAPON OF STRUGGLE AND A MEANS OF MISINTERPRETATIONS.

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ARTISTIC CULTURE IS CONNECTED CLOSELY WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE NATION AND THE ACTIVITY OF CLASSES WITHIN IT. WHEN SPEAKING OF THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF LITERATURE AND ART WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT THEY, AS FORMS OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, HAVE A CLASS CHARACTER, ARE FORMED IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY AND OPERATE IN GIVEN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The stand of the classes towards the national artistic culture and the role of this culture have been different in different times, different places and different historical conditions.

Historically speaking, the artistic culture has played an important role in the struggle for national unification and the formation of the nation. It has operated in this struggle, in general, as a single national culture. This is because the creation of the nation has been the concern not of an individual class, but the question of all the progressive classes and strata. Whenever the bourgeoisie takes part in the national question, in the quality of a progressive historical force, its artistic culture plays a positive role and does not oppose

RAQI MADHI — Senior Scientific Worker

the culture of the people, as a whole, on the contrary it operates alongside with the latter and together with it. However, this historical fact alone is not enough to jump to the conclusion that in the society with antagonistic classes, culture has operated always as a single national culture. Whenever the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the exploited classes are left aside for the sake of the national cause, their cultures operate as a common front, but when contradictions are embittered and deepened and brought on the surface again, then the class character of the cultures of these classes comes out with striking force, the contradictions between them grow acute, «One hundred and fifty years ago,» wrote Lenin in 1910, «when the nation was not divided into bourgeois and proletarians, the slogan of the national

culture still could be used as a single and general call for struggle against feudalism and clericalism. But since then the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has flared up everywhere. The division of the formerly 'united' nation into exploiters and exploited has become an accomplished fact.»¹

The transformation of the bourgeoisie into a ruling class and the exacerbation of contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, along with the division of the nation, finally led to the division of their cultures. Stalin writes: «In the first phases of capitalism there still could be talk about the 'cultural community' of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But with the development of large-scale industry and the exacerbation of the class struggle this 'community' began to melt away. There could be no more talk about the 'cultural community' of a nation when the patrons and the workers of the same nation fail to understand one another.»² The bourgeois culture, which had preserved its class character and served the interests of its own class, now definitively detached itself from the culture of the people. In this manner, two cultures were created inside the nation: on

AL CHARACTER

by **RAQI MADHI**

the one hand, the bourgeois culture, the culture of the ruling classes; and on the other hand, the democratic and socialist culture. These two cultures stand distinctly apart from one another not only in form and national manifestations, but also in content.

The bourgeoisie exploited and continues to exploit the artistic culture to further its own class interests. In conformity with these interests it has used the question of the national culture sometimes as its own banner, sometimes discarded it as something old and useless.

After the imperialist bourgeoisie was transformed into a ruling class it used the slogan of the national culture as a means of dividing the revolutionary workers' movement. History has many such examples. At a time when the working class of a nation organized itself in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, worked actively to unite itself on a national scale, and felt the need for establishing links with the working class of the other countries, the bourgeoisie and social-democracy rose in opposition to this union and international collaboration, confronting it with bourgeois nationalism. They made a one-sided speculation of the national feelings and ideology which were formed in the epochs of the struggles for national union. «The national ideology that this epoch produced,» writes Lenin, «left deep imprints on the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and part of the proletariat. The sophists of the bourgeoisie and the traitors to socialism, who toe their line in a servile manner, play a great game in this entirely different epoch, the imperialist epoch, in order to divide the workers and to estrange them

from the duties of the class and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.»³ Apart from the national ideology, the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats strove to put the slogan of national culture in the service of nationalism. They followed a similar policy on the eve of the First World War. To the task raised before the working class and the peoples to prohibit the imperialist war, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the social-democrats were opposed to the slogans of «the defence of the homeland» and «national culture», as means to cover up the ideology and

policy of their chauvinist spirit.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism today cover up their chauvinism with the slogan of the international character of culture. Present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology regards the «fusion of national frontiers» of culture and its polarization into a culture of the élite and of the masses, as the best signs of progress. The adverse stand towards the national culture creates the common ground in which the imperialist bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists meet. The class of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in the USA and the Soviet Union to the other peoples so that they renounce their national culture in order to open the doors to the culture of the bourgeoisie and revisionist is, first of all, a class for capitulation before the ideological aggression of the two-superpowers. The essence of the negation of the national culture lies in the negation of the rights of the masses to play an active role in the political and spiritual life of the nation and society, because the enhancement of the national and social-

class awareness is connected directly with the democratic and revolutionary national culture.

In order to oppose the reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties have worked out their own revolutionary policy. Whereas the bourgeoisie and the revisionists frequently change their stands towards the national culture, in conformity with their class interests and the changing political circumstances, the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties consider the question of the national culture as a permanent issue which is indispensable for ensuring the development of culture on the revolutionary road. Therefore the PLA and all the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces today raise the need of the defence and strengthening of the national culture against the slogan of the internationalization of culture. The defence of the progressive, revolutionary and socialist national culture against the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression is, at the same time, the defence of the international democratic and proletarian culture.

Socialism does not negate the national culture, on the contrary, as Stalin says, «socialism creates a favourable situation for the revival and flourishing of the nations.» The flourishing of the socialist nation leads to the flourishing of its culture, which, despite the new socialist content which it gains, is thoroughly permeated by the national character and spirit.

Socialism puts an end to the division of the national culture into two cultures. The socialist nation liquidates antagonistic classes, hence the social bases for the existence of two cultures are also abolished. Thus, a single class culture of a national character

is created for the first time in socialism.

The national character does not weaken, least of all, negate the socialist content of national culture. The socialist and the national in the literature and art of socialist realism exist in unity. Stalin expressed this unity in his thesis according to which: «Proletarian in content and national in form, this is that common human culture towards which socialism aspires.»⁴

In this formulation of his Stalin had in mind the most essential relationship in socialist culture, namely, the relationship between content and form, between the socialist and the national, between the socialist and the international (element). In scientific and artistic circles, this formulation of Stalin has often been narrowly interpreted as merely a relationship between the content and the artistic form of literature and art. The revisionists, as in the field of ideology, brought about a great confusion here. They revised the Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and launched their attack against the thinking of Stalin.

The question arises: why were the revisionists so much worried by this formulation of Stalin's, and why did they hasten to correct his «inexactitude»? There are at least two reasons for this: first, Stalin's formulation became an impediment to the chauvinist and aggressive policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists also in the field of culture. Second, in order to open the doors to other methods — modernism and decadentism, in the field of artistic culture, they had to discard as obsolete the demand for the creation and defence of the socialist national culture.

Their scientific inability to reject Stalin's formulation as inaccurate forced the revisionist theoreticians to resort to different tactics, sometimes saying that it was entirely erroneous, sometimes saying it was partly erroneous. The «argument» they brought is very far from the iron logic of the Marxist-Leninist science and the literary-artistic practice. They not only are not convincing, but they are also very contradictory.

In the beginning efforts were made to reject Stalin's formulation as an outdated dogmatic thesis which, allegedly, did not correspond to the development of reality. In place of this formulation they contrived all kinds of inventions. In Bulgaria, for example, they replaced it with the formulation of the «contemporary perception of the world», which not only completely displaced the question of the national in artistic culture, but also conceived the problems of literature and art from extra-class positions. In order to reject the imperative need for the preservation and strengthening of the national character they tried to misrepresent the fact that the psychology of different peoples has a dynamic character, changes and develops in conformity with the socio-economic development of the country. According to them, the modern times have brought radical changes in the psychology of the peoples, national elements have disappeared one after the other. The only distinctive and restrictive element in the relations among the peoples, according to them, is the language, but this too is being overcome, because many foreign words enter the languages and reciprocal changes occur in them. These «arguments» have nothing scientific about them. The thesis of the dynamic development of the psychology of the peoples is a Marxist-Leninist thesis. But the dynamic of the development of psychology does not lead to the liquidation of the specific national features. Culture, as an important social phenomenon in the life of a people, preserves its national character despite the fact that it is in constant development.

The claim of the revisionist ideologists that the only element which distinguishes the culture of various peoples is their language does not stand to the scientific logic, does not respond to reality. In each particular country culture has its specific manifestation and this manifestation is determined not by the language, but by the whole of the national living material, all the psychological and psychic particularities of the people.

Lenin, who devoted great care to

the problem of the national character of the peoples, has shown that national distinctions will remain not only after the creation of the socialist states, but also after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale. And he advised not ignoring and arbitrary annihilation of these specific features, but the absolute need for studying them and building socialism on the basis of them.

The revisionist preachings about the necessity of liquidating national distinction allegedly for the sake of the general international interests, are inspired by a chauvinist spirit in the field of culture. They respond to the ill-famed thesis of «limited sovereignty», but in another field, with another language and by means of «new scientific argument». The banner of this campaign is carried by the Khrushchevite revisionists, though their colleagues of the «socialist community» strive not to fall out of step with them.

The attempts of the revisionists to present Stalin's formulation as something unacceptable in the field of literature and art are many and sophisticated. To this end they have encouraged and kind of thinking and trend that is directed against this formulation.

Stalin, when speaking of the national form, did not identify this with the artistic form, but discovered the link up, the relation between the national and the socialist, giving priority to the proletarian, socialist content. He says, «We build the proletarian culture. This is quite true. But it is also true that the proletarian culture, which is socialist in content, assumes different forms and manners of expression among different peoples who participate in the construction of socialism...»⁵ So, Stalin did not identify the national with the artistic form, but treats it as an expression of the general (the socialist) through the specific (the national).

In the revisionist literature one comes across another view which is the opposite of Stalin's thinking. According to them content cannot be separated from form, one being social-

ist and the other national. They claim that under socialism both content and form are socialist. To accept that the socialist culture has a national form, in their opinion, means to negate what is common, what brings closer together and unites the cultures of the socialist countries. All this is nothing other than a pseudo-revolutionary invention in order to cover up their social-chauvinist policy. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed more than once that the various social phenomena, including also the social revolutions, manifest themselves in different manners, in different conditions and in different countries. Therefore, the forms of their manifestations differ from one country to the other, preserve their national features and bear their own stamp. Lenin says, «All the nations will reach socialism, this is inevitable, but they will not reach it in completely the same manner, each of them will bring something original in this form of democracy or the other, in this kind of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the other, in this rhythm of socialist transformations of the different aspects of social life or the other. There is nothing more squalid from the theoretical point of view and nothing more ridiculous from the practical point of view than the proposition to imagine this future in a single toneless colour allegedly in the name of historical materialism.»⁶ Social manifestations of the same content appear different forms. This is the dialectic of life. The literature and art of the proletariat is essentially one and the same, but it manifests itself in different forms, is materialized and concretized in the national form.

The national is a form of expression, of the manifestation of the socialist content, but is not equal with the artistic form. The fact that the national character cannot be identified with the artistic form does not imply that the national is not present in the artistic form which participates directly and plays an important role in the formation of the latter through artistic means and tradition. But it is not the artistic form which reveals

the national character of culture, it constitutes only one of its aspects. As long as the artistic culture is the reflection of a given reality, the national element is present in the very object of reflection, is connected closely with the content. It reveals itself, in the first place, through the reflection of the life and the history of a given people, their traditions and customs, their psychic constitution and so on. In this sense, the category of the national form, as Stalin puts it, is much broader than the artistic form. If the artistic form consists of the whole of the artistic means, the national character, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out to the 7th Congress of the PLA, is realized «through the truthful reflection of reality from the stand-point of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, the old progressive tradition and the revolutionary new in a critical manner and proceeding from the class positions, and firmly relying on the creativeness of the people.»⁷

The national character is realized through the whole of the living material which becomes the object of reflection, nevertheless it cannot be identified with the content of literature and art. Whereas the content has to do with the class interpretation of the material from life, with the ideas it brings, the national element has to do with the manner, with the form of the manifestation of the content. Naturally, this does not imply in any way that the national form or the national character is devoid of content. There is no form outside content.

There is another opinion that as long as socialism has not two national cultures, the literature and art are national both in form and content. This definition is not correct either. Marx says, «It is self-understood that for the working class in general to be able to fight, it must organize itself as a class in its own country and that the primary arena of its struggle is its own country. For this reason its class struggle is national not only in content, but, as the 'Communist Manifesto' says, it is na-

tional also in 'form'.»⁸ The proletarian culture, too, is socialist in contents and has an international character, whereas its form is national, because the working class of each country builds its culture in conformity with the concrete national conditions. This is one of the laws of development and not a subjective desire. The socialist culture of the different countries is distinguished not only on account of its content, which is the same, i.e., socialist, but also on account of its form, on account of its manifestation which is national. The Party of Labour of Albania has always attached importance to the strengthening of the national character of literature and art, but has never seen it as an aim in itself, as a demand independent of the socialist content. It has stressed that the strengthening of the national character should be realized through the strengthening of the fundamental element, precisely that element which connects our culture with the progressive world culture of the proletariat and the working masses, through the strengthening of the socialist content. At the 8th Congress of the PLA, treating the new tasks of literature and art in the present stage, Comrade Enver Hoxha put the stress, in the first place, on the strengthening of the socialist content. He pointed out: «The affirmations of that which is socialist is an objective requirement for the consolidation of the art of socialist realism. In the reflection of the socialist reality, the national character, too, gains new qualitative features, is developed and raised to a new higher level.»⁹ So, Comrade Enver Hoxha conditions the strengthening of the national character by the strengthening of the socialist content. The development and enrichment of content brings about the development and enrichment of form.

That the national element plays the role of form, in the broadest sense of the word, without being identified with the artistic form, this is born out by the experience of world literature in general.

The literary product of Balzac, Tolstoy, Gorky and Brecht is national,

too. Working from different class positions they were not handicapped from creating works of a strong national favour. In this aspect, they are quite distinct from one another. But when it comes to discussing their contents, the relations between them are quite another problem. The representatives of one method, though they may work in different countries, have many things in common because they maintain the same class stand towards reality. Let us take the most outstanding representatives of the method of realism, Balzac and Leon Tolstoy and compare the content and national characteristics of their productions. Both the one and the other rose to the peaks of literary fame in their countries and won world renown because of their great power of generalization of reality, the strength of their principles and the severity of their judgement of the bourgeois reality.

The works of these two giants of world literature is essentially common from the point of view of contents. They uncovered the rottenness of the bourgeois and feudal-bourgeois order. Their works served the proletariat and its most outstanding representatives to get a very detailed knowledge of all the mechanisms of the bourgeois order and strengthened their conviction end of the landowners and bourgeoisie. Engels wrote: «Balzac... saw the inevitability of the fall of his beloved aristocrats and described them as people who did not merit a better destiny...»¹⁰ And Lenin emphasized that Tolstoy in his works reflected the rapid downfall of the landowner-bourgeois order in Russia. «And precisely this rapid, heavy and clamorous destruction of all the 'foundations' of old Russia were reflected in the works of Tolstoy-writer and in the views of Tolstoy-thinker,» wrote Lenin.

The essentially common contents of the works of Balzac and Tolstoy united them in the creative method, in realism. Naturally, there are distinc-

tions between them, but the main distinction lies in it that the contents of their works are expressed through the reflection of the material and spiritual conditions of their countries, which were specific. So, they are distinguished from one another in the national form through which the content is embodied, materialized. The characters and the relations among them, the way of life, ambitions and so on, are French in Balzac and Russian in Tolstoy. The reader catches this difference at once and this is an expression of the strength and not weakness of these writers. This makes their creativeness not only original but also adds to their truthfulness. And this is realized not only through the language and artistic tradition. Here come into play language and tradition, too, which are important, but they constitute only part of it. The most important role is played by the truthful and masterly reflection of the concrete, material and spiritual conditions of each country, through which the general laws of development find expression.

Balzac reflects the process of deterioration of the bourgeois order through «the irresistible decline of the high society», especially, the high circles of Paris, through the «upstart rich man», «the bourgeois woman» and, especially, through the moral deprivation of the bourgeois society. So, he was able to grasp at that specific feature which was typical of France and through which he expressed the general feature of the whole of the bourgeois order. This secured Balzac's works not only truthfulness but also an unsurpassed originality.

The destruction of the old order in Russia was expressed in forms different from those of France. The economic and social relations in the Russia of the second half of the 19th century, especially after the abolition of the slave-holding system, was built in a different manner. Different were

also the social forces and their psychology in play there. Tolstoy's merit lies precisely in the fact that he knew how to see and reflect what is general, the end of the landowner-bourgeois order, through the specific element, through what constituted the specific in Russia. In that country the question of the destruction of the existing order was connected closely with the peasant question. Tolstoy saw this immediately, understood the aspirations and the psychology of the many-million strong Russian peasantry. This helped him forecast the unavoidable end of the landowner-bourgeois order and reflect a material that was quite new and different from that which Balzac and other progressive writers of Europe had used for their own purposes.

The fact that Balzac and Tolstoy raised major problems which concerned closely only for their own peoples but also the other peoples, their artistic ability to present these problems through the specific features of their concrete manifestations in each individual country, enabled them, as artists, to surmount the national frontiers.

Hence, the experience of world literature proves that the literary and artistic works cannot be national both in form and content. If Balzac and Tolstoy were national in content, then the points of link up between them would disappear, they would not have been representatives of an artistic method, there would never be a progressive or a reactionary world culture, but a great number of national cultures, which are different from one another. Besides this, such a conception would have led to the negation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the cultures in the exploiting orders, the unification of cultures entirely different from the class standpoint into a single national culture. We can demonstrate the ungrounded character of such a conception if we take another example. The contem-

porary of Tolstoy in Russia in the field of creative activity was another writer of world fame, Dostoyevsky. The works of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky are typically national. Dostoyevsky is quite different from many other European writers who have created from the same class positions as him, the difference lying in the form of the national representation. The psychology of his characters, the surroundings and many other features in the work of Dostoyevsky are typically Russian. Nevertheless, the content of his works is different from the content of the works of Tolstoy. They belong to different literary and artistic currents. Were we to accept that culture is national both in form and content, then we would be forced to accept the equality between Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, and, why not, even between them and Gorky, and put them all in the same boat.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism, who have devoted special studies to the dialectical relationship between the content of culture and its national form, have revealed the reciprocal links between what is national and what is international. Lenin holds that the alien element to the international culture of the proletariat is not the national culture in general, but the bourgeois national culture. The international proletariat culture is created not outside the national culture. The Marxists, as Lenin says, are «...for the international culture which assimilates from every culture one part, concretely: only the consistent democratic and socialist content of every national culture.»¹¹ This idea of Lenin explains clearly the truth that the artistic culture of socialist realism, which is permeated by the ideas of socialism, is a constituent part of the international culture of the proletariat. In this manner the national socialist artistic culture of a given country is, at the same time, international in content.

The efforts to create an artistic culture of a distinct national charac-

ter has nothing in common with nationalism. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.»¹² Bourgeois nationalism is alien to the art and literature which serve the great aim of the building of communist society, because every national work of socialist realism is a reflection of the socialist content, is bearer of internationalist ideals.

The experience of our country and the international experience shows that the road for the strengthening and consolidation of the proletarian internationalist culture goes not through the weakening and negation of national culture of a socialist content, but through their ceaseless development and strengthening.

The struggle for the strengthening of the national character of literature and art is a direct expression of the class struggle in culture. But after the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists this struggle was intensified further, especially with the orientations of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, June 1973. The modern revisionists wanted to exploit the spirit of solidarity and fraternal collaboration that was created during the existence of the socialist camp, for ideological aggression, spearheading it against our national artistic culture, too, which, according to them was an impediment on the road of «international solidarity». In these conditions the need for the strengthening of the national culture of our people emerged in the first plane more than in any other period of the development of our socialist culture.

For the more thorough realization of the national in the artistic culture the Party had worked intensively in

order to form a correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the dialectical link especially between that which is national and that which has a class character, between the traditional and the new, between the national and the international, so as to avoid any misunderstanding, to form sound concepts and to put the writers and artists on more militant positions. At the same time a fierce struggle has been carried out against the class enemies and their followers. This work has further developed our national culture of a socialist content, and served to cope with the bourgeois-revisionist aggression and block the road to the penetration of their culture and ideology.

Following the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of December 20, 1974 on the problems of literature and arts, the struggle for the strengthening of the national character of literature and art assumed broader proportions, including all the genres of art and all writers and artists.

Efforts were intensified towards more complete reflection, with a high party spirit of our national reality, the revolutionary transformations of our society, regarding all this as a fundamental demand for the strengthening of the national character of literature and art. The role of the national tradition, both old and new, was understood better and appreciated more thoroughly. Correct and sound concepts on the popular art, as a means of education and the ground on which the development of our artistic culture is based, was thus created. The theoretical thinking and literary-artistic criticism were enlivened and in turn, gave a more profound and convincing Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the problem of the national element in literature and art. The results achieved were important. Alien influences received a shattering blow.

Especially after the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA the direct rela-

tionship between the national character with the problems of the literature and art was understood more profoundly. The idea that the national is achieved through the truthful reflection of the life and work of our people, our socialist reality, in a party spirit, gradually prevailed.

Creators, critics and scientific workers, based on the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, made valuable generalizations within a short period.

The writers and artists who fight for a high socialist content have produced works of a distinguished national character. However, in spite of all this, literature and art, as the 8th Congress of the Party has stressed, have not covered all the problems of socialist society. Many problems of great importance for today remain to be tackled and treated. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out to the Congress: «The extension of the range of themes of literature and art, including in them more and more of the vastness and variety of life, so that the great tableau of the socialist epoch in Albania is gradually completed by our writers and artists, is a demand of the time.»¹³ Narrowing of the sphere of the reflection of reality will narrow the national breadth. The extension of the range of themes and the completion by literature and arts of the great tableau of the socialist epoch

strengthen and broaden the national character of our literature, bring into our artistic culture those new features which our nation has acquired in the struggle for the triumph and defence of socialism. This requires a more profound knowledge and treatment of the problems of life. The efforts of the artist should not cease until he had thoroughly discovered the reality, the inner world and the features of our new man. The superficial treatment of reality, failure to discover and generalize what is typical in our life and among our people, weakens the national spirit. Another question connected with the strengthening of the national culture has been and remains the further treatment of the problems of today in the literary and artistic works, the reflection of the major problems of the time, the processes of the development of our society and the new phenomena of life. «...the development of literature and art is inconceivable without the broadest reflection of the great surge of life and present-day reality in the novels, poems, films and musical and figurative works,»¹⁴ said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. Our writers and artists have understood correctly what the Party teaches them, but in practice there crop up manifestations of schematism due to the lack or insufficient knowledge of life and ina-

dequate studies of the new phenomena of reality.

The struggle to avoid these weaknesses, it at the same time, a struggle for the strengthening of the national character.

Under the guidance of the Party, literature and art, along with their all-round development, along with their consolidation as means of the communist education of the working people, have increased their ideological and artistic values and have strengthened their national character.

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- 1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 19, p. 433.
 - 2 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 2, p. 326.
 - 3 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 19, p. 111.
 - 4 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 7, p. 140.
 - 5 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 23, p. 76.
 - 6 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 488.
 - 7 Enver Hoxha, «*On Literature and Art*», p. 538.
 - 8 K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, p. 18.
 - 9 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 141.
 - 10 K. Marx, E. Engels, «*Selected Correspondence*», p. 595.
 - 11 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 19, p. 110.
 - 12 Enver Hoxha, «*On Literature and Art*», p. 538.
 - 13 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 140.
 - 14 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 141.

FAILURE OF THE MODEL OF «CONSUMER SOCIETY»

by MUÇO AHMETAJ

The «consumer society» did not create a new class of consumers, nor did it deproletarianize the capitalist society, as the bourgeois ideologists claimed with great publicity. On the contrary, by intensifying the exploitation of the working people, it polarized it still more

IT IS A QUARTER OF A CENTURY NOW THAT THE SO-CALLED CONSUMER SOCIETY HAS BECOME THE FAVOURITE SUBJECT OF THE BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA. IT IS TRYING BY EVERY MEANS AND IN ALL POSSIBLE FORMS TO CONVINCING THE WORKING PEOPLE THAT WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY THERE IS NO MORE POVERTY AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE, EVERYBODY, BOURGEOIS OR PROLETARIANS, MERGE INTO A SINGLE CLASS WITHOUT CONTRADICTIONS AND STRUGGLE BETWEEN THEM.

THE REALITY, THE GRAVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE OTHER WORKING MASSES IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, THE GREAT CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFLICTS WHICH SHAKE THE SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE OF THESE COUNTRIES, HAS DISCREDITED THIS TRICK OF THE BOURGEOISIE. THE THEORY OF THE «CONSUMER SOCIETY» HAS MELTED AWAY LIKE SALT IN WATER.

1.

The theory of the «consumer society» emerged in the conditions of the temporary enlightenment of the capitalist economy following the Second World War. The development of the technical-scientific revolution,

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the reconstruction of industry on the basis of modern technology and the setting up of new branches of industrial production were accompanied with the expansion of the production of the means of production and a certain growth of the volume of trade of broad consumer goods, especially

hardware, such as TV-sets, washing-machines, refrigerators, etc. The temporary occupation with work, the relative decrease of unemployment and the winning of some rights in the field of social insurance for which the working class had waged a protracted struggle, brought about an improvement in the standard of living of part of the working people in comparison with the pre-war period.

In these conditions, the big propaganda machine of the bourgeoisie was set in motion to make the working class believe that now a new society was being created, a society which was given the name of the «consumer society». Many books were written to «prove» its emergence and viability, claiming that «this society creates an abundance of material blessings for the majority of the population so that the demand of the consumers is no longer dependent on

economic motivation, their purchasing power, but on psychological motivations. The consumers now buy not just what they need, but, in the first place, what they like» (G. Katona, «The Mass Consumption Society», New York, 1964, p. 3), that allegedly the present bourgeois society is based on a high level of consumption and the incessant rise of the level of consumption is the main aim of production.

Thus, this theory is essentially intended to prove that today there is a levelling-out of the incomes of the working class with those of the bourgeoisie and, as a consequence, a new society with a new class, the class of consumers, without antagonisms, without class struggle, has been created, hence, a society which allegedly has made the proletarian revolution, unnecessary.

It is known that capitalist production, the capitalist relations of production, determine the nature of consumption also in this society according to the law of the maximum profit which is applied by the monopoly bourgeoisie. In the conditions in which the means of production are in the hands of the bourgeoisie which exploits the working class, it is unconceivable that the aim of capitalist production is the expansion of consumption for the working people.

In their attempts to assist the bourgeois propaganda the modern revisionists, especially the Eurocommunists, but also the Titoites, Khrushchevites and others, as the apologists of modern capitalism, claim that at present the worker enjoys so many material blessings that economic problems have been relegated to the last place for him. According to the Eurocommunists, the economic exploitation of the worker in the developed capitalist countries is no longer a problem. The important thing for him is to link himself as closely as possible with capital, which allegedly is to the advantage of the worker, because this keeps him alive and ensures the growth of individual consumption according to the «laws of abundance».

Marx has long ago clarified the true

character of individual consumption. He says that «the individual consumption of the workers ensures, on the one hand, their living and reproduction and, on the other hand, by destroying the means of livelihood, makes it constantly necessary for them to come out on the labour market.»¹ So the individual consumption of the worker is an immediately productive consumption for the capitalist, because through it he ensured the reproduction of the work force which creates capital, while the worker is compelled to sell his labour power in order to ensure the means of livelihood in an uninterrupted manner. So, personal consumption binds the worker to capital, compels him to preserve capitalist exploitation. This is the essence of enslavement of hired labour. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that in capitalism «the worker is not free, either in work or in life. He is a slave to the machine, to the capitalist and the technocrat, who squeeze out the last drop of his labour power and from this create surplus value for capital.»²

The current economic crisis has brought out the sharpness of the contradictory character of the theory on the «consumer society». Speculations about the high level of consumption and the fulfilment of needs, allegedly as the main aim of capitalist production, are now being replaced, on the part of the bourgeoisie, by the «arguments» on the necessity of reducing consumption by the working masses, as the «road» of healing the ulcers of capitalism. The ideologists of «anti-crisis» strive to show that it is the high and uncontrollable level of consumption which, in their opinion, begets the «over-demand» and, consequently, price rises, inflation, etc. In order to escape this evil they suggest that social funds should be curtailed, that wages be frozen, taxes increased, and so on. Therefore, now there is some talk about the «realization of the transition from the society of welfare to the society of limited consumption» (See «Economie et politique», Septembre 1980). However, even this cannot save the capitalist society from economic ca-

tastrophe, on the contrary it only serves to further aggravate all the contradictions of capitalism.

2.

The aggravation of all contradictions of capitalism and, especially, the frequent recurrence of economic crises led to the failure of the model of the capitalist consumer society. Speaking to the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, «With the present crisis, the model of capitalist 'consumer' society has received a crushing blow. The economic theories of present-day capitalism, spread and applied in all the big capitalist countries, and which inspired a number of revisionist countries in their economic reforms, have gone bankrupt along with it.»³

The technical-scientific revolution and intensified militarization of the economy account for the more frequent and deeper economic crises, which, unlike the former crises, have a destructive effect, thus further exacerbating the contradiction between production and consumption. The deviation from the normal cycle of development of the capitalist economy, the intensification of crises, the prolongation of the phase of fall and depression, the reduction of the phase of recovery and up-turn have made the economic crises more severe, more profound and with very grave consequences for the consumption by the working masses. The present crisis began after the prolonged period of depression during the second half of the '70s, without going through the phase of recovery and up-turn. The transition from depression to a new crisis and the outbreak of the crisis more or less at the same time all over the capitalist world, that is, its very broad extension which has made any manoeuvre on the world market virtually impossible, account for its still more destructive effect. We see a sharp fall of production, which has become a typical manifestation of the present crisis, everywhere. The war industry only knows no crisis. Yearly expenditure for armaments today are much higher than those made for education,

health and housing taken together. At a time when the expenditure for armaments in the big capitalist countries takes in more than 400 dollars per capita annually, more than one billion and a half people in the world live in absolutely miserable conditions.

As a result of this disproportionate development, of the unrestrained struggle for maximum profit by the monopolies, there is a recrudescence of the antagonistic contradictions between the new, historically imperative demands for the reproduction of labour power, which keeps growing, and the low level of their fulfilment, the real wages. The impoverishment of the proletariat and other working masses has an explanation precisely in this contradiction.

The development of productive forces and the growth of the social product have led to the broadening of the conventional circle of demands on the part of the proletariat. This development which relies on the exploitation of the proletariat, has led, among other things, to the intensification of work. The present-day system of organization of work in the capitalist and revisionist countries is so devised as to squeeze the maximum of the energy of the workers who operate the new technique. But the intensification of the process of work requires not only qualified labour power, but also a labour power that resists well to fatigue and monotony, which is able not only to cope with overwork, but is also quick to acquire new information and work habits. The workers' qualification and re-qualification, the raising of their educational and professional level, the improvement of their living conditions, the facilities in health services, etc., are objective demands of the developed capitalist production. In this manner, the regeneration of the working class in the conditions of a raised degree of intensification of work has necessarily led to the raising of demands for better complex food, for more appropriate living conditions, for the all-round development of transport, for a long and active recreation and rest. The problem of allowing more for the leisure of the working people has great importance at present. Lenin emphasized that the working people

and their families can preserve and develop their labour power only if they have the maximum possible leisure, otherwise, even if all the material goods necessary are granted, they will not be in a position to consume them in such a manner as to increase their capacity for work and to ensure their own reproduction. That is why this broadening of the demands of the proletariat at the present time is an objective process which is connected closely with the development of production, especially with the main element of the productive forces, the labour power.

Basing themselves on this fact, the modern revisionists admit that «the workers today live better than they did in the past», that «a broad range of goods has been introduced in their daily consumption and use», that «consumption by the population increases spontaneously» (See «Uchenija V.I. Lenina ob imperializme i sovremenost», p. 153). With this they negate the impoverishment of the proletariat. It is true that in the present-day conditions of the development of capitalism a broader range of goods enters the sphere of consumption in comparison with the last century, but this does not negate the existence and intensification of exploitation and impoverishment of the proletariat. This is because the basic demands of the proletariat for consumption and the very nature of consumption have an historical character. In the present-day conditions of development, the consumer goods used and the standard of living achieved, cannot be the same as those of 50 years ago, for example, otherwise the reproduction of the labour power in conformity with the demands of the present stage of development cannot be ensured. However in practice, in the present-day capitalist society, it happens that, whereas the basic demands of the proletariat keep growing objectively, the degree of their fulfilment, as against the level of the development of the productive forces, the possibilities created by social production, keep falling. In fact, the poor become still poorer, real wages continue to fall under the level of the value of the labour power, whereas the minimum cost of living rises

at more rapid rates. American statistics admit that, whereas at the end of the Second World War the real wages covered 80 per cent of the minimum livelihood necessary, this level in the USA today is just above 60 per cent.

The deep crises of capitalist production are accompanied with direct grave consequences for consumption by the working masses. In order to overcome the consequences of the economic crises, the bourgeoisie curtails the consumption by the working masses.

The fall of production and failure to exploit the productive capacities is accompanied with the increase of unemployment to proportions never seen before. The army of the unemployed now grows larger in all the phases of the economic cycle, even during the period of recovery and boom. In the developed capitalist countries the number of unemployed in 1981 was 23 million, and only one year after it increased to 32 million, that is 2.1 times more than in 1975. Reagan's big promises about an effort to reduce unemployment in the United States of America have been replaced by appeals to the workers to make new sacrifices.

But the high rates of the increase of population, especially the combination of this with inflation and price rises, have brought about the lowering of the standard of living and reduction of consumption per capita of working people. The American worker must pay now three times as much to buy the same amount of goods he bought in 1976. The great increases in prices for food-stuffs and energy have affected the families with low incomes and those with fixed incomes, especially the workers, pensioners and students. This phenomenon is the constant cause of the high rate increase of the number of people living under the recognized official level of poverty.

The bourgeois state is continuously playing an active role in the curtailment of the consumption by the working people. Apart from the efforts to suppress the strikes and demonstrations, many capitalist states have recourse to the policy of «wage freezes» and cutting down on social funds, a

a time when inflation and prices keep rising rapidly. In the '80s the main capitalist countries, like the USA, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and other countries, adopted various programs for drastic cuts of social funds, while at the same time, making increased expenditure for the industry of war. Obviously, the cuts on funds means reduction of real incomes and consumption per head of the working people. The working masses find difficulties in coping with the growing cost of health services, education, etc. Health service in the capitalist and revisionist countries has become a source of real anguish for the working people and their families. Tariffs for health services in the USA increase at rates double the increase of the cost of living.

Consumption by the working people in the capitalist countries is threatened, to a great extent, by the heavy burden of taxes. The worker grapples with a lot of direct and indirect taxes. He must pay for everything and in everything. If before the Second World War the American worker paid one sixth of his income for taxes, now he must pay 60 per cent of it. Forecasts put the total amount of taxes to be paid by the American citizens at about 296 billion dollars.

3.

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to increase internal consumption through credits for consumption goods ended up in failure and further aggravated the contradictions between production and consumption. Soon after its implementation, this practice of false and wholly artificial raising of the level of consumption for the working people resulted in the worsening of their situation.

In the beginning of the '60s a new practice, that of granting credits for the purchase of consumer goods, especially hardware, was widely practised. This kind of trade was promoted allegedly in order to fulfil the needs of the working people and for their good. It was publicized as the application in practice of the model of «consumer society», in which the con-

sumption by the working people would be raised through money obtained in credits. In fact consumption credits emerged from the deepening of the contradiction between production and consumption, from the growing difficulties in the realization of broad consumption goods as a result of the fall of the purchasing power of the working masses.

Trade on credit, through its mechanism, secures for the capitalist not only a relatively greater realization of goods, but also the further increase of profits for themselves. As the working masses are unable to secure the means of consumption they need for their livelihood from their incomes, they are compelled to use the credits which the capitalists offer them, to take money at interest, in spite of the fact that the interest rates are high, or that it is given in conditions unfavourable for the working class. The workers' debts and obligations to the banks and institutions of credit have increased at very high rates. Buying goods on credit binds the working people hand and foot to the capitalist firms. The consumption credit compels the worker to spend in advance a great part of the incomes he secures from his hired labour. And when he fails to pay the instalments as prescribed, the goods he has bought on credit are seized by the force of law. The system of trade on credit has become in fact an open means for the supplementary exploitation of the working people, a means of exploitation which has a predatory and humiliating character.

Practice has shown that the extension of the consumption credit was transformed into a factor that deepened the economic crisis. By artificially raising the purchasing power of the working people, this system created a great disproportion between the debts and real incomes of the working people. In the '80s the rate of the increase of consumers' debts to the creditors exceeded the rates of the increase of the real incomes of the working people fourfold. This situation led to the artificial and temporary increase of internal production, which created the conditions for the crisis of overproduction. The sale of goods on credit created a si-

tuation in which commodity production exceeded the real demand and the purchasing power of the working people. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «This proved in practice that the stimulation of production through the artificial increase of internal consumption, making all the people indebted to the monopolies, was fraught with disastrous consequences for the whole country.»⁴

The great increase of credits for consumption goods, which simply means an artificial increase of demand, became the factor that stimulated inflation, which, in turn, led to the growing cost of the credit, that is, the increase of the interest rate on money capital. But the raising of interest rates urged the capitalists to place their money in the banks, especially the American banks, in order to secure high returns, instead of using capital for production. As a result of this in the capitalist countries we see an unwillingness to making capital investments and a fall of extended reproduction, which, in turn, give rise to increased unemployment and prices.

The «consumer society» did not create a new class of consumers, nor did it deproletarianize the capitalist society, as the bourgeois ideologists claimed with great publicity. On the contrary, by intensifying the exploitation of the working people, it polarized it still more. In the conditions of fierce competition, the small producers are going bankrupt in ever greater numbers, thus swelling the ranks of the proletarians. If in the '50s the part of the hired working people to the population of the developed capitalist countries was less than 70 per cent, today it occupies 80 per cent of it. Compared with the middle of the last century, the number of hired workers has increased by scores of times.

However, this process has led to the further exacerbation of contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the extension of the struggle of the working class against capital. The workers have risen in strikes, have come out in the streets and dropped tools not because of the blessings which the consumer society guarantees for

them, but because their work and living have become a burden, because capital is merciless, and has transformed them into mere instruments. They fight to defend their standard of living, against the consequences of the economic crisis, in order to shake its burden off their backs. All this has caused the exposure and failure of the myth about the «consumer society». Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie, along with its stale propaganda, is having more and more recourse to violence against the proletariat. Most different forms of violence are used against the participants in demonstrations and strikes.

4.

In the example of the «consumer society» of the West, much noise and great promises were made about raising the well-being of the working people, about increasing goods of broad consumption and foods in the revisionist countries. In the Soviet Union, when Khrushchev and his group usurped power, they tried to create the impression that they were creating abundance, that they were about to gorge the market, Khrushchev's «guliash socialism» promised to create a well-being never seen before for the working people. The example of the USA became the ideal of the Khrushchevites and of all modern revisionists. After the '60s the revisionist propaganda began to produce arguments that allegedly the law of the priority development of the production of the means of production had lost its power, that now allegedly the time had come to give priority to the development of the production of consumer goods. Indeed, the 24th congress of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union was called the congress of «consumption».

But the capitalist road of the development of the economy led the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries up into more and more fierce crises. The economy of these countries in the beginning of the '80s was in degradation and crisis. In this way, the increase of industrial production in the Soviet Union in 1982 was 4-5 times less than in

the '50s. There is a great shortage of goods of broad consumption, especially of agricultural products and foods, on the market.

The Khrushchevite reforms in agriculture created a situation in which the Soviet agriculture «harvests the wheat sown in the fields of America». Millions of tons of wheat fail to be produced and must be imported from abroad. The shortage of basic products to feed the people has led to the policy of tightening the belts, rationing, price rises. The establishment of rationing cards for broad consumer goods is a reality not only in Poland, but also in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries. In fact, the working people consume less than the strict minimum of livelihood.

The «consumer society» revealed its falseness more openly still in Yugoslavia which tried to build this society with the aid of foreign capital. With the billions of dollars Tito obtained as credit from the USA and other capitalist countries, he wanted to create the illusion of abundance. But «the external pompous appearances, the misleading advertisements of a 'well-being such as can be found in no other place' (!), of a 'Yugoslavia of freedom and abundance' (!) have left the place to all-round crisis, poverty and growing unemployment, galloping inflation, increasing shortages of even the most essential goods and articles of broad consumption, etc.»⁵

The only fact that the level of credits per capita in Yugoslavia is greater than the national per capita income created within the country, reveals its catastrophic situation. Yugoslavia, as the Titoite revisionists admit with their own mouths, is one of the first countries of the world that consumes more than it is able to create in terms of the social product and national incomes, that is, a country which consumes more than its economic power allows. The artificial increase of consumption through great credits received from foreign capital has paralysed the economy. The situation has reached the point in which Yugoslavia is on the verge of a moratorium, that is, of putting its national interests up for auction.

The «self-administrative» system

failed. In the conditions when the branches of the Yugoslav economy function only on 16 per cent of their means of circulation, the reproduction of the Yugoslav economy demands, to a great extent, on the situation on the foreign markets, and on «aid» and capital from the West and the East. The empty boasting about the raising of the standard of living on money obtained on credit, has grown threadbare. Yugoslavia has one of the highest figures of unemployment in Europe, affecting 14 per cent of the able-bodied population of the country. Inflation is growing rapidly, while the prices for consumer goods are 2-3 times as high as two years before. Consumption credits, in the example of the «consumer society», has put the Yugoslav working people deep in debts, so much so that parents leave them to their children to pay, after they die.

* * *

The grave economic crisis buried the model of the capitalist «consumer society». The «consumer society» was unable to quell the class struggle of the proletariat. On the contrary, the exacerbation of contradictions, the rise in the political, class consciousness of the proletariat, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «are making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.»⁶

1 K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, book 3, p. 19, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 120, Eng. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 180, Eng. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, *Address before the Electors*, November 1982, p. 4, Alb. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, «The Titoites», p. 631, Eng. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 175, Eng. ed.

press review

US AGGRESSION REMAINS A THREAT TO THE ARAB PEOPLES AND PEACE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the CC of the PLA

An extremely grave situation with very dangerous consequences to the freedom and independence of the Lebanese people, the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples has been created in Lebanon and in the Middle East, in general. It constitutes a constant threat to the countries lying close to this region, in the Mediterranean and in Europe, in North Africa and in the Near East, to peace and international stability. The imperialist intervention, up to direct military aggression, has extended to unprecedented proportions in the Middle East conflict.

At present Lebanon has become one of the hottest spots in the world. The true cause and the source of this situation lie in the US armed intervention and aggression against the freedom, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

However, the objective of the policy and the war of American imperialism in the Middle East has been and remains especially the liquidation of the Palestinian movement and people, the liquidation of the Palestinian cause. The anti-Palestinian aim of all this emerges very clearly in the military and diplomatic activity of the Americans in Lebanon. «Peace in Galilea», of which Begin was the promotor and which the American marines continued, was massacre and exclusion of the Palestinians from Lebanon. The tragic

events in Lebanon are part of the fiendish efforts of the superpowers to pit Lebanese factions against one another, to split the Arabs among themselves. They show that Israel, with the great American aid and profiting from the division that exists among the Arab peoples, is trying to work their destruction, to ruin one after the other all those countries which do not reconcile themselves to the plunder of their lands and the genocide of the long-suffering Palestinian people.

The recent manoeuvre of the White House about the withdrawal of the marines from the land to its warships is by no means withdrawal, but preparation for a still greater military attack. The decision for the withdrawal of the marines from the Lebanese territory to their warships is a criminal and demagogic move. In the year of presidential elections, Reagan tries to gain the mandate for a term of another four years in office. He is well aware of the anger which the US aggression against Lebanon has aroused among the American public opinion, which cannot forget Vietnam so readily. With this vile manoeuvre he wants to pacify and mislead public opinion at home. Whatever is happening in Lebanon bears the American-Israeli stamp. The participation of European troops served the Americans

just to cover up their barbarous aggression against Lebanon.

The tragedy of Lebanon brought out, among other things, the role and aims of the Soviet social-imperialists as enemies of the Arab peoples. The 7 000 soldiers which Moscow has in Syria to control the SAM missiles, in fact have been used as a means to get more thoroughly involved in Lebanon. The Kremlin has warned its hands in the conflagration of Lebanon and, apart from some wishy-washy statements allegedly in support of the Palestinians and the Lebanese, has just looked on how these peoples are hit by the American imperialists and the Zionists. The pro-Arab stand of the Soviet Union is dictated by the need to counterweigh the anti-Arab stand of the USA and not by its love for the Arabs. This is a well-calculated stand, therefore they look on calmly how Lebanon and the Palestinian people are massacred and burned.

The Middle East crisis is developing in still more dangerous directions and is making the international situation, in general, worse. The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, who speak every day that they want «peace and disarmament» for Europe and the world, are bleeding the peoples and violating the freedom and independence of

nations. World opinion cannot and must not remain indifferent in front of this new escalation of the brutal imperialist interference.

The grave events in Lebanon bring into evidence the danger of the presence of the American and Soviet naval fleets in the Mediterranean. Under the pretext of the tense situation there, the Americans and the Soviets have put out 110 warships to the Mediterranean. They cast anchor, are given port facilities and repaired in the ports of the Mediterranean countries which have opened the doors to them, thus posing a threat to the others. The American and the Soviet army units have nothing to do in the Mediterranean. Their presence there is only continuous blackmail and serious threat to the peoples of the Mediterranean. The question of Lebanon and Palestine is not solved by sending there forces under the

banner of or control by the UNO to replace the multinational forces of the USA and their allies which are there at present.

The notorious missions of these troops in Korea, the Congo, and elsewhere is fresh in the memory of the peoples. Nothing good will come to Lebanon and the cause of Palestine if the already discredited multi-national forces were to change name and be called the UNO force. Their deployment there will create dangerous precedents and become a card in the hands of the two superpowers which will enable them to play the role of the arbiter and gendarme of the world better. But the peoples decide their destinies themselves.

The Albanian people, consistent in their support for the just struggles of the peoples for national liberation, have exposed any escalation and plot of the imperialists

and social-imperialists and have warned that what is happening in Lebanon and in the Middle East is a threat to any sovereign people and country, a threat that comes from the foreign imperialist intervention. As the sincere friends of the fraternal Arab peoples, the Albanian people strongly condemn the imperialist interference, attacks and plots. They express their powerful solidarity with the Palestinian, Lebanese peoples and other Arab peoples, their conviction that the Arab peoples will certainly find the strength to unite and stop the interference of American imperialism and Zionist aggressors. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «No matter how long the war, how great the difficulties and how numerous the sacrifices that will be required, victory will be with them. Right is with them, progressive mankind is with them.»

ON WHAT RIGHT DO THE UNITED STATES LAY CLAIM ON SEA AREAS THOUSANDS OF MILES OFF THEIR SHORES?

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Two reports are significant to see once again what the methods and practices of the foreign policy of the United States and the Soviet Union really are.

The first report is about the arbitrary decision recently taken by the United States of America in proclaiming «special areas of security» the waters and air space of

the Mediterranean around the warships of the American 6th Fleet assembled off the Lebanese shores. The American military command, is said in this report, has ordered the destruction of all suspect planes, including civil ones, if they fly near to the air space over the American ships.

The second report is about

the demand of the Soviet Union that an area of 300 thousand square kilometres in the Indian Ocean should be put at its disposal allegedly for purposes of scientific research. It is relevant to recall here that the Soviet Union has several times proclaimed certain areas of the Pacific closed to sea and air navigation under the pretext

press review

that it was carrying out missile tests.

One is justified to ask on what right the United States of America and the Soviet Union lay claim on areas thousands of kilometres off the American or Soviet shores? There is no international law to allow or justify these arbitrary acts of the superpowers. However, for the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists there are no international laws or moral norms. They act according to the mentality and with the political means of superpowers and when they are unable to achieve their aims through conferences and diplomacy, they resort to the law of the stronger, divide the regions of the world as if they were their estates, trampling underfoot international law and the independence of other countries.

Washington and Moscow try to justify their arbitrary acts with all sorts of theories and concepts which, according to them, give them the right to trample underfoot the basic principles of international relations. They have invented and publicise the idea of «zones of vital importance to the United States», «the backyard of the United States», or «areas along the borders of the Soviet Union», etc.

The recent activities of the United States in the Mediterranean and of the Soviet Union in the Indian and Pacific Oceans follow this line, are the result of this strategy and policy. They stem from the preposterous claims of Washington and Moscow to the Mediterranean as the western border of the one and the eastern border of the other superpower, to the Middle East as a «border

zone», to the Indian Ocean as «the southern front», etc. Hence, their deduction that the presence of the American or Soviet naval fleets is indispensable in the Mediterranean, the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Going by the same logic they proclaim today the waters and airspace around their fleets «special zones of security», and tomorrow they may consider as such all the waters plied by their fleets and eventually the whole world ocean. This is nothing other but a typical expression of superpower arrogance. The United States and the Soviet Union want to secure their zones of influence, raise their dictate to international law and impose the doctrine of limited sovereignty on other countries and peoples leaving to them only the right to submit to their imperialist arbitrariness.

CRIMINALS THAT GAMBLE WITH THE DESTINIES OF THE PEOPLES

«ZËRI I FOPULLIT»

All freedom-loving people are greatly angered at and have expressed their resolute opposition to the recent decision of the White House to start the serial production of the neutron bomb. The draft of this decision was announced as yearly as 1981, but now it has given the final approval. The news agencies report mass move-

ments of protest of the working people in various cities of the United States and Western Europe.

The neutron bomb is a new offensive weapon, the most inhuman invented so far, the concentrated expression of the savage barbarity of a civilization in decay and decadence. It is being tested in the Soviet Union,

too, and is expected to be added to Moscow's nuclear arsenal soon. So both the White House which took that decision, and the Kremlin which, according to the threats of the Soviet press, «will not remain indifferent», are embarking on a new and more dangerous phase of the armaments race. In an interview to a Japanese

**press
review**

newspaper, Soviet Prime Minister Tikhonov said that Moscow «will not allow the equilibrium to be threatened» and predicted that, as a result of the American decisions, «there will be a new escalation» in the armaments race.

The mutual accusations of «threatening the equilibrium» and «attempting to achieve military superiority», the calls for talks «from the position of strength» and other notorious imperialist slogans are being heard more and more frequently these recent years. Their aim is to justify the headlong armaments race to suit the interests of the superpowers. In this context fresh attempts are being made at renewing the So-

viet-American bargaining about the limitation of nuclear weapons. The build-up of the nuclear armaments and threats of their use, whether on the part of the Americans or the Soviets, must be seen against this background. It is not by chance that high American and Soviet officials of the type of John Huges and Romberg or Ustinov and Co. are now ever more frequently coming out with the concept of a war between the two superpowers «in no man's land», that is, in Europe.

The attempts at restarting a new series of Soviet-American President, Ronald Reagan only on the contradictions, but also on the dangerous collaboration which character-

izes the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is a fact that every new weapon produced by one side finds its homologue on the other side, while talks at all levels deal only with the contradictions over the quantity of their production and their stationing. Both Washington and Moscow have based their policy and strategy of savage blackmail and threats against the countries and peoples of the world on their stockpiles of existing and future armaments.

It is evident that nothing other can be expected from the heads of American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, who follow a criminal course of escalating aggression and war.

NUCLEAR WAR: AN ACCIDENT OR A POLICY?

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In an interview to the «Time» magazine the American President, Ronald Reagan, declared that the war may well break out because of some incident. Whereas in a meeting with one hundred representatives of the high financial and industrial circles of the USA he enlarged on this thesis saying that the world may go towards a nuclear holocaust as a result of an accident. The thesis of the outbreak of the nuclear war because of an accident or from technical causes has been accepted by

the Soviet social-imperialists, too. In a meeting which An-tropov held with some American congressmen, he said that the source of nuclear war are the nuclear arms race and the nuclear weapons as such in themselves. In this manner, the American and the Soviet politicians and propagandists present the problem as if the threat of the war has a technical character, therefore the measures which the peoples must take against this risk must, consequently be of a technical character, too.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism try to cover up the roots of the evil, the causes and sources of war, be they conventional or nuclear. The bourgeois-revisionist thesis on the possibility of the outbreak of a nuclear war due to accident is deliberately raised in order to oppose the unshakable Marxist-Leninist thesis, fully confirmed by history until today, that imperialism and social-imperialism are the source of wars and aggressions against the freedom and independence of the peo-

press review

ples and sovereign countries. The development and sophistication of the systems of weapons not only have not changed the nature of imperialism and social-imperialism, but on the contrary have made them even more aggressive, even more thirsty for wars and occupations. Comrade Enver Hoxha said to the 8th Congress of the PLA, «Imperialism has been and remains the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the cause of all the misfortunes and misery which have existed and still exist in the world».

Both superpowers strive to cover up their hegemony-seeking policy for world domination. Both of them consider the nuclear armament as the basic instrument to realize their dreams for world domination. Both the one and the other are actually stepping up efforts to build up their nuclear arsenals and extend the stationing of their weapons in all the regions, seas and oceans of the world, indeed, even in the outer space. The simple truth that the weapons, both conventional and nuclear, are produced in order to be used, is an axiom. The chief of the American diplomacy, George Schultz says about this that the desire to use the weapons should go in step with the military readiness and military potential. Coming up with the thesis of the accidental outbreak of the war, the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists want to present the problem as if there is no connection between the

nuclear armament and the policy of hegemonic aims of both sides in various regions and on the different continents.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union try to oppose the demands and slogans of the powerful anti-nuclear movement which has broken out against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The thesis of the «accidental» outbreak of the war is an effort at showing the objective of the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle in a different light, at manoeuvring it into the circle of the «American-Soviet dialogue and understanding».

In order, to add credibility to their thesis, the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists indulge in big talk about the modern technological conditions and the progress in the strategic, offensive and defensive systems. They over emphasize the value of this progress so much that they separate the weapon from the hand and the policy that control it. The nuclear war, according to them, is a question of technicality, depending on the computer, a single technical mistake of which gives rise to the «accident», and hence the nuclear war. In this manner, always, according to this logic of theirs, the concern of mankind should be directed not towards opposing the imperialist policy, but towards the technical security of the computers. Of course, these erroneous and anti-scientific interpretations of the technical and

technological, progress deliberately side-track the essence of the matter, i.e., the political aims and the aggressive policy of imperialism and social-imperialism. Preparations for a nuclear war are part of the premeditated policy of imperialism. The evolution of the arms technology does not alter the character of the aggressive war and of the reactionary political and social classes which are interested in it. The known Leninist theses of «the war, as the continuation of policy with other means», remains valid even now.

Hence, the propagation of the thesis on the accidental outbreak of the nuclear war is aimed at lulling the peoples to sleep, at weakening their strength and vigilance. It is part of the efforts on the part of the imperialists and the social-imperialists to brainwash the international public opinion in order to create a psychosis of un-avoidableness and capitulation. But this insinuation of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda and political science cannot cover up the truth that the threat and risk of the nuclear war does not come from an accident, but from the policies and the aims of the imperialists and the social-imperialists. Both the trigger of the rifle and the push-button of the computer are directed and controlled by the policy of the circles and class in power. The peoples and the revolutionary forces in the world have become aware of this and have stepped up their struggle to stay the hand of nuclear war-mongers.



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