

# Albania today

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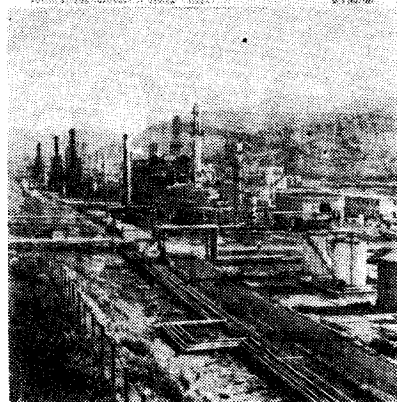
◀ The heavy industry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has priority of development. Investments made up to now in this sector are equal to all the investments made for the development of the national economy in the decade 1971-1980.



THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR WAS NOT ONLY A LIFE OR DEATH STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, BUT ALSO A TRUE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WHICH WAS ORGANIZED AND LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (NOW THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA). SEVENTY THOUSAND FIGHTERS (7 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION) MILITATED IN THE PARTISAN RANKS: WORKERS, YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN, MOST OF THEM PEASANTS, POOR PEASANTS IN PARTICULAR. TWENTY-EIGHT THOUSAND OF THE FINEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PEOPLE LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

«Two generations», oil painting by Fatmir Haxhia

# Albania today



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# COMRADE ENVER H ADDRESS TO THE EX-DELEGATES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH UNION

Dear comrade ex-delegates to the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania.

Congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania!

I greet you, the ex-delegates to this Congress, as well as the representatives of the new generations who have come together with you to Helmës to take part in this great festivity. I wish I were with you there, where 40 years ago we worked for some months amongst the brave, patriotic and noble-minded people, not only of this village, but also of all Skrapar district.

I envy you the opportunity you have of meeting together at the beautiful plain of Lirëza. With my mind's eyes I see the field dotted with white tents, the «hall» of the congress which, although it was a far cry from the halls of our present sports palaces, still had a sort of strange beauty with its wooden stools and tables wafting the sweet fragrance of those mountains. However, I feel your joy and take part in it. I hope your joy will never end, because both you, the ex-delegates, and all our wonderful youth fully deserve to be joyful and happy.

On that unforgettable August day you came to your congress to report on your heroic battles and to pledge that you would carry them through to the end, to the complete liberation of the country and the building of new Albania. And you kept your word: in our free Homeland you built railways and factories, erected and ran schools, became cadres and served on various fronts for the strengthening of the Party, the people's power and the People's Army.

Hundreds of thousands of other young men and women have followed and are following now in the road the Party leads them, in the road you and many of your heroic comrades, such as Qemal Stafa and Misto Mame, Manush Alimani and Kastriot Muço, Margarita Tutulani, Ajet Xhindole and many others who laid down their lives for these happy days, have opened for our people.

The Albanian Labour Youth Union has come to all its congresses with ever new achievements in the field of industrial, agricultural, educati-

# **HOXHA'S GREETINGS SENT FROM THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH UNION OF ALBANIA**

onal, political-ideological and cultural-scientific development. We are proud of our youth, always brave, persistent at work and lessons, vigilant in the defence of the gains of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We have a youth as pure as the limpid air and the crystal-clear waters of the mountains in which you have come together. And so will the wonderful youth of Albania remain for ever, a youth morally sound, full of energy, revolutionary and immune to any illness which has affected whole contingents of the youth in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Comrades,

You are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of your militant organization in the revolutionary atmosphere which has enveloped the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the women, young and old, in our country which is preparing itself to meet the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the establishment of the people's power with ever greater achievements. More than ever united round the Party, our youth comes to the great festivity of the 40th anniversary of Liberation proud of their many victories, ready to engage in other and even greater battles. The Party has entrusted the youth with the historic task of carrying the revolution and socialism always forward, of defending the socialist Homeland with vigilance and even with their blood. I am convinced that you will always remain first-line fighters, closely linked with the people, brave, wise and indomitable in the faithful implementation and loyal defence of the line of the Party for the construction of socialism and the happiness of the generations of eternal youth.

Embracing you with love, I wish all of you good health, persistence at work and lessons, and happiness in life.

Long live our heroic youth and its militant organization - the Albanian Labour Youth Union!

Yours  
**ENVER HOXHA**

*Durrës, August 7, 1984*

# SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION A MAGNIFICENT DEED OF

*"The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations".*

**ENVER HOXHA**

THE IMMEDIATE TASK OF THE NEW STATE POWER, WHICH HAD SPRUNG FROM THE BARREL OF THE GUN OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION, WAS THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE VICTORY WON, THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WAR-WRECKED ECONOMY AND ITS INTRODUCTION INTO THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT, RELYING FIRMLY ON THE PRIMARY MATERIALS AND THE FINANCIAL AND HUMAN SOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

AT THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE PARTY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA DESCRIBED SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION AS A PRIMARY TASK AND THE ONLY MEANS TO OVERCOME WITHIN A SHORT TIME THE BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE PAST AND TO ENSURE THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE OTHER BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY. THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ALBANIA WAS POSED AS AN INDISPENSABILITY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

The industrialization of the country began at a very low level of production and on a very weak and limited material and technical base, because the feudal-bourgeois relations predominated in pre-Liberation Albania. These relations were the cause of the great backwardness of the forces of production. The structure of the economy was typical of an agrarian country and industry accounted only for 6.6 per cent of the total agricultural-industrial production. Apart from handicraft shops and some small factories and mines there existed almost no branch of developed industry. On

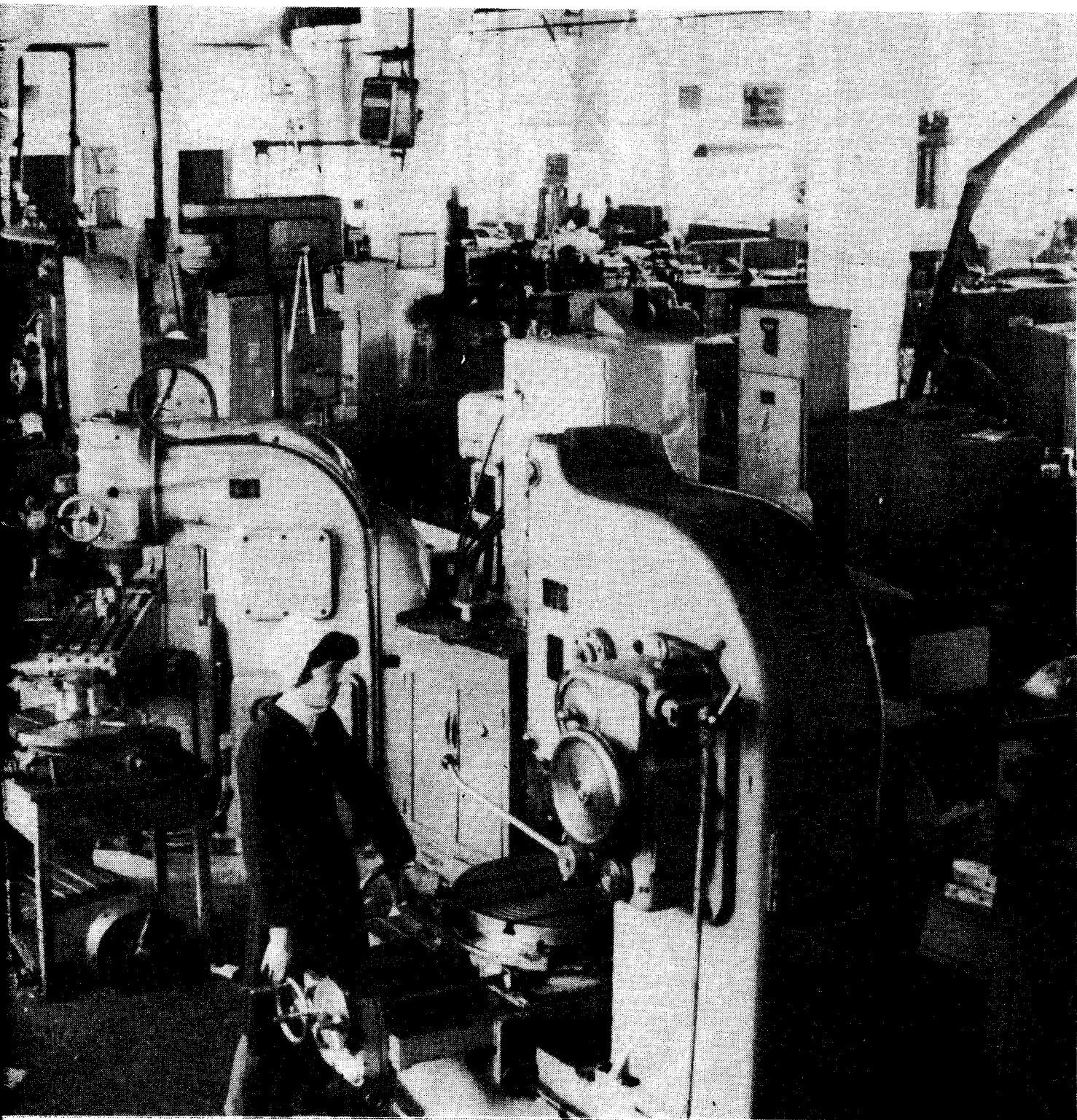
**HAJREDIN ÇELIKU** — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Minister of Industry and Mining

top of these difficulties, the internal and external enemies did their utmost, in various forms and by different means, to sabotage us and to foil the plans of the Party for the development of the country. Thanks to the measures taken by the people's power, many difficulties and obstacles were overcome and in 1950 industrial production succeeded in accounting for about 20 per cent of the total social production. Continuing in this direction, the backwardness inherited from the past was liquidated within a relatively short period of time and the forces of production developed at high rates. Industrialization took its first big strides ahead.

Through socialist industrialization



# ATION— THE PARTY *by HAJREDIN ÇELIKU*



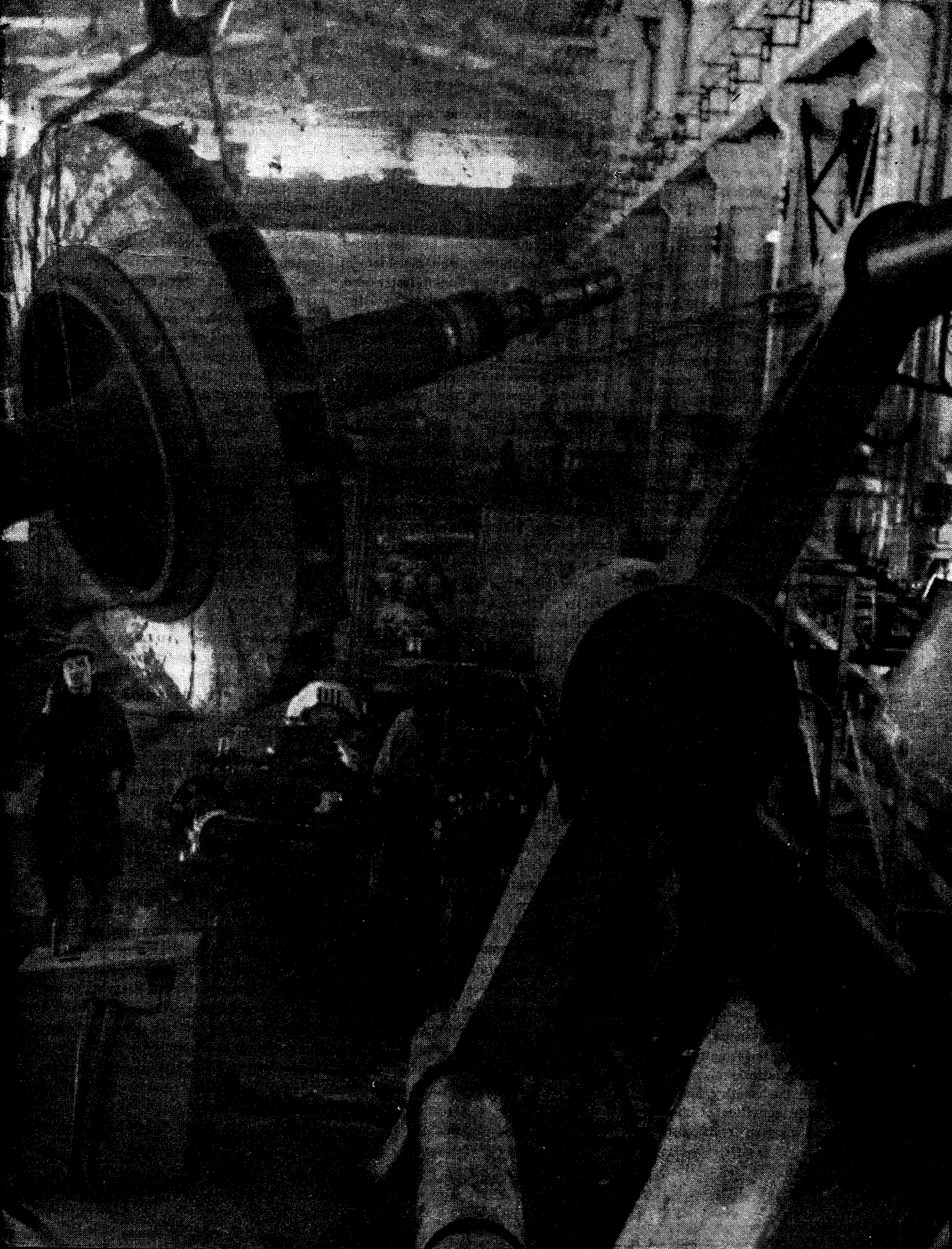
the Party aimed at solving some tasks of a political, economic and social character the more important of which were the liquidation of the backwardness in the development of the production forces, the creation and development of a powerful material-technical base capable of ensuring and supporting large-scale socialist production and the defence of the country, the numerical growth of the working class and the strengthening and consolidation of its leading role as the main pillar of the people's power, the creation of conditions for the constant development of the other branches of the economy and agriculture in the first place, the gradual and constant improvement of the well-being of the working masses.

The great creative capacities of our people, their loyalty to the Party and their steadfast determination to carry out the program of the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country have manifested themselves with great force in these four decades. During the years of the people's state power our country has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced agrarian-industrial country and is in the process of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country. Industry is rationally distributed all over the territory of the country. New branches of industry were set up such as the power, iron-nickel, chemical, mechanical engineering, ore enrichment, chromium and copper industries, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and other branches. New qualitative improvements are constantly being made in the structure of the different industrial branches. The policy of industrialization in our country is always aimed at the setting up of such an industry as to ensure as complete and effective utilization as possible of our natural assets.

Industry is the branch of the economy which has developed at higher rates, and in total industrial production the production of the means of production has advanced at still higher







rates. So that at the beginning of the 80's it accounted for 2/3 of all industrial production. In 1983, as against 1950, industrial production grew 37.4 times over and accounted for 41.2 per cent of social production, thereby occupying first place in it. Our industry meets most of the needs of the dynamically developing economy and of the defence potential of the country. Industry today has become a major factor of our policy of self-reliance.

Industrialization is carried out in combination with the development of agriculture. Industry has developed at high rates without hampering or slowing down the advance of agriculture. On the contrary, socialist industrialization ensures the progress of the entire economy and agriculture, in particular.

In the course of socialist industrialization, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha called for the priority development of the heavy industry as the surest and most powerful support for all the branches of industrial production. The priority development of the heavy industry is a fundamental principle in the economic policy of the Party which has been implemented by means of large-scale investments in this branch of the economy. Investments made for this purpose so far are equal to the investments made for the development of our economy in the 5th and 6th five-year plans taken together.

However, the sworn enemies of the Party and our people inside and outside the country never relented in their struggle to undermine and sabotage the policy of socialist industrialization and priority development of the heavy industry, that is, stop our forward march on the road of socialism. Everybody knows now the sabotage activities of Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova, Sejfulla Malëshova, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and the arch-gangster and multiple agent Mehmet Shehu inside the country and outside it, the hostile activities of the imperialists and modern revisionists who

did their utmost to divert our country from the socialist road and make it dependent economically on them and eventually hitch it up to their chariot politically, too. However, all their efforts were in vain.

In the beginning of industrialization, the development of the heavy industry began with the development of the heavy extracting industry and, then, of the heavy processing industry, which raised the volume and economic value of the natural resources of the country. The progress of the heavy industry created the material possibilities for expanding the extended socialist reproduction at ever higher rates.

Oil, gas, coal, bitumen, chromium, copper and iron-nickel minerals and water and forest resources served as a base for the rapid development of the heavy industry. During the first two five-year plans (1951-1960) the oil and mineral extracting, power, mechanical engineering and construction materials industries were developed at high rates without neglecting the industry of broad consumption goods. During the same period new sources of gas and oil and useful minerals, chromium, copper, coal, etc., were discovered and put into exploitation, and important industrial projects were built which enabled industrial production to account for 50.9 per cent of all industrial and agricultural production in the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan, with the production of the means of production occupying 48.9 of all industrial production. So, one of the major objectives of socialist industrialization was realized.

The development of industry was carried out parallel with the construction of the economic base of socialism which was achieved on a whole in 1960 as a result of the establishment of the new socialist relations of production in all the national economy, both in the city and in the countryside. This was a major historic victory, the greatest after the establish-

ment of the people's power and the triumph of the revolution.

With the construction of the economic base of socialism our country set out on a new historical stage, that of the complete construction of socialist society in which the construction of the material technical base constitutes the more important and urgent task for the further development of the production forces, along with the perfecting of the socialist relations of production and the superstructure of society. Here, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 5th Congress of the Party, socialist industrialization represented «one of the more important tasks of the socialist construction of the country without the solution of which the socialist revolution could not be carried forward on the economic front.»

The working class and all our people set resolutely about the magnificent tasks of this new stage. Big industrial projects like the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex in Elbasan, the hydro-power station at Fierza, the ferro-chromium and copper smelting plants, and the deep-oil processing and other factories were built.

Likewise, the mechanical engineering industry underwent great development in order to ensure the maintenance of the increasing number of machines which were being added to all the branches of material production. In 1975 the output of the mechanical engineering industry increased over 14 times as against 1960, and, in particular, the production of machinery and equipment for the new projects assumed all-round development. Thousands of tons of machinery and equipment were produced in the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex alone. The more important among them are the blast furnaces and their air-heaters, parts of the agglomeration plant, the coke batteries, the rolling mill, the oxygen factory, the electric power plant, the thermo-power station, etc.

After 1980, in implementation of the

task set by the 8th Congress of the PLA there was a further increase in the production of machinery, equipment and spare parts which now account for about 42 per cent of the total production of the mechanical engineering industry. Today this branch turns out machinery and equipment for the construction of new projects, factories and production lines, for the reconstruction and expansion of the existing factories: the metallurgical complex, the factory of fire-proof materials, textile mills, chromium and copper ore enrichment factories. It produces electric equipment such as electric motors and transformers of different capacities, electric wagons and equipment for the mechanization of work processes in the mines, smelting furnaces for the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machinery and equipment for the other branches of the economy such as auto-combines, threshing- and sowing-machines for wheat, maize, sugar-beet, etc. for agriculture, vacuum presses and other equipment for the industry of construction materials and various machinery for the food-processing industry, the communications network, etc.

The production of the electric power industry has increased at high rates compared with the growth rate of the total industrial product and is leading the development of industry. Oil and gas are great assets for the development of the economy. The chemical, organic and inorganic industry produces large amounts of sulphuric acid, ammonia, nitric acid, ammonium nitrate, calcinated soda and soda ash, pesticides

and herbicides for agriculture and other products. The ferrous metallurgy is a completely new branch of our industry. The «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex turns out over 50 sorts of steel.

According to the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party, there will be a further development of industry, especially the heavy extracting and processing industry and the power and chemical industries, without neglecting the other branches, either. In 1985, as against 1980, industrial production is envisaged to grow 36-38 per cent, of which the means of production 38-40 per cent and the production of consumption goods 33-35 per cent. The state plan 1981-1985 is being realized on the basis of complete self-reliance. As our economy as a whole, industry, too, which is developing according to the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA, has been prepared on time for this decisive step.

The setting up and developing of a many-branched heavy industry has brought about important changes in the structure of our exports and imports. Today 73 per cent of our exports is occupied by locally finished products like copper, chromium and ferrochrome and pyrite concentrates, products of the mechanical engineering, chemical, wood-processing and other industries.

Our country has never followed an autarkic economic policy in the process of its industrialization. It buys the technical and technological machinery and equipment which it does not produce itself from other countries with

which it develops trade relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

With the development of industry there has emerged a powerful army of workers as well as specialists and technicians engaged in its various branches.

The strengthening and modernization of the material-technical base, on one hand, and the constant raising of the level of qualification of workers and specialists, on the other, are carrying the technical-scientific revolution further ahead and making it, as the Party instructs us, a major concern of the masses for the construction of socialism. Likewise, almost every branch has its own scientific institution for carrying out studies and designs for the present and the future, and production and its organization and management is being put on modern scientific bases.

Socialist industrialization has imparted an unexampled development to all the branches of the economy, whereby ensuring the economic independence of the country and the ceaseless improvement of the living of the masses of the people. «The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations».

# THE PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES OF THE COUNTRY AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF OUR PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

**On Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «On the People's State Power»**

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BOOK «ON THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER» (A SELECTION OF WORKS), WHICH HAS JUST BECOME AVAILABLE FOR THE MASSES, THE COMMUNISTS AND CADRES OF OUR COUNTRY, IS A WORK OF GREAT THEORETICAL-PRACTICAL VALUE, AND A PRECIOUS TREASURE OF THE 40 YEARS OF OUR EXPERIENCE ON THE BRILLIANT ROAD OF THE BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER IN ALBANIA.

RELYING ON THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE FOUNDER, ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE ARCHITECT OF OUR PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, HAS MADE AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE CREATION, ORGANIZATION, DEMOCRATIZATION AND UNINTERRUPTED REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

The materials comprised in this volume shed light on a series of important problems; they are permeated through and through by the Marxist-Leninist ideas and constitute an analysis and creative implementation of the Leninist revolutionary theory on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An especially important place in the book is devoted to the teachings, instructions, advice and orientations of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the continuous improvement and strengthening of all the links of state power, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, is and must always be the state of the people in power, who,

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under the leadership of the Party, rule and run the country through their representatives whom they elect directly, or who are appointed.

Since September 16, 1942, in the Resolution of the Conference of Peza, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: «The importance of the national liberation councils is great. Through them the Government is made, the people are mobilized for war and the uprising,» whereas in the article about the Congress of Përmet, written in July 1944, which is included in this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «This marks the end of behind-the-scenes combinations concocted either in the Albanian circles or among international circles. Today the people are the master here, today they decide for themselves, and nothing can be done against their will. This is gua-

# ON N THE RUNNING STRENGTHENS ZES ATE POWER *by RITA MARKO*

## «On the People's State Power»

ranted by the blood they have shed, by the weapons they have in their hands.»

A great work has been done to implement this important principle which has to do with the active participation of the masses in governing their country — a fundamental condition for the democratization of the organs of the state. From the people's councils of the grass roots in the districts up to the People's Assembly, no important state problem is analysed and decided without consultation with the masses and their representatives. However, it is important to understand better and carry out better still the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which is powerfully stressed in this book, that in our country the role of the deputy and the councillor does not lie only in making contacts with the electors several times in a year or in the bureaucratic implementation of the orders and decisions in their work places. On the contrary, as the representatives of the people in power, they are in duty bound to take active part in the analysis and solution of the problems, and carry them through to the end, calling to account the executive organs and rendering account themselves before the masses. This helps to raise the authority of the elected and build up the faith

of the masses in them. In this manner, the participation and control of the masses in all fields of state and social activity of the country is realized in practice better.

It is especially important that the activity and control of the masses in the economy should be further strengthened. This is connected closely with the increased responsibility of everyone for the fate of production, for the rigorous and timely implementation of the directive of the Party and the decisions of the state organs, for the observation of discipline and order at work, always bearing in mind that the socialist work and property are the two great pillars on which the entire development of the economy and the whole life of the country rest. The say of the masses, as our experience shows, has been and remains decisive also on problems of the plans of the economic and socio-cultural development of our country. Let us mention one instance, which is very significant. For the drafting and discussion of the 7th Five-year Plan 23,900 planning commissions and groups were set up in factories, workshops, brigades, enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. They comprised 123 thousand people who made about 70 thousand proposals, of which 40 thousand were endorsed and were re-

flected on the improved indices of the draft of the current five-year plan. The rest of them were left to be studied and eventually included in the operational yearly plans. A similar discussion is under way now for the next five-year plan. What is the significance of all this? It signifies that the masses of our country are directly interested in the development of the country, are active participants in this development, not only as productive forces but also as managers of production. In the book «On the People's State Power», as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, the Party has frequently criticized those practices of work which overestimate the experience of the state apparatuses and their functionaries, who believe they know «everything», that in these organs there are specialists for every branch, who have things «at the tips of their fingers». These harmful concepts and attitudes inhibit and restrict the participation of the masses in state activities, estrange the state from the masses. In such cases work among the masses is replaced with closed work of the apparatuses, the links and communications with the masses are replaced with unnecessary paperwork which engenders bureaucracy, weakens the activity of the masses and their links with the state power.

Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines in this book: «The mind of the masses is broader, clearer, deeper, more acute and more powerful than the mind of a few wage-earners.» It is not the apparatuses and the administration which should command and make the law. The law is made by the Party, is made by the working class, is made by the people, whereas office employees, cadres, even when they are elected by the people, are the servants of the people, and must be placed under the control of and render account to the people for the work they have done. Therefore, the broader the participation of the working masses in the state activity, the better and more correct is the study and solution of the problems.

In the book, «On the People's State Power», special stress is laid on the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party that «the organs of state power carry out their activity in close connection with the masses of the people. In these close links with the people lies the unbreakable strength of our people's state power, therefore we must safeguard, strengthen and perfect them continuously.» The entire period of more than 40 years from the creation and consolidation of the people's state power, as this book shows, speak of the consistent Marxist-Leninist road which our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has followed in order to ensure that the state power retains its features as the state of the people in power.

The experience of the masses in the government is concrete in two fundamental directions: in drafting plans, drawing up laws, etc., as well as in the persistent efforts to put them in practice. The direct form of drawing the opinion of the masses about major and important questions help to deepen our socialist democracy, stir the inexhaustible energies of the masses and throw them into action, and multiply the forces of the state organs. At the same time, this activity serves as a school of the

education of the masses, gives them the awareness that they are masters of the country, that they must have their decisive say on everything. The principle that state power belongs to the masses, is as close as possible to the masses, is broad democracy for the masses, is implemented consistently. This is quite the opposite of what occurs in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where the state defends the interests of the exploiting classes in power and is directed against the broad masses of the working people.

In many of the materials included in the book «On the People's State Power» Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines the great role of the representative organs of the people, from the people's councils, which are the basis of state power, up to the People's Assembly. The improvement of the work of the people's council in the exercise of their powers, as defined by law, constitutes the permanent task of the organs and organizations of the Party, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, must give precedence to their work with the people's councils.

Under the leadership of the Party and in the spirit of its directives, now the people's councils in general examine and treat the main problems arising in various fields avoiding any formalities. Nevertheless, there are also manifestations of the curtailment of their competences, displacement of their role by some executive organs or individual cadres. This is harmful. Comrade Enver Hoxha draws attention to the fact: «We must combat the bureaucratic views of some individuals who think that only the state apparatuses are forms of government. This leads to underration of the elected organs. Therefore, it is necessary that the executive organs should be held responsible for such manifestations and other cases of the displacement of the role of the people's councils.

The practice followed in various districts of the country of calling people of the administration and sectors

of the state power, directors of enterprises, etc., to render account before the people's councils and their permanent commissions (a practice which the Presidium of the People's Assembly and its permanent commissions have followed in the implementation of the principles and juridical competences) has proved to be useful. In this manner, the executive organs of the state have been called to account for the implementation of the laws and plans assigned by the higher state organs and for the solution of the problems which people have raised through their elected representative or directly. The same has been done also with regard to the courts, the investigators' office and the attorney, about how they have popularized and implemented the law in all their activity. This has further enhanced the spirit of responsibility on the part of the state and economic organs before the representative organs of the people, from the people's councils to the People's Assembly. This influences the strengthening of state power, its protection against bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and against the two enemies which threaten it — bureaucracy and liberalism.

The experience accumulated in this field, which Comrade Enver Hoxha reflects in an all-round and clear manner in this book, demands that everyone, especially the cadres and the working people in the state organs, be they elected or appointed, from the grass roots to the centre, should study carefully and continuously in order to learn how to strengthen and further revolutionize the state power which is the fundamental question of the revolution and has to do with the building of socialism, the defence of the Homeland, the happiness of the people. In this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «It is because state power is in the hands of the people that we have such a political stability which the others envy, that our country is and continues to be beautified more and more each day and socialism is built with success in our country.»

# THE WORKING CLASS SETS THE TONE TO THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

*by* **ADEM TUKAJ**

*The working class is carrying out ever better its historical mission as the irreplaceable historical force of the whole life of the country, the class which has political power and the fates of the Homeland in its hand*

**OUR WORKING CLASS COMES TO THE GREAT JUBILEE OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WITH MANY VICTORIES AND MOBILIZED TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE DECISIONS OF THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY.**

**FROM THE DAY IT WAS FOUNDED, OUR PARTY ATTACHED SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE WORKING CLASS. IT EDUCATED, ORGANIZED, MOBILIZED AND LINKED THE WORKING CLASS IN A CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY, PLACED IT IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMY, THE CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND.**

Through the great work of the Party of Labour of Albania the working class acquired a high level of consciousness and organization, was politically and ideologically uplifted and was made capable from the technical-professional aspect, broadened its horizons through education, culture and science, in order to cope with success and with its own forces with the tasks of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland in the conditions of a savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our socialist country. With the Party in the lead and armed with the Marxist-Leninist

*ADEM TUKAJ — Secretary of the Trade Unions of Albania*

theory, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the working class is carrying out ever better its historical mission as the irreplaceable historical force of the whole life of the country, the class which has political power and the fates of the Homeland in its hands.

Forty years have gone by and the working class, so few in numbers before, has now grown in numbers and strength and has extended its activity in the entire life of the country. As the class which sets the tone to the socialist construction, it is always in the forefront of work and, with a high class spirit, makes its

unsparing contribution to all the fronts of life. This stems from its militant vanguard spirit, from the mission with which the history and the working people have charged it.

In comparison with the pre-war period, the number of the working class has increased 38.1 per cent and 21.1 per cent of it have finished secondary schools. Workers occupy posts in the organs and high forums of the Party and the state, in the people's councils and courts, in the state administration and the management of affairs. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have taught the working class to take active part in the government and management of the country, in the drafting and application of the laws of our socialist state, in the defence of the gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat. More than 12,600 councillors of worker origin and status, which is equal to 41.3 per cent of the people working in these organs, have been elected to the people's councils of all levels and work there. Only in the People's Assembly, the supreme legislative organ of our country, 37.2

per cent of the deputies are workers. This is clear proof of the revolutionary class spirit of our people's power, which is continuously strengthened and steered. Special attention has been attached to the working class control or anything and anyone, as a powerful means for the education, habilitation and control of the working class in struggle against all alien and bureaucratic, conservative and liberal manifestations. As a result, the people's state power has been strengthened and further democratized, and has become an important factor for the defence of the victories of socialism in irreconcilable struggle with all the internal and external enemies who have wanted and want to destroy it.

Ours is a heroic working class, with a great revolutionary spirit and courage, a working class which has linked itself closely with its Party and people, a working class which makes continuous progress in the field of technique. In the 40 years of freedom, our working class, under the leadership of the PLA, relying entirely on its own forces, in struggle against the great difficulties due to the imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement and the world crisis, has contributed to the development of our socialist economy at ever higher rates, in breadth and in depth. Today, for example, the industrial production of the year 1938 is turned out in only two days. In the period 1976-1983 in the state sector of the economy the state made about 30 per cent more investments than in the four five-year plans of the period 1951-1970, with the result that production has grown and the material and cultural level of the people has been raised, 83 per cent of the population lives in houses built in the years of the people's power and the people's life expectancy is among the highest in the world, 70.4 years, against 38.3 which it was in 1938. All these historical victories and many more, including the advanced system of social insurances, the development of educa-

tion, science and culture, and the abolition of taxes, free medical aid, etc., are the work of the Party of the working class, of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which have the interests of this class and of the whole people at the foundation of their work.

These all-round victories speak of the superiority of our socialist society over the capitalist or revisionist society. They bear the seal of the creative work, the inexhaustible energies, the spirit of sacrifice of the working class and its revolutionary ideology. They carry the seal of the unbreakable alliance of this vanguard class with the working peasantry of the country, an alliance and unity which grows continuously stronger and develops, and which has bound these two friendly classes and rallied them under the banner of the Party, which is the cornerstone of any success and victory we score.

The situation of our working class is very different from that of the working class and the proletariat in various countries of the world today. In our country there are no such ulcers as unemployment, continuous price rises, falling standards of living at staggering rates and other phenomena which have developed on a large scale there. In socialist Albania, the state of the working class guarantees work for all, the people's education, culture and science develop securely, the material and cultural well-being of the people is on the up and up. The phenomena of inflation and unemployment are unthinkable in our society which is a new, advanced and emancipated society, whereas the bourgeois and revisionist countries are plagued by them.

The Party has entrusted the Trade Unions of Albania with the important role of educating and mobilizing the working class. This broad political organization, the lever of the Party, has great tasks for the ideological-political and technical-professional education of the working class, so that it carries

out with success the tasks in the field of production and in other walks of life of the country, and participates actively in running state and social affairs. The Trade Unions carry out extensive activity for the education of the workers in the spirit of the working class, so that they work with proletarian discipline, with high productivity and frugality, for the education of the young workers with the traditions of work, with the norms of communist morality in family, at work and in society, combating any alien manifestation. The organizations of the Trade Unions have devoted their care to the innovatory movement, which is a powerful movement of the masses and reveals the great ability and maturity of the working class, to its active participation in deepening the technical-scientific revolution in our country. Only in one year, September 1982-September 1983, the working class put forward about 19 thousand proposals, of which 11 thousand were adopted and put into practice for the building of new production lines, workshops, factories and new machinery, etc. The workers, innovators and specialists have solved with their own forces complicated technical and technological problems of the contemporary level such as those involved in the large-scale water-power plants on the Drin River, in the mines, in metallurgical industry, mechanics, in the raising of yields in agriculture and livestock-raising, etc.

The decision of the Central Committee of the Party to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland sparked off new revolutionary initiatives and movements and actions in the ranks of the working class, in which broad sections of the working people have been included. Everyone is working with a militant spirit of emulation everywhere, with a spirit of competition in order to win the title «Shock worker or enterprise of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland», in order to fulfil and overfulfil the tasks of the year 1984.



# THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORETICAL THINKING OF THE PLA AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THE SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE

by **NEXHMEDIN DUMANI and ZYDI PEPA**

*The 40-year long experience of the construction of socialism in our country has confirmed that the socialist transformation of agriculture cannot be realized without ensuring the leading role of the working class and its Party*

**IN ALL ITS POLICY PURSUED TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF THE PEASANTRY OUR PARTY HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THE TEACHINGS OF THE CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, WHICH IT HAS IMPLEMENTED, DEFENDED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CONCRETE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY.**

Comrade Enver Hoxha has summed up the history of the centuries long struggles, the socio-economic situation of the country in general and of the peasantry in particular, therefrom he reached the important conclusion that despite the backwardness of the agrarian relations, our country had «...a most revolutionary peasantry which has always been at the forefront of the

**NEXHMEDIN DUMANI and ZYDI PEPA** — Economists

struggle for the land, for freedom and independence.»<sup>1</sup> He has pointed out the important progressive role of the peasantry in the struggle for freedom, independence and social progress, estimating the great revolutionary energies that lay latent in the ranks of the Albanian peasantry, «in favour of that class which had the peasantry on its side».<sup>2</sup> This definition was basic in the work of the Party for the building of the strategy and tactics in

the National Liberation War and in construction of the socialist society.

In the conditions in which the working class constituted a very small section of the population, the effort to secure a powerful revolutionary ally, as was the numerous working peasantry had special and decisive importance for the fates of the National Liberation War. On this basis the Party created the political-military alliance of the working class with the working peasantry during the war. The Party instructed that special importance must be attached to the Party work in the countryside, because the peasantry constituted the majority of our

people, therefore the countryside should be the source of the main forces for the liberation war.

The political-military alliance of the working class with the peasantry, created during the National Liberation War, was further strengthened and consolidated after the liberation of the country also in the economic field, which after the triumph of the people's revolution was the main field of the struggle. All the measures adopted by the Party after the liberation of the country for the revival of the economy, the implementation of the Land Reform and the socialist transformation of agriculture, have been guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that, «socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well.»<sup>3</sup> This thesis of principle has been and remains one of the most important links which has guaranteed the successful construction of socialism in our country.

At the liberation of the country agriculture, like all the other sectors of the economy, was in a state of marked backwardness. Only 10.2 per cent of the arable area was cultivated and 10 per cent of this was irrigable. In the structure of crops, cereals occupied 83.5 per cent of the acreage and Albania still never secured all the bread grain supply for the people. The land was worked with primitive methods; mechanized means, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, selected seeds, etc., almost unknown. The motor draught power accounted, for just 0.8 per cent of the total draught power of the country.<sup>4</sup> The best lands and most of the 1 and was in the hands of big landowners, the landed bourgeoisie and the landowner-bourgeois state, which jointly owned 39.8 per cent of the acreage of arable land, at a time when 13.9 per cent<sup>5</sup> of the peasant families of the country were landless.

In these conditions, the primary problem was the revolutionary transformation of the old agrarian relations, because «Democracy cannot be otherwise conceived, because there is no democracy without carrying out large-scale social, economic, political and

cultural reforms and, in the first place, without carrying out the Land Reform, especially in a country like ours, in which feudalism existed in its most savage form, in which the peasants were exploited by the land-owning beyes.»<sup>6</sup> In the conditions of our country the carrying out of the land reform was an imperative dictated by the need to solve the antagonistic contradiction between the working peasantry and the big landowners. That was a major democratic transformation that remained to be done in agriculture.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have defined two roads for the solution of this problem: either through the nationalization of the whole of the land, or through the confiscation of the lands owned by the big landed proprietors and their distribution to the landless and landpoor peasants for their personal use. They have pointed out that the nationalization of the land is a social condition necessary for ensuring the development and progress of agriculture. Lenin wrote that the land should become the property of the whole people...<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Lenin pointed out that in the conditions of the countries in which the feeling of the private ownership of the land is strong, the proletarian state should not liquidate the private ownership of the land immediately.

From the analysis of the socio-economic relations which dominated in our countryside, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha reached the correct conclusion that in the conditions of our country it was better to apply the method of the confiscation of the land of big proprietors and its distribution to the landless and landpoor peasants for their personal use, through the enactment of the land reform.

The carrying out of the Land Reform according to the principle «the land belongs to the tiller», prohibition of the buying, leasing, alienation, mortgaging and transfer by deed, etc. of the land all this constitutes, a creative implementation of the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism on this problem. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «We did not proclaim the nationalization of the land because this would not be understood correctly by

our peasantry, in which the petty-bourgeois feeling of private ownership of the land was very strong. We promulgated some laws to the effect that the peasant had not the right to alienate the land, thereby he was barred from the right to sell, to exchange, and transform it. Thus, although we did not proclaim the nationalization of the land de jure, we had nationalized it de facto with the gradual measures we took».<sup>8</sup>

The Land Reform was a genuine agrarian revolution both in content and form, and in the methods of its implementation, because it definitively liquidated the leftovers from feudalism in the economy.

The Land Reform in our country was a deep-going reform of the kind that can be carried out only when the working class is in power. It was carried out within a short time, on a revolutionary way and through revolutionary methods and in the conditions of a stern class struggle. It was carried out by the working masses of the countryside, led by the working class and its Party. In the Land Reform the peasants «...saw that in fact they were in power, that the Party and the state showed a great care for them, were interested in them. This encouraged the peasant who realized his own strength, built up the confiscation that just as he had won in the war under the leadership of the Party, so he could score other successes with the Party in the leadership.»<sup>9</sup>

All this made the Land Reform an important preliminary measure for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The Law on the Land Reform specifies that on one has the right to sell or buy the land. This was a question of principle on which the future collectivization of agriculture would be based.

By carrying out of the Land Reform created the condition to begin the socialist transformation of the countryside. The only road for socialism to be built in the countryside was the establishment of the socialist relations of production, the replacement of the private ownership of the land by the large-scale socialist ownership. The Party of Labour kept in

mind the teachings of Lenin who said that «...the distribution of the land to the peasants in a good beginning. It must be used to show that the land can be taken from the land-owners and be transferred to the hands of the peasants. But this is not enough. The way out is the collective work of the land.»<sup>10</sup>

The building of socialism necessarily requires the socialist transformation of agriculture, too. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The Party is aware that our state cannot base itself on two different economic bases for a long time: on the socialist sector of the economy in the towns and on the private sector of small producers in the countryside. Therefore, the creation of the socialist sector also, in agriculture is an historical necessity for the triumph of socialism.»<sup>11</sup>

The transformation on a socialist basis of the small private economies cannot be realized by the same methods and means and on the same roads as those through which the socialist socialization of the main means of production was carried out in industry. Therefore, the Party instructed that it would be extremely dangerous to proceed with the creations of the socialist sector in the countryside along the same lines as in the towns, through the expropriation of all the economies of small-scale peasant producers. From the start, basing itself on the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, the Party has stressed that the building of socialism in the countryside would be carried out by gradually organizing the small peasant economies into large-scale collective economies, on the basis of the peasants free will, on the road of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The road of the expropriation and nationalization of the means of production, which was property of small producers is unacceptable, not only in the beginning, when the working class has just taken political power, but also in the further process of the socialist construction. This road leads to the weakening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

On this very important question, the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver

Hoxha based themselves on the teachings of V.I. Lenin, who has pointed out that in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the existence of the socialist social ownership of the main means of production, co-operation is the most suitable, the most acceptable, the most understandable, the most advantageous road for changing the small-scale private economies into large-scale socialist economies.

The forty-year long experience of the construction of socialism in our country has confirmed that the socialist transformation of agriculture cannot be realized without ensuring the leading role of the working class and its Party, because it is the party which makes the peasantry conscious of the need to set out of its own will on the road of collectivization, which transforms the consciousness, the world outlook and psychology of the peasant, and which constitutes the guarantee for the success of this revolutionary process. For this reason, from the first steps taken for the collectivization of agriculture, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, «The conviction of the poor and middle peasants about the need for passing from the individual small-scale economies, over to the large-scale united cooperativist socialist economies and about the advantages of the latter will be achieved only through a great deal of political and organizational work by the organs of our Party.

«Without ceaseless work in this direction, even if the cooperatives are set up, they will be dissolved again or will always remain weak.»<sup>12</sup>

The ensuring and continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party both during the creation of the cooperativist order and in the continuous strengthening of the socialist relations in them is considered by the Party as a vital necessity for carrying out the revolution and building socialism in the countryside.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed that the transition to the collective work on the land can be done only on a voluntary basis, that the duty of the working class, which has state power in its hands, towards the small and middle peasants,

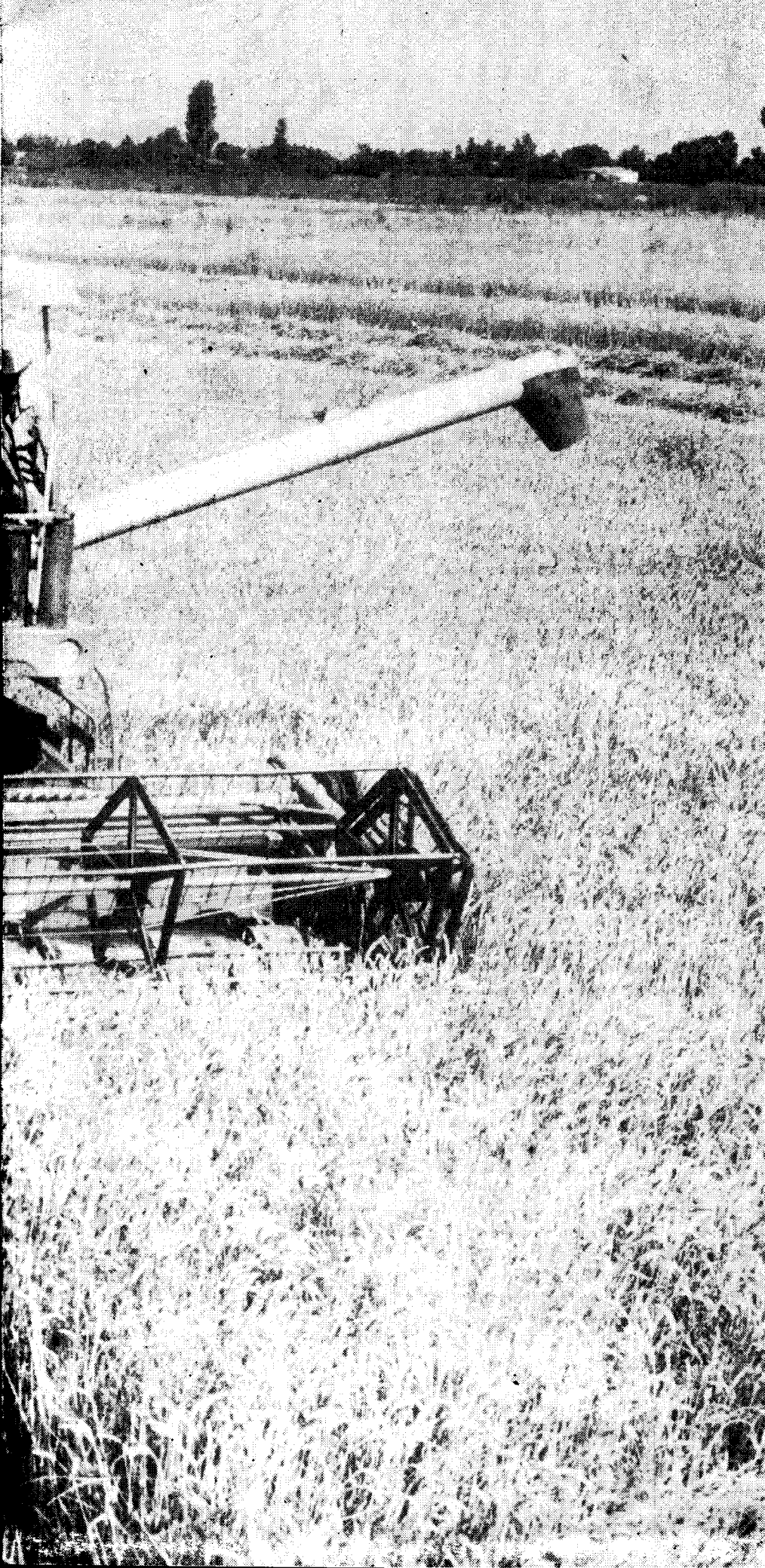
is, first of all, to ensure that their private mode of production and their private ownership should become collective, not by compulsion, but through the example and by giving them social assistance for this purpose. Taking account of these teachings, the Party of Labour instructed since 1947 that the question of the peasant working cooperatives is an important and delicate question, too, and the peasants should by no means be compelled against their will to join the cooperatives, because not only is this not advisable but it is also harmful. The peasant must be convinced about joining the cooperative on his own.

Both during the setting up of the agricultural cooperatives, and later, in the process of the improvement of the socialist relations of production in the countryside, in the great work for the unification of the agricultural cooperatives, the transformation or some of them into higher-type cooperatives and some higher-type cooperatives into state farms, in the improvement of the forms of organization and management, etc., the PLA has relied on the will of the peasantry. On the other hand, it has combated the views of all kinds of revisionists, who misinterpreting this Leninist principle, raising it to a fetish, wanted to leave the process of the socialist collectivization of the countryside completely to spontaneity, subject to the operation of the laws of market relations.

Speaking of the necessity of combining the principle of voluntarism in the process of the collectivization of agriculture with its conscious direction by the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «...we may be told that by planning the collectivization of agriculture we are violating the Leninist principle of voluntarism. We are not violating this principle in any way. ...Hence, without violating the Leninist principles on collectivization, we may make forecasts and so collectivization proceed according to plan in the plains.»<sup>13</sup>

As our experience has confirmed, the socialist collectivization of small producers in the countryside is carried out through the class struggle, which has its objective causes and serves as the main motive force in this pro-





cess. The Party has pursued a revolutionary class policy in the waging of the class struggle in the countryside in the right direction. After analysing and correctly determining the social groups of the peasantry, the Party relied on the poor peasants in alliance with the middle peasants, and took measures for the political isolation, economic restriction and liquidation of the rich peasants (kulaks).

Basing himself on the teachings of Lenin on the criteria of identifying the kulaks as a class, Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated the characteristics of the kulak in Albania. This formulation served as the basis for building up the policy of differentiating the social groups and for waging the class struggle in the countryside. In connection with this problem, he says: «The Land Reform in most cases left the kulak only part of his lands, which is equal with the acreage which the middle peasant had. But we can in no way distinguish the kulak by the acreage of land he possesses today; a kulak is said to be such judging from the means of production, the draught animals, implements or work, he has the house in which he lives, the size of his stalls, barns and granary, etc. But the main characteristic remains what Lenin says: «The exploitation of hired labourers or servants who the kulak employs even for a short period... The kulak is also identified on the basis of his distant and recent past, the views he held in the past, his relations with the beys and his men, his old possessions, the means of production, his trade and speculation on the black market. The past does not exonerate the kulak, this must not be neglected when we describe him as such.»<sup>14</sup>

The struggle against the kulak should be waged correctly without confusing him with the middle peasant or taking the middle peasant for a kulak. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «It is a grave mistake to allow any weakening of the stern class struggle in the countryside, however, it is another just as grave mistake to qualify the middle peasants, who should be the allies of the poor peasants in the struggle against kulaks, for what they are not — as kulaks.»<sup>15</sup>

From the 1st Congress the Party issued the directive: «Cooperation is a new sector of the agricultural economy on a socialist basis. The Party and the state will do everything to enlarge it with all-round material, organizational, instructive and political cultural assistance.»<sup>16</sup>

The PLA not only has given this sector all-round aid, but has considered that the aid to be given this sector is a great political matter, because through this aid the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry is ensured, the hegemonic role of the working class is guaranteed in practice, the working peasantry is drawn on to the road of collectivization and strengthening of the cooperativist order.

In order to give practical solution to the requirements deriving from this principle, the PLA orientated the development of the national economy towards the development of industry with priority and within it to the branches of heavy industry, because the latter is in a position to create the possibilities for the town to give thorough technical and social aid to the backward and fragmented country, to create the material basis for a very considerable increase of the productivity of labour in agriculture and in the peasant economy, in general, thus stimulating the small peasants, through the strength of the example, to go over to the large-scale collective agriculture with machines.

By accepting the great role of the development of industry in creating the material-technical base of agriculture, in the socialist transformation of the countryside, by taking measures for its development and strengthening, the PLA has at the same time, combated the views of the Yugoslav revisionists who claim that the collectivization of agriculture should begin after the complete industrialization of the country. These views of the Yugoslav revisionists, which are a variant of the anti-Marxist thesis that socialism emerges spontaneously due to the high level of development of the productive forces, are aimed at importalizing the domination of capitalist relations.

In order to assist the cooperativist sector, our socialist state has adopted all-round measures for the creation, extension and strengthening of the machine and tractor stations with agricultural machines, cadres and specialists. The state participates with its means in large-scale investments for land improvement schemes, irrigation, draining, opening of new lands, the systematization of the land, the linking up to all villages with telephone, the development of education, culture and health services in the countryside, which favour the development of the agricultural cooperatives.

But the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have continuously demanded that the state aid for the development and strengthening of the cooperativist order should be correctly understood from its political aspect, because, here too, as for any other problem, the decisive thing is the collective work of peasants, reliance on their own forces. The PLA has combated the concepts that the agricultural cooperatives should expect everything from the state.

The correct definition of the most suitable form of collectivization and the stages through which this problem would be solved, have great theoretical and practical importance for the socialist transformation of the small and middle producers of the countryside.

While attaching importance to the lower forms of cooperation, such as those in the field of circulation (buyers and sellers' cooperatives), which played an important role in the preparation of the conditions for passing over to higher forms of cooperation, for disseminating the idea of collectivization in the field of production among the ranks of the peasantry, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have at the same time, orientated the collectivization of agriculture towards the agricultural cooperatives of production. The general acceptance by the peasantry of the Party's orientation for passing over directly to the stage of the agricultural cooperatives of production, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, was determined by the fact that the working peasantry had created a lofty political consciousness and had unshaken confidence in the correctness

of the line of the Party, confidence which was created since during the National Liberation War and later through the measures which the Party adopted in favour of the peasantry, such as the Land Reform, etc.

Besides deciding the suitable form of cooperation, the PLA has also correctly determined the stages through which this process was to be carried out, as well as the tasks that must be confronted and measures that must be taken in each stage. By dividing the process of collectivization in our country into two main stages, which cover the periods 1946-1955 and 1956-1967, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha had to fight both the views for unduly hastening the setting up of agricultural cooperatives, and the views which tried to inhibit this process in an artificial manner. It is a fact that among the countries where the regime of people's democracy was established after the Second World War, Albania entered sooner, with greater determination and consistently, on the road of the socialist transformation of the country. But in this rapid advance it did not discard anything of the Leninist concept of the stages of the revolution. The only thing we discarded were the Yugoslav theories together with the sinister aims which were hidden behind them, and which we foiled.

The Party defined correctly the slogan of the first stage, according to which in the collectivization of agriculture, «...we must neither hasten, nor mark time», which the aim of ensuring the economic-organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives so that they showed in practice their indisputable superiority over the individual peasant economy, and gain the necessary experience to proceed more rapidly with the socialist collectivization of agriculture in general. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «Our task... is to strengthen the existing cooperatives, and not to increase them, that is, our aim is not quantity but quality. The rapid increase of numbers brings great dangers if we do not prepare the ground well and do not lay sound bases for this.»<sup>17</sup> From the year 1946 to 1955 there were 318 cooperatives compris-

ing 9.8 per cent of the peasant families and 11.4 per cent of the arable land.<sup>18</sup>

The 3rd Congress of the PLA, held in May 1950 set the task for the collectivization of agriculture in general to be completed within the 2nd Five-year Plan, primarily in the plains zone and partly in the hilly zones. The number of new agriculture cooperatives set up in 1956 was 563, or about twice as many as had been set up in the first preparatory stage. Until 1959 about 83 per cent of the arable land in the possession of the peasants was collectivized.<sup>19</sup> The year 1960 marked the successful conclusion, in general, of the socialist collectivization of the small and middle producers, the establishment of socialist relations, the building of the economic base of socialism, in the countryside. After 1960, collectivization was extended in the mountainous zones, and finally covered the whole country in 1967.

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The successful conclusion of the socialist collectivization of the small and middle producers of the countryside in Albania was the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary change in the socio-economic relations in the countryside. It liquidated the basis of the antagonistic contradictions between town and countryside, opened the road for the development of agriculture at rapid rates along with industry, for raising the material and cultural level of the peasantry, for strengthening and consolidating the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, for solving the contradiction between the political superstructure and the economic base.

Analysing the economic and social situation of the countryside after the completion of the socialist collectivization of agriculture, the PLA reached the correct conclusion that the establishment of the socialist relations in the countryside does not mark the ending of the socialist transformation of agriculture, that this is a long process which comprises a series of revolutionary changes of a social, economic, technical, cultural and ideological character. In these conditions the

problem of the further deepening of the socialist transformation of agriculture was an objective necessity which was dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country—the complete construction of the socialist society.

After the collectivization of the whole countryside, it was necessary to proceed uninterruptedly with the improvement of the socialist relations of production with revolutionary methods, to ensure an impetuous development of the productive forces, the material-technical base of agriculture. Therefore, the 4th Congress of the PLA orientated the development of agriculture on the road of intensification.

Conceiving the intensification of agriculture as a planned rational and harmonized development on scientific bases of complex factors — human, material, agrotechnical and natural, which condition the agricultural production, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have correctly determined the priorities of its development of the zones, sectors, branches and crops in conformity with the development of agriculture and the tasks it has had in each stage of the country's socio-economic development. In this way, by giving priority to the intensification of the plains zone, the Party has not neglected the hilly and mountainous zones. On the other hand, while giving priority to the production of bread grain, it has, at the same time, fought for and measured the complex and harmonious development of the agriculture and the tasks it has had in each stage of the country's socio-economic development. In this way, by giving priority to the intensification of the plains zone, the Party has not neglected the hilly and mountainous zones. On the other hand, while giving priority to the production of bread grain, it has, at the same time, fought for and secured the complex and harmonious development of the agricultural production on a broad front.

The process of the intensification of agriculture in our country, with the main part of the population and work force situated in the countryside, when our country has already set out on

the road of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country with developed industry and advanced agriculture, constitutes another important contribution to the theory and practice of the socialist transformation of agriculture and of the socialist construction of the country in general.

In opposition to the practices of the capitalist and revisionist countries, in which the intensification of agriculture has been accompanied with the mass depopulation of the village, in our country the intensification of agriculture is conditioned by a high level of population of the countryside. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «We march on the road of the intensification of agricultural production in the conditions when we continue to increase the work force in agriculture from the population of the countryside and partly from that of the towns. Likewise, we are implementing with success the policy of the continuous narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside. Advancing on this road is a great success in the interest of the whole society, a thing which does not occur anywhere else in the world, where the village population is drained and agriculture is degrading.»<sup>20</sup>

By giving priority to the development of the productive forces through the intensification of agriculture, the Party has emphasized the need to continuously improve the socialist relations in the countryside in a revolutionary manner.

The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have consistently followed the dialectics of mutual connections between the forces of production and the relations of production, have taken timely measures and defined correct directions for the improvement of these relations in all their aspects and constituent elements. In this aspect, our Party has remained loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has explored new roads and paths.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed that the complete construction of socialism in the countryside requires the transformation of the group ownership into state ownership. In this direction, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the sett-



*Terraces of fruit trees — vines, olives, citruses, and agricultural crops are cut out on the slopes of the hills and mountains.*

ing up of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives, the criteria and the conditions required for the agricultural cooperatives to be changed into state farms, as well as those which have to do with the treatment of the problem of the cooperativists personal plot and personal livestock as a special kind of personal property in socialism, have special importance in theory and practice.

In order to realize these important tasks our Party has proceeded carefully, in conformity with the development of the productive forces in general and those of the countryside in particular, in order to prepare the necessary socio-economic and ideological-political conditions. Thus, along with the process of the socialist collectivization of

small and middle producers in the countryside, the Party adopted measures to raise the socialization of the group ownership to a higher level, through the voluntary union of the agricultural cooperatives. This process developed gradually, in struggle against the tendencies to hastening it unduly and giving priority to the plains zone in the beginning, and to the hilly-mountainous zones later.

A further step ahead in the improvement of the socialist relations of ownership in the countryside was the creation of the higher-type cooperatives. The setting up of such cooperatives marked a new step on the road of the changing the cooperativist ownership into the ownership of the entire people. At the 6th Congress of

the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «The creation of the higher-type cooperatives has great the theoretical and practical importance for the present and future of our socialist agriculture — the complete construction of socialism in the countryside.»<sup>21</sup> The theoretical importance of the creation of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives lies in the fact that with them a new higher form of the development of the ownership of the group was discovered. The transition of the agricultural cooperatives into state farms cannot be realized without going through another form more advanced than the ordinary type of the agricultural cooperative.

The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha orientates that, in the beginning, the





of Albania.

higher type cooperatives should be created from the stronger cooperatives of the plains zone, because precisely in this group of economics of the plains the conditions had matured for such a change and because they could prove their superiority as a new higher form of the development of the group ownership. The results achieved in these years by the higher type cooperatives proved in practice the correctness of the line of the Party. In the 7th Five-year Plan they have extended in other zones of the country, thus becoming a massive phenomenon in the process of the building of socialism in the countryside.

A distinguishing feature of the higher-type cooperatives is that the state participates with non-return in-

vestments in the objects of the productive sphere, thus becoming co-owner with the cooperatives, creating in this manner a combination of the two forms of socialist ownership.

The ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the conditions which the higher-type cooperatives should meet in order to be transformed into state farms, the most appropriate time of their conversion into state farms, the solution of the problem of the cooperativists pay, the objects comprised in the payment system, the occupation with work of the additional work force in these cooperatives, the problems which have to do with the cooperativists' personal plot and livestock in the cooperatives which are to be changed into state farms, etc., have theoretical and practical importance for the further development of the process of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Another important factor for the improvement of the relations in the field of ownership in the countryside, are the measures the Party has adopted for the reduction of the cooperativists' personal plot of land and the formation of collective herds from the cooperativist personal livestock. The cooperativists personal plot of land, as an economic fact, emerged together with the collectivization of agriculture. The cooperativists' personal plot is a compensating auxiliary economy of a temporary character, for personal consumption. With the ever better fulfillment of the needs of the cooperativist families, with the raising of the level of their well-being, the cooperativists plot should be gradually reduced until it disappear completely in a given stage. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «If we achieve abundance in the cooperative, that is, if the peasant sees that he gets most of the income from the cooperative and not from the cooperativists' personal plot and when he actually, and not in words, has the possibility to buy milk, meat, vegetables, fruits, etc. from the cooperative only then he will realize that his own personal plot is a stumbling block.»<sup>22</sup>

In our country the personal plot of the cooperativists has kept shrinking, with the result that the role of this

economy as complementary to the needs of the cooperativist family has also been limited.

The modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at their head, consider the cooperativists' personal plot not only as a fact that does not tend to disappear, but, on the contrary, regard it as an indispensable phenomenon which must be further developed and extended, not only in the countryside but also in the towns. At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «In the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the existing form of collective capitalism is now associates, to a large degree, with direct forms of private property. The individual private economies are regarded by the revisionists as a main source for the production of meat, milk and other agricultural products, moreover, they are even being given the animals of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses to feed and raise, thus liquidating any trace of the socialist system in the countryside. This is the course that has led the agriculture of many of these countries, in which the shortage of food and agricultural raw materials has become of the most serious problems for the life of the working masses today, into a profound crisis.»<sup>23</sup>

The perfecting of the relations of distribution, and especially those which have to do with the remuneration of work, occupy a special place in the work of the Party for the further strengthening and deepening of the process of socialist transformation of agriculture. Assessing correctly the decisive role of production as the basis on which the standard of living is raised, the Party has, at the same time, assessed correctly the active role of distribution over production and consumption, therefore, it has continuously paid great attention to it. In all the stages of the socialist construction of the countryside the Party has established such forms of distribution which respond to the development of the productive forces and the degree of consciousness of the working people of agriculture. It has devoted special care to perfecting the distribution of agricultural and livestock production, of bread grain in

particular, maintaining correct proportions between the needs for the extended reproduction, the general needs of the state and the needs for the cooperativists' personal consumption. Alongside these attention has been attached to the distribution of the incomes realized in the agricultural cooperatives, dividing it into accumulation fund and consumption fund. It has fought the manifestations of creating the accumulation fund at the expense of the consumption fund, as well as the manifestations of the creation of the consumption fund at the expense of the accumulation fund, and the unjustified use of the fund of accumulation for building untimely projects, etc. The Party, with its correct, farsighted policy, has brought about the uninterrupted development of the cooperativist order and the uplift of the material and cultural well-being of the working peasantry.

Special care has been devoted to improving the remuneration according to the amount and quality of the work done. The forms of remuneration of work in agriculture have been improved continuously. The form of remuneration in kind for the cooperativists was overcome, and we are gradually proceeding to the elimination of the work-day as a measure of compensation, through its replacement with payment against work quota.

The uninterrupted development of the productive forces in agriculture, the deepening and intensification of agricultural production all over the country, in general, and in the plains zones, in particular, the combination of the state relations with those of the agricultural cooperatives has been con-

sidered and treated in close connection with the needs for the further improvement of the relations of exchange. Simultaneously, the uninterrupted improvement of the relations of exchange is necessary for opening the road more broadly to the development of the productive forces and the preparation of the conditions for the gradual transition to the voluntary transformation of the group property into the property of the entire people in a natural manner. The improvement of the relations of production in the countryside in the field of exchange, as in all other fields, is handled in such a manner as to ensure the gradual extension of the sphere of the relations of state ownership and the narrowing of the sphere of the relations of cooperativist ownership.

The important ideas Comrade Enver Hoxha has given for the passing, to a more extensive and higher scale, over to concentration and cooperation, the application of agricul-crop rotation not only inside individual agricultural economies, but also in groups of economies, even beyond the limits of present-day administrative divisions, the gradual transition of planning in the agricultural cooperatives included in the zone of priority intensification from the form of recommendations to the form of directives, the unification of the system of planned indices of the agricultural cooperatives with those of the state farms, the strengthening of state check-up on the process of the fulfilment of the plan, on the utilization of incomes, on expenditure, etc., the improvement of the forms of internal organization of work and production in agricultural cooperatives towards the forms which are used in

the state sector of agriculture, the deepening of specialization through the elimination of some activities which are carried out by the cooperatives and some other enterprises, the improvement of the distribution of agricultural production among the districts and within the districts, etc., these constitute some important theoretical and practical directions in the field of the improvement of the relations of management and organization of work and production in the countryside.

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The results achieved by the Albanian agriculture show in practice the correctness and vitality of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the correctness of the line and policy worked out and pursued by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the socialist transformation and development of the countryside.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The revolutionary transformations and the progress achieved in agriculture represent one of the greatest victories of the line and policy of the Party for the construction of socialism. The fact that during nearly four decades of the people's state power agricultural production in general in our country has continued to increase about two times more rapidly than the population, that the real per capita income of the peasantry has gone up to 10 to 20 per cent from one five-year plan to another, that now, as compared with 1960, agricultural production has increased 1.7 times per unit of arable land and 1.6 times per agricultural worker, is clear evidence of the correctness of this policy.»<sup>24</sup>

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 371, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, p. 434, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 64, Eng. ed.

4 Statistical Yearbook of the PRA, year 1973, pp. 113, 119, 171.

5 Statistical Yearbook of the PRA, year 1959, p. 84.

6 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, p. 86, Alb. ed.

7 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 538, Alb. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, On the 7th Five-year Plan, p. 415, Alb. ed.

9 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 343, Alb. ed.

10. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 188, Alb. ed.

11 Enver Hoxha, About Socialist Agriculture, vol. 1, Tirana 1980, p. 445 Alb. ed.

12 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 353, Alb. ed.

13 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 13, p. 106, Alb. ed.

14 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 6, p. 17, Alb. ed.

15 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 9, p. 66, Alb. ed.

16 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 345,

Alb. ed.

17. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 8, p. 202, Alb. ed.

18 Statistical Yearbook of the PRA, year 1958, p. 55.

19 Statistical Yearbook of the PRA, year 1960, p. 87.

20 Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1980-1981 p. 187, Alb. ed.

21 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 81, Alb. ed.

22 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 18, p. 344, Alb. ed.

23 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 41, Eng. ed.

24 Ibidem, pp. 28-29, Eng. ed.

# SOCIALIST CULTURE— A WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR UNBROKEN PROGRESS

by **HAMIT BEQJA**

*Its profoundly democratic character is not expressed only in the fact that it is the property of all the working people. Along with this, this culture is built on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, which is the most humane and the most democratic social doctrine. It is placed fully in the service of the liberation and all-round emancipation of man, of the unlimited development of his personality and dignity*

**IN THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW, SOCIALIST ALBANIA, A VERY ELOQUENT AND SIGNIFICATIVE EXPRESSION OF ITS GREAT REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS IS THE DEEP-GOING AND ALL-ROUND REVOLUTION WHICH HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE ALBANIA WHICH HAS EMERGED FROM PROFOUND BACKWARDNESS AND IS BUILDING SOCIALISM IN FIERCE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HEAVY LEGACY OF THE PAST AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF GROWTH OF A NEW SOCIETY AS WELL AS AGAINST THE SAVAGE EXTERNAL IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT.**

It is in this difficult historical context that the struggle for the creation and development of the new, socialist Albanian culture was waged. The reciprocal connection between general social progress and cultural progress and their mutual influence were fully proved in this process. History has shown and Marxism-Leninism demonstrated that the epochs of vigorous re-

volutionary development are also periods of cultural flourishing at the same time. On the other hand, political and social reaction and economic stagnation inhibit the cultural development and introduce a decadent spirit into it.

The general basis of the birth and development of the new, socialist Albanian culture is the new political and social order of a profoundly democratic and socialist character, the li-

beration of the working masses from political and social oppression and economic exploitation. Only on this new social ground can the cultural blessings be made property of the working people, can the all-round emancipation of man be realized through the gradual overcoming of his alienation, can man accede to culture through an all-round communist formation, can the energies and talents of the masses, which were oppressed and suppressed in the exploiting society, burst out in all their vigour.

For its part, the rapid development and all-round progress of socialist culture imparts a powerful impulse to all-round social advance and economic progress, raises work productivity, uplifts the working masses to the hig-

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hest level of modern science and technique, forms the new popular intelligentsia, gives birth to and cultivates people's new socialist consciousness, mentality and psychology. In a nutshell, we can say that the creation and affirmation of the new, socialist culture is an expression of the all-round emancipation and irresistible advance of the new, socialist nation.

All these truths, which may sound as theoretical postulates and even seem to somebody as propaganda slogans, become evident if we refer to the actual Albanian reality, its evolution over these four decades. This is a short period in the historical life of a nation, but it means centuries for Albania.

Usually we take the year 1938-1939 as a point of comparison and reference to the past. This because in 1944 the cultural development had remained the same, if it had not regressed, because the war made itself felt in this field, too.

Before the Second World War Albania was a backward agrarian country without an industry, a country which had not completely eliminated feudalism and not yet properly known developed capitalism. Although in the centre of Europe, its people lived in poverty and misery, in ignorance and darkness: about 90 per cent of the population was illiterate, and in many villages illiteracy was total. Compulsory primary education, although promulgated by law, was practically never carried out. Only a third of school-age children attended primary schools, and this figure shrank to a fourth in the countryside. Primary schools were of five years in the cities, and of two, three or four years in the countryside, which further deepened the gap between the city and the countryside. There was no proper educational institution built on the basis of the primary school. In the whole of Albania there were only 11 middle schools of general or vocational education. Practically, the middle school was the privilege of the wealthy classes. Under these conditions only one in 19 people attended school. Not only there was no higher school, but

there was not even question of creating it. Only the sons of the rich could hope to be sent to the universities of different European countries. Higher studies abroad were practically the monopoly of the rich. Albania had only 360 specialists of higher qualification at that time.

The network of cultural and artistic institutions was almost non-existent. Apart from some cinemas of a commercial character and the odd small public library in the more important towns of the country, there was no national theatre or other institutions of this kind. The means of mass culture and propaganda were very limited, too. There was no institution or centre of scientific research, either. The rare talents that managed to emerge in this field were soon lost in the struggle against unsurmountable difficulties. If we add to all this a primitive life and its oppressive customs, the inequality of woman which was more pronounced in this than other fields, and the practical impossibility for her to accede to culture, one has a clear idea of the backward state of Albanian culture of that time.

Despite the ancientness of Albanian culture, its values and wealth, its progressive and democratic traditions, this was the situation in which the new Albania set out on its cultural revolution.

The Party of Labour of Albania worked out from the beginning a consistently Marxist-Leninist cultural and educational policy. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, launched the slogan: «More bread, more culture for the people». By putting culture on the same plane as bread, it was emphasized that the new, socialist order needed a culture which made people more able to work and produce, not a worthless ornament, but a weapon in the struggle for the unbroken progress of socialism.

This policy has underlied all the cultural activities and development in these four decades. Its practical implementation has gone through major historical stages in close connection between themselves. The first stage includes the two first decades after Liberation. The second stage begins

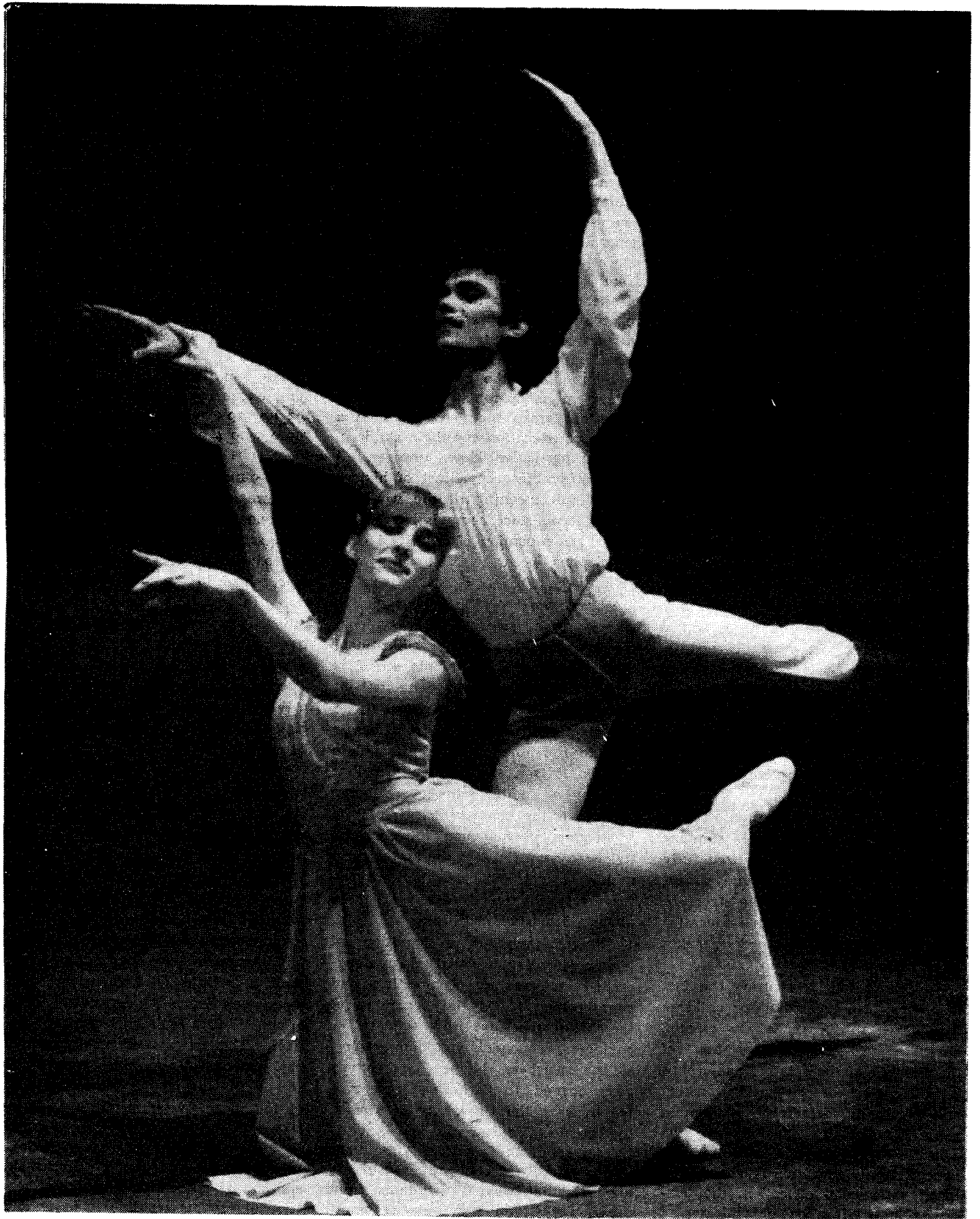
from the 60's and reaches to our days and beyond.

The first stage coincides with the beginnings of the building of the socialist society, especially its economic base. The foundations of the new, socialist culture were laid precisely at this stage. A complete educational system was built on the basis of democratic and socialist principles and with all the necessary categories and links of schools. At the same time a broad network of cultural and artistic institutions was created almost from scratch and, along with the schools network, extended to the whole country. The network of social information, of the mass media, was completed and strengthened. Genres of literature and art which up to that time were little cultivated or unknown were born and developed. The first steps were taken in the field of scientific research and special institutions and centres created for this purpose. We cannot fail to emphasize that the activity of all these centres and institutions, as well as all literary, artistic and scientific activities were built on new ideological and scientific bases, transformed or developed in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Cultural transformations and developments at this stage were very vigorous, especially in regard to their quantity and extension, with developments in regard to quality and depth lagging somewhat behind for a certain time.

The present, second stage is that of the complete construction of socialism or, in other words, the all-round deepening of the socialist revolution, the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country, including spiritual, ideological, cultural and educational life. The educational and cultural structures set up in the first stage now continue to expand, to be completed and strengthened in all directions. Vigorous quantitative developments are still on the agenda. Nevertheless, qualitative developments become ever more important for the affirmation of the socialist content of the new culture and its uninterrupted revolutionization.

This general outline of the road of cultural development of socialist Al-



bania becomes even more clear if it is seen in the light of some of its more concrete fundamental phenomena and features in the historical and contemporary plane.

It is an accepted fact that the creation of a broad and diversified popular education, the mass schooling of the new generation, and the inclusion of all and everybody in what is today called permanent education, lie at the foundation of the incessant uplift of the cultural level of a people. But this problem could not be posed, let alone radically solved, without eliminating illiteracy.

Immediately after Liberation the struggle against illiteracy in Albania was transformed into a mass national and popular, social and state action. A law was promulgated which made it compulsory for all citizens under 40 years to learn to read and write. Within a decade the illiterates under this age went through special courses. Of course, there were isolated cases of people relapsing into illiteracy, but a whole generation, the more active and productive part of it, learned to read and write, was given the possibility of schooling and qualification, of fruitful integration into productive work and the other spheres of social life, and especially the possibility of an ever broader and active communication with culture.

Along with the elimination of illiteracy, compulsory general primary four-year education was realized fully and definitively in record time, within five years. On this basis the structure of a new and comprehensive educational system, with all the modern stages of schooling, was set up.

We cannot fail to mention the fact that pre-school education for children from three to six years was created almost from scratch. Now half of the children of the relative age-groups attend pre-school institutions which will eventually include all of them in a near future. In this manner the educational influence of school is enhanced, family education is better combined with social education, the burden of the education of children of

the family, and the woman especially, is made lighter. For all these reasons, pre-school education in socialist Albania is integrated by law into the educational system as one of its regular links.

Many difficulties emerged in the course of application of compulsory general seven-year (later eight-year) education. They originated, especially, from the geographical configuration of the country, its mountainous nature, its scattered and sparsely populated villages, lack of teachers, especially those with proper qualification, and, in many areas, the conservatism and fanaticism of parents who initially could not grasp the need for such a degree of education for their children, girls in particular. Now, however, all these difficulties are a fact of history in the full meaning of the word. It is long time since compulsory general eight-year education of a unified character has been realized fully and definitively.

A great variety of four-year middle schools of a general and vocational character function on this educational basis. At present the middle school is going through a radical change. About 80 per cent of the students that finish the eight-year school go immediately over to full-time or part-time middle schools. It is a significant fact that ever more middle schools are being opened in the countryside. Now it is a common phenomenon for cooperativists to have finished the agricultural middle school. This is also in conformity with the development of a modern intensive agriculture.

Although without a tradition of higher education, socialist Albania succeeded in creating, completing and consolidating it. In the beginning of the fifties the first high schools for engineers, economists, agronomers, physicians, teachers, lawyers and others were opened. In 1957, they were united to form the University of Tirana, the greatest educational and scientific centre of the country. After 1960, when the Khrushchevite revisionists expelled the Albanian students from the Soviet Union, new schools, bran-

ches and specialities were added to our higher education. So, the actual possibility was created for all specialists of higher education for the different sectors of the economy, culture and defence to be trained and, in the recent years, further qualified, within the country. So, the possibility of the practical implementation by smaller peoples, too, of the revolutionary principle of self-reliance was proved also in the field of education, including higher education. Based on a state plan which takes account of the needs of the country for specialized cadres, our higher education is in constant expansion. Albania does not know the unemployment of intellectuals. All those who graduate high schools have their jobs guaranteed.

Part-time education, in various forms and ways, with evening schools or correspondence courses, was created from scratch for all the links of the new educational system, from the eight-year school to the high school. Especially in the first period after Liberation it was of great assistance for the rapid inclusion of undertrained adults in the system of education. The expansion of this system of education was based on state help, especially paid leave for preparation for examinations.

Thanks to these achievements in the system of the people's education, in all its links and categories, two in seven inhabitants of socialist Albania attend school regularly. This is among the highest indices of our times. The educational level of the whole population, not only the new generation, has risen perceptively. Now one in ten inhabitants of the country has finished a middle or high school. The new work force is ever more highly qualified, first at school and then at work. The new intelligentsia, which has emerged from the people and serves the people, is numerous and of the most diverse profiles.

Parallel with people's education and relying on it, a whole system of qualification, attestation, re-qualification and specialization has been established. It is developing on diverse roads and

in different forms, with regular schools and special part-time or full-time courses, including all the working people, from workers to specialists who are involved in regular post-university studies and regular activities to recycle their knowledge which is subject to periodical public re-affirmation. This combination of schooling and recycling is precisely one of the features of permanent education, a sign of the vigorous technical-scientific revolution that is going on in our country.

Achievements in the field of culture come together with this intensive educational development. National and local cultural institutions have been created from scratch: libraries, drama and variety show theatres, theatres of opera and ballet, symphonic orchestras, etc. The «New Albania» Film Studio turns out a great number of documentary and feature films some of which have won prizes and acknowledgements at international film festivals. Literary and artistic creativeness has expanded, especially the genres cultivated immediately after Liberation, novels and plays, opera and symphonic music, figurative arts, etc.

The new Albanian culture has nothing to do with an elitist culture. It is a culture of the masses in the true sense of the word. It is no surrogate of the standardized commercial culture which is advertised in the present-day bourgeois world, an opium to benumb people, especially the youth. Houses and centres of culture carry a broad range of activities of mass culture, especially in the countryside, and trade-union clubs function at work and production centres, along with traditional and contemporary amateur artistic ensembles, etc. There are more than 4,000 cultural and artistic institutions all over the country.

Cultural activities are expanding also under the influence of the modern mass media. The press and the book, the radio and television have entered every Albanian home and turned them into hearths of cultural life. If in 1938 there was one book published per 3-4 inhabitants, now the figure is 3-4 books per inhabitant. The range

of problems dealt with in the press and books and radio and television programs is very broad.

A broad network of scientific institutions covers the whole country and serves the development of all the sectors of the economy and culture. These developments have been achieved in accordance with the enhanced role of modern science and technique in all fields of social life. There are more than 50 scientific institutions and centres specialized in scientific research without mentioning the intense scientific activities carried out in high schools as a fundamental element of their whole work.

Scientific activity, however, does remain secluded in specialized institutions and schools, research institutions and laboratories. It extends to centres of industrial and agricultural production, factories and agricultural co-operatives, among workers and peasants. Mass scientific experimentation, and the broad participation of the working masses in it is a distinctive feature of our technical-scientific revolution.

All these achievements and developments of the new, socialist Albanian culture, popular education, cultural institutions, literature and art, and the modern means of mass communication are an expression of the process of democratization that is constantly being deepened in all fields, of social equality, of a socialist character among the classes and strata of our modern society. They are eloquent proofs of the vitality of the socialist order which works to bar all paths to social inequality and prevent the emergence and development of new social class differences and polarizations which are characteristic of the modern bourgeois and revisionist world and which are encouraged by the educational systems in force in this world.

This profoundly democratic character of our new culture is expressed not only in its mass character, but also in its other concrete features which are just as important. Education free of charge in all categories of school-

ings, abolition of all school fees, a system of state bursaries with preference given to the sons and daughters of workers and peasants and, for a certain time, girls boarding for every student outside his dwelling place, low prices for school books and many other facilities of this nature are only some of these features. The sons and daughters of both employees and workers and peasants attend all categories of schools. The number of girls attending school, high school included, is equal to that of boys. Despite the profound backwardness and the great difficulties inherited from the past, the village has been fully integrated into mass schooling of all levels. The recent great expansion of the medium education in the countryside is clear evidence of this.

The broad extension of cultural institutions, theatres opened in many cities of the country, token prices of theatre tickets, large circulation of newspapers, magazines and books and reasonable prices for them, the large army of amateurs together with professional artists, active participation of the masses in artistic creativeness, the broad range of cultural, artistic and scientific activities make this picture more complete.

A sign of the profoundly democratic character of our new socialist culture is the new type of its relationship with man, the working man liberated from oppression and exploitation. Now man is not only the object of cultural activities, but also their subject. Being the object of a varied and rich cultural influence, he is at the same time an active subject of our new socialist culture. In an active and uninterrupted process of cultural communication, he learns and works, experiments and creates, enriches his spiritual world, gains theoretical knowledge and translates it into practice, enjoys the new socialist life and affirms his all-round personality as a free, emancipated, active and creative man.

The depth and extension of the process of democratization of the new socialist culture is also expressed by

broad concepts on culture and the cultured man as well as their actual embodiment in practice. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it, all our socialist life is and must be impregnated by culture. The process of active cultural communication is not limited to the school and qualification alone, no matter how permanent they may be, nor is it circumscribed by the

means of social information, no matter how powerful and extensive. Culture is also the manner people work and produce, think and live, behave and communicate, their approach to the milieu in which they work, live or pass their free time. In one word, our whole new socialist life. A cultured man is not he who has got a smattering of schooling, some out-

ward polish and poses as if he is going in step with time. While aiming at the all-round development of the personality of man, and creating the appropriate social ground for this purpose, socialism needs people with a broad educational, scientific and cultural horizon, with a high qualification, with theoretical knowledge combined with practical habits, with sound





moral and political features, with fine aesthetic tastes, with all-round physical tempering.

However, the profound democratic spirit and the socialist character of the new, Albanian culture are clearly expressed especially in its content. It is pervaded by a deep-going humanism free from the alien and negative ideological and cultural influence of

past epochs and the exploiting classes, and opposing the present pressure of the ideological diversion and cultural aggression of the capitalist and revisionist world.

Socialist culture is a qualitatively new page in the cultural development of mankind. Its profoundly democratic character is not expressed only in the fact that it is the property of all the working people. Along with this, this culture is built on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, which is the most humane and the most democratic social doctrine. It is placed fully in the service of the liberation and all-round emancipation of man, of the unlimited development of his personality and dignity.

The outstanding cultural values of all times and all nations are organically integrated into the new, socialist culture. According to the known Leninist concept of culture, exclusiveness, narrowness, sectarianism, particularism, isolation and xenophobia are alien to this culture. This is clearly seen in the present development of our culture.

The present socialist culture has also a national form, it is based on the rich and sound cultural traditions of the country, it preserves popular culture, the fine creations of folk art, as well as cultivated culture, its outstanding patriotic and secular, illuministic and democratic achievements.

The Albanian public is in broad contact with the outstanding values of world culture. Progressive world literature, from Antiquity to our days, general history and geography are extensively taught in our schools. The radio and television, the cinema and theatre, and diverse publications acquaint our public with the more important aspects of the scientific, artistic and cultural creativeness of all nations in all times. The new Albanian science and technique rely on the achievements of progressive world science and technique for their further development.

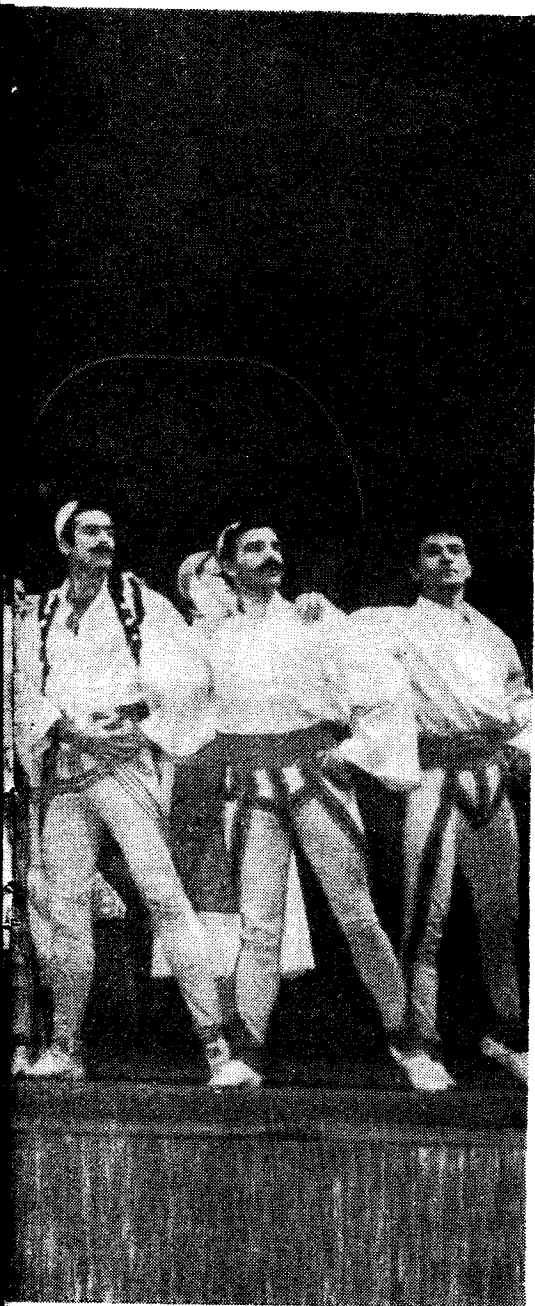
However, this broad, humanistic and profoundly democratic approach is also

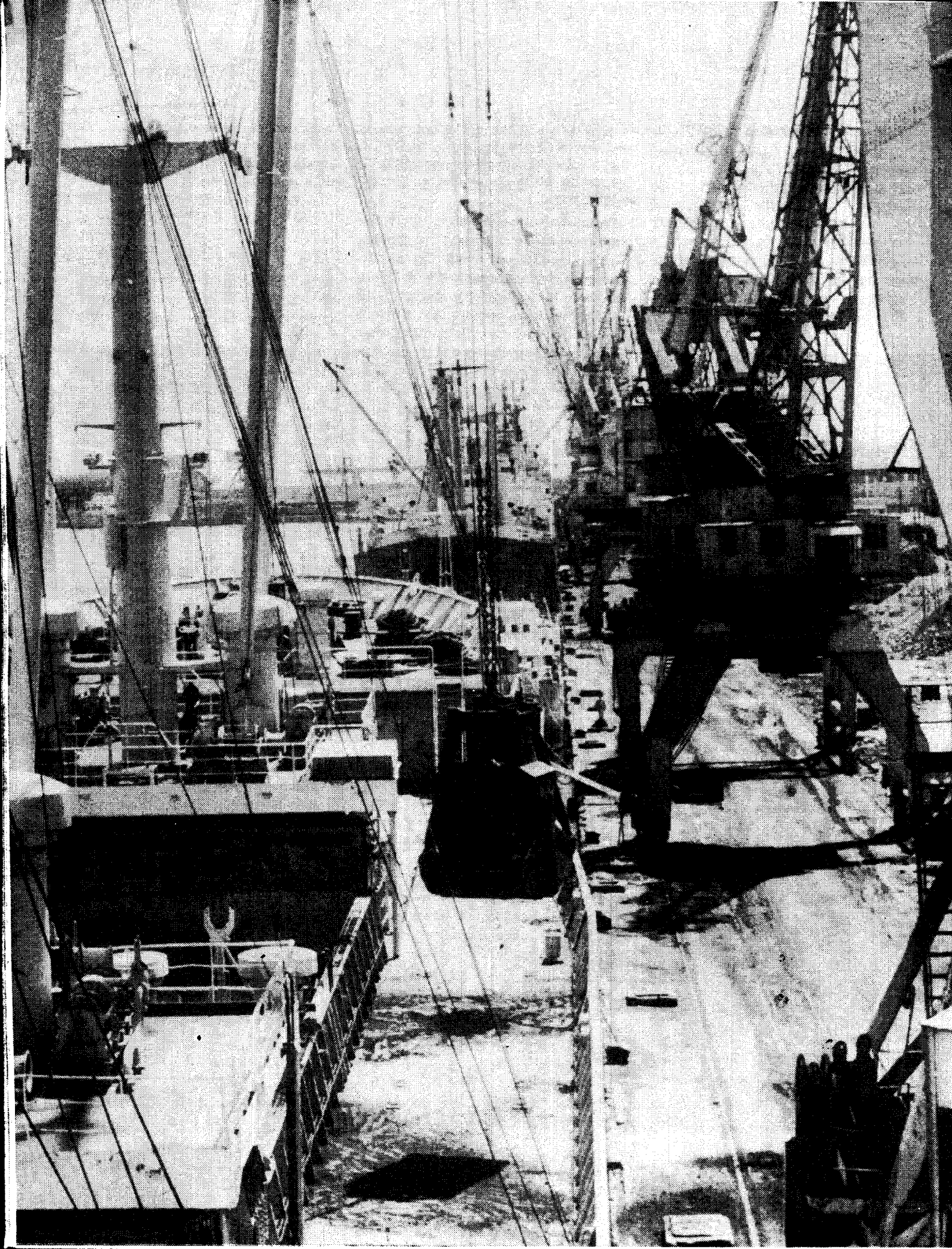
accompanied by a critical and differentiated approach to cultural traditions and values. It is accompanied by stern opposition to all those aspects of present-day bourgeois and revisionist culture which are impregnated by a spirit of corruption and degeneration intended to benumb any progressive and revolutionary ideal and aspiration. Our struggle to close all paths to the penetration of this culture has a profoundly humane and democratic character.

The further humanization and democratization of socialist culture are accompanied with its ever closer connection with the reality, with the all-round revolutionary practice of socialist development and construction, with the strengthening of the fighting spirit, with the deepening of the principle of self-reliance which is correctly linked with the rational and critical utilization of all advanced experience coming from abroad.

Along with the deepening of the democratic mass character of the new socialist culture, of its socialist content and its sound national and popular spirit, the present historical moments call for a further all-round raising of the quality of cultural activities, the educational and teaching process at the school, individual qualification, literary and artistic creativeness, scientific work, cultural activities, etc. This is closely linked also with the vigorous development of the present-day technical-scientific revolution and the priorities the new qualitative developments are assuming in the life of the country. This process makes our culture richer, more humane and more democratic.

The 40th anniversary of the liberation of the country comes at a time when the balance of the cultural development of socialist Albania is extremely rich in all fields, and when new paths have been opened for the consolidation of the achievements made in all directions and for carrying them forward, for the further unbroken extension of the cultural activity and its enrichment with new outstanding values.







# ACHIEVEMENTS AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT

by **THOMA KROMIDHA**  
**PETRAQ KONDURI**

*In each stage of its development transport has grown proportionally with all the branches of the economy and culture. As a result, today we have a transport system capable of coping with all the needs of the economy and the population*

**THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER ARE CHARACTERIZED BY A GREAT CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE WORKING CLASS, THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY AND THE PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA FOR THE UNINTERRUPTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE IN OUR COUNTRY. IN THIS CONTEXT, DURING THESE 40 YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, OUR TRANSPORT HAS DEVELOPED, GROWN AND HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED.**

**OUR COUNTRY INHERITED FROM THE PAST A SITUATION OF GREAT BACKWARDNESS IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE. GOODS CIRCULATION WAS VERY MUCH RESTRICTED. THIS STATE OF THINGS WAS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE SYSTEM OF TRANSPORT. RAILWAY TRANSPORT DID NOT EXIST. THE CAPACITY OF MOTOR TRANSPORT IN 1938 WAS SUCH THAT TODAY IT IS COVERED IN ONLY THREE DAYS. THIS WAS THE GENERAL ASPECT OF TRANSPORT AT THAT TIME.**

The situation was worsened still more in the time of the nazi-fascist occupation of Albania, when the enemy blew up the main bridges, the roads of the Durrës, Vlora and Shëngjin seaports. Most of the motor roads were damaged out of use by heavy bombing, or by the armoured cars of the enemy. Part of the motor vehicles were either destroyed or taken away altogether. That was the situation of transport on the eve of the liberation of the Homeland.

After Liberation, the people's state power, estimating transport as an im-

portant sector for the development of the economy, adopted a series of measures, in the framework of the economic policy of the Party, for the immediate reopening of the roads of communication which were interrupted, for linking up the main cities with motor roads and for the organization of the means of transportation. Besides the reconstruction of bridges, work was concentrated on repairing port roadways, on building new motor roads and rebuilding the damaged roads. These immediate tasks were carried out with complete success within a very short period of time, and despite the difficulties arising from lack of

**THOMA KROMIDHA, PETRAQ KONDURI** — *Economists*

experience, materials and means, communications were re-established throughout the whole country.

Gradually the enterprise of motor transport, the enterprise of the merchant naval fleet, the enterprise of ports, the naval shipyard and the mechanical base for the repair of transportation means, were set up.

From the beginning of this work, the Party devoted its care to the unified development of all branches of transport. In view of the conditions of our country and perspective development, the Party issued orientations for railway transport to develop along with the setting up and development of motor transport, which required less investments and provided a more rapid solution to the immediate needs of the economy at that time. So the building of the first railway line began along with the building of bridges, seaports, motor roads. Thus, the aspiration of our people to have their railways, in the service of the development of the economy and culture of the country, became a reality. In this manner, the first railway Durrës-Peqin, which opened a new page in the history of the development of our transport, was inaugurated in 1947. In the resolution of the 1st Congress of the Party, held in 1948, it is defined that transport would be orientated, in the first place, towards the development of rail, sea and motor transport. The work of the building of other railways continued uninterruptedly with the result that today we have a broad network of railways, which carries out a volume of work 158.8 times greater than in 1948, or 84.5 times greater than in 1950.

In these years, motor transport, which for years now copes with the bulk of the needs of the economy and the population for transport, has developed continuously. It has been extended and strengthened with large parks of vehicles in all the districts of the country, which carry out a volume of work 104.5 times greater

than in 1938 (estimated at tons per kilometre). The passenger transport by motor vehicles, which in the past was very limited, has developed side by side with the development of the motor transport of goods. Today we have 438 times more passengers as against the year 1946. Besides the increase of the number of means of motor transportation under the system of the enterprises of the Ministry of Communications, this transport has developed considerably also in the enterprises under other ministries, such as that of constructions, industry, agriculture, trade, etc., which have their independent parks for their own purposes and needs.

Special care has been given to the development of our naval fleet which is equipped with ocean-going ships. Our ships, manned with our own cadres and sailors, work in the service of foreign trade or for internal sea transport. Our merchant fleet has increased over 18 times against the year 1938.

As a result of the increase of the volume of export-import goods and the circulation of goods inside the country, the seaports have been extended at rapid rates. In this manner, against the 195 metres of roadways which the port of Durrës had before Liberation, today it has a series of new roads, in which a number of ships can be handled simultaneously. Our seaports, especially the port of Durrës, are equipped with modern means of loading and unloading, with the necessary warehouses and premises, at which cargo ships of different capacities moor everyday and which have a capacity of work not inferior to the ports of other countries, and even greater for special cargoes.

Along with the growth of all kinds of transport and means of transportation, the mechanical base of transport enterprises has also increased. The upkeep includes the necessary shops for a wide range of repairs, for the production of trailers of capa-

city of 5, 8, 12 and 22 tons, bodies for different kinds of buses, truck and rail-car cabins, cargo and passenger cars, and various cranes and electric cranes for the mechanization of the processes of loading and unloading. The shipyards today provide repair facilities for our ships and build metallic fishing boats and cargo ships of a capacity of 500, 1000 and 2700 tons.

In conformity with the entire economic and cultural development of the country, the road network has been extended and improved along with the development of road transport. In the course of five-year plans, large investments have been made with the result that thousands of kilometres of new roads have been built, most of them have been improved and asphalted. Today the territory of our country is covered by a dense network of motor roads which link up the centre with the districts and the localities with the villages to the remotest corners of the country.

In these four decades, in the work and efforts for the development of transport, thousands of vanguard workers, enginedrivers, sailors, drivers, many of whom have been awarded orders, medals and the golden star of the Hero of Socialist Labour, have been tempered in the work and efforts

for the development of transport. Great work has also been done for the uplift of the educational and professional level of the working people of transports, who work with a high consciousness for the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to them, putting all their knowledge and abilities in the service of the Homeland and the Party.

In each stage of its development, transport has grown proportionally with all the branches of the economy and culture. As a result, today we have a transport system capable of coping with all the needs of the economy and the population. In the future, too, the sector of transport, as an important link of our people's economy, will develop at high rates, in order to cope completely with all the needs of growth.

The further development of transport will be characterized by the priority development of rail transport, at rates about 3 times higher than motor transport. It will occupy over 50 per cent of the total volume of work of the Ministry of Communications. All this is to be achieved mainly through the intensification of work on the existing railways and the building of new ones. Passenger transports is envisaged to increase at twice as high rates. Motor transport will be

further developed on the basis of regionalization of production and rational distribution of goods. Motor transport is to develop mainly beyond railways terminals and especially in the zone of the North. The plans envisage the concentration of the means of the existing parks of the country and the creation of new parks and sectors of transport.

Sea and internal water transport will develop further through the better exploitation of the existing fleet and its increase. A considerable increase is to be made in the goods transport through internal water ways, which will be completed with floating platforms and roadways. The sea ports will be further enlarged along with the development of the sea transport and the increase of the volume of export-import goods. New roadways will be built along with the intensification of work for the exploitation of the existing ones.

The other kinds of transport, especially transport through cableways, narrow gauge rails and pipe-lines, etc., will develop considerable.

The extension and further improvement of the road network, the asphaltting of new roads and building of short-cuts, which are a great saving, is included in the series of tasks set by the Party.

# THE DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE CHEMICAL INDUS

*One of the distinguishing features of our chemical industry is its rapid a rates that exceed the rates of the increase of total industrial production se production of chemical industry increased 14 fold, whereas total industrial increased 2.6 fold for the same period. Likewise, the production of chemi as great as in 1960, whereas total industrial production was 5.5 times as g*

**IN THE 40 YEARS AFTER ITS LIBERATION ALBANIA HAS CREATED ITS OWN MULTI-BRANCHED, HEAVY AND LIGHT, EXTRACTING AND PROCESSING INDUSTRY WHICH IS IN A POSITION TO FULFIL THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION, THE ECONOMY, CULTURE AND THE DEFENCE EVER BETTER.**

**THE SETTING UP AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IS ONE OF THE VICTORIES OUR PEOPLE HAVE ACHIEVED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IS AN ENTIRELY NEW BRANCH THAT WAS NOT KNOWN IN OUR COUNTRY BEFORE. ITS FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID MAINLY IN THE 60'S, IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DIRECTIVES OF THE 4TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA OF THE 3RD FIVE-YEAR PLAN, AT A TIME WHEN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM HAD BEEN COMPLETED AND PROGRAMMATIC ORIENTATIONS WERE ISSUED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM, FOR THE TRANSITION OF THE COUNTRY TO THE STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**

At that time the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha provided solutions, in theory and in practice, to a series of problems such as the transformation of Albania, through stages, from an agricultural-industrial country into an advanced industrial-agrarian country, the harmonized development of industry and agriculture, the creation and development of a many-branched industry relying on local primary materials and energy resources, the determination of the order and priorities of development of the different branches of industry, etc. Therefore, the setting up, growth, extension and continuous strengthening of the chemical industry in the last two decades have been based on the implementation of the policy of the Party for the industrialization of the country, for the priority development of the production of the means of production

*MUHARREM FRASHËRI — Professor at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the University of Tirana*

and the setting up of the heavy processing industry, in conformity with the needs and demands of the development of industry and the other branches of the economy.

One of the distinguishing features of our chemical industry it its rapid development, at average rates that exceed the rates of the increase of total industrial production several times. In 1970, as against 1960, the production of chemical industry increased 14 fold, whereas total industrial production increased 2.6 fold for the same period. Likewise, the production of chemical industry in 1980 was 42 times as great as in 1960, whereas total industrial production was 5.5 times as great as in the same period.

Our chemical industry is built up and develops mainly on the basis of local raw materials such as salt and chalk for the production of soda and chlorine and their derivatives, oil and natural gas for the production

of hydrogen and ammonia and their derivatives, pyrites for the production of sulphuric acid, etc.

Chemical industry, in general, is built up and develops as a heavy industry for the processing of basic products, as large-scale industry with a high degree of concentration of production and technical equipment, as industry in which the amount and capacity of production of the plants and their basic units (factories) have been chosen correctly and in conformity with the conditions of our country.

Chemical industry in our country has assumed the aspect of a powerful industry set up on the basis of modern technology and well-studied plans, in harmony with the whole development of the country.

The chemical industry has developed in harmony with the development of the other branches of industry and the economy of our socialist country, with the objective of fulfilling their needs and requirements and co-ordinating the priorities and degree of the fulfilment of these demands according to the possibilities of the country.

In the first place, chemical industry has become a powerful support for the development of agriculture and the increase of agricultural and livestock production. With the setting up and coming into production of the superphosphate fertilizer plant in 1966, the plant for the production of ammonium nitrate in 1967, and the plant for the production of urea in 1976, our agriculture ensured locally considerable amounts of chemical fertili-

# PERSPECTIVES

# STRY

by **MUHARREM FRASHËRI**

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zers made available for our agriculture.

In the beginning of the '60s when the collectivization of agriculture was completed, with the creation of the cooperatives of the socialist type, chemical manuring, along with the mechanization and the application of new agrotechnical methods, became an important factor for the development of agriculture and the large-scale increase of production of bread grain and other field crops. In 1980, against 1960, agriculture was supplied with 12 times more chemical fertilizers, the yields per hectare of land increased 362 per cent for wheat and 350 per cent for maize.

With the increase of the production of bread grain the possibility was created to secure locally all the amount of bread grain needed in the country. Self-sufficiency in bread grain is another major victory achieved by our people after Liberation, under the leadership of the Party. This achievement assumes special importance when we think that Albania is a country which has several times less land for capita of population than most countries of Europe.

Besides such chemical fertilizers as superphosphate, ammonium nitrate, urea, ammonium sulphate, etc., our chemical industry supplies agriculture with a series of other products, which make an important contribution to the development and the increase of agricultural and livestock production. Among them worth mentioning are the chemical products for plant protection (insecticides, fungicides, herbicides such as sulphur, copper sulphate, iron sul-

phate, lindan (gamma-hexachloride), copper oxychloride, zinep, etc.). Likewise, plastic products, mainly pipes and sheets, as well as a series of other chemical products are important for the intensification of agriculture.

From the processing of sulphurated minerals (such as pyrite, etc.) at the pyrometallurgical combine, we obtain, besides copper and other products, important amounts of sulphuric acid which is widely used in many branches of industry such as in the production of superphosphate in the oil- and mineral-processing industry, in the production of a series of salts (ammonium sulphate, iron sulphate, etc.) and other chemical products, in the textile, food-tuffs, engineering and others.

Soda ash and caustic soda, which are produced in the plant specializing in these products, fulfil all the needs of the industry of our country for them, such as the glassware, paper, textile and soap industry, the industry of processing and refining oil products, etc.

The setting up and comming into production of the polyvinylchloride plant in 1977 marked the beginnings of a new branch of our chemical industry — the industry of synthetic polymers. The products turned out in this plant fulfil the needs of the wires and cables factory, and have laid the basis for the setting up and development of the plastic materials industry with the plant, for the production of plastic materials and the plant for the processing of plastic materials which produces plastic pipes, sheets and many broad consumer goods.

Oil and its by-products obtained from the deep processing of oil are used for the production of a series of chemical products such as sulphur, benzol, toluol and other hydrocarbons.

Our chemical industry with its above-mentioned plants, and a series of other plants and factories such as the coking plant at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the chemical factories and industrial enterprises in Durrës, Tirana, etc. produces a great number of the important products such as concentrated nitric acid, hydrochloride acid, liquid chlorine, hypochlorides, sulphurous anhydride, hyposulphite, acetilene, glycerin, etc. which are intended for the fulfilment of the needs of the development of the economy and which cut on expenses for import. The chemical industry of our country has become one of the main sectors of industry, because there is no field of the economy and activity in which chemical processes and products are not introduced.

Many products of the chemical industry now not only fulfil the needs of the economy of the country but also are exported. Worth mentioning among them are sulphuric acid, sulphur, hyposulphite, fluorsilicate, copper sulphate, etc.

Chemical industry will grow and develop further during the current and the future five-year plans in order to fulfil the needs of the economy of the country. During the current five-year plan (1981-1985) the rates of production of chemical industry have been sustained at a high level. In

1985, as against 1980, the production of chemical industry will increase 62-65 per cent, whereas the total industrial production of the country 36-38 per cent. Special importance will be devoted to the increase of the production of phosphatic and nitrogenous fertilizers, chemical products for plant protection, and some basic products such as sulphuric acid, soda ash, etc.

The brilliant perspectives the Party has opened to the development of the socialist economy and culture in the future five-year plans put forward new tasks for raising the productive activities in the chemical industry to a still higher level. The further development of chemical industry in the future will be ensured through the extension and perfecting of the existing capacities and their equipment with advanced technique and technology as well as through the setting up of large and small-scale projects, relying mainly on our own forces for their designs and execution.

With the measures taken by the Party, a series of scientific, technical and economic factors have been created which enable the chemical industry to take new steps forward. In the first place, rich primary material resources such as oil, natural gas, coal, sulphurous materials (pyrites, gypsum, calcopyrites, sulphur), stone salt and sea salt, metaliferous minerals, vegetable celuloid sources, etc. have been made available at home for the development of the chemical industry.

With the setting up of hydro- and thermal-power stations, a sound energy basis which will further develop in the future, has been created in our country. It is and will be capable of fulfilling the requirements of the development of chemical industry. The «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine and a series of engineering plants are the basis on which the local production of many materials and equipment for chemical industry will be achieved.

An important condition for the further development of this industry is the training of cadres and the organization of scientific research work in the country. The University of Tirana trains higher cadres for chemistry, with scientific and technological formation, whereas many secondary technological schools train medium technicians and qualified workers. The basis has been laid for the organization of scientific research. Besides the chairs teaching at the higher schools, a series of scientific-research institutes, such as the institute of technological studies and designs, and a number of laboratories and technological bureaus carry out their activity in the field of chemical scientific research activity.

The present stage of the development of chemical industry, with its basic and intermediary products, with its by-products and industrial residues, with the technical and technological level achieved, has created the possibi-

lities and opened perspectives for new important steps forward to be taken towards raising and developing activities concerning the chemical synthesis for the production of many inorganic and organic chemical products, pharmaceutical products and chemical reagents.

At the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «Now that many basic products and a number of industrial residues and associated components of minerals are available, the chemists and other specialists must study and produce a much wider range of products and reagents in order to reduce imports of them as soon as possible. The beginnings of chemical synthesis, based mainly on local raw materials, must also be carried forward with the aim that its products become a good source of exports in the not-too-distant future.»

The analysis of the achievements and development hitherto, the possibilities that have been created and the needs that will be raised by the development of our socialist economy and culture, provide a series of data and elements from which it emerges that the chemical industry is one of the branches which will develop with priority and at high rates and its proportion in the total industrial production of the country as well as its role in the development of the socialist society, will increase more and more.



## DOCUMENTS

### **ENVER HOXHA**

# **THE STATE POWER WE ARE BUILDING IS THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE**

***From the report submitted to the 2nd Meeting of the  
Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Albania<sup>1</sup>***

*October 20, 1944*

**DEAR COMRADES COUNCILLORS,**

...OUR MILITARY VICTORIES AGAINST THE SECOND GERMAN OFFENSIVE CAME IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE IMPORTANT DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE GREAT CONGRESS OF PERMET. AFTER THE FOUNDING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE.

THE FOUNDING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE, THE NATURAL OFFSPRING OF SO MANY SACRIFICES AND SUFFERING OF OUR MOVEMENT, WAS THE MOST VIVID EXPRESSION OF THE WISHES AND ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, WHO, DURING THIS TERRIBLE STRUGGLE, KNEW HOW TO CONSOLIDATE THE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL POSITIONS THEY HAD WON AT THE COST OF THEIR BLOOD. THE ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE IS THE NATURAL RESULT OF THE CONCRETIZATION OF THE FORM OF DEMOCRATIC STATE POWER AND THE NECESSARY FORM FOR THE CENTRALIZATION OF OUR WORK. AT THE SAME TIME, FOR INTERNATIONAL OPINION AMONG THE ALLIED NATIONS, THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMITTEE WAS A LAWFUL EXPRESSION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF A PEOPLE, WHO, WHILE FIGHTING, WERE AT THE SAME TIME MAKING THEIR SELF-GOVERNMENT A REALITY.

The entire Albanian people received the founding of the Anti-fascist Committee with indescribable enthusiasm.

The Presidium of the Committee has received thousands of letters of congratulations and confidence from the

most remote areas of Albania, which express the deep affection and lofty sentiments of our militant people, who demonstrate their firm determination to continue their liberation war with the greatest drive possible, and their complete confidence in the Anti-fascist Committee which is leading this war with success. The formation of the Committee fell like a bombshell among the ranks of the traitors who were closely collaborating with the occupiers and making detailed preparations to annihilate us. At the same time, the formation of the Committee ruined the plans hatched up by the Albanian reactionaries abroad with the support of certain foreign reactionary circles. These people had hidden the truth about our country and our fierce fight from our brothers in emigration,

who, though they are linked heart and soul with our people and their struggle, because they are democrats in spirit and in deeds and are ready to give everything for their native land, are still in the dark about and cannot contribute as much as they should to our war.

The constitution of the Committee has liquidated and made a mockery of the efforts of the Albanian reactionaries within the country and abroad to form puppet governments without any popular basis and against the will of the Albanian people, in which, naturally, the participants would have been all those who, today and in the past, have done nothing but play the game of the enemies of the people.

The Congress of Përmet and the constitution of the Anti-fascist Committee have consolidated our Front and rallied almost the entire people, mobilizing them for this sacred struggle. The people's power has been strengthened and the decisions taken at the Congress of Përmet have been implemented, one after the other, by the Anti-fascist Committee and the National Liberation Army.

One of the major decisions, the decision to step up the war and to liberate the occupied areas, has been implemented. After foiling the second German offensive, our brigades and divisions have marched towards North Albania to liberate the territory and our people there who have suffered extremely at the hands of the Germans and traitors. One after the other, the gangs of Shefqet Vërlaci and Abaz Kupi, of Fiqri Dine and Halil Alia and company, the bands of Gjon Markagjoni and Muharrem Bajraktari have melted away like snow in the sun...

Dear comrade councillors,

Our victories have been numerous and continual in every field of activity, and this is due to the correct political and military stand of the National Liberation Movement. The principles of our just struggle, embodied in the platform of Peza and

amplified at the Labinot Conference and at the historic Congress of Përmet, have been carried out to the letter, councils have been set up in three quarters of Albania, and soon they will be established all over the country. The people participate wholeheartedly in them and see them as the expression of their sovereignty. In them the people have found the best method of government, or rather, self-government. The setting up and functioning of the national liberation councils during the war has been one of the factors in our triumph. In their role as organs of state power and with their untiring political work, the national liberation councils have been the right hand of our army. The activity of the army has been closely combined with that of the national liberation councils, and these splendid results have derived from the full harmonization of the two powers<sup>2</sup>, from their struggle and indefatigable work in an atmosphere of great mutual affection. Let us honour and applaud the untiring work and struggle of the national liberation councils, these worthy representatives of our people.

The creation of the Anti-fascist Committee gave a great impetus to the work of the councils and state power. It was then that the centralization of work began, that the people mobilized themselves around the Front and the army, and gained the greatest confidence in their own work and struggle. The Committee has issued instructions and directions for the strengthening of the state power and the extension of its activity in all fields. The results can be seen. In the educational field, hundreds of schools have been opened in the liberated areas and thousands of children have begun to attend them regularly...

In the four months of life, the Anti-fascist Committee has worked to intensify the struggle against the occupiers and the internal enemy to the utmost, to consolidate state power in the liberated zones, to reconstruct the country and raise the cultural level of the people. We are already seeing the first

fruits of this work, and progress is being made everyday. We shall prove to all the pessimists that our people and the new men and women tempered in this war know how to work and build their sacred Homeland just as they know how to fight heroically for its freedom.

One of the principal tasks of the Anti-fascist Committee has been to work out and draft the basic laws of our democratic state power on which our new state will be soundly established. These laws of capital importance will be submitted for approval and will set down the concrete organization and functioning of the state apparatus.

The greatest concern and care of all the members of the Front should be to see that this whole structure we have built has sound foundations which will stand against all dangers and threats. We must not be satisfied with its superficial appearances, but must look reality in the eye, and wherever the work is going badly, we must rebuild it on a sounder basis. The state power we are building is not a thing of the moment, but has to do with the entire future of our country and our people, who have suffered all their lives, who are shedding precious blood and burning with desire for happier days after the war. Therefore, in all the branches of this state we must bring the people to power, and they must be the masters of their own fate. For this important task to be thoroughly achieved, we must understand the essence of this state power; we ourselves and all our people must understand it. The fundamental laws of our democratic state power are clear, simple, comprehensible and applicable to everyone. Everything has been stripped from the complicated procedure of the former laws which were formulated in this way expressly to keep the people at a distance, and at the same time, to usurp their rights. But it is not enough to understand the laws, we must apply them with the greatest vigour and defend them with the greatest severity against anyone who tries to distort and violate them.

Anyone who violates these laws, anyone who abuses them, who violates and abuses the will of the people, must not escape unpunished in the new state power we are setting up.

Up to now the national liberation councils of the villages, sub-prefectures and prefectures have simultaneously exercised the role of state power and political functions. With the new decisions on the organization of the state power, the national liberation councils and the executive committee are only organs of the state power, and all the councillors appointed by the national liberation councils to the executive committee are state functionaries. As such, they are responsible to the national liberation councils which have appointed them and to the population of the sub-prefecture and prefecture of which they are part. These functionaries of the new state, from the ranks of the people, must carry out the orders they receive from the National Liberation Council and from the Government, and work tirelessly and conscientiously for the people who have given them their confidence. As state functionaries, they should be respected by all, and on their part, through their work and behaviour, should be worthy of respect and affection. In this new state power, no one should think that with his advent to a council he will be permitted to commit abuses and do bad things to the detriment of the people; the people will be close by him, will help him and control him, but they will criticize him and dismiss him if he does work well. On the other hand, the people will wholeheartedly love and defend those who work fair-mindedly for the people. Since we have decided that all this blood which has been shed must not be in vain, we must have these principles clear, both we and the people, and with these sound criteria, let us set to work, devoting all our energies and toil to it.

Around this state power we must rally the entire Albanian people so that no one remains outside the Front, and the broad masses of the people are guided and nurtured with the correct

policy of the National Liberation Front. To carry out this large-scale political work among the masses of the people, the National Liberation Front should itself become a political organization.<sup>3</sup> Comrade councillors, the honour for forming this political organization belongs to you, as worthy representatives of our people.

Another important task of the Anti-fascist Committee was to unite the entire Albanian people in the National Liberation Front and to wage a fierce struggle against the occupiers to speed up the liberation of the country. The Anti-fascist Committee has followed the correct road of the unity and fraternity of all Albanian patriots with the greatest loyalty, as the only course for the salvation of our people. The Committee has always been awake to utilize every opportunity for the complete realization of this union of the healthy energies of the people and to snatch any weapon from the hands of the occupiers. In recent times things have been rapidly coming to a head in Europe and in the Balkans. The German troops stationed in Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania were cut off by the Red Army and the national liberation armies of the Balkan peoples. Our army and the national liberation armies of neighbouring peoples attacked the enemy forces from all sides, as they were frantically preparing their retreat. The German ship was sinking and, naturally, the rats on board rushed to abandon it.

The bands of Albanian traitors, who were still at large and assisting their patron with his last massacres and ravages, began to collapse. The Albanian bandits saw their men at arms desert, one after the other. These elements surrendered to the detachments of our army, and, recognizing their error, some gave up their arms and some asked us to let them fight side by side with the partisans. We were witnessing the great differentiation in the ranks of reaction. The Anti-fascist Committee, in the interests of the war and the people, and in order to remove from the Germans' hands the last weapon

they had forged to cause fratricide, made the call you know of. This supreme call to all those who found themselves taking the side of the enemy made it possible for them to leave the ranks of the occupiers, in the highest interests of the country, and gave them the opportunity to reduce their guilt. The Anti-fascist Committee has the duty to accelerate the liberation of the country. Our just call, with its highly political character, was the last summons to all those who might still have a drop of fraternal blood in their veins, to all those who, whatever they had done, still had some scrap of feeling for their country. Our call was a great demonstration of the lofty aim our movement has consistently followed, that of uniting the entire Albanian people...

Comrades,

The Congress of Përmet, convened at a difficult moment and attended by representatives from all the liberated and occupied areas of Albania, gave our country the Anti-fascist Council, a worthy representative of the Albanian people. It was at this Congress that the will of our people was freely expressed for the first time. For the first time, broad strata of the population, men and women, old and young, took part in the political life of the country. The Congress of Përmet vested the Anti-fascist Council of Albania with both legislative and executive powers, and on the basis of its rights, the Presidium of the Council nominated the Anti-fascist Committee its main executive and directing organ. The Anti-fascist Committee had all the attributes of a provisional government, and as such it was faced with the following problems: to lead the Albanian people in the war, to strengthen and intensify this war against the occupiers and traitors, to liberate the occupied areas, to strengthen the National Liberation Army, and to extend and consolidate the power of the councils. At that stage of our struggle, the Anti-fascist Committee, with the attributes of a provisional government, was the cornerstone in the setting up of the people's power

that emerged from bloody battles. The Anti-fascist Committee, as an executive organ of the state power appropriate to the political circumstances of that period, paved the way for a democratic government of Albania, as an executive organ of the state power suited to the present political circumstances. And the present political circumstances differ from those of four months ago. Our movement has extended immeasurably, our war has assumed considerable proportions... At present we have a great number of brigades, divisions and arm corps on a war footing, and day by day our army is moving towards the total and rapid liberation of the cities and the whole of Albania. Even's are moving rapidly abroad and the allied armies are advancing, tightening the pincers on Hitlerite Germany. Therefore, the motto of our war and policy should always be: Forward! In these political circumstances, comrades, circumstances which are totally in our favour, we must adopt important decisions, and one of these decisions should be the transformation of the Anti-fascist Committee into the Democratic Government of Albania. A new factor has emerged on the horizon of our political life and must be taken

into consideration, and the reason which yesterday prevented us from forming a new government, today, when three quarters of Albania have been liberated, when our state power is being extended and strengthened, when our army is expanding and growing stronger, when nazi Germany is being dealt mortal blows, and when the traitors of the country, completely routed, cannot find a place to hide, the same reason impels us and obliges us to transform the Committee into the Democratic Government. Our movement has always been built with a sense of proportion, with political insight, never going beyond the political reality; it has always tried to follow the tempo of internal and external events, and has based itself entirely on what is politically correct and necessary.

The transformation of the Committee into the Democratic Government requires the passing of a law and this law can be passed by you and only by you, for you are the representatives of the people, vested with legislative and executive powers. The law you will pass, after thoroughly examining the question, will most certainly fulfil one of the most ardent wishes of our people, strengthening our internal state

power and consolidating our international position.

The Democratic Government, which will emerge from this historic meeting, will remain loyal to the political and military platform of our movement. It will abide by the decisions of the Congress of Përmet, and will be the continuation of the Anti-fascist Committee. The principal tasks of this Democratic Government will be, first and foremost, to continue the war against the occupiers and their lackeys, to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, to strengthen the democratic state power of the councils, to safeguard all the democratic rights of the citizens, including their beliefs and the protection of private property. The Democratic Government, abiding by the decisions of the Congress of Përmet, will prohibit Zog from coming to Albania until the people express their will about the form of the state. The Democratic Government, following the complete liberation of Albania and the stabilization of the situation, will organize free and democratic elections to the Constituent Assembly, which will determine the form of the state, and draft the Founding Constitution of the Albanian State..

1 The 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council was held in Berat from the 20th to the 23rd of October 1944. It decided to transform the Anti-fascist Committee into the Democratic Government of Albania, adopted the Law on the National Liberation Councils and the

«Declaration of Citizens' Rights».

2 The power of the councils and the army.

3 The 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council decided that the national liberation councils would remain as organs of the people's power, while the National Li-

beration Front would create its own specific organizations, which would serve as the main support of the power, and it was through them that the education and mobilization of the masses as well as the strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party would be effected.

**ENVER HOXHA**

# **THE ALBANIAN ANTI-FASCIST WOMEN FOUND THEIR ROAD OF SALVATION THROUGH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR**

***Speech delivered to the 1st Congress of the Albanian  
Anti-fascist Women's Union<sup>1</sup>***

*November 4, 1944*

**DEAR COMRADE DELEGATES OF THE ALBANIAN ANTI-FASCIST  
WOMEN'S UNION,**

**ON BEHALF OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF ALBANIA AND  
THE GENERAL STAFF, I CONVEY MY HEARTFELT GREETINGS TO THE  
WORTHY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ANTI-  
FASCIST WOMEN OF OUR COUNTRY, WHO HAVE GATHERED AT THIS  
HISTORIC CONGRESS.**

**FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE, THE AL-  
BANIAN WOMEN ARE TAKING A BRILLIANT PART IN THE POLITICAL  
AND MILITARY LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY; THEIR COURAGEOUS AND VA-  
LUABLE PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN SEALED BY THE BLOOD OF THE  
HEROINES WHO HAVE FALLEN ON THE FIELD OF HONOUR SIDE BY  
SIDE WITH THEIR BROTHERS, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION  
OF ALBANIA AND, AT THE SAME TIME, OF THE ALBANIAN WOMEN.**

In this bloody anti-fascist liberation war, the women of our country recognized the danger that threatened their country and themselves. They broke the chains of old prejudices with matchless heroism and, following the example of anti-fascist women in progressive nations and peoples, proudly decided that it was better to die on

their feet than to live on their knees.

At the most difficult moments for our country, at the most critical hours of the beginning of this heroic struggle, the Albanian women, although still unorganized and backward from the political stand-point, felt a great pain in their hearts, a pain which they did not know how to express.

Shaken by the upheavals of the war, they searched for a way out, a way to salvation. The echo of our first clashes with the enemy awakened in their hearts the protective instinct, the instinct of mothers, sisters, wives, for their sons, brothers, and husbands who were fighting an unequal war against a ferocious enemy. However, the Albanian women could not yet comprehend the importance of this struggle, they still could not understand the great contribution the country expected from them; yet, right from the beginning, they were one, body and soul, with the boys who were fighting. In the difficult moments we have gone through, they opened the doors of their homes, opened their hearts to us and gave us courage. We will never forget the heroic deeds of our mothers and sisters when the indescribable terror reigned in Tirana, when every

night there were rifle shots and bomb explosions, when our valiant comrades were falling in the streets for the liberation of Albania. Undaunted, they helped us and protected us as the apple of their eye. I have always in mind the bright open face of an old mother, one of our indomitable fighters right from the beginning. A symbol of the Albanian woman in her mighty efforts, she said to us at the most critical moments: «I'm not as good at speaking as you are, but I have great faith that we will win, so forward, my sons, and I will die along with you!» This old mother, a comrade of our struggle and suffering, never lost faith and neither did all the other Albanian anti-fascist women. Today, despite her age, from the North Albanian mountains, where she is fighting rifle in hand, she writes to me: «What Qemal Stafa and the other comrades told me has come true, and now I feel stronger than ever.»

The Albanian anti-fascist women found their road, the road to salvation which they were seeking, and this was the road of the war. In our towns and villages, the precious blood of our mothers and sisters which flowed in the streets, was the signal of a new determination and a new world that was rising. The legendary struggle of our women comrades, who would not be stopped, but hurled themselves like lionesses upon the Germans and traitors, expressed a great new factor that was emerging in our country, one which we are witnessing at work today at this Congress, and which will play a role of primary importance in the new Albania we are building.

The anti-fascist Albanian woman has won her rights at the price of her blood, and these rights are guaranteed

by the people's power which she, together with her brothers, has set up, sacrificing all that was dearest to her. These rights are guaranteed to her by the army of the people.

The great historic Congress of the Albanian Anti-fascist Women, which we are now attending, will give a great impetus to the development of the Albanian women, who, to achieve their objectives better and more rapidly, will close their ranks in the organization of the Albanian Anti-fascist Women. All the women of Albania should take part in this organization. There they will rise to a higher cultural level and become educated in a new, progressive spirit. There they will become fighters for the defence of their rights, and worthy mothers of their country. New and brilliant horizons are being opened before the organization of Albanian Anti-fascist Women, and in order to achieve the lofty ideals for which their heroic comrades fell, our women, side by side with their men, and enjoying equal rights with men, must fully participate in the war and in the political and social life of our country. Only in this way can we hasten the complete liberation of Albania, reconstruct our beloved country, and the Albanian women attain the goals they desire and merit to achieve. The organization of Albanian Anti-fascist Women will have the full support of the Government and people's power on its road to progress just as the people's power and the Government will enjoy the valuable help of this organization.

To the mothers and sisters of our fighters who have liberated the whole of South Albania and are now poised around Tirana and Shkodra to realize

the liberation of the whole of Albania I bring the greetings of the National Liberation Army, assuring them that our fighters are proud of them. They feel stronger when they see their mothers and sisters, united as one, beside them in the fight for freedom. And you, the mothers of our comrades who have fallen heroically on the field of honour for the liberation of their people and country, lift up your heads and let your hearts be strong, because all our people and all the other freedom-loving peoples bow with respect and veneration before the precious memory of your beloved sons and daughters whom you raised and gave to your country. The bones of your sons and daughters, who shed their blood to shape and consolidate the foundations of the new Albania, form the sacred altar of the nation, from which daily and for ever more, our entire people, united and organized, will derive the spiritual strength which will carry them forward, towards progress and prosperity, towards the ideals for which they have sacrificed their lives.

Glory to our heroes who laid down their lives for the liberation of the country!

Long live the 1st Congress of the Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union!

Long live the anti-fascist women of our country!

Long live the Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union!

Long live free democratic Albania!

1 This Congress was held from the 4th to the 8th of November 1944, in Berat, with the participation of delegates from all the regions of Albania and from the detachments of the National Liberation Army.

# SOCIALISM IS THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL ORDER

## AGRICULTURE WITH GROWING MECHANIZATION

In 1983, as against 1960, the number of tractors used in the cooperativist sector has increased over 4 fold. This increase of draught power has made it possible to mechanize important work processes such as plowing of the land, sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc., up to 70-90 per cent, while some other work processes have been mechanized 100 per cent.

These high indices, which stand incomparably high against those of the past (when the mechanization of agriculture was completely out of the question), could not have been achieved if our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat had not, right from the beginning, concentrated in its hands the main means of agricultural machinery by means of the machine and tractor stations (MTS). This fact is neither an accident nor a «dogmatic» application of Marxism-Leninism. It is an absolute necessity for every country that builds genuine socialism. Genuine socialism presupposes, among other things, that the working class leads the whole life of the country, in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry. And the working class realizes its leading role not only through its Marxist-Leninist party, but also through the concentration of the main means of production in its hands. The construction of socialism in the countryside demanded that the necessary material-technical base should be built gradually, along with the establishment of the new socialist relations of production. This required large material expenditure which only the socialist

state could dispose, and which has in its hands the main material, financial and monetary means. Only in this manner was it possible to realize and concretize the aid of the working class to the peasantry, to strengthen the alliance between them and ceaselessly strengthen the cooperativist order.

The experience of these forty years of the successful construction of socialism in the Albanian countryside has confirmed in practice the importance and need for the concentration of the main means of agricultural machines in the machine and tractor stations. They, as the material-technical base of our cooperativist order, have made a great contribution to the mechanization of agricultural work, the rapid and uninterrupted increase of agricultural production, the facilitation of work of agricultural workers, the narrowing of distinctions between work in agriculture and work in the other branches of the economy, and between town and countryside. The concentration of the main means of agricultural production in the MTS-s is the only way to secure high rates of increase of the cooperativist production.

The MTS-s have played a great role not only to raise the degree of mechanization of agricultural work and production, but also to take to the countryside the ideology of the working class. Through the MTS-s and other levers of the economy it has been possible, also, to secure the planned and proportional development of the agricultural economies, the zones

and districts of the country. The system of tariffs charged by the machine and tractor stations, which are scaled according to zones, serves this aim. They are higher for the plains zones and lower for the hilly and mountainous zones. Thus, for example, if the charge for ploughing the land in the plains zones is 100 leks per ploughing unit, in the hilly zones it is 30 and 40 per cent less and for the mountainous zones the charges are 60-70 per cent less. On the other hand, the system of tariffs, for the work carried out by them, is built in such a way as to give priority to the bread grains production and those processes of work which require more field workers, so as to encourage mechanization of work and the useful employment of the labour power. In general, the charges for the work of the MTS-s are so low that as a rule they scarcely cover the expenses. So, the state finances the agricultural cooperatives in a differentiated manner, correctly harmonizing the level of incomes of them, which result from the existence of differential rent in its two forms.

Thus, despite the economic power and the zone in which the agricultural economy is situated, it has very extensive access to all mechanized means for agricultural work. In other words, the MTS-s have a direct influence in the development of the socialist agriculture on a broad front, both in the plains and in the hilly-mountainous zones. This phenomenon does not occur in any country of the capitalist and revisionist world, where the agricultural zones, especially those of the hills and mountains, are being depopulated at catastrophic rates.

## THE SOCIALIST ORDER AND THE POPULAR CULTURE

The period of the construction of socialism in Albania is characterized, among other things, by the rapid and uninterrupted process of all-round development of the material and spiritual world, in the context of which a new socialist popular national culture is created and all the positive values of folklore and traditional culture are integrated into it. The new socialist culture was born and is consolidated as a culture with a profoundly popular and national character.

The popular national character has not been and is not an external ornamental appendage to socialist culture, but an essential expression of the individuality of our people who create it and use it. The respect which our people have for folklore and traditional culture, with their values and ethnic functions, is not an expression of «a belated nationalist romanticism», as the chauvinists, wherever they are, like to interpret this for their well-known interests, but is respect for their history and culture, or their national identity and for their creative cultural resources. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The people with their marvelous songs, dances and motifs embroidered on their costumes, have written their thousand-years history, have shown their ability and strength of conceiving the events and phenomena, have poured their wonderful talent into one great fund, have preserved and developed these treasures and handed them down to the generations that came after.»

The critical acquisition of traditional cultural values constitutes one inseparable aspect of the general material, technical, cultural, and educational progress which socialism brings about. In our country there is no room for the view that the gains and achievements of contemporary science, technique and culture should be sacrificed for the sake of preserving the traditional culture of the past intact. Such a view would have restricted progress within the limits of traditions of the past, would tie it down to obsolete forms and ana-

chronism of life. However, on the other hand, it would have been downright regress if, for the sake of contemporary technical and scientific progress, we had allowed the beautiful and original songs and dances of our people to have been overlooked. In our country respect for the traditional popular culture has not become an impediment to the replacement of the plough with the tractor and, at the same time, to cultivating many positive customs and virtues which have distinguished the Albanian people for their national psychology and way of life.

Contemporary social, technical-scientific and cultural progress has continuously brought about deep-going changes in all the spheres of our socialist society, which were bound to be reflected also in the field of traditional culture and folklore. It is sufficient to mention the modern technical means of communication, which have such a powerful information potential and which cause incalculable changes in culture. However, the character of the consequences of such phenomena depends on the character of the social order and the aims of the social groups which possess and use them. In the conditions of our socialist order, the system of modern means of information has always played a powerful positive role in the development of culture, which, among other things, is also expressed in the extension of the possibilities of integrating the values of folklore and traditional culture into the new socialist culture, in their revival and re-activation on an entirely new higher basis.

The development of these values is a process which keeps them alive in a new social milieu, but not in an artificial manner. On the contrary, the socialist social order with its popular character stimulates the evolution and creative confrontation of the values of traditional culture with the new social living conditions of the masses. This evolution has become a tangible reality in our time. Folklore and traditional culture would

have become fossilized and remained as objects with value only for the museums if they did not change together in life. In our folklore there are changes which affect its genres in their content and form, the processes of creativeness, the interpretation and execution of them. Some genres of folklore have already lost a series of functions, such as the ritual, magic, practical and utilitarian functions, while the esthetic function is gaining a new dimension in the spiritual life of society. The new creations of folklore poetry have a strong accent of the new socialist world outlook, psychology and morality of the masses. The symbolism of ornamental and decorative popular art is going through a revival in the products of present-day industrial and artistic handicrafts.

This natural evolution of folklore and traditional culture is by no means a «denaturalization» of them, because it is carried out in close connection with the life of the people, with its progress according to their specific laws. The beautiful creations of our new folklore, as we see them in folklore festivals, preserve their genetic and structural links with the old values of folklore, remain closely connected with traditions, are built and develop along within the general course of the aesthetics of folklore.

The artificial restriction of new authentic processes and phenomena in folklore and traditional culture from fear of their «denaturalization», certainly runs counter to the very socialist life of the masses of the people and social progress. In our country and society there are no such objective factors and circumstances as should bring about the denaturalization of folklore. It is sufficient to mention the fact that our culture as a whole is free from such motivations as commercialism, business interests, etc., which subordinate folklore to narrow aims that belittle its values. In our country folklore and traditional culture are estimated as one of the most important, most precious and most vivid parts of the people's patrimony and are entirely placed in the service of the enrichment of the spiritual life of the people.

The concern to protect folklore from



denaturalizing processes is at the centre of attention not only of social opinion but also of the all-round material, moral and ideological preoccupation of our state, which protects the treasures of traditional culture. The modern means of information, concentrated in the hands of the people who are inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideological orientations of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, support and back up the widest possible extension of the values of folklore and traditional culture in all the milieus of our society, without in the least affecting their originality. In all the system of education, from the lowest school cycles to the higher school, there is a scientific program the object

of which is to make our traditional culture known and make it available for our new generations. An important role is played by the folklore studies and ethnography, scientific and educational institutions, museums and homes of culture, which have a healthy influence on development of folklore, basing their activity on scientific criteria and distinguishing clearly between what is authentic and what is a denaturalization of them. A distinguishing example are the national folklore festivals which are organized on a scientific basis and stimulate and protect the originality, purity of the source and the natural evolution of the folk song and dance in our time.

All this and many other positive fac-

tors which operate in our society help it to cope with the cultural and ideological pressure from cosmopolitan and chauvinist tendencies which are very active in present-day world culture, and which are especially supported by the superpowers and other reactionary forces with the aim of placing the national cultures of the small peoples in a false light. The preservation of national culture, in general, and of the traditional culture, in particular, from the pressure of cosmopolitan and chauvinist tendencies is an important duty for the defence of national independence, freedom and socialism, which helps our people to operate as an active creative factor in the world cultural scene.

## THE PERSONALITY OF MAN

Socialism is the only social system which brings about the true liberation of man — economically, politically and spiritually. Destruction of the state power of the exploiting classes and establishment of the state power of the working class liberates man and enhances his dignity, ennobles his work, makes him a conscientious leader and manager, gives him the right to criticize when needed and to praise when needed. Socialism puts man in such a position as to see and feel that he is not separated from the world, but is a member of a new society which aims at the progress of the individual in the context of the general development of society. In this society man is placed in the place he deserves according to his abilities and the work he does; and he is free to enjoy the fruits of his work.

Socialism is the order of great possibilities for the development of society and the individual, for the expansion of the personality of man. It creates all the material political, social and ideological conditions for these possibilities to be turned into reality. Innumerable facts prove the existence of this reality. The working man in the PSR of Albania is elected to the lower and higher organs of state power, takes an active part in the

management of state affairs, in the approval of laws and their implementation under the leadership of the Party, the working class is in power and exercises its control everywhere. The Party devotes particular attention to drawing the youth, the future of the country, to work in the organs of state power. Fifty per cent of the deputies elected to the People's Assembly in the last elections are of a comparatively young age. About 10 000 young men and women have been elected members of the people's councils.

Socialism has created real possibilities for a harmonious both physical and moral, development of people endowed with a broad cultural horizon and sound ideological formation. Thus, if in 1950 one in every seven people attended school, in 1984 this figure has risen to one in every 3-4. This extensive development of education has resulted in ever more new and better qualified forces being introduced into social production. So, during the last 15 years 250 thousand young men and women of medium training and about 43 thousand specialists and workers of higher training have been involved in production activities. More and more new talents are flourishing in all fields of life on our socialist

soil and having an ever important say in science, production, in the development of literature and the arts, etc.

Our socialist man is imbued with the spirit of collectivism, the proletarian class spirit and love of work, socialism and the revolution. Our socialist collectivism is not in the least contradictory to the personality and physical and mental abilities of man. On the contrary, it is the basis for their harmonious and useful development. Such is the personality of our man endowed with truly humane features. Totally different is the situation in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. There the personality of man is in contradiction to the oppressive and exploitative relations that stifle the physical and mental capacities of the masses. The economic and financial crises, unemployment, uncertainty of the future, class polarization, moral degeneration, frenzied individualism and egoism make man a wolf to man. The individual can never be free in these conditions. Free in the true meaning of the word is only the man of socialist society. However, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, neither the bourgeois, nor the capitalist, nor the revisionist can understand the freedom of the individual in our socialist society, because they measure the personality of man with their yardstick of standardization and manipulation of people.

## SAVINGS AND INSURANCE BANKS IN THE THRIFTIEST OF SOCIETIES

Socialist society is the thriftiest society known in history. In Albania, being the owners of the means of production, the working people are directly interested in saving as much as possible on social work, because it is the source of the improvement of their own material and cultural well-being. The establishment of socialist relations in production makes savings second nature for every working man and woman struggling constantly to improve the well-being of society. They are aware that whatever they save on, either in the family or at work, they do it for themselves. The savings deposits of our working people are based on the new relations which are born and constantly strengthened in socialist society. The savings and social insurance banks are institutions which express the concern of the Party and state for the well-being of the working people. «A problem apart which must be followed attentively,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is also that of savings banks... Saving is in the interests of the working people and society at the same time.»

The savings and insurance banks are increasingly becoming ever present and indispensable institutions in the family life of workers and cooperativists, of all citizens of the Republic. Today in our country there is one savings book per every 4 inhabitants, or more than one savings book per family. One district (our country is divided into

26 districts), the Berat district, for example, has more depositors and savings deposits than the whole country had in 1950. In the end of July this year savings deposits were 3 times as many as in 1970 and 40 per cent more than in 1980. It must be said that during this period the turnover plan in trade was fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The above indices are significative of the major quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place in the socio-economic situation of the working masses in our country. They are the result of the far-sighted policy of the Party, of the all-round and proportionate development of all the branches of the economy, of the successful solution of employment problems, of the growth of the real income per capita, of the increase of the value of the working day in the agricultural cooperative, of the establishment of pensions in city and country, of very low rents, of the extension of education and the free of charge medical service, and of the constant reduction of prices for broad consumption articles and services.

The network of savings and insurance banks has been constantly extended. About 3,600 savings bank branches function today all over the country: in cities, agricultural cooperatives, industrial centres, etc.

The owners of savings bank books have the right to draw on their savings accounts at any savings bank in all

the districts of the country, the state guarantees their deposits and their secrecy as well as an interest rate of 2 to 3 per cent according to the kind of the deposit, etc.

In our country savings banks are institutions in the service of the working masses. Savings deposits are created through the work of the depositors and used to meet their ever increasing needs. They represent a fair combination of the individual interest with the general interest, because savings deposits with us contribute also to the further financing of the development of the economy and culture.

The real value of the savings deposits in our country grows as a result of the stability and constant reduction of prices. The two last price reductions, which were carried out in 1982 and 1983 respectively gave the population a profit of 92 million leks. The successive reductions of prices and their stability reflect the constantly growing buying power of the lek and the further strengthening of our finances and monetary circulation, unlike what happens in the world of capital.

Another sphere of activity of the savings and insurance banks is that of state social insurance, it represents an important means to protect property and income against natural disasters or accidents. The aim of social insurance in our country is not profit, but protection of property. In some cases compensations are larger than insurance payments. Here is an example: in 1983 the agricultural cooperatives were paid 12 million leks damages for destroyed crops although their insurance payments did not match that sum.

## THE WORKING MAN ON THE PEDESTAL

The materialist conception of history has proved that the worker, the working man, was the earliest work force. In all exploitative orders antagonistic social forces face up to each other; on one hand, the broad mass of people who earn their bread by the sweat

of their brow and, nevertheless are exploited and live in poverty, on the other hand, a handful of people «intelligent and thrifty», whose richness grows continually although they do not work at all and «need not tire themselves».

Marxism-Leninism has long since exposed the deceptive «theories» which are intended to cover up the true character of the social relationship which are based on the alienation of the working man. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the exploiters «have never worked, nor have they ever produced anything, because it is only the workers and peasants that work and produce. They are parasites

living at the cost of others, exploiting them and appropriating the work or the talent of the workers and peasants.» In all exploitative orders the exploiter, with his mentality of an unscrupulous egoist, parasite and plunderer of the sweat and toil of the working men, has been raised to a pedestal. Bourgeois «humanism» does not escape this class determinism, either. All the talk done today about «human rights» and the «freedom of the individual» in the bourgeois and revisionist world is closely related to the «Furies of private interest», as Marx described the exploitative passions of bourgeois individualism. They try to present the privileges of a handful of bloodsuckers as social attributions of everybody.

Socialism is the only system of social relations which for the first time in history has ensured the real equality of men in relation to the means of production, liquidated the exploitation of man by man along with the enslaving social phenomenon of alienation. By ensuring the general participation of the people in productive, managing and creative work, by making the working man the master of his destinies, socialism constantly extends the freedom of the working individual in society. By creating favourable conditions for the members of society to develop, conserve and use their abilities, socialism prepares the transition «from the realm of necessity to that of freedom», the transition to the communist society. So, it is only natural that the socialist society should raise to a pedestal the working man, the worker, the peasant and the honest, patriotic, industrious and progressive

intellectual who, above everything, defends the interests of the social advance.

The reality of our country displays these superiorities of socialism best. Our whole life, all the material and spiritual development and advance of our socialist society, is founded on the work, on the mind and heart, of the working man. He is his own master, works, creates, manages and defends socialism in a conscious manner under the leadership of the Party and relying on the knowledge and utilization of the laws of socialism as the most advanced socialist order. Our society honours and values the sweat shed for the construction of socialism just as it honours the blood shed in the National Liberation War. So, on the pedestal of honour we see the heroes of the war and those of work, the blood and the sweat merged together with the blood and self-denying sacrifice of 28,000 martyrs, with the heroism of more than 82,000 sons and daughters of the people who have been decorated with the medals of the war for freedom (154 Heroes of the People among them), so today the sweat, toil and efforts of about 250 thousand working men who have been awarded medals for their work in the construction of socialism (403 Heroes of Socialist Labour among them) in the 40 years of the people's power.

Socialism is the only social order which does not consider the working man as a mere work force. All the life of our country, the organization and administration of the state, the economy, education, culture and defence are built in such a manner as to ensure and call for the active parti-

cipation of the masses in governing the country. The broad rights and democratic freedoms our people enjoy enable them to play a decisive role in the building of socialist society. They constitute a reality proclaimed by law and applied in social life. Thus, for example, the right of work is not at all «the human right» of the worker to sell his work force as his only means of livelihood, but the right of a man wielding state power, a right guaranteed by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is expressed also in the fact that, apart from direct income from work, the working people also profit from the funds of social consumption which today cover more than 15 per cent of the consumption of the people. The right of free of charge education finds its application in the different forms of further qualification of more than 500 thousand working people in every five-year plan (about 190 thousand specialists of medium training in the current five-year plan alone). Also, the right to be elected to state and social functions finds its expression in the proletarian composition of all the structures of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state power which stems from the people and belongs to them. Thus, about 75 per cent of the members of people's councils and courts are workers and peasants.

In all these respects, as the 8th Congress of the PLA points out, our socialist democracy «is not only a historic achievement of the masses of the people but is also a necessity, an indispensable condition, an intrinsic law of the development of socialist society, a great motor force which carries it forward.»

# ABOUT SOME CURRENT PHASES OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTION AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM OVER THE QUESTIONS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT *by A*

*Despite all their efforts and demagogy, the revisionists cannot stop, although they can make it more difficult, the unstoppable advance of the revolution. Ever new Marxist-Leninist parties have taken up or are taking up the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism which has been betrayed and abandoned by the revisionists*

OUR PARTY, TOGETHER WITH ALL THE TRUE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND FORCES, HAS CONSTANTLY DEVOTED THE GREATEST ATTENTION TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM OVER THE PROBLEMS OF PRESENT WORLD DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, DESPITE A POLEMIC WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MANY YEARS NOW, THIS STRUGGLE CANNOT BE CONSIDERED CONCLUDED. ON THE CONTRARY, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DANGEROUS VIEWS, POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE REVISIONISTS OVER THESE PROBLEMS ASSUMES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AND ACTUALITY IN OUR DAYS. THIS IS LINKED WITH THE FACT THAT TODAY WHEN THE GENERAL CRISIS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST SYSTEM HAS EXACERBATED THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THIS SYSTEM TO THE HIGHEST DEGREE AND WHEN THE REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE ARE ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY AS PROBLEMS POSED FOR SOLUTION, THE REVISIONISTS HAVE BECOME THE NUMBER ONE FIRE-EXTINGUISHERS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO THE PREPARATION OF ITS SUBJECTIVE FACTOR. AT THE SAME TIME, WITH THEIR PACIFIST PREACHINGS THE REVISIONISTS ARE PLAYING A MOST DANGEROUS ROLE IN THE SERVICE OF THE STRATEGY OF IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM WHICH IS LEADING MANKIND TOWARDS A NEW WORLD WAR, BECAUSE THEY LULL THE VIGILANCE OF THE PEOPLES TO SLEEP AND PREVENT THEM FROM RISING IN RESOLUTE ACTIONS AGAINST THE THREAT OF WAR.

Some aspects of the revisionist political literature of the years 1983-1984 on the problems of present world development attract particular attention:

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first, their former theses, especially those of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, continue to lie at the foundation of the present preachings of the revisionists. However, new theses and nuances related to a number of factors have also emerged: the further

deepening of the revisionist course; the efforts of the revisionists to adapt themselves to current conditions and changes; the further exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalries, especially between Soviet social-imperialism and Western imperialism, with American imperialism at the head; the present relationships between the different currents of modern revisionism as well as between the revisionists and other forces; the further refining of revisionist demagogy on different questions, etc. So they are mainly changes of a tactical character. Nevertheless, they cannot fail to be taken account of in our struggle to expose modern revisionism.

second, amongst the various currents and detachments of modern revisionism there are differences and nuances over these or other problems of present world development. However, these differences emerge in the general context of the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary course of revisionism. Divergences and frictions between the different currents and detachments of modern revisionism, between the Soviet and Chinese revisionists, and between the Soviets, on one

# PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY REVISIONISM PRESENT

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hand, and the Eurocommunists and Yugoslavs, on the other, which at moments may look very sharp and although they may seem as if having to do with some questions of principle, in the reality and in their essence impinge only on *political* stands which directly affect their interests, so they have a pragmatic basis which keeps shifting according to the passing circumstances.

third, a common peculiarity of the revisionists in the present period is their further ideological and political rapprochement to social-democracy, which shows the constant evolution of the revisionists down the road of their degeneration and decay.

We will deal in this article with some current aspects of the struggle against modern revisionism over the questions of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the anti-imperialist liberation war of the peoples, war and peace as well as the problem of proletarian internationalism.

## I. SABOTAGE OF THE REVOLUTION — A GENERAL LINE OF THE REVISIONISTS

Negation of the revolution is today a common characteristic of all the currents of modern revisionism. In revisionist political literature the notion of social revolution itself is replaced with such hazy terms as «social liberation of mankind», «struggle for social transformations and socialism», «social progress», «solution of social problems» and others alike. The revisionists

negate the necessity of the revolution on several main lines.

First of all, they do this by stressing the threat of a nuclear war. Andropov gave the tone on this question. «The threat of a nuclear war which hangs over the world», said he, «impels us to a new assessment of the fundamental meaning of the activity of the whole communist movement.»<sup>1</sup> But what does he imply by this? The review «Kommunist» wrote in September 1983 that «as long as the danger of a thermo-nuclear war which threatens with the liquidation of the whole modern civilization exists, the practice of the solution of all the problems of mankind, regardless of their urgency and priority, is also put in question.» The revisionist parties of the Western countries also put the struggle for peace above everything, pushing every other problem, including revolutionary tasks, to the second plane. So, as the chairman of the CP of Austria, F. Moor, writes, at its 24th Congress this party declared that «the more important task of the communists of our country on the international plane will be to step up the struggle for peace.»<sup>2</sup> The Norwegian revisionists say that the Communist Party «is the only political force in Norway which considers resolute action for peace the most important thing in its activity.»<sup>3</sup> The US revisionists express themselves in the same spirit: «In the present conditions the struggle for peace assumes decisive importance in the international class struggle and in the whole activity of mankind. This means that

today the road to socialism goes through the struggle for peace and democracy.»<sup>4</sup>

So, the exploded Khrushchevite thesis of «peace at all costs and at any price» is resuscitated in a new context and with a new function, that of preventing the peoples from seeing the war-mongering policy of Soviet social-imperialism, which is presented as «the champion of peace», of «uniting all the forces of the peoples» round the Soviet Union as allegedly the main factor for averting a nuclear war and defending peace, as well as of exerting pressure on the United States and their allies, that is, as a tactic in the rivalry and bargainings of Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism. Proof of these intentions is also the thesis which is being extensively used in the revisionist, especially Soviet, propaganda, on the military-strategic equilibrium or parity between the Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism. At the July 1983 Plenum of the CC of the CPSU, Andropov said, «The strategic-military equilibrium between socialism and imperialism is objectively in favour of peaceful existence.»<sup>5</sup> «This parity,» says he, «is a sound guarantee for peace and we will do everything to maintain it.»<sup>6</sup>

However, it is known that the thesis of the equilibrium between the great powers is an old imperialist slogan which has always been intended to justify their hegemonic policy, to justify the right they arrogate to themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of others and to rule them, to

force other countries to give up their national interests and sovereignty. As Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of 'harmony' or 'balance' between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty».<sup>7</sup>

Communists are resolute opponents of imperialist wars of any kind, and the more so do they oppose the incitement of the imperialist powers to war, because war causes the peoples innumerable suffering. However, the road for the prevention of war is not and cannot be that of sabotaging the revolutionary and liberation struggles, nor equilibrium between the superpowers, nor deceptive «détente» and pacifism advertised by the revisionists, nor capitulation to the nuclear blackmail of the superpowers and taking refuge under their «protective umbrellas». On the contrary, such preachings increase the threat of war, because they lull the vigilance of the peoples to sleep, spread amongst them illusions about «the peace-loving aspirations» of the imperialist powers and the fatalistic spirit of submitting to their bargainings, thereby unbinding the hands of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

The peoples who suffer the horrors of war and shed their blood must not be caught unawares, must not be led astray by the demagogy of the imperialists, but rise in resolute and consistent actions and sabotage predatory imperialist war, not allow it to be transformed into a world war. And if they fail to achieve this, then it is the duty of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to transform it into a revolutionary war for the overthrow of imperialism, the cause of war. While the revisionist renegades have done away with the revolution allegedly for the sake of averting nuclear war, our Party upholds unwaveringly its view that in the present conditions «...the struggle of the peoples and the revolution stands on the order of the day, ...the people's war and the revolution

are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the war-mongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.»<sup>8</sup>

Now that the Soviet social-imperialists and the revisionists capitalize a great deal on the theses of the struggle for peace and the threat of nuclear war, «détente», «equilibrium» between the superpowers, etc., the exposure of this demagogy has particular importance for all the true Marxist-Leninists. In the capitalist countries, like Germany and Spain, Portugal and Britain, Denmark and France, Sweden and Canada, etc., the Marxist-Leninist parties take an active part in the movement for peace. They work to free it of pacifistic illusions and give it a fighting anti-imperialist character, give it the right slogans, direct it both against American imperialism and NATO and against Soviet social-imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty, and expose the attempts of the revisionists at transforming the peace movement into a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists to deceive the peoples and strike bargains with the United States at the cost of the other peoples and countries.

The other direction followed by the modern revisionists in negating the necessity of the revolution, the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the breaking up of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is that of preaching the theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and Eurocommunism on the «peaceful» and «democratic» transition to socialism on the parliamentary and reformist road in the context of bourgeois legality and bourgeois constitutions. However, there are also new nuances in these well-known theses of the revisionists

The idea that in no country, including the developed capitalist countries, does the task of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and transition to socialism present itself has become widespread in their present preachings. While the Chinese revisionists have adopted the view that the question of the revolution does not exist at all

in the present time, because there is no revolutionary situation in the world, the Soviet revisionists and their supporters as well as the Eurocommunists have come out with the thesis that the road to socialism in the developed capitalist countries goes through an intermediate phase, that of «anti-monopoly democracy». «The prospect of a broad attack on the power of capital,» the Soviet «theoreticians» write, «has found its theoretical expression in the concept of anti-monopoly democracy worked out by the communist movement.»<sup>9</sup> The West-German revisionists have put «anti-monopoly democracy» in their program, understanding thereby «a period of radical transformations when the working class and the other democratic forces have achieved such political strength and parliamentary influence as to be able to form coalition governments which represent their common interests.»<sup>10</sup> Similar views are expressed by the revisionists in Austria, France, Spain, Britain, Canada, Brazil, Greece and other countries.

But what does this «anti-monopoly democracy» represent? What are its content and role? From the writings of the revisionists it emerges that the main moments or characteristics of this «anti-monopoly democracy» are:

First, negation of the revolution through violence as a general law for the overthrow of the power of capitalist monopolies and the rule of the bourgeoisie and preaching of their displacement from power in favour of the working class and the democratic forces in peaceful forms and by peaceful means. «Taking account of the prospects of the advance towards socialism through the stage of anti-monopoly democracy», say the Austrian revisionists, «we hope to achieve our objective without armed struggle in the form of civil war.»<sup>11</sup> The French revisionists speak about «going over to socialism in the democratic and peaceful process of the everyday assembling of forces, through a number of conscious and voluntary majority advances... in forms other than that of armed violence against the rule of capital and the hegemony of the big monopoly bourgeoisie.»<sup>12</sup> The Greek, Brazilian and other revisionists also talk about a peaceful transition.

It is superfluous to argue here that negation of the revolution through violence and preaching of a so-called peaceful transition to socialism through «anti-monopoly democracy» or in other forms, means in fact giving up any true struggle for socialism, especially in our time, which is characterized by militarism and the unprecedented extension of the oppressive military-police machine of the bourgeoisie.

Second, the idea of «anti-monopoly democracy» as preached by the revisionists of our days calls for giving up the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the necessity of destroying the bourgeois state machine and replacing it with the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. While they declare that the so-called «anti-monopoly democracy» means a radical change in the relationships of power, they call for the preservation and utilization of the institutions of the bourgeois state allegedly in the interests of the working class in order to displace the capitalist monopolies from their ruling positions in the state, etc. So, the Soviet revisionists talk about «the working class and democratic movement occupying important positions in the bourgeois political system itself, including the institutions of state power.»<sup>13</sup> For their part, the British revisionists proclaim their aim «to change the structure of power relationships through the transformation of a number of state institutions in order to put them in the service of the state power of the working class.»<sup>14</sup>

Third, the idea of the «anti-monopoly democracy» implies and embodies such notorious theses of the modern revisionists as those of the «democratic parliamentary road» of transition to socialism in compliance with «the will of the majority» within the framework of bourgeois law and bourgeois constitution. «Contemplating the achievement of a new state power,» the British revisionists write. «in accordance with the program of the CP of Great Britain, we see this road in the democratic struggle intended to limit the power of monopoly capital.»<sup>15</sup> The West-German revisionists say it even more openly that in the conditions of the current crisis which has disillusioned the masses

about the bourgeois and socialist parties, «the role and responsibility of the Marxist party of the working class... is to affirm itself in elections before the disillusioned electors.»<sup>16</sup> For their part, the Greek revisionists spread among the masses the illusion that, through the efforts of the communist deputies in the parliament, they will allegedly stipulate the struggle for the liquidation of the omnipotence of the monopolies and the establishment of control on them with the participation of the working class, and so on and so forth.»<sup>17</sup>

From all this there emerges the opportunist thesis that the advance towards socialism allegedly takes place through the quantitative extension of bourgeois democracy, that is, going through the phase of «anti-monopoly democracy», as they call it today, and that, as a consequence, the revolution and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through it are utterly superfluous. What is today called the phase of «anti-monopoly democracy» is found in the thesis put forward by the Spanish Eurocommunists of S. Carrillo who say that «socio-political democracy is not a third road either capitalist or socialist, but is a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism»<sup>18</sup>.

Fourth, the road of «anti-monopoly democracy», preached by the modern revisionists is the road of reforms within the framework of capitalist relations which limits the class struggle of the working class to some demands of the day, postponing to the Greek calends the final aim — the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialism, this, in the final analysis, is aimed at the normal functioning and perfecting of the bourgeois order, its salvage from the difficulties of the crisis and any revolutionary activity.

The Canadian revisionists foster the illusion that, without overthrowing the bourgeoisie and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, without liquidating the capitalist relations of production the nationalization of the key branches of the economy is possible in the conditions of democratic control which is supposed to enable the «anti-monopoly democratic

government» to effectively supervise all economic life, to ensure a balanced national development, to redistribute the national income in the interests of the working class and people through democratic fiscal reforms, wage rises, shorter working hours, all-round development of social insurance and social services in the interest of the working people, etc.<sup>19</sup> The CP of France, which participated in the government coalition with the socialists, talks about carrying out «structural reforms» through the activity of the parliamentary majority, such as expansion and democratization of the social and national sector, extension of the freedoms and rights of the working people. It calls for the implementation of new criteria of management with the direct participation of the working people, for the utilization of values «outside the logic of profit», for France's following a consistent policy favouring the national liberation of peoples and the economic and social progress of developing countries, etc. The French revisionists claim that such a course has begun to be carried out in France.<sup>20</sup>

Refuting the opportunist and counter-revolutionary theses of the modern revisionists over the questions of the transition from capitalism to socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th Congress of the PLA that «The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supra-class capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order,» that when the revisionists «...struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses as an open servant of the bourgeoisie, in this role.»<sup>21</sup> Precisely here lies, in fact, the essence of the demagogical slogan of «anti-mo-

nopoly democracy» which the modern revisionists present now as an alternative for the present and the future.

As long as the taking over of the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie is still a prospect of the future for the modern revisionists, the slogan of «anti-monopoly democracy» serves them also to justify their unprincipled alliances with social-democracy, even with the right bourgeois parties, which are presented as anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive forces supporting even the socialist transformation of society. Rapprochement to and alliances with social-democracy, in the first place, is a component and indivisible part of the whole logic of the strategy of the revisionists about the «peaceful», «democratic» parliamentary and reformist road towards «socialism», especially through the stage of «anti-monopoly democracy» which will supposedly be achieved with the joint efforts of all the democratic and progressive forces, according to «the will of the majority», etc.

Rejecting any revolutionary ideal, the modern revisionists have drawn ever closer to the positions of social-democracy and the revisionist parties have actually been transformed into social-democratic parties in communist disguise. They have taken part in socialist-led governments, as in France, or try to form government coalitions with the socialists, as in the case of the Berlinguer's «democratic alternative» in Italy. Regardless of the contradictions and rivalries between the revisionists and social-democracy, of their mutual «criticism», the revisionists of different countries, France, Greece, Spain, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, spread among the masses the illusion about the socialists and social-democrats struggling for the rights of the working people, and claim that collaboration with them is possible and necessary to limit and destroy the power of the monopolies, pretend that being at the head of governments in these or other countries, the socialists follow or may follow an internal and external policy which is allegedly in the interests of the popular masses of the country and the progressive development of so-

ciety, as well as in the interests of the peoples of other countries, and so on and so forth.<sup>22</sup> By so doing the revisionists have become supporters of the struggle of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to enliven the role of social-democracy and to bring it to the head bourgeois governments of different countries in the conditions of the present grave crisis which has the capitalist world in its grip, as a means to avert the threat of the revolution.

The present preachings of the modern revisionists prove that imperialism, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the modern revisionists, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «are seeking a modus vivendi, a «hybrid new society» in order to keep the bourgeois-capitalist system on its feet to avert revolutions and to continue their oppression and exploitation of the peoples in new forms and by new methods».<sup>23</sup> Their views about socialist society are known and there is nothing new about them.

In the first place, they negate the general laws and the fundamental features of a truly socialist society and preach all kinds of «specific socialism» of «different colours» which means that they exclude the only right colour, the Marxist-Leninist one. This has been «legalized» by the Soviet revisionists, too, who, as K. Chernenko writes, are for «respecting the freedom of choice among different roads in the struggle for progressive social transformations and socialism».<sup>24</sup> E. Honecker is for «socialism of any hue»<sup>25</sup>. The (revisionist) Communist Party of Austria is of the opinion that there are as many models of socialism as there are socialist countries and that socialism in Austria «will also have the specific colours of our country»<sup>26</sup>. The French revisionists are more explicit in the expression of their views. «Seen retrospectively as peculiar for every country,» they write, «the former roads of transition to socialism could be neither general nor transplantable... In the France of 1983, for example, specific socialism cannot take any other form of transition as its model, because none of them can claim to have the value of a prototype, regardless of its effectiveness in other circumstances.»<sup>27</sup>

In complete opposition to the concepts of the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists adhere to Lenin's thesis that, of course, socialism will have its peculiarities in different countries, but the basic principles and the general laws of socialism remain unchangeable and absolutely necessary for all countries, that any departure from them leads inevitably to revisionism and the betrayal of the cause of socialism.

As about what kind of «socialism» the modern revisionists mean, we have only to refer to the French revisionists who preach the «perspective of democratic and self-administering socialism,... the necessary division between the parties and the state, the necessity of ideological and political pluralism, the importance of a decentralized and contractual planning, the role of self-administration established at all levels of national life», etc.<sup>28</sup> In a given stage, which may be particularly long, of this kind of «socialism», write the Portuguese revisionists, «the necessary conditions must be ensured for the capitalist sector so as to enable it, within its possibilities, to make its positive contribution to the economic development of the country.»<sup>29</sup>

In reality, what the revisionists call for is a hybrid capitalist-revisionist society which neither has existed nor can exist, in which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «...socialist and capitalist elements interlace and coexist in the economy and politics, in the base and superstructure. The «socialism» envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a society in which socialist and capitalist elements are combined and coexist in the economy and politics, in the base and superstructure. In their «socialism» there will be both «socialist property» and capitalist property, hence there will also be exploiting and exploited classes; alongside the party of the working class there will also be bourgeois parties; the proletarian ideology will coexist with the other ideologies; in this «socialism» the state will be a state in which all parties and classes have power.»<sup>30</sup>

All this shows that the modern revisionists have been and remain sworn enemies of the revolution and scientific socialism, enemies of Marxism-



Leninism. Significant are the words of the French revisionists to the effect that in the present time, theory, that is, the Marxist-Leninist theory, cannot serve as a guide for building a policy. «By adopting a new strategy for the democratic advance towards socialism...» they write, «the French Communist Party hereafter is inclined to conceive in another manner its approach to theory... It rejects the temptation to deduce its policy from theory or to take under its wing and justify its policy by means of theory.»<sup>31</sup>

However, despite all their efforts and demagogy, the revisionists cannot stop, although they can make it more difficult, the unstoppable advance of the revolution. Ever new Marxist-Leninist parties have taken up or are taking up the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism which has been betrayed and abandoned by the revisionists. Together with the Party of Labour of Albania, they wage a resolute and principled struggle to expose modern revisionism and to show the working class and masses the right road of struggle. The activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties assumes particular importance in the conditions when the crisis has exacerbated all the contradictions of capitalism and the world finds itself before new revolutionary upheavals.

## II. REPLACEMENT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM WITH GREAT-POWER CHAUVINISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

At present the revisionists, especially the Soviet revisionists capitalize a great deal on the slogan of internationalism, completely falsifying the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism. The exposure of these distortions to show what is really hidden behind the clamour of the revisionists about their internationalism, is of major importance for the revolutionary and liberation movement.

The speculations and practices of the Soviet revisionists over this question consist in essence in their replacement of proletarian internationalism

with great-power chauvinism, their utilization of the slogan of «internationalism» for the purposes of the expansionist, neo-colonialist and aggressive policy of Soviet social-imperialism, its aims of world domination, its rivalry with American imperialism and other kinds of imperialism.

This is expressed, first of all, in the policy of Soviet social-imperialism towards the other countries of the «socialist community». The Soviet revisionists are working out «theoretical» arguments to justify the policy of enslavement of these countries on the part of Soviet social-imperialism. They have come out with the thesis that in the objective process of internationalization of economic, productive-technological and political-judicial links amongst countries, «the drawing together of the members of the two world systems (capitalist and «socialist» — our note) has advanced to such a degree today that the conditions as a whole have fully matured for the transition to a higher stage, the present stage of integration.»<sup>32</sup>

As is seen, here the intra-state monopoly integration in the Western world is also justified. The revisionists themselves spread illusions about it in the Western countries. Their efforts at prettifying the Common Market and the European Economic Community, which in essence are only attempts at the creation of the «United States of Europe», which Lenin considered either impossible or reactionary, an agreement of the European capitalists to jointly suppress socialism in Europe and to divide the colonies by means of force, are especially flagrant. So, the French revisionists, who in 1957 expressed themselves against the Common Market, but later changed their stand, say that they favour participation in it, seeing it possible for this organization to adopt such a policy as «will take account of the national interests and the interests of the working people of every country», as well as «will merge the class battles in Western Europe into one.»<sup>33</sup>

As far as integration into the so-called socialist community is concerned, one must expose to the end the demagogy of the Soviet social-imperialists who claim that it allegedly

represents a new type of international relations built on the principle of socialist internationalism, mutual social assistance and full respect of the interests, peculiarities and traditions of each country. In the reality, the «socialist integration» preached by the Soviet social-imperialists means the liquidation of any national independence and sovereignty of the other countries of the «community» in all vital fields.

First of all, this «socialist integration» leads to the liquidation of the economic independence of these countries. The Soviet «theoreticians» say that the international socialization of production is assuming today such proportions as to lead to the close interdependence of the national economies of the «socialist» countries, and call for «an ever closer interplay» of these economies. «Life itself poses the task,» they write, «of supplementing the co-ordination of the plans with the co-ordination of economic policies, in general. Such problems as bringing together the structures of economic mechanisms, extension of direct links between ministries, unions and enterprises which participate in cooperation, creation of joint enterprises, etc. are on the order of the day.»<sup>34</sup> They also talk about the need for co-ordinating the development of national economies, including «an ever broader range of problems of the internal economic situation»<sup>35</sup>, affirming that «the socialist community has reached such a degree of development as to include ever new fields of the political, economic, social and spiritual life in the sphere of international socialist relations»<sup>36</sup>. It is not difficult to see that, proceeding on this road, the «common» organisms which regulate these problems (in the framework of the COMECON or in other forms), in which the representatives of the revisionist Soviet superpower are absolute rulers and have the last word, are transformed into a government above the national governments of other countries, thereby more and more limiting the national sovereignty of these countries in the economic field.

In the political field, the Soviet social-imperialists seek from the countries of the «socialist community», as

A. Gromyko writes, «to work out a common and co-ordinated policy»<sup>37</sup>, which means in fact making the external policy of these countries a function of the vicissitudes of the Soviet foreign policy, that is, eliminating national sovereignty in this field, too. However, the Soviet social-imperialists do not hesitate to interfere also in the internal policy of other countries, as for example in Poland, etc.

Finally, the Soviet social-imperialists have always worked for the liquidation of any kind of true national independence and sovereignty of the countries of the «socialist community» in the military field, too. For this purpose they have all the necessary means in their arsenal, ranging from the putting of the armies of these countries under effective Soviet command by means of the Warsaw Treaty, keeping contingents of Soviet troops and Soviet missiles in the territories of these countries to their direct military occupation, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

The expansionist, neo-colonialist and enslaving policy of the Soviet social-imperialists is also expressed in their stand towards the communist and worker movement, the anti-imperialist liberation wars of the peoples, the present movement for peace, etc. In order to justify this policy and present it in «internationalist» colours the Soviet revisionists exaggerate and absolutize the external factor, proclaim it the decisive one, while ignoring and minimizing the internal factor. «The realities of the so-called nuclear century,» K. Chernyenko writes, «have given international conditions a determinative and priority importance from the view point of the interests of the communist movement, and we think, also from the viewpoint of the interests of the struggle of each party for its programmatic aims.»<sup>38</sup> The implication is clear: all must keep their eyes turned to the Soviet Union as allegedly the centre and the decisive force of current world development, no people can hope to be liberated, to proceed on the road of progress and protect its existence against the threat of a nuclear war without Soviet support and assistance, without putting themselves under the protective umbrella

of Soviet social-imperialism! This logic leads to the conclusion that in the present conditions of the nuclear threat which hangs over mankind, assembling round the Soviet Union, following the vicissitudes of its international policy, constitute the key to internationalism! However, the actual facts show that the Soviet social-imperialists identify «internationalism» with their right to interfere everywhere, to impose their line and rule on others, to submit and enslave them.

Let us take their stand towards the former colonial, dependent or developing countries, as they are called. The propaganda of the Soviet social-imperialists tries to prove that, as the review «New Times» wrote some time ago, here we have to do with «a new fully consolidated type of correct international relations» which is allegedly based on the undeniable right of partnership, respect of sovereignty, non-discrimination in trade, etc. The facts, however, show that the Soviet Union and, together with it, also the other countries of the «socialist community», follow a predatory neo-colonialist policy. Discriminating and unequal trade through which the Soviet social-imperialists make colossal profits at the expense of different countries, export of capital, loans, credits and government's aid, the armaments trade, licences and technical services accompanied with the envoy of Soviet specialists, creation of joint companies and enterprises with local capital, etc. are only some of the ways in which Soviet social-imperialism, in rivalry with American imperialism and the other imperialist powers, carries out its neo-colonialist policy of penetration, plunder, exploitation and economic submission of the former colonial and dependent countries.

In continuation of this exploitative policy, the «theoreticians» of Soviet social-imperialism are at present advertising the idea of drawing these countries into the process of economic integration which is going on in the so-called «socialist community». They write about the «possibility of the developing countries participating in integration measures», about «the prospects of establishing long-term stable economic relations and the mu-

tual completion of productive structures» in these countries, etc.<sup>39</sup>

In the political field, one of the main roads followed by Soviet social-imperialism in its course of neo-colonialist expansion of zones of influence and domination is that of penetration into the anti-imperialist national liberation movements allegedly to support and assist them, while its true aim is to put them under its control and transform them into bridgeheads of Soviet penetration into different regions of the world, support bases for establishing pro-Soviet regimes in these countries, as well as means of subversion against the positions of its rival, American imperialism. All means are good for the Soviet social-imperialists bent on achieving this objective, from the utilization of the revisionist parties as tools for spreading Soviet influence, «aid» in Soviet arms and specialists and advisers, envoys of foreign mercenaries, as in the case of Angola and Ethiopia, to the stirring up of armed conflicts between different forces, taking this or that side, etc.

The Soviet revisionists try to provide a «theoretical» basis for the neo-colonialist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. For this purpose they continue to propagandize with all manner of means their theory on the so-called «non-capitalist road of development» and «countries of socialist orientation», among which they include such states as Angola, Benin, Guinea, Congo, Madagascar, Tanzania, Syria, Yemen, Ethiopia, etc.<sup>40</sup> By shamelessly distorting Lenin's ideas on the possibility of the transition of the backward countries directly to socialism, without going through the phase of developed capitalism, the Soviet revisionist «theoreticians» present this as a transition which takes place allegedly without the leadership of the working class and without its vanguard, the proletarian party, without the socialist revolution and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, only thanks to the «internationalist aid» of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the «socialist community».

The exposure and refutation of these theories of the Soviet revisionists and the arguments they use has great importance for the anti-imperialist and

revolutionary struggle of the freedom-loving peoples to develop with success. It must be made clear that the strategy followed by the Soviet social-imperialists has nothing in common either with Marxism-Leninism, or socialism, or anti-imperialism, or proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it is the predatory strategy of an imperialist superpower which, in rivalry with the other superpower, American imperialism and Western imperialism, in general, seeks to extend its expansion and rule to other countries, to the whole world. It is especially important to be understood that, as the facts have shown, «...not only those who have trusted the "internationalist aid" of the Soviet Union, but also those who have believed that they can rely on Soviet "aid" and alliance with it in order to oppose or gain liberation from American imperialism and other imperialisms, have become victims of its expansion.»<sup>40</sup>

The «theories» of the Yugoslav and Chinese revisionists on the so-called movement of «non-alignment», the creation of «a new international economic order» and «the third world» must also continue to be followed attentively and exposed by scientific argument on our part. These «theories» serve imperialism and social-imperialism to extend and strengthen

their influence in different countries, to divert the freedom-loving peoples from the road of national liberation and revolution, to advertise neo-colonialism as the way out of poverty of the former colonial countries and their development, to put out the class struggle in these countries and to perpetuate the bourgeois and imperialist system of exploitation and oppression.

It is necessary to refute also the Trotskyite concepts on proletarian internationalism which negate the national aspect of the revolution and treat national interests in a nihilistic manner, which preach the so-called world revolution beyond all national border and call for sacrificing the national interests of the country or countries in which the working class has come to power, allegedly for the sake of spreading the flames of the revolution to other countries, in other words, for the export of the revolution.

It is clear for the Marxist-Leninists that the revolution cannot be carried out and triumph otherwise than in the national framework of each country, that it cannot be exported, so the primary demand and stand of the true internationalist is to carry out his revolutionary task in his own country, without in the least renouncing the support of the revolutionary

movement in other countries. Lenin says: «There is one and only one internationalism in deeds: self-denying work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, support (through propaganda, sympathy, material aid) of **this struggle**, and this line and **only this line in all countries** without exception.»<sup>41</sup>

As regards the internationalist tasks of a country in which the working class has assumed state power, it is clear that the interests of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois regimes cannot demand to put in jeopardy the socialist state and bring about its isolation in the international field, just as a true socialist country can never be interested in the weakening and dying away of the revolutionary and liberation movement of other countries, because, on the contrary, its strengthening and rise responds to its radical interests.

In this publication we dwell on some aspects of the struggle against modern revisionism over the problems of the current world development, without pretending to include all the questions or treat them exhaustively. The all-round study of these problems, delving ever deeper into them, remains a permanent task of our workers of social sciences.

- 1 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 1, 1984, p. 44.
- 2 *Ibidem*, no. 3, 1983, p. 23.
- 3 *Ibidem*, no. 4, 1983, pp. 32, 36.
- 4 *Ibidem*, no. 1, 1984, p. 57.
- 5 *Nouchny kommunizm*, no. 4, 1984, p. 14.
- 6 *La nouvelle revue internationale*, no. 12, 1983, p. 10.
- 7 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 183, Eng. ed.
- 8 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 163, Eng. ed.
- 9 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 2, 1983, p. 51.
- 10 *Ibidem*, no. 2, 1983, p. 53.
- 11 *Kommunist*, no. 3 1983, p. 93.
- 12 *La nouvelle revue internationale*, no. 12, 1983, p. 136.
- 13 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 2, 1983, p. 48.
- 14 *Ibidem*, no. 4, 1983, p. 49.
- 15 *Ibidem*.
- 16 *Ibidem*, no. 3, 1983, p. 28.

- 17 *Ibidem*, no. 8, 1983, pp. 48, 49.
- 18 *Enver Hoxha, Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, p. 155, Eng. ed.
- 19 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 6, 1983, pp. 25-26.
- 20 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 5, 1983, p. 72 and *La nouvelle revue internationale*, no. 12, 1983, pp. 139-140.
- 21 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 256-257, Eng. ed.
- 22 Related to this see *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 5, 1983, pp. 72-73; no. 8, 1983, pp. 51, 65.
- 23 *Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 22, Eng. ed.
- 24 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 10, 1983, p. 10.
- 25 *Ibidem*, no. 6, 1983, p. 13.
- 26 *Kommunist*, no. 3, 1983, p. 87.
- 27 *La nouvelle revue internationale*, no. 12, 1983, pp. 135-136.
- 28 *Ibidem*, pp. 136-137.

- 29 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 6, 1983, p. 46.
- 30 *Enver Hoxha, Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, p. 136, Eng. ed.
- 31 *La nouvelle revue internationale*, no. 12, 1983, p. 134.
- 32 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 6, 1983, p. 55.
- 33 *Ibidem*, no. 7 1983, p. 74.
- 34 *Mezhdunarodnaya zhiznj*, no. 7 1983, p. 82.
- 35 *Ibidem*, no. 8 1983, pp. 28-29.
- 36 *Ibidem*, no. 7 1983, p. 82.
- 37 *Kommunist*, no. 6, 1983, pp. 19, 20.
- 38 *Problemy mira i socializma*, no. 11, 1983, p. 9.
- 39 *Mezhdunarodnaya zhiznj*, no. 3, 1983, p. 37.
- 40 *Nauchnyi kommunizm*, no. 2, 1983, p. 105.
- 41 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 171, Eng. ed.
- 42 *V. I. Lenin, Collected Works*, vol. 24, p. 63.

# A CASE WITHOUT OF THE SELLING OUT OF NATIONAL SO

## «ZÈRI I POPULLIT»

THERE IS MANY A PARADOX IN THE POLITICAL RELATIONS AMONG THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, BUT THE OFFICIAL STEP WHICH THE HONDURAN GOVERNMENT TOOK WITH THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION RECENTLY WAS UNPREDICTABLE. IN AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION, THE HONDURAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND OF THE COUNTRY DECLARE THAT THEY RENOUNCE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. THROUGH THIS DOCUMENT THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION IS REQUESTED TO MAKE HONDURAS A STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, OR A PARTNER STATE LIKE PUERTO RICO, OR AN AMERICAN PROTECTORATE. BESIDES, IT PROPOSES THE CONCLUSION OF A MUTUAL DEFENCE TREATY (!) BETWEEN THE USA AND HONDURAS, SO AS TO GUARANTEE THE PERMANENT PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE COUNTRY.

In the history of international relations it is difficult to find a case like this in which a government, though a puppet one for that, has declared officially with its own mouth that it renounces its independence and offers to sell its national sovereignty. Occupations and invasions have been and are carried out by the superpowers and other imperialist powers, governments are promoted or demoted by the imperialist secret agencies, but until today they have, at least, tried to save appearances, pretending that the national sovereignty is retained. The present case, without a precedent, reveals that there is a new step forward in the political practice and concepts which characterize the relations between states in the capitalist world. This has nothing

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the  
CC of the PLA

to do with the internationalization of the political life in the world, or with its cosmopolitan character, as the imperialist theoreticians strive to make out. It is not war against «national Messianism», either, as «International Herald Tribune» claims. This is a case of a rise of totalitarianism in the international capitalist relations, in which the great powers build up to the maximum their pressure and diversion against the national independence and sovereignty of other countries.

Without doubt, the offer to sell out the national sovereignty reveals an actual fact. According to what the Honduran political personality, Mario Riviera Lopez, admits, Honduras is a country virtually occupied by the Americans. The situation is such

# PRECEDENT

# SOVEREIGNTY

that, to travel from one city to another, people must apply for a permit not to the government of their own country but to the American embassy and the American military command there. Cynically enough this fact is presented to the public opinion at home and abroad as an official step which has the power of law. According to the logic of the present-day quislings the sanctioning of national betrayal in an official public document is excuse enough for this betrayal. Puppet governments take upon themselves a right, which they are not entitled to, of treating national sovereignty and national independence as their personal matter, which they could dispose of as they like and transfer it to another state. At the same time they try to excuse the invaders, to exonerate them completely, indeed forcing their hand to accept the offer. The invaders certainly are interested to present this invasion before the public as an option of the invaded. In an interview to the American magazine «Newsweek» the Afghan president, Babrak Karmel, when asked whether or not the presence of 110 thousand Soviet troops limited their independence, said in reply: «We requested our Soviet friends to help us, and they did help us.» Accepting the offer to buy the sovereignty of the

country is thus presented as a philanthropic gesture on the part of the big partners.

Puppet governments try to motivate their open renunciation of national sovereignty in two ways: by the excuse of the economic and political situation of the country and the threat from outside. In a meeting with foreign journalists, a spokesman of the Honduran government spoke of the document of his government addressed to the American government, declaring with the greatest coolness that only the Americans could pull the country out of the state of underdevelopment. In the above-mentioned document the Honduran government says that it took this step in order to escape from the «Marxist pressure from outside». The Afghan government repeats on every possible occasion that it invited the Soviet troops into the country in order to escape from the «imperialist pressure from outside».

The logic of national betrayal is quite strange: to pretend that the foreign invasions are the regulator of internal problems and a factor of economic development, or a means to escape from the threats from outside, is enormous political absurdity. Foreign invasions represent savage economic plunder, combined with the still more savage political oppression

and domination. The history of various invasions is so rich with examples that it is needless to mention names.

So, offers to sell out national sovereignty are made quite openly and publicly. However, this should not be seen simply and only as an attack on the part of the puppet government against the national sovereignty of its own people. All this should be seen rather as an attack against the cause of the freedom, independence, dignity and national sovereignty of the peoples and nations all over the world. The superpowers need such offers and invitations (which they themselves prepare) as a mandate which authorizes them to trample on the independence and sovereignty of other peoples and nations. This mandate constitutes a dangerous escalation of the overbearing policy and mentality of the imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Indifference towards such instances only encourages imperialist action, no matter where it is taken. Opposition and condemnation of these acts is a legitimate demand of anyone who wants and defends national independence and sovereignty, the value of which, especially in our time full of imperialist threats, becomes more and more precious.

# THE MAIN ROAD OF DEMOGRAPHY IS THAT OF SHAKING ON IMPERIALIST.

*From the speech of the representative of the PSR of  
Justin Papajorgji, at the World Conference of the*

**THE WORLD TODAY IS FACED WITH WORRYING DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS WHICH ARE LINKED WITH A NUMBER OF SOCIAL ULCERS SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT, EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION, THE HARD CONDITION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE FAMILY, ILLITERACY, ETC. THEIR CAUSE DOES NOT LIE IN THE HIGH GROWTH RATE OF THE POPULATION, AS THE BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGISTS TRY TO MAKE OUT, BUT IN THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST SYSTEM ITSELF, IN ITS INCAPACITY TO ENSURE THE HARMONIOUS GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY, TO SECURE JOBS AND FOOD FOR ALL PEOPLE, IN THE RELATIONS OF INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.**

These phenomena have become even more acute today because of the profound and all-round crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist world in its grip, and the policy of oppression, exploitation and expansion of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The reality shows that not only the smaller and poorer countries, but also the bigger and more developed countries are faced with demographic problems because of the deep political crisis, stagnation and decline of production, falling living standards and decadence of moral values.

At a time when the overpopulation of our planet and the «objective» shortage of material means to cope with the population growth is being advertised in alarming terms, the superpowers and their political and military blocs expend hundreds of thousands of dollars for armaments and

war preparations. They have concentrated their main material sources and their ablest scientific forces on the invention of sophisticated weapons which spell death to millions and make the misery and backwardness of hundreds of millions people all over the world even worse.

Proceeding from the experience of our country, said the Albanian representative, the great alarm about high population growth rates, as well as the recommendation of birth control methods as a way to solve these problems does not seem to us justified. The main road for the solution of demographic problems in the developing countries is that of carrying out deep-going socio-economic transformations, of shaking off dependence on imperialist-revisionist states, of establishing complete sovereignty over national assets and their utilization to the advantage of the work-

# FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF BRINGING OFF DEPENDENCE FROM REVISIONIST STATES

*Albania,  
UNO on population problems*

ing masses, of ensuring an independent socio-economic development on the basis of self-reliance.

At present there is much talk and many comments are made about the average income per capita in the different countries. For this purpose figures are given and the different countries of the world are classified in special lists. However, such statistics can never show the real state of things, when they do not indicate who appropriates this income, when its unfair distribution is covered up, a handful of the rich live in luxury with the huge profits they squeeze from the sweat and blood of millions of people who live in poverty and suffering.

Further on the representative of the PSR of Albania said:

During these 40 years of the people's power, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has had a high rate of population growth which is 21 per thousand today. However, this high rate of population growth has not created demographic problems or caused living standards to decline, because, thanks to the superiority of our socialist order, demographic and economic development go hand in hand with each other,

The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said that «economic, social and cultural factors and a ceaselessly extended production have decisive importance for the population growth.» On this basis our plans of economic development are drafted and implemented in such a manner as to enable the solution of the socio-economic problems of our constantly growing population. Our economic development has created the conditions for an ever better fulfilment of the socio-economic demands of a growing population while, on its part the growing population has secured the labour force necessary for the rapid economic development of the country. As a result of the interplay of these factors, in our country there are no unemployment, emigration or illiteracy. In 1983, as against 1938, while the population has grown 2.7 fold, the social product has increased 23 times over. The population of Albania is young, the average age being 26 years. About 35 per cent of the population is under 15 years of age. In this manner the problem of the aging population which worries many countries of the

world, and especially Europe, does not exist for our country.

The constant improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working masses, of their conditions of work, the establishment of free of charge medical service, pensions, holidays, etc. have resulted in the average life expectancy in our country to rise to 70.4 years from 38 years it was before Liberation. The problems of the improvement of the material-cultural well-being of the working masses and of the living conditions and health of the people are considered closely linked with a rational territorial distribution of the population. Today about 2/3 of our population live in the countryside. The phenomenon of the depopulation of the countryside, which is taking place in all the capitalist and revisionist countries in which the peasant population, hard pressed by debts and poverty, migrates to the cities to swell the armies of the unemployed, is unknown in our country. These and other demographic problems have been solved successfully in our country thanks to the correct economic policy followed by our government since the Liberation of the country.

# INTERNATIONAL CREDIT- A MEANS OF IMPERIALISM AND OPPRESSION

by **GRAMOS PASHKO**

*The system of credits represents the heaviest chains imperialism has put on different countries. In many cases credits have been the most effective means of political pressure or blackmail for the imperialist or social-imperialist powers to impose their will on other countries*

**THE CAPITAL THAT FLOWS FROM THE BIG BANKS TO THE UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA IS RECKONED AT MANY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. IN OTHER WORDS, A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL HAS BEEN CREATED BETWEEN ECONOMICALLY DEVELOPED AND UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, UNDER WHICH ALMOST EVERYTHING IS DONE ON CREDIT, RANGING FROM INVESTMENTS, PURCHASES AND EVEN PAYMENTS OF LOAN INTERESTS. THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES USE CREDIT AS A MEANS OF EXPLOITING THE CONDITIONS CREATED BY THE WORLD CRISIS TO SADDLE THE POORER COUNTRIES WITH PART OF ITS BURDEN. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA SAYS: «BY MEANS OF THE SYSTEM OF CREDITS, LOANS, AID, AND VARIOUS FUNDS, THEY HAVE TURNED THESE COUNTRIES INTO PERMANENT DEBTORS AT THE MERCY OF CREDITORS WHO, IN RETURN FOR THE MONEY PROVIDED, DEMAND NOT ONLY THEIR TITLE-DEEDS, BUT ALSO THEIR SOULS.»<sup>1</sup>**

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Being one of the neo-colonialist levers of imperialism, the system of credits has been greatly expanded. Credits are used as a means to create new links and dependences and to strengthen the existing ones. In particular, the plunder of primary materials and the exploitation of the cheap work force has been stepped up, the market of goods expanded, investments increased and the dependence of the undeveloped countries on their creditors made even greater.

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In recent times there have been changes in the economic structure of many undeveloped countries as a result of the development of local industries, the improvement of the network of communications, the increase of foreign investments and the introduction of new technologies. Though partial, one-sided and totally dependent on the industrialized countries, this economic development has brought about a deeper integration of the economy of the undeveloped countries into the world market and expanded their relations with the market controlled by the big monopolies.

This process of gradual integration has caused a number of distortions in the economies of the undeveloped countries. Economic dependence, although presenting itself in new forms, is weighing ever heavier on them. And in the 70's, with the outbreak of the greatest post-war economic crises, this dependence has made itself felt with catastrophic consequences.

The first shock came as a result of the crisis of the monetary and financial system worked out at Bretton Wood in 1971, a crisis which, by abolishing the parity of the dollar with gold and, thereby, opening the way to the devaluation of the American currency, caused the devaluation of the hard currency reserves of the undeveloped countries. Then, struck the crises of 1974-1975 and 1980-1983 which adversely affected the buying power of the developing countries as well as their exports. Thus, the undeveloped (non oil-exporting) countries are reckoned to have lost 25 billion dollars only from the decrease of exports in 1975. As a result the trade deficit of these countries has grown to unprecedented proportions. It was 10 billion dollars in 1972, trebled in 1978 and septupled in 1981. As a consequence, extremely difficult finan-



# T PLUNDER

cial conditions were imposed on the undeveloped countries during this period. Being unable to pay for their imports, these countries were forced to resort more and more to credit, especially, short-term loans, to straighten their trade balance.

In the beginning of the 80's the undeveloped countries had practically run out of their hard currency reserves. If in 1979 their hard currency reserves could cope with 40 per cent of their imports, in 1981 they could cover only 27 per cent of them, and in 1982 the situation was even worse. The same applied to the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe which, as a result of the penetration of foreign capital and the degeneration of their economies, incurred huge debts to the big monopolies.

In the beginning of the 70's the foreign debt of about 100 billion dollars of the undeveloped countries began to grow quickly not only because of the investments of the imperialist powers and their long- or medium-term credits, but also because of the short-term credits these countries were forced to use in order to cover the deficits in their trade balance, that is, to ensure the continuation of their imports. In 1977 their debts to the imperialist powers were reckoned at 207 billion dollars. They rose to 250 billion in 1979, 500 billion in 1981 and 800 billion in the end of 1983. At the same time the debts of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe amounted to 85 billion dollars. With the growing level of indebtedness, a new practice became more and more frequent: that of

borrowing to pay loan interests, that is, borrowing to pay debts. So the imperialist powers have found a means to ease the burden of inflation on their economies as well as to step up the plunder of the assets of the undeveloped countries.

The tendency towards the increased activity of the private banks and other monopoly companies began to manifest itself in the system of international credit. In 1981, the private banks accounted for about half of the loans to the undeveloped countries. This change of roles between state organisms and private monopoly companies in the financing and crediting of these countries has not been made without ulterior motives. The credits granted by the imperialist states were only a political preparation for the subsequent expansion of private monopolies. Credits by private monopolies and against state monopolies are more profitable because the former charge higher interest rates and are manipulated depending on inflation and other factors.

As against the general flow of money, in the beginning of the 80's the capital flowing from the central banks of the undeveloped countries to pay for the interest rates on their loans has grown to unprecedented proportions. In the years 1976-1978 it accounted for about 52 per cent of the foreign payments of these countries and in the years 1980-1982 this figure rose to 82 per cent. Hence, since the beginning of the 80's the main operations of the banks of the undeveloped countries consist in the

payment of interest rates on foreign loans. On the other hand, there is a constant shortening of terms of payment, that is, an increase of short-term as against long-term credits, which is closely linked with the intensification of the activities of the private banks in this direction.

In these conditions the problem of the recycling of debts is becoming ever more acute and widespread, because, if pressed too hard, the debtor countries would go bankrupt and the payment of their debts would necessarily be postponed. In 1982, 11 of these countries asked for the postponement of the payment of their debts. In 1983 their number rose to 29. Zaire, for example, in 1983 asked for the postponement of its debts for the sixth time.

Financial capital, represented by the big monopolies, is exploiting these debts for its economic and political profit. The capital exported through the system of credit is more profitable than the capital invested in production. Since 1980, the United States of America has made from the export of capital an average of profit of 50 billion dollars each year, and this at a time when industrial production has declined in the United States itself. In 1982, as compared with 1975, the net profits of the banks, insurance companies and other crediting institutions of the United States have quintupled.

Especially after 1979, the United States of America and the other imperialist powers have greatly raised their interest rates. From October 1979 to the spring of 1980 interest

rates charged by the principal American banks went as high as 20 per cent and then oscillated between 15-22 per cent during the two following years. This unprecedented rise in interest rates has made the economic and financial situation of the debtor countries even worse. Only a 5 per cent increase in interest rates deprives Brazil of 13.5 per cent of the hard currency it gains from its exports. In 1982, the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America paid 25 per cent of the hard currency earned through their export only to pay for interest rates on foreign loans. The problem becomes even more acute with the general decline in the exports of these countries as a result of the economic crisis or the protectionist policies of the imperialist countries.

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By means of the export of capital imperialism has stepped up its neo-colonialist offensive in the so-called «new states» and hitched most of them up to its chariot. At present, employing international credit as one of its main levers, it has intensified the economic plunder and increased the political dependence of these countries. By means of their credits, imperialism and social-imperialism not only saddle the peoples with a good part of their economic difficulties, not only exploit them more intensely, but also keep them linked to themselves, threatening them constantly with

the suspension of its credits. Many facts indicate that the system of credits represents the heaviest chain imperialism has put on different countries. In many cases credits have been the most effective means of political pressure or blackmail for the imperialist or social-imperialist powers to impose their will on other countries. Capitulation to the creditors, and the opening of the doors to imperialism have been the direct result of this financial offensive of imperialism. Only by opposing imperialist and social-imperialist pressure and basing themselves on the great principle of self-reliance can the peoples develop their economies and ensure the sovereignty of their countries.

The imperialist powers have often forced the debtor countries to make changes in their economic policy, to carry out various reforms or grant further concessions to themselves so as to ensure a more intensive exploitation of these countries. Such were the reforms the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank demanded from many states as a condition for the granting of credits.

The large-scale export of armaments to the undeveloped countries is in the same logic. As importers of armaments on credit, these countries have fallen a prey to the war-mongering policy of the superpowers, to the imperialist tactics intended to keep the hotbeds of tension always active and stir up regional conflicts in order to keep the peoples divided and rule over them. International credit has never been a source of de-

velopment and «prosperity», as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. On the contrary, it has further deepened the gap between the developed countries and the undeveloped ones and increased poverty and misery in the latter. The international system of credit, payments, financing and loans is labouring under the acute problems of the capitalist and revisionist world. It is bedeviled by many acute contradictions of our times and, in particular, the contradiction between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples of the undeveloped countries and the former colonies. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «...development on foreign debts which was for a time trumpeted both in the West and in the East, as the road of salvation for mankind, proved to be only a strategy for the enslavement of the poorer and weaker countries on the part of imperialism and the great industrialized powers.»<sup>2</sup>

Only by opposing imperialist and social-imperialist pressure and implementing the great principle of self-reliance can a people develop their economy and guarantee the sovereignty of their country. The PSRA consistently implements this principle and its Constitution prohibits the taking of credits from the capitalist or revisionist states.

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 188, Eng.ed.

<sup>2</sup> Enver Hoxha, Speech before the Electors, November 1982, p. 15, Alb.ed.

*Albanian socialist agriculture which develops ceaselessly on the basis of an ever more powerful technique and modern agrotechnical science, has increased its yields from year to year, meeting the needs of the population and industry for agricultural products ever better.*



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