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**◀ THE WORKING CLASS, WITH THE PARTY IN THE LEADERSHIP,
HAS BEEN RAISED TO THE HEIGHT OF ITS MISSION, THE LEADING ROLE
OF THE SOCIETY.**

Specialists of agricultural economies and a great mass of cooperativists take part in various research and experimentation work in agriculture, along and in collaboration with specialized scientific institutions.





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THE 7th SESSION OF OF THE PEOPLE

Report of the Council of Ministers, «On the situation of the country» delivered by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers

On June 26 and 27 of this year the 7th session of the 10th legislature was held.

Vanguard workers and cooperativists, working people of the trade and building services, representatives of the central departments and various institutions, the central organizations of the masses and cadres from the districts of the country, were invited to attend.

When Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other leaders of the Party and state entered the chamber, they were greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Comrade Pali Miska, chairman of the Presiding Committee of the People's Assembly, declared the session opened. «This,» he said, «is the first meeting of the People's Assembly since the loss of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the legendary Leader, Commander and Commissar, the greatest historic figure that our nation has brought forth to this day, the person dearest to our hearts.»

Then, he invited the deputies to stand for two minutes in silence to honour the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Those present rose and stood in silence for two minutes as a sign of profound honour and respect for

the life and immortal work of the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Pali Miska proposed the following agenda for the proceedings of the session:

The report submitted by the Council of Ministers «On the situation of the trade service and building in the countryside».

The deputies adopted the agenda unanimously.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers the report «On the situation of the trade service and building in the countryside» was delivered by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Qirjako Mihali.

This session of the People's Assembly, he said, is being held at a time when the founder of the Party, the architect of socialist Albania, the person closest and dearest to our hearts, our beloved teacher and leader, our unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha, is no longer amongst us.

The Party and the entire people, the present and future generations of socialist Albania, will never forget the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who brought our country from darkness into light. With his name in our minds and hearts, with our determination and courage to march forward on his road, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, all of us, the communists and the people, took the solemn pledge that we will remain loyal to the

THE 10th LEGISLATURE LE'S ASSEMBLY

on of trade service and building in the countryside»,
cil of Ministers, comrade Qirjako Mihali

*Comrade RAMIZ ALIA and other leaders
of the Party and state in the meeting of the People's Assembly.*





The Presidium of the mee

teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, will guard Albania and the victories achieved like the apple of our eye, that we will make the economy and the defence of the Homeland, the unbreakable steel unity of the Party with the people even stronger, that we will enhance and sharpen our revolutionary vigilance, and will work with high discipline and consciousness, with a new revolutionary method and style at work, to accomplish and overfulfil all the tasks.

We have gathered today at this session of the People's Assembly to report on and determine the

measures to be taken for further improvements in connection with two important problems: the supply of goods for the people and the situation of the trade service and building in our socialist countryside.

Thanks to the correct and far-sighted policy of our Party and the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and by consistently applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country, in these 40 years of the people's state power, deep-going revolutionary transformations have been made in our socialist countryside in regard to



of the People's Assembly

ownership and in the direction of improving the socialist relations of production.

As a result of the collectivization of agriculture, based on the will of the working peasantry itself, as well as the all-round assistance of the state with investments and in other directions, production and, on this basis, incomes have increased, the socialist way of life has become widespread, the ideological, cultural and educational level of the peasantry has been raised, a great army of cadres from the ranks of the peasantry has been trained, etc. and the possibilities are gradually being created for new social

transformations such as the setting — up of higher-type cooperatives and the establishment of state farms, on the basis of the most advanced cooperatives.

All this has brought about important ideological, social and economic improvements, the formation of the new man with a sound world outlook and love for the countryside, and the gradual raising of the well-being of our working peasantry in all directions, thus further strengthening the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry and narrowing the differences between town and countryside.

On the basis of the orientations and directives of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the problems of supplying the population and the trade service in the countryside have always been dealt with as part of accomplishing the fundamental task of guaranteeing and gradually raising the level and way of life of the rural population, in the context of raising the well-being of the whole people. This is because in our socialist country the increase in production and the development of trade have a single aim: the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the population with mass consumer goods.

The circulation of goods by the state and co-operativist trade, taken together, has increased at rates higher than the increase in the population. In 1985, as against 1980, the circulation of retail goods in the state trade has increased by about 20 per cent, while in the co-operativist trade during these three last years it has increased by over 13 per cent. In every year of this five-year plan, the main food-stuffs have increased at an average of 3 to 10 per cent, and non-food-stuffs by 4 to 12 per cent and during this same period efforts have been made to improve their structure.

Today a considerable number of working people are employed in the service of the rural population, there is an extensive network of 8,882 state and co-operativist shops, apart from the other material and technical base which extends to the remotest village of our country.

Of course, the achievements in this field are great and beyond any comparison with the past. The structure of the diet and clothing of the rural population has been improved, radical transformations have been made in equipping the houses with furniture and appliances, especially, since the complete electrification of the country. These achievements have their base in the correct Marxist-Leninist line pursued by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the advance of the countryside on the road of socialist construction, with a reliable base and clear perspectives for the future.

Generally speaking, continued Comrade Qirjako Mihali, the rural population has been supplied normally with fats, sugar, macaroni and rice

and with a series of other articles processed by the light and food-stuff industry. Despite the great difficulties created by the winter of this year in the northern zones, these articles were not lacking even in the remotest villages of these zones. In the future, not only will the needs of the countryside for such articles be fulfilled better, but work will go on to further increase the variety of them.

After speaking about the tasks that emerge in this field and the measures to be taken for the further improvement of the trade service and building in the countryside, he said:

As a result of all these measures, and always bearing in mind the instructions of the Party about the care which must be shown for the countryside, during the 8th Five-year Plan, 1986-1990, the per capita consumption of the main food-stuffs and non-food-stuffs is envisaged to increase at rates several times higher than those of the increase of the rural population. Thus, in 1990, as against 1985, the quantities of goods to be sold in the countryside such as fats, sugar, macaroni, rice, soap, fabrics, shoes, furniture and appliances, cement and others, are forecast to increase from 14 to 40 per cent.

Besides this, there will be increased investments for the extension and improvement of the network of shops in the countryside, depots for storing agricultural products will be built, the material-technical base of the trade service will be further strengthened and the educational and technico-professional level of the working people of this sector, as well as the training and qualification of the cadres will be raised.

All these measures will serve to further improve the supplying of the rural population and raise the culture and level of the trade service during the coming five-year plan.

In the series of the great revolutionary transformations which have been carried out in the countryside, the buildings constructed during these four decades of the people's state power occupy an important place. The state and the agricultural cooperatives themselves have invested considerable sums to increase the area of productive land and build up its fertility (opening up new land, levelling, terracing, permanent draining, desalinization, etc.), to build irrigation and

drainage projects, to develop fruit-growing and livestock-raising, etc. Likewise, the state has made major investments for the use of chemicals in and the mechanization of agriculture.

During the period 1981-1984, said Comrade Qirjako Mihali, the investments made by the state in agriculture amount to 2 billion, 181 million leks and those of the agricultural cooperatives themselves to 2 billion, 476 million leks. As a result of these investments, in 1984, as against 1938, the area of arable land increased 2.4 fold, and the irrigation capacity 13 fold, 50 thousand hectares of land were drained and 65 thousand hectares were irrigated by means of artificial rain plants, etc.

All these things testify to the correct Marxist-Leninist course that our Party has pursued for the all-round intensive development of agriculture and raising it to an advanced scientific level.

The building of new comfortable dwellings, production and socio-cultural projects, the electrification of all the villages, linking them with motor roads and the building of many water-supply projects, the rearrangement of villages with well-considered urban planning, in which the political, economic, historical and social factors have been taken fully into account, have ensured the development of the productive forces in the countryside where 2/3 of the population live and work at rates incomparably higher than in the past, improvement of the living conditions and the further raising of the material and cultural well-being of our working peasantry. They have radically changed the appearance of our countryside, once ruined and so backward, while appreciably reducing the differences between town and countryside.

The rise in the level of the incomes of the cooperativist peasantry and the ever increasing demands for the creation of the most suitable living conditions, have also enabled an increased number of individual homes to be built in the countryside. During the 40 years of the people's state power, more than 205 privately owned homes have been built in the countryside by the citizens themselves, about 27 thousand of them during the four years of this five-year plan. On the state farms and for the grouping of the houses alone, during 1980-

1984 the state has built 4,700 dwelling apartments, costing a total of 130 million leks, while in 1985 it is planned that about 1,900 apartments, worth 54 million leks, will be built. On the other hand, every year the state provides large sums in long-term bank credits, especially for the hilly and mountainous zones, for the improvement of the housing conditions in the countryside.

The Party has also made large investments to eliminate the consequences of natural calamities. In the anti-popular regimes, nobody even thought about eliminating these grave misfortunes for the people. Only thanks to the correct policy of the Party and under its leadership and as a result of the measures taken immediately by the people's state power, by making large investments, has it been possible to eliminate the damage caused by earthquakes, floods, heavy snowfalls, etc., very quickly, by working with the motto «one for all and all for one», a thing which even the most developed states have not done. This is an expression of the superiority of our socialist system, of the consistent policy followed by our Party, its constant care to be always close to the people in cases of natural calamities, sparing nothing and spending considerable monetary and material sums to this end. As always, in these cases, too, our people's sense of solidarity and unity, the feeling of mobilization to overcome these misfortunes in the shortest possible time, which speak clearly of the vitality of our socialist order and the formation of our new man imbued with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have been outstanding.

For example, for the earthquakes of April 15, 1979 and November 17, 1982, alone, about 200 million leks were invested, chiefly in the countryside, while a total of 43 million leks was spent for the liquidation of the damage caused by the heavy snow that fell in the northern zones during the months of January-February 1985. The measures taken to this end were not restricted simply to repairing the houses, but entirely new socialist villages were built, with proper urban planning, with complete civil engineering systems, etc., in places with suitable geological-engineering, climatic and hygiene-health conditions. Progressive world opinion cannot fail to appreciate these measures and



View of the hall

point out the superiority of our socialist order.

Apart from the building of housing in the countryside, he pointed out, the building of the many social-cultural objects such as crèches, kindergartens, schools, houses of culture, dining-rooms, public baths, etc., make up a large part of the construction work. Judging from the large number of them and the considerable funds involved, these should be treated with greater responsibility, not only as indispensable objects, but also because they occupy large areas of land. During the four years, 1981-1984, alone, about 100 million leks have been spent on them.

During the coming five-year period, the aim should be to build dwellings and other objects of more than one storey. They should be simple, according to the concrete possibilities of our coun-

try, in order to achieve the maximum savings of the monetary and material values and the area of land occupied. This is the only way to fully apply the instruction of the Party to build «better, quicker and at a lower cost» in the countryside, too.

Besides housing, production and social-cultural projects, during the years of the people's state power many communal projects, such as water-supply systems, electric and telephonic lines, roads, canals, etc., have been built and these, together with the other constructions, have radically improved the level and the living conditions of the peasantry, while changing the appearance of our socialist countryside.

Up to now, 1,311 water-supply systems in 1,480 villages, with about 2,400 km of steel pipes



reconstructed, but many new systems, some of which will be regional, such as that of Zadrina for 22 villages, that of the southeastern zone of Lushnja for 31 villages, that of Shupenza in the district of Dibra for 27 villages, etc., will be built. The construction work that the cooperatives themselves will do in individual villages, exploiting the local water resources, will also bring about improvements in the supply of drinking water.

Today a good part of the villages of the country are linked with about 2,500 km of motor road, usable all the year round. In the coming five-year plan, about 500 km of road linking the villages will be built or improved. To this end more profound study is required to ensure that the roads built are the most suitable, taking into account the socio-economic factors and the contribution that the peasantry itself will make for their construction.

During the years since the complete electrification, good work has been done for the reconstruction and extension of the electric power lines to the villages, involving considerable investments every year. Thus, from 1976 to the end of 1984, about 100 thousand timber poles have been replaced with reinforced concrete poles and 120 million leks have been spent for the reconstruction of lines and the extension of the reticulation network. Today, as against 1976, in the countryside we have 40 per cent more high tension lines, 22 per cent more low tension lines and 35 per cent more transformer cabins.

The great successes we have achieved in the development and progress of the country in all the walks of life, said Comrade Qirjako Mihali in conclusion, have their foundation in the directives of the Party, the teachings and instructions of our beloved teacher and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Turning their grief and profound sorrow over the loss of Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength, the Party and the people have risen to their feet and are working with great enthusiasm and mobilization to achieve and overfulfil the tasks of the plan in every sector of the economy.

The deputies discussed the report of the Council of Ministers and endorsed the decision «On the situation of the trade service and building in the countryside».

The 7th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly concluded its proceedings with success.

and 330 km of eternite and ceramic pipes, have been built.

This has improved the supply of drinking water to 55 per cent of all the villages of the country. During recent years big regional systems which supply water to many villages have been built, like that of Mbishkodra for 35 villages, that of Dropull for 24 villages, that of Peza for 8 villages, etc., while the Dumrea scheme which will supply water to 28 villages and the Seman scheme for 12 villages, etc., are still under construction.

Despite the obvious changes, the level required for the improvement of the supply of drinking water to the villages has still not been achieved. In the coming five-year plan, the organs of the state and economy will give special importance to this problem. To this end, not only will the existing water-supply systems be maintained and

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA OF THE CC ATTENDS THE PL OF THE PATOS

Oil and gas have for our economy, which dev

On June 10, the 33rd Party Conference of the Patos oil region held its proceedings in the town of Patos. Attending the work of the Conference was also Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA. Thousands of oil-workers, veterans of war and work, working people from various work and production centres, young people, young pioneers and others had come out to welcome him to their town.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was accompanied by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Comrade Pali Miska, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Dhimitër Brisku.

At the entrance to the hall, Comrade Ramiz Alia met and shook hands with delegates to the conference, heroes of socialist labour, veteran oil-workers, workers, cadres and specialists of various enterprises of the oil system, and went into the hall together with them. The delegates hailed with enthusiasm «The Party of Labour». The conference was opened by the veteran oil-worker, Koli Mone, who, among other things, said: «Our joy is immense to have Comrade Ramiz Alia among us. This is a great honour which is done to us, the oil-workers. The Party has always been close to us, it has always had and has shown special concern and great respect for the working class of the oil-fields, which loves the Party very much, is linked to it like flesh to bone, and will be guided by the teachings of the Party and our beloved Comrade Enver Hoxha forever. Your coming here, Comrade Ramiz, eases our grief over the loss of Comrade Enver: it redoubles our strength and gives us new forces to always march ahead on the road of the Party, according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who lives and will live on in the centuries in our hearts and minds.»

As a sign of profound respect for the unforgettable memory of the brilliant work and life of the dear leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the conference observed two minutes' silence.

The conference laid stress on the need for the party basic organizations and party bureaus to work better for continuously drawing the opinion of the working people about the solution of the problems they have, the strengthening of links with them, as an indispensable condition for the successful accomplishment of the tasks.

The delegates to the conference once again expressed their resolve that, by continuously studying the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha more and more profoundly, in steel unity around the Party, the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, they will redouble their efforts, will always be at the vanguard of the oil-workers and will carry out the great tasks the Party has set for this important sector.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor, and said:

I am very glad to be here, among the delegates to the 33rd Conference of the Party of the Patos oil region. On this occasion I want to bring to you and to all the communists and working people of the oil system the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and the best wishes for ever more fruitful work for the good of the people and socialism in this vital sector of our national economy.

The meetings of the party organizations for rendering account and elections and the regional conferences were held, this time, in a new situation, when the founder of the Party, the architect of the new socialist society, our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is no longer alive. This was an extremely great

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decisive importance
s entirely on its own forces

loss for all the communists and the whole Albanian people, it was the gravest test we have passed over this half century. We, Albanian communists, like all our working people of town and countryside, will continue our resolute march on the road the Party and Enver have indicated, according to the enlightening teachings and revolutionary work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Throughout his whole revolutionary life, Comrade Enver Hoxha poured all his energies in the service of the Homeland, the fundamental interests of the people, socialism and the cause of the revolution. He left us a strong Party, which is healthy and pure; he left us a flowering socialist Albania, which is developing and prospering; he left us the unbreakable unity of the people with the Party; he left us a completely independent country, which has clear perspectives and marches steadily ahead relying on its own forces. Therefore, just as in the days of our great grief and forever afterwards, the Party and people, in their hearts and minds, with their readiness, with their work and crestiveness, take the solemn oath that they will continue the work of Comrade Enver, always carry forward the cause of our Homeland and socialism.

This allegiance and this militant spirit was manifested everywhere in the new elections to the Party. Your contributions to the discussion in the conference, the healthy spirit which predominated in them, the responsibility which you took upon yourselves and the readiness you expressed to fulfil and overfulfil the targets, are an expression of the pledge of all the oil — workers to carry out to the letter the instructions of the Party and Comrade Enver for the ceaseless development and strengthening of the oil industry, this main pillar of

the energy industry and all our industry. This is the greatest honour paid to the figure of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to his immortal revolutionary theory and practice.

The Party is fully aware of the extremely great importance and role of oil, therefore, it has placed and always places the development and strengthening of the oil industry at the centre of its economic policy. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out long ago: 'Just as the living organism cannot exist without blood so our socialist economy cannot develop without oil...'

It is the historic merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, it is their monumental work, that the program for the setting up of a complex and modern industry for the extraction and processing of oil was realized in practice, step by step. To this sector has been allotted an average of one third of the fundamental investments made for the industrialization of the country. Working in this branch today there is one tenth of the number of industrial workers, who use more than one fourth of all the main functional funds for industry. At present, we have a complex oil system comprised of 37 different enterprises and scientific and management establishments, equipped with powerful modern technology, in which, along with thousands and thousands of workers and technicians, there are also about 1,400 specialists and cadres with higher training who work creatively in this field.

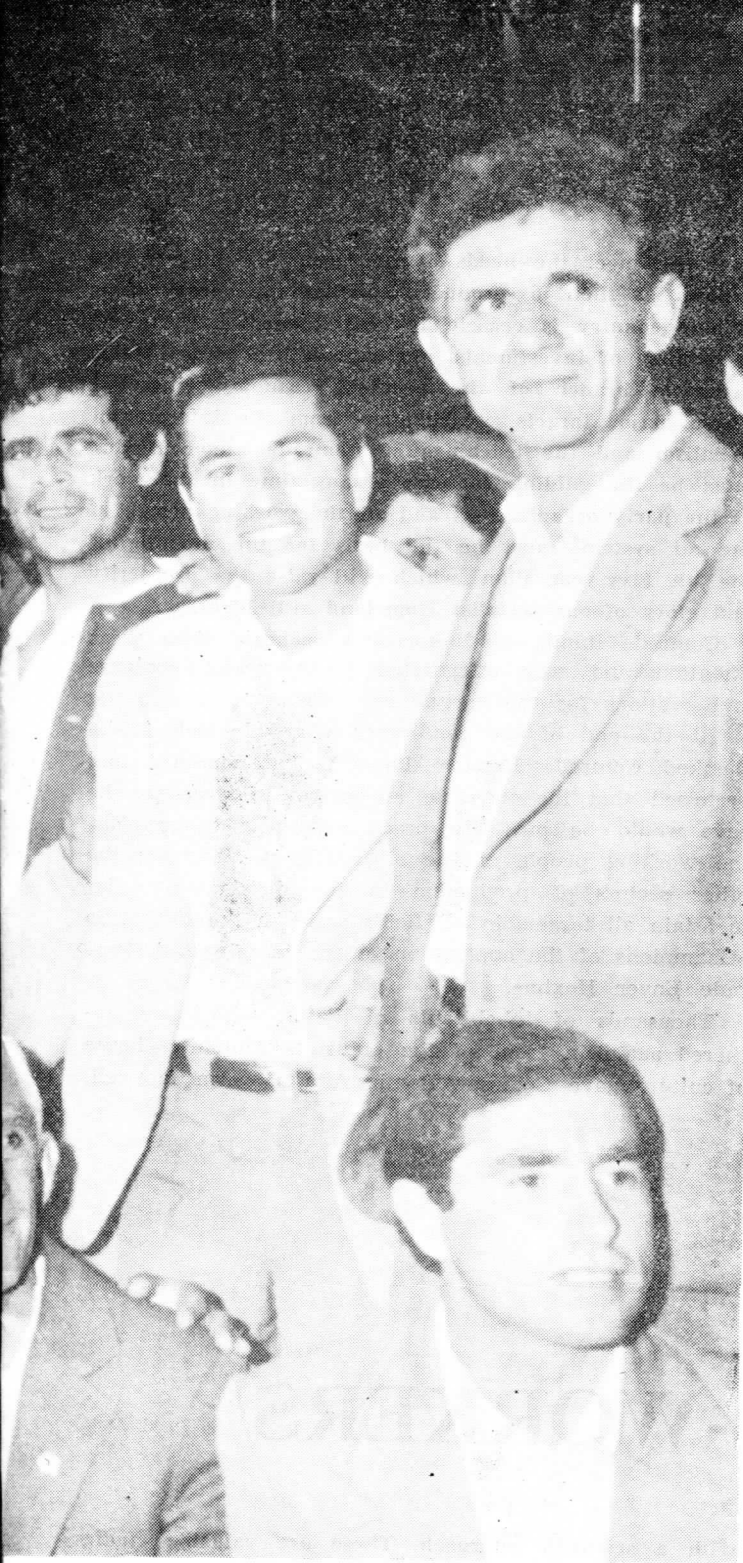
The realization of this program according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha took a great deal of work, toil and sacrifices. But in order to ensure progress of work in the oil sector we have had to



Comrade RAMIZ ALIA among the oil-workers

clash, especially, with the cunning and ferocity of external and internal enemies who strove to impede and sabotage this industry, to close its prospects of development, and to leave us like fish without water. In the past, at present and in the future, the enemies of socialism have always striven and will strive

to hit us in the most vital spots and key points, such as is the oil for our economy. But they have failed and will always fail in face of the vigilance of the working class which keeps and will always keep very careful watch, they will fail in face of the unity and the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat.



Oil and gas have decisive importance for our economy which develops entirely on its own forces. The extraction of oil and gas, their processing and rational and thrifty use, give us the possibility to ensure a stable supply for the energy basis of our country, to procure important valutory resources, to develop

the productive forces at the proper rates and extend our possibilities in other directions. This is a reality which can be seen everywhere. We have had and have an impetuous development of the production of electric power and coal industry, however, oil and gas still provide for about three fifths of all energy resources of the country. On the other hand, oil by-products which are sold abroad represent a great part of our exports, in spite of the continuous increase of exports of other industrial goods, as well as processed agricultural goods mainly.

Speaking about our Party's struggle against the internal enemies, the Soviet revisionists and the people in their pay, who not only preached that our country allegedly had no reserves in oil and gas, but also tried to prove that oil and gas extraction and processing were unprofitable, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that practice consigned these preachings and arguments with open hostile aims, to the dust bin.

The oil industry has been and is of very great profitability. It fulfills its own needs for its own extended reproduction and releases important financial and valutory sources for the development of other branches of the economy, for the social and cultural activities and for the defence of the country.

Comrade Ramiz Alia continued: Experience shows that in every work front, but still more so in such important sectors as the oil sector, the confidence and mobilization of the working people should be based, first of all, on well-based scientific studies, on the advanced experience, on concrete analyses of achievements, but also on the lessons drawn from shortcomings in the work.

The oil sector is one of the most difficult sectors, but these difficulties must be tackled by the organizations of the Party, the state, and economic organs in the districts and at the centre, but also by the Trade Unions and the Youth, with a lofty spirit of responsibility.

The Central Committee of the Party, continued Comrade Ramiz Alia, is convinced that all the conditions exist for the production of more oil and gas, because there are many possibilities in every direction and unexploited reserves.

After speaking about the concrete tasks which emerge for this sector, he pointed out: The dissemination of the advanced experience and learning from practice, in general, are the fundamental norms of our socialist life, are the motives which impell production and everything else forward, and also are the indispensable components of science and its progress. 'Oil sciences are very complicated,' Comrade Enver

Hoxha teaches us, but science has developed from practice, therefore in our work we must always bear in mind practice, we must never neglect it.'

Work in the oil sector calls for scientific knowledge, calls for many and many well-grounded studies, calls for close collaboration between several scientific disciplines. Therefore, at the present stage and in the future, the strengthening of scientific work in the oil sector and raising its effectiveness should continuously preoccupy the party organizations. This requires that the scientific management of work and direction by the Party should be raised to a higher level. Without this the complex and complicated problems of the technology and geology cannot be known properly. Without this it is impossible to actively influence in the co-ordination of all the links and sectors of studies in the oil sector, to be exacting to the letter about the progress of work in this field, on which perspectives for and the effectiveness of the whole oil industry are based, pointed out Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

The efforts of the Party are aimed at securing more and more oil and gas and industrial reserves of them for the present and for many years to come, so as to

normally meet the needs of the economy and increase exports of their by-products, so that the energy basis of our country is ceaselessly strengthened and the effectiveness of investments and expenditure made in this neuralgic branch of the people's economy increase. These major targets, which stem from the interests of socialism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, must be the guiding compass at any time in the work of the party organizations and all the working people of the oil system, must be the basis for the drafting of the 8th Five-year Plan which will raise the prosperity and glory of our socialist Homeland still higher.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was heard with great attention and was interrupted by powerful applause and ovations for the Party.

At the end of the conference, Comrade Pali Miska thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for participating and promised that the valuable advice and instructions he gave would be put into practice by the communists, the working people of the oil enterprises and all the other sectors of production in the district, in order to attain all targets in all fields and win the lofty title «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha».

Thousands of inhabitants of Patos, who have gathered again in front of the «Mustafa Matohiti» house of culture gave Comrade Ramiz Alia a warm farewell.

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AMONG THE OIL-WORKERS

The same day Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with the workers of the deep-oil processing plant at Ballsh, where he warmly greeted workers and young people who gave him the welcome and expressed their great joy to have their Party leader among them. He visited the various shops of the plant where he met and shook hands with workers, inquired about their health, their working conditions, and their achievements.

It is good that you make scientific studies about the complete exploitation of productive capacities, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, indeed, you must carry on

with a scientific approach. These are valuable studies which assist the further exploitation of the material-technical capacity of your plant.

Oil by-products, he said to them, occupy an important place in our exports, a special merit for this belongs to the workers and specialists of your plant. You have made appreciable progress in the increase of oil by-products. But this is not sufficient because deep-oil processing has unlimited range and gradings.

The Party, he pointed out, has shown and continues to show special concern not only for the extraction of oil, but also for the extension of the oil-

processing industry. The plant of lubricating oils, which is being set up here, in Ballsh, will produce other oil by-products for our economy.

While visiting the shops of the plant, Comrade Ramiz Alia, encircled by groups of workers, talked cordially with them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went also among the workers of the oil extraction enterprise at Marinza, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by hundreds of workers.

The woman in charge of the 8th group of the 1st sector, Aleksandra Suljoti, informed him about the work done in this group, which is one of the vanguard groups of the enterprise, for the successful application of injection methods with high effectiveness.

Comrade Ramiz Alia asked about the situation in well-drilling, the raising of effectiveness of oil-wells, and gave valuable advice for increasing oil extraction, so that the last drop of oil is pumped from them, so that Marinza should become a real laboratory.

The woman in charge of the group, Aleksandra Suljoti, who participated in the work of the Party Conference of the Patos district, spoke about the enthusiasm which Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at the

conference has aroused among the workers, their interest, optimism and determination to carry out the planned tasks better.

«The young oil-workers», said the engineer Kujtim Sula, «are working to attain high targets in support of the revolutionary movement 'Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha'. We take our pledge, Comrade Ramiz, that we will achieve ever higher results in order to be worthy of the great trust which our Party and people have placed in the younger generation.»

Comrade Ramiz Alia entered one of the cabins in which the device signalling the activity of oil-wells is placed.

«We have put it up recently, Comrade Ramiz», said the chief engineer, Thoma Karanxhi. «It is highly efficient. All technological parts for it have been produced in the country.»

Encircled with the love of the oil-workers, the conversation continues in a warm and cordial tenor. It is interrupted from time to time by applause and enthusiastic cheers for the Party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

CORDIAL MEETING WITH THE PEOPLE OF MALLAKASTRA AND THE COOPERATIVISTS OF SEMAN

On 11 June, at the village of Hekal, Comrade Ramiz Alia met the people of Mallakastra, a zone in the Fier district. Thousands of cooperativists gave him an enthusiastic and warm welcome. In this atmosphere, a cordial conversation took place.

«Your coming here, Comrade Ramiz, has greatly rejoiced old and young, all the communists and cooperativists of Hekal who guard the Party like the apple of their eyes.» said Asqeri Veizi, chairman of the «Der-vish Hekali» agricultural cooperative. He continued to

report about the great work which the cooperativists, with the communists in the forefront, have done to increase production and yields.

Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated them on these achievements. Taking the floor at this meeting, he said:

It is a great pleasure for me to meet you, the patriotic people of Mallakastra, you valiant and loyal people, who have linked yourselves like flesh to bone with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Before leaving Tirana for the Party Conference of the

Patos oil region. I had decided to come to Mallakstra to meet you. I had decided to do so because I wanted to see you, to talk with you about the problems you have and the tasks that await you. Besides, I wanted to fulfil a desire of yours, too. Some time before I met in Tirana some comrades of the management of the agricultural cooperative of Hekal, who invited me to come to your place. On this occasion, I want to bring to you the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and to wish you all, the cooperativists of your region, the whole heroic people of Mallakstra, successes and victories in all directions.

In the long history of our people, in the most important events of the life of our Homeland, in the many wars which the Albanians have waged for freedom and independence, the people of Mallakstra have been outstanding for their valiance and lofty patriotic spirit. Our whole people know the figures of such fighters as Rrapo Hekali, the whole of Albania knows the patriots of the independence, Hajredin Fratari and Ismail Klosi, just as they know about the massive participation of the people of Mallakstra in the War of Vlora in 1920.

These qualities shone with special splendour in the course of the National Liberation War, when the people of Mallakstra, from the beginning of the war, linked themselves with the Party and Comrade Enver. The sons of Mallakstra, Dervish Hekali, Ramiz Aranitasi, Dino Kalenja and more than 200 martyrs gave their blood for the freedom of Albania. Their blood was poured into the foundations of socialist Albania and cemented them.

In the history of our war, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, there is a special event which is connected precisely with the name of Hekal and Mallakstra. What happened here in Hekal, to the renowned councillors of this village, has become a symbol of resistance and sacrifice in the name of the emerging people's state power. The enemy captured, tortured and massacred the ten councillors of Hekal, but did not succeed in breaking them. They did not betray their Party. Theirs was an expression of revolutionary determination of the people of Mallakstra and the whole Albanian people to defend their state power, an expression of their profound confidence that only this state could bring them the happy future. The councillors of Hekal call on us to safeguard our state, to strengthen and steel our Homeland, to be vigilant in defence of freedom and independence. Their example shows that the Albanian is firm in his determination to defend his Homeland, his own people's state power even at the cost of his life.

Two months have passed from the day the great leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha,

was separated from us. But the people and the Party will live forever with Enver Hoxha, with his teachings and advice. Enver Hoxha was an exceptional man, one of those leaders who emerge from revolution, who are born in great historical epochs. He was the giant of the Marxist thought and revolutionary action. The loss of Comrade Enver was the greatest we have had in these four decades of the new Albania. But Comrade Enver left us a steel and pure Party, capable of leading the people further forward from victory to victory, just as he left us an Albania without debts and obligations to anyone, an Albania with developed economy and progressive culture. Precisely in free and independent Albania, in our consistent Party, in our developed Homeland, our whole people found the strength to cope with this great loss. Comrade Enver Hoxha was courageous and optimistic like his own people, therefore he taught us never to lose heart, on the contrary, to find strength even in the most difficult situations, in order to overcome them with courage. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth of the country had this teaching of Comrade Enver in their minds when they threw themselves into action with all their forces so that our Homeland and socialism forge ahead and develop uninterruptedly. This occurred all over Albania, this occurred also in Mallakstra.

Our country's economy and culture has changed a great deal over these 40 years; our man has become more learned, cultured, emancipated and free. You said that Comrade Enver had come several times in this zone. I would like to remind you of his first visit to Mallakstra, in September 1947. At that time, Comrade Enver Hoxha told you to produce more. How much wheat did you get from the land then? Only 7 or 8 quintals per hectare, whereas today you take in 30-40 quintals of wheat per hectare, and in some sectors and brigades you get even 50-60 quintals per hectare. This is how you, the people of Mallakstra, have kept your word, and I congratulate you on this. At that time Comrade Enver said that you should have more schools, hospitals and factories. See what Ballsh has become today — one of the greatest industrial centres of new Albania. As for the schools, every village has its school. The secretary of the Party bureau of Cakran said that of 127 team leaders of the cooperative there, 121 have finished secondary school. This is a great victory. Here, in Hekal, I was told that two in every three homes have TV-sets. This speaks of the great revolution which has been made in the culture of the people, of the great thirst for progress, but also of the high economic level you have achieved. In Damës, the chairman of the management of the cooperative told

me, 80 new homes are built every year. All the houses of the people of Mallakastra are new and beautiful. Infantile mortality is low and life expectancy reaches up to 70 years here. This is a great joy for our Party and people. The whole of Albania has made such progress.

The Party and Comrade Enver have continuously made large investments in the land, agriculture, livestock-raising and fruit-growing in Mallakastra. These investments, combined with the work and toil of the untiring people of this zone, have yielded their fruit which will be still greater in the future. In the first place, this fruit is for you to enjoy, as you have done. This is the aim of the Party. As the comrades in Fier told me the cooperative of Aranitas in Mallakastra, which is situated in hilly zones with a not very high fertility, comes fourth in the Fier district as regards the level of the per capita income, doing better than many cooperatives of the plains zone. This cooperative has handed in 6,000 quintals of bread grain above the plan. I wish that the example of the cooperative of Aranitas is followed by all the cooperatives of Mallakastra.

We all know with what love and attention Comrade Enver followed the progress of Mallakastra. He gave instructions and advice, and years ago foresaw the great changes of your lands, fields and hills. Comrade Enver knew the name of every hill here, and to the end of his life, continuously instructed what should be cultivated, what new blocks of fruit-trees should be planted, what new irrigation works should be built. The Party and Comrade Enver have paid special attention to the irrigation of land in Mallakastra. Many big reservoirs, such as that of Lumara, have been set up here. But the example of Lumara will be followed by many others. The Party will not spare investments for the further extension and improvement of the system of irrigation in this zone. This we shall do, because great and important tasks lie ahead of agriculture and livestock-raising in the plains, hills and mountains.

After speaking about the tasks which emerge for the further development of agriculture, livestock-raising and fruit-growing, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

We must produce more, but must also know how to defend everything we create. The enemies have never ceased their ferocious fight against socialism, against Albania, and never will do so. Therefore, we must work and be vigilant, so as not to leave a single path open from which the enemy can act. In this way we defend our work and toil, our beloved Homeland, our dear Albania. Along with carrying out all economic tasks, we must also strengthen the defence of our Homeland, freedom and independence, which we have won at the cost of so much bloodshed and many sacrifices.

With our steel unity, we not only will cope with

enemies' pressures, but also will carry further forward the victories achieved, will raise the name of our dear Albania still higher.

The next day, on the 11th of June, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, paid a visit to the agricultural cooperative of Seman.

Both sides of the road to this economy were lined with hundreds of cooperativists, workers from different enterprises, school pupils, Enver's young pioneers, who gave him a warm welcome.

Meanwhile, the cooperativists and header-thresher drivers were out in the fields harvesting the wheat. The drivers came down and hurried to the crowd formed around Comrade Ramiz Alia.

You stay there, we'll come to you, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, and walked up to the header-threshers.

There was great joy in the hearts of everyone. Comrade Ramiz Alia met the driver Xoxi Koli and inquired after the situation of the work and his health.

«Wheat is better this year,» said the driver.

The chairman of the management of the agricultural cooperative, Nuri Bako, informed the Party leader about the results of their economy, the progress made in every field.

«We have harvested 250 hectares of wheat,» he said, «and the yields in these plots are higher than the plan quotas. We have the conviction that our economy will take in 45 quintals of wheat per hectare against 44 which is our planned task.»

The woman in charge of the sector of Topoja, Fana Ndoni, spoke about the good results achieved there.

«In my sector there are 300 hectares of wheat, and until now we have taken in 3.1 quintals of wheat per hectare above the yield planned. And the other field crops look good, too.»

Work itself, the results achieved, speak for those who are in advance. Well done! Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated them and shook hands with them.

He inquired about the development of livestock, about the productivity achieved in milk and meat, etc.

The secretary of the Party bureau of the cooperative of Seman, Petraq Kote, told Comrade Ramiz Alia that the communists fulfil and overfulfil their tasks in the different fronts of production.

The communists, the elected, said Comrade Ramiz Alia should always be among the people, should work together with them. He is a militant communist who, in the first place, realizes and does more than his tasks. The secretary of the party organization must be outstanding and set the example for everyone.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia inquired about the supply of the cooperativists' families with agricultural and livestock products.

He said: We are glad that the people have good supplies of vegetables, milk and meat.

Everyone wanted to take part in this cordial conversation. The man from Myzeqeja had emotions when he said: «Old and young here in Seman never stop speaking of Comrade Enver Hoxha, never forget what he said: «In the old times we and our parents had to go down to the woods of Divjaka in order to get some pinewood for light...»

That's true, said Comrade Ramiz Alia. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha brought Albania into light, made it as it is today, brought so many good things to the people. You must teach all these things to the younger generation better, because they have not experienced the past, have seen Albania only as it is today.

Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, What we have achieved is good, but we must forge ahead in order to ensure a further improvement of our life for the future. It is a very good thing that your cooperative and our village, in general, has a developed and extensive network of education and culture, indeed, I may say, that one of the reasons for the achievement of these

great results in the field of agriculture is precisely the progress made in education, the development of culture, the raising of the degree of people's knowledge.

The Party has spared nothing for the education of the people and the development of culture, and will never spare anything. You, the older people, remember the time in 1945 when Comrade Enver Hoxha issued the slogan, «More bread, more culture, for the people». From that time he put down the need for education and culture as a condition for the progress of the country, for the prosperity of Albania, for raising the standard of living of the people.

Concluding the conversation, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, You make me happy with what you told me about your well-being, the gratitude you showed for the Party. I will convey this to the comrades of the Central Committee of the Party, because all of us are glad when we see that the tasks are realized and the people live happily. I wish you new successes, fruitful work forever after!

Everyone present cheered from his heart, «Long live the Party, the Central Committee, with you Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.»

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA - THE ARCHITECT OF OUR PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

by **RITA MARKO**

*The example of socialist Albania is a
new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat*

OUR PEOPLE COME TO THIS 24th OF MAY, THE 41st ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC CONGRESS OF PERMET, WITH NEW VICTORIES IN ALL FIELDS. THE PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF THE LEADER OF THE PARTY AND PEOPLE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FROM US IS THE GREATEST LOSS ALBANIA HAS SUFFERED, BUT THE COMMUNISTS, OUR WHOLE PEOPLE, KNEW HOW TO TURN GRIEF INTO STRENGTH.

«THE PARTY KNEW HOW TO FORM AND TEMPER THE NEW MAN OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA, TO IMBUE HIM WITH THE PATRIOTISM OF THE CENTURIES.» COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID. «IT KNEW HOW TO UNITE AND MOBILIZE THE WHOLE PEOPLE IN THE SACRED WAR FOR FREEDOM, KNEW HOW TO LEAD THEM ON THE ROAD WHICH, ALONG WITH THE FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE, WOULD PUT THE STATE POWER INTO THEIR HANDS, WOULD ESTABLISH THE PEOPLE'S STATE, AND WOULD SET DOWN TO WORK TO MAKE OUR DEAR ALBANIA A FLOWERING GARDEN, THE FREE COUNTRY OF FREE PEOPLE.»

This is the political and ideological explanation of the instant great mobilization of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, the youth, the women and Enver's young pioneers, the many initiatives for the fulfilment ahead of schedule of the tasks set. «The initiatives and this great enthusiasm,» pointed out the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the meeting with cadres of the Vlora district, «are a new revolutionary moment in the life of our country, which reflects the resolve of our people to march ahead on the road of the Party.» As the

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Party instructs, in the forefront of this great drive are the party organizations, the communists, state organs of all levels, together with the organizations of the masses, so that not only they respond to the enthusiasm of the masses, but also raise it higher and make it stronger. This is the road for the strengthening of the people's power.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the architect of our people's state power. In our country the working people are in power, rule and run the country. This dream of all the generations, which was realized through the partisan war, through bloodshed, toil and innumerable sacrifices, cannot be conceived without the Party, which Comrade Enver Hoxha founded, and without the decisive contribution made by the «greatest man the Albanian

soil has produced until today.» The people's state power, the work of the Party, the new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has done and continues to do for the people everything which is in the interests of freedom and independence, the advance and happiness of the people. This state power, the creation and uninterrupted democratization of it, over four and a half decades, have in their foundations the revolutionary thought and leading activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is the merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha that, from the founding meeting of the Party and at the Conference of Peza he put in unequivocal terms the character and duties of the national liberation councils as organs of the war and embryos of the future revolutionary state. In his book *Laying the Foundations of the new Albania*, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «The people and, in the first place, the peasantry must know and understand why they were fighting and what the victory in the war would bring them. The Communist Party was a guarantee that the past would never be repeated, but this must be confirmed in practice, through a program, through actions, through war, through politics.»

The war for national liberation, connected closely with the creation

of the new state, aroused the masses to their feet to participate in the armed struggle on a large scale for the freedom of their Homeland, against fascist occupiers and traitors to the country. From Peza to Labinot, from Përmet to Berat, the power of the national liberation councils developed and was perfected, its content and form was further revolutionized as the power born from the people to serve the interests of the people, in a free and independent Albania, without occupiers and traitors, without exploiters and exploited. For the first time in the history of Albania, the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, put forward and gave correct solution to the fundamental problem of the revolution, that of state power, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The Anglo-American, Titoite and other external enemies put all their strength to opposing this aim, both during the time of the war and after Liberation. For this purpose, they supported and incited their secret agents inside the country, from Koçi Xoxe down to the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his accomplices. But in face of the resolute stands of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in face of the courage, intelligence and far-sightedness of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in face of the Party-people steel unity, all the enemies, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the whole reaction, have broken and will break their necks. In this long and difficult struggle the people's state power, created and led by the Party, was further steeled and tempered and has become unbreakable. This state power has always had as its foundations the unshakeable alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the monolithic unity of the people in the great political organization — the Democratic Front of Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha left us a strong and pure Party, which places the interests of the people, freedom and independence above everything; he left us our people's state power which has the unanimous backing of the whole people; he left us a beautiful and flowering Albania, with a stabilized economy, without debts or

other obligations to anyone, with a powerful defence.

Comrade Enver Hoxha left us also an invaluable theoretical and practical treasury with which his immortal revolutionary work will always go ahead. His work is our history of more than 45 years of people's struggle and efforts, is the living history of socialist Albania with its great changes and progress. His work is tangible in every Albanian household and fills the hearts of the whole people with joy. That is why in our country old and young are bound like flesh to bone with the Party and the people's state power. The Party gave the land to the tiller, made the working man master of the factory, made the people masters of the country.

In his book, *About the People's State Power*, Comrade Enver Hoxha gives a special place and particular attention to the strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the organs of the state power. He points out that only by guaranteeing the leadership by the Party in every step of the work, the state organs and cadres will be able to carry out their tasks as leaders, organizers and controllers of any state and economic activity, as they should. This has strengthened our state, safeguarded it and kept it intact from any evil. Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved with scientific argument, both in theory and in practice, that there is real democracy in our socialist Albania, exposed with facts the hypocrisy and falseness of sham democracy in the countries dominated by capital, pointing out that this kind of democracy serves the interests of the exploiting few, the suppression and enslavement of working masses. Comrade Enver Hoxha continuously drew attention to the need for the strengthening of the people's councils of all links, because they are the foundation of the state power. Therefore, the application of their rights and competences to the letter, never allowing the slightest usurpation of their role by the executive, administrative and economic organs, has been considered as a must of principled importance. The activity of the executive organs, the style and method of their work, has been fur-

ther perfected along these lines. The experience gained in this field constitutes one of our great achievements in the ceaseless uninterrupted democratization and revolutionization of the organs of state power and administration.

By further developing Lenin's idea that it is easier to seize state power than to keep it, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound study of the causes which led to the revisionist degeneration of state power in the Soviet Union and in the former socialist countries. Our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, adopted a series of measures for the further revolutionization of the organs of state power from the centre to the base, the cadres and administration. All this influenced and continues to influence in bringing the state power close to the people, in strengthening the bonds of cadres with the masses, in safeguarding them from bureaucracy, liberalism and technocracy. «The people's state power is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working class and the other working masses for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. That is why we guard this state power like the apple of our eye and continuously strengthen it in struggle against the dangers which threaten it — liberalism and bureaucracy,» pointed out Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. Noticeable revolutionary changes have been made in this field especially in the application in practice of democratic centralism, which is the fundamental principle of the construction and functioning of our state power, in the establishment of correct ratios between the representative organs and the executive and legislative ones, the deputies and councillors elected by the people and appointed office workers. The fact is that in Albania, as in no other country, the broad masses of the people exercise state power through the representative organs and directly through active participation in the management of the economy, the discussion of the laws and plans of economic, cultural, scientific and educational development of the country, through the control they exercise on the activity of the state

organs and the administration, for any social and state problem. When we say without the slightest hesitation that our state power is strong like a granite rock, this has not come about casually, but as a result of the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the creation, development and consolidation of the people's state power. This is the greatest service which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have done the people, for the fulfilment of their aspirations and interests.

The example of socialist Albania is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical and practical thought in this field constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

With the Party in the forefront, our people's state power opened up the road to the all-round development of the country which has no precedent in all their history. From the Land Reform to the collectivization of agriculture, the putting of this ba-

sic sector of the economy on the road of intensive development, from the first workshops to the steel mills, textile mills and big hydro-power stations, from small bridges to railways which traverse the whole of Albania, from anti-illiteracy courses to higher schools, and, above all, to the creation of the new man, this has been the path of progress. In all these realizations Comrade Enver Hoxha has been not only the inspirer but also the direct participant who stood in the leadership of the Party and the people, who worked to make Albania prosperous, to make the people's state power stronger. The strength and vitality of this state power has been tested over these decades of profound changes in all fields of life. Our people, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will always march on this road unswervingly, with revolutionary optimism and unshakeable confidence. An expression of the allegiance to the Party and the people's state power, of the profound respect for the immortal work of Comrade

Enver Hoxha, is also the extraordinary mobilization seen recently among the working masses of working people, the revolutionary initiatives, like that which emerged from the working class in the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine to become «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha», which has spread throughout the country, for the fulfilment of the tasks of this year and of the whole five-year plan ahead of schedule. This active and conscious participation of the masses in the work to carry further forward the achievements made in every field have tempered the revolutionary unity and consciousness of the working people, while, on the other hand, they have redoubled the strength of the state, have made it still more powerful and unbreakable.

From the historic Congress of Përmet, 41 years have gone by. The desire of the people, sealed with their blood and toil, for a free and independent, strong and flourishing Albania, for a state power which expresses and defends the interests of the people, has become a reality.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA «LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF AN OUTSTANDING WORK OF MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENCE»

The National Liberation War of the Albanian people, despite the powerful enemy, in its favour, was not a triumphal march from success to success, but an heroic struggle to overcome one after the other through efforts which showed the mass heroism of the people.

IN THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER A NEW CULTURE, RICH AND ALL-SIDED, BASED ON THE BEST TRADITIONS OF OUR NATIONAL CULTURE AND GUIDED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY, HAS BEEN FORMED IN OUR COUNTRY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S WORKS, TO WHICH ANOTHER WORK, «LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIA», HAS RECENTLY BEEN ADDED, ARE PARTICULAR ENRICHMENT OF IT AND ITS FUNDAMENTAL INSPIRATION.

The historical-philosophical works of Comrade Enver Hoxha have recently followed and completed one another, and all together enable our contemporaries to understand the past better and more correctly, while at the same time leaving the memory and explanation of a glorious epoch of decisive importance for the fate of the Homeland and the people to the coming generations. Whereas in his work *When the Party Was Born* Comrade Enver Hoxha narrates how the Communist Party, the sure leading force always loyal to the people, was born, and in his other works *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania and The Titoites* he shows how the intrigues, plots and dangerous activities of the Anglo-American imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists were uncovered and foiled, in his recent work *Laying*

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the foundations of the New Albania Comrade Enver Hoxha writes how the other decisive factors of the victories of our people, such as the political union of the people around the Party and the people's power, were formed and developed. At the same time this work completes the description and explanation of the events and objective and subjective, internal and external, historical factors which led to the triumph of the people in the National Liberation War and the rapid and confident development of Albania on the road of socialism, and gives answers to the questions of the many friends and well-wishers of our country who want to know the truth about Albania and socialism in Albania.

As is written in its title — memoirs and historical notes, and as emerged from its more than 500 pages, the book *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania* is a historical work, a description of people and events which were involved directly or indirectly,

for better or worse, in the great struggle of the Party and the people for the political union of the people and the establishment of their state power during the National Liberation War. This work represents a material of particular value for the Albanian historiography, written as it is by Comrade Enver Hoxha who has been himself in the middle of the more important events of the struggle for the political union of the Albanian people and for the establishment of their state power, who had taken account of them in working out the many programs and directives of the Party, who has led not from his office or through reports on the various events coming to him, but by being present himself on the various fields of battle, on the scenes and in the situations where things were done and the fate of the struggle was decided.

The author of the book is not a common witness of events but a scientist, a knower of the history of the world and the Albanian people, which makes his view of things sharper and his assessment of events and people more profound. He utilizes historical materials on a large scale to shed light on and understand the connection between the National Liberation War of our people and their glorious past

'S WORK NS OF THE NEW ALBANIA»-

CE *BY ZIJA XHOLI*

*factors that operated
struggle against difficulties and obstacles, which were
of a whole Party and an entire people*

and the distinction of this war in strategy, tactic, extension and organization from the struggle of our people in the past.

The reader comes to see the essence of events, the significance of the many phenomena of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people from the rich and detailed narration which characterized this work of Comrade Enver Hoxha's. However, as often as not the reader is helped to conclusions of his own through the conclusions drawn by the author himself. Now and then Comrade Enver Hoxha interrupts the flow of his narration to make analyses and assessments based on principles on such social phenomena as the unity of the people and its essence, the people's power and its importance, classes and the class struggle, the role of the masses of the people, etc., based on broad historical and sociological studies on the working class and the peasantry in Albania, the Albanian intelligentsia, its composition and historical role, the Albanian National Renaissance and its outstanding personalities, religions in Albania, their extension and role, the different people joining reaction against the National Liberation War of the Albanian people. Through all these sociological ana-

lyses, studies and conclusions, Comrade Enver Hoxha's work acquires a new historical and philosophical dimension and represents a genuine contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist science.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's work contains a true-to-life description of events and the people who took part in them, as well as a broad gallery of social types.

From Comrade Enver Hoxha's work *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania* the reader has the unmistakable impression that the work is written not from the position of the winner who renders account to nobody, that the narration of events is done not from the positions of him who, knowing their aftermath, speaks post factum, but from the positions of a scientist and thinker who returns once again to past events in order to make their description more precise and grasp their significance better. Seen from this angle, the work enables the reader to draw definite conclusions and create definite opinions.

At the beginning of the reading of the book one has the impression, and this impression at the end of the book turns into a conviction, that the Communist Party of Albania and Com-

rade Enver Hoxha who led it worked and struggled with a clear perspective and unshakeable confidence, **with the prospect and confidence that the National Liberation War would end in the victory of the people and, as a result of it, the people's state power would be established and that it could not be otherwise.** This clear prospect and unshakeable confidence are apparent in every page of the book, in the many discussions Comrade Enver Hoxha had with many self-styled «fathers of the nation» who eventually turned into exponents of reaction and fought against the National Liberation War — unscrupulous people specialized in political combinations and intrigues.

A clear view of the future and the firm confidence in victory and in the future establishment of the people's state power emerge also from the resolute stands, without any wavering or compromise, towards the attempts and plots of the traitor organizations such as Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, or the military missions of the Anglo-American imperialists which wanted to hinder the liberation war of the Albanian people, or even «strangle it in its embryonic phase.»¹ These attempts of reaction had no success at all, not because the internal and external enemies were

incapable or took false steps in their course. No, they had experience and were very cunning, or, as Comrade Enver Hoxha characterizes them, were «old foxes», «packs of wolves». They met with defeat only because the Party had no illusion about them. The Party knew exactly what they were and what they stood for, just as it knew for itself what it wanted and what had to achieve. All this enabled it to maintain a correct stand, to uncover the sinister short-term and long-term plans of the enemies, to avoid the traps they laid for the Party and the people in the National Liberation War.

The clear view of the future and unshakeable confidence in final victory were based on some powerful factors which in some cases the author mentions in a few words: «the people, justice and power are with us,² and in other cases explains at length. The first fundamental factor was the Albanian people themselves with their brilliant patriotic traditions in the past. This factor Comrade Enver Hoxha always kept in mind, both when he worked out the general line of the Party and issued its fundamental directives, and when he engaged in debate and polemics with the reactionaries and the enemies of the people or with those who wavered and were unable to take a firm stand. He says, «History had never seen the Albanian people accepting the slavery of the foreigners. It knew only of ceaseless wars of the Albanian people against them.»

The determination of the Albanian people to fight against the occupiers, and their patriotism were undeniable facts, undisputable factors, but they were not sufficient for the people to take immediately to arms and throw themselves into the war spontaneously. For this purpose the Party had to do intelligent and determined work, which Comrade Enver Hoxha narrates and explains in the pages of his book. An important condition to achieve this purpose, to unite the people and throw them into war, was the formulation of a correct political line, the following of such goals as the people wanted, and together with this, the organization of agitation and propaganda work in such a manner as

to appeal to the mentality of the people and be accessible to them. The Party found the appropriate methods and applied them masterfully. An important method of propaganda and agitation of the Party was informal and daily conversation with the masses. «...I instructed all the comrades to exploit every possible opportunity, personal acquaintances, celebrations, funerals, weddings chance or organized meetings and you might say in a natural and daily conversation with the masses, we propagated the line and program of the Party at every moment.»³

Another important factor for close contacts with the people and their patriotic education was that the Party never divorced words from deeds, that it did what it said, recoiling before no sacrifices, and often paying it with the blood of many of its members. «This intensive propaganda, day by day, by word of mouth, with leaflets, communiqués and appeals, was made clearer, more credible and acceptable to the people because the communists accompanied their words with deeds. They were propagandists and fighters at the same time. They attacked fascism and were pursued by fascism.»⁴ Since that time these methods of the agitation and propaganda work of the Party, which were brilliantly confirmed in the National Liberation War, have become unchangeable principles of the Marxist-Leninist agitation and propaganda of the Party and have extensively been utilized in the years of the socialist construction of the country.

Another fundamental factor, along with the people and their patriotism, was the firm reliance of the Party on the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat, its inspiration from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which enabled it to find its bearings in all situations, to clearly define its short-term and long-term tasks, to be clear about the objectives it had to achieve, as well as the methods to be employed for their achievement. «Unshakeable loyalty to and faith in the revolutionary theory of the proletariat,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «as well as thorough knowledge of the reality of our country were the two fundamental fac-

tors which enabled our Party to determine a correct political line, to give precise instructions on ideological, political and organizational matters, including building the militant unity of the masses around the program of the Party.»⁵ In these significative words Comrade Enver Hoxha indicates how much the Party valued the role of the revolutionary theory and how it succeeded in finding the ways for its correct application in practice. The example of the National Liberation War led by the Party showed that the theory assumes all its value and becomes, as Marx said, a true material force only when it is treated not as an ornament, not as a knowledge to show off, as did for example the opportunist Sejfulla Malëshova, who, as Comrade Enver Hoxha, characterized him, «on these occasions assumed the appearance of a philosopher ever burdened with the questions of disciples and gave himself an air of mystery saying, 'We shall talk about these things,'⁶ but as a guide for action, as a light illuminating the concrete situation and employed it for the implementation of the line of the Party and its directives. The boundless loyalty to the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat displayed by the Party from the National Liberation War and consistently afterwards as well as its close links with the people, its profound knowledge of the reality of the country have enabled the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to successfully defend this theory for forty and more years on end and deepen it in all directions in fierce struggle with many bourgeois and revisionist distortions and fabrications. The confidence in victory was unshakeable, but not blind, the course was clear, but it could not be achieved spontaneously. On the contrary, the achievement of victory was extremely difficult and full of imponderables in practice. As Lenin said, you cannot play with the armed uprising. A hasty decision, a mistaken step may spoil the whole work. As emerges from the narration of the many and complicated vicissitudes of the National Liberation War, the Party never took a baseless decision, in no occasion did it take a false step. In the most complicated circumstances the Party never lost its

bearings, which were already laid down in its line and program. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his book, and as a conclusion that emerges from all his notes and memoirs about the National Liberation War: «our eagle-eyed Marxist-Leninist Party was never wrong in its line...»⁷ Mistakes were made by individual people who acted at variance with the line and directives of the Party, as in the case of the impermissible compromise of Ymer Dishnica at the Mukje meeting or the venturesome actions of some anarchist. However, in these cases, too, the sharp and vigilant eye of Comrade Enver Hoxha was quick to detect all violations of the line of the Party, to criticise and condemn them, which is indisputable proof of the seriousness and high sense of responsibility with which it treated everything that had to do with the National Liberation War and the establishment of the people's power. Speaking about the sense of responsibility and measure they had to display in every case, Comrade Enver Hoxha advised his comrades at the meeting of the Regional Committee of Tirana in 1942, when fascist terror had reached its peak: «We are a party of ceaseless actions, but we are prudent in everything we do and work everything out so that we have only victories. We must not forget that the people have their eyes on us».⁸ From these assessments emerges the fundamental factor for the clarity of prospects and the unshakeable confidence in the victory in the National Liberation War.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's work *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania* proves that the National Liberation War of the Albanian people, despite the powerful factors that operated in its favour, was not a triumphal march from success to success, but an epic struggle against difficulties and obstacles, which were overcome one after the other through efforts which showed the mass heroism of a whole Party and an entire people. The struggle for the political union of the people, for their liberation from the foreign yoke and the establishment of the people's power affected major interests, the vital interests of both the occupying powers and the reactionary feudal-bourgeois classes, so the

struggle was fierce and merciless to the highest degree and waged in such conditions in which the occupiers and the feudal-bourgeois classes were well armed and wielded a whole apparatus of violence and oppression, while the Party and the people were totally exposed to them and had only their determination and their unbending will to fight and win to defend themselves.

Almost unsurmountable difficulties emerged right from the beginning when the Party was founded and decided to lead the struggle of the Albanian people against the occupier and to guide them towards freedom and the establishment of the people's power. Since that day the question was how things were to begin, was first the Party to be organized, the number of its members increased, trained and prepared so as to create a basis for the union of the people, which after achieving a sufficiently high level, would prepare the ground for the outbreak of the general uprising, or were things to begin immediately with the armed struggle and the Party to be organized and grow, and the people united and mobilized in the process of this struggle? The first course would have been that of the pedants of the revolution, the reformists who only talk about the revolution, but never start it under the pretext that conditions are not yet ripe; the second course was more dangerous, but it was the only possible road leading to the sound organization and growth of the Party, the real unity of the people and the success of the revolution. The Party, chose the second course, the road of true revolutionaries. In his work, Comrade Enver Hoxha shows this course in its concrete process of development. «We Albanian communists knew that without the people, without the masses, a communist party could do nothing,» says the author. «What made our work difficult was the fact that in the grave conditions of the occupation and terror we had to come out before the people, to win them to our cause, to organize and lead them at a time when we also had to organize ourselves, to build and temper the Party and to test it in struggle

as a capable, reliable and irreplaceable leading force.

«This was something unprecedented in history, but, as you might say, this was our 'fate'. Had we waited until the Party was built and strengthened, until it extended to all parts of the country, had we worked only «within the Party» and only afterwards addressed ourselves to the people with our program of struggle, this would have been catastrophic, not only for the Party, but also for the fate of the people and the Homeland. Therefore, conscious of the situation through which we were passing and the difficulties which we had, we did not wait. We went into action at once, facing up to all the tasks at the same time...»⁹

Time showed that the difficulties were much greater than the communists and patriots could imagine when they first set out on their road: difficulties created by enemies within the Party, by the revisionists and different factionalists, difficulties created by the Soviet and Chinese revisionists. In his work, *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania*, Comrade Enver Hoxha describes other aspects of the history of the Party and our people, when in order to win freedom and establish the people's power, they had to cope with other difficulties not less dangerous than those created by the reactionary classes of the country and their ideologists and politicians, those created by the pseudo-patriots, the self-styled «fathers of the nation» who individually or through their traitor organizations Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, surreptitiously, with intrigues and demagogy, or in open collaboration with the Italian fascists and the Hitlerite nazis, did everything to wipe out the Communist Party and put down the liberation war of the people.

The suffering and dangers our people went through on their road to victory are now history of the past. However, our people have not forgotten them; they have become part of their life, their invaluable treasury — a permanent source of their pride and self-confidence, of their determination to defend their socialist Homeland and to make it ever stronger and more prosperous. «No one do-

nated these victories to them», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «and our people had never taken anything from the hands of others, but everything had been achieved with struggle and work, with bravery and wisdom, with the rifle and the pen.»¹⁰

Comrade Enver Hoxha's work *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania* is a whole treasury of historical events, big and small, a broad gallery of people and types from the purest and most revolutionary to the utterly degenerate and most reactionary which represent two opposed worlds in the Albanian society of that time. The old world which was going to its doom, «world in its death throes»,¹¹ was represented by arrogant people who reduced their whole policies to agreements with the enemy and intrigues with each other, to the support of this or that foreign power, or the occupier, always to the detriment of the people, freedom, independence and progress.

The other world, the new world which was being born and going to its triumph and self-affirmation, was represented by new people united in the Communist Party, pure patriots and revolutionaries with a new logic and a way of thought and action based on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science, people who held the lofty interests of the Homeland above everything and set themselves the difficult but noble task of awakening and organizing the only real force of the nation — the Albanian people,

a people despised and oppressed, but with centuries-old traditions of patriotism and love of freedom, always struggling against the occupiers and any other foreign power hostile to our country, and their tools and collaborators within the country.

Two worlds which could not and did not co-exist but which, as they emerged on the political scene, were locked in fierce, irreconcilable struggle, a struggle which laid bare the true features of many self-styled patriots and «fathers of the nation» and showed all their falseness and weakness not only in personal terms, but also in historical terms, as representatives of the backward and reactionary classes of society; a struggle in which after many efforts, much toil and sacrifice, the new logic, the determination and heroism of the people, the workers, peasants and honest patriots organized and inspired by the Communist Party, emerged triumphant.

The most outstanding representative in Albania of the new logic, prospect and heroism was Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder and leader of the Party, who very rapidly also became the beloved and indisputable leader of the Albanian people. He who reads and studies Comrade Enver Hoxha's work *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania*, sees with admiration and pride that the presence, Comrade Enver Hoxha's thought and Marxist-Leninist activity were of decisive positive importance in all

the vicissitudes of the National Liberation War, in all its turns and stages of development. These are the profound reasons of the boundless love and respect Comrade Enver Hoxha enjoys among our people, reasons which Comrade Ramiz Alia explained at the memorial rally on the occasion of the burial of Comrade Enver Hoxha: «Our people have been and will always be proud of this great son to which they gave birth, and our Party will always be proud of its outstanding leader which it had. The greatest honour for the Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, greatest gratitude for everything which He has done for the Party and our people is to proceed resolutely on His revolutionary course, to master and put into practice his immortal teachings, to work and build as He worked for the cause of socialism and the communist ideals.»

1 Enver Hoxha, «*Laying the Foundations of the New Albania*,» «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1984, p. 235, Eng. ed.

2 *Ibidem*, p. 130.

3 *Ibidem*, p. 38.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 38.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 35.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 285.

7 *Ibidem*, p. 512.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 214.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 10-11.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 569.

ALBANIA ADVANCES RELYING ON ITS OWN FORCES

by **HEKURAN MARA**

The principle of reliance on one's own forces not only has raised the dignity and high prestige of our country and of the Albanian people, but, in the first place, has been salutary for the destinies of our Homeland

ALL THOSE WHO BELONG TO THE GENERATION THAT MADE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR REMEMBER WELL HOW THE ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS TRIED TO EXPLOIT THE GREAT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES THAT THE NAZI-FASCIST FOREIGN INVADERS LEFT BEHIND, FOR THEIR SINISTER AIMS, AND HASTENED TO OFFER THEIR «AID». ACCEPTANCE OF THIS «AID» WOULD HAVE BEEN TANTAMOUNT TO PUTTING THE NOOSE ROUND YOUR OWN NECK. AND IT WAS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD OF THE PARTY WHO SAID STOP TO THIS «AID» AND TO ANY KIND OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE AND BLACKMAIL FROM OUTSIDE, WHO WORKED OUT AND DEVELOPED THE FAR-SIGHTED POLICY FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY RELYING ON ITS OWN FORCES.

In the not-too-distant past, our people had directly experienced the fatal enslaving consequences of such aid, therefore, they refused to accept it and chose the secure road which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha indicated, the road of relying on their own forces. The time has completely tested the worth, justice, and value of the road on which they have marched. Never in any other period of their centuries-long history, in the time of most momentuous actions for freedom and independence, which the Alba-

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nian people undertook in the past, have our people's creative energies burst out as powerfully as in the epoch of the Party, in the epoch of Enver Hoxha.

By continuously following the course of self-reliance, our people and Party have seen in every step forward they have made that the defence of complete political independence and the building of socialism with success require by all means a strong and independent national economy. In the conditions when the imperialist and colonialist system still exists, not a single real socialist country (and not only socialist), which does not fight

for the creation of its own independent economy, can ever hope of coping with the pressure, blackmail and the predatory and enslaving ambitions of imperialism and social-imperialism, can oppose their policy of oppression, domination, exploitation and aggression. This is a profound and deep-rooted conviction which the Party and the people have built in the course of the historical experience of our country and other countries. Contemporary history has severely punished anyone who has accepted the concept of political and economic subordination to foreign rule.

For our people, for the Party of Labour, reliance on their own forces has not been a transient policy resulting from internal and external political situations, or some tactical slogan, or, still worse, an exaltation due to self-pride, stubbornness and national prejudice, as the enemies of socialism and of the Albanian people have tried to present the matter. No. It has been and remains a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principle for all

times in our socialist construction, a constant overall strategy which embraces all the fields of social activity. «We have not sought credits from anyone, have never begged anything of anyone,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia during a meeting with the people of Vlora. The principle of reliance on one's own forces, which our Party has applied throughout all its history, not only has raised the dignity and high prestige of our country and of the Albanian people but, in the first place, has been salutary for the destinies of our Homeland.

All the work for the drafting of the 8th Five-year Plan, which is being done at present, has as its fundamental aim the vigorous development of the productive forces, the perfecting of the socialist relations of production, the maintenance and further raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses and the further strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist Homeland, relying, as always, completely on our own forces. The building of socialism and the defence of independence relying on our own forces, on the basis of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always placed our country before the only alternative: to mobilize and use all the internal human, material and financial resources according to plan, to discover and exploit all national assets so as to provide for everything which is needed for the socio-economic progress of the country and its defence, for the food of the people and the fulfilment of their material and cultural requirements. It is self-understood that this alternative could not be applied in practice without having a multi-branched economy, and a complex extraction and processing, heavy and light industry, in particular, without a modern multi-crop agriculture and developed animal husbandry, transport, etc., and last but not least, without creating political and economic stability.

And today, after four decades of development on the road of socialism, Albania has been transformed from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country, about to become an industrial-agricultural country. The progress made has already brought to the fore the importance of the key branches of the national industry, such as the oil, energy and coal industry, the engineering, metallurgical, chemical and construction materials industry, the industry processing agricultural food-stuffs, textiles, etc. The weight of all these industries in the overall social product speaks of the continuous quantitative and qualitative changes that have been made in the structure of our economy and give it its complex and independent character. At the present stage, the energy industry provides for 100 per cent of all the needs of the country for energy and produces a surplus for export, whereas industry together with agriculture guarantee 90 per cent of the needs for primary materials used by the economy and 85-90 per cent of the consumer goods sold to the population. The engineering industry ensures the production of industrial parts and complete factories, as well as 95 per cent of the needs for spare parts. These achievements and the further development in the future play a special role in the strengthening of the economic independence of the country, the construction of socialism and the improvement of the living of the people, the local production of many things which were secured from import before, and in the increase of export through the enrichment and diversification of its structure.

However, no matter how great is the recognized importance of industry for the building of socialism, reliance on one's own forces, the proportional and harmonious development of the economy cannot be achieved without the accelerated development of agri-

culture simultaneously with industry. If industry were to develop alone and isolated from agriculture, then the economy would be lame, would have a one-sided character, would be dependent from abroad for agricultural products and food-stuffs, and work would certainly proceed with fits and starts. Thereby emerged the correct and consistent policy which the Party has always pursued on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on ensuring the harmonious development of industry and agriculture. Thanks to this policy, our agriculture has developed at rapid rates, fulfils the needs of the economy for primary materials and of the people for food ever better, and gives the surplus for export. On this basis, the well-being of the cooperativist peasantry has been raised.

The mobilization of the internal material and financial resources for the development of the economy and culture has been by no means an easy task. Even for a small country, as our country is, the investments made from one five-year plan to another represent large sums in relative and absolute increase. But the clear and correct orientation of the economic policy of the Party, the concentration of financial means in the hands of the state, their distribution according to plan and in a centralized manner, the liquidation of parasitary expenditure, the establishment of a strict frugality regime everywhere and for everything, the maintenance of a high accumulation rate (25-32 per cent of the national income), all this has made it possible to secure for the economy and culture to develop from internal accumulation. As a result, capital investments used in the period 1951-1985 for the development of industry and agriculture, only, reach up to the tune of about 60 billion leks.

The Albanian people have seen the real character of the so-called aid of the revisionists. This aid has repre-

sented only a very small fraction compared with the internal accumulation secured from the work and toil of our people, and from the material and technical aspect this aid left much to be desired. However, it is worthwhile to point out another fact, namely that, through his «aid» the revisionists strove to undermine the building of socialism in our country, to enslave it economically and subdue it politically, to establish capitalism, as they have done in their countries. This confirmed the Albanian people in their opinion that the imperialists and revisionists never give the smallest thing without calculating, without expecting to obtain definite material, political, ideological and military gains.

All the enemies of the revolution and socialism, bourgeois and revisionists, pity the Albanian people allegedly because relying on their own forces has led them up to self-isolation and autarky, kept them outside the system of division of labour, trade exchanges and integration, stopped them from profiting from the progress of world science and technique, and so on and so forth. All this is poorly concocted stuff which crumbles down in face of the reality.

Life, our experience, shows that the

development of the economy, culture and all other walks of life, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance, has extended the basis and possibilities for our country to profit from the international division of labour, from the advance of science and technique in the world, and from trade exchanges with other countries. The fact is that the PSR of Albania does not live in a state of autarky. Today it has trade relations with about 50 different countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, which it develops on the basis of complete equality, mutual advantage and interest. At the same time, when the Party of Labour of Albania and the government of the PSR of Albania express themselves in support of the extension of trade exchanges with countries with differing political and social systems, they abide by the principle first sell then buy, and have never expected to achieve this by making political or ideological concessions to the sworn enemies of our people and socialism — the imperialists and revisionists — or by seeking «aid», credits and loans from international capital and bourgeoisie.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always pointed out that

our country has always learned and will continue to learn from the successes and achievements of world science and technique. And not only that, but our Party and government have created all the conditions needed and have adopted definite measures so that our working people of production, science and culture have the possibility to be informed about everything achieved outside our country, master it and apply it according to our needs, possibilities and conditions.

In our time, when the whole capitalist-revisionist world is plunged in the economic, political and ideological crisis, our small socialist country has remained the only country in which there is no inflation, unemployment and price rises, the only country free from taxes, taxation and internal and external debts. This is the multiple, historical significance of the principle of reliance on one's own forces, when the legitimate aspirations for freedom, political independence and national sovereignty, for economic and social emancipation, have become the fundamental problem of our century for all mankind, which mobilizes and inspires the revolutionary forces, the broad working masses everywhere.

THE ALBANIAN ONE OF THE MOST OF OUR NATIONAL

«An unprecedented challenge» which the Albanian people flung to the imperialists and chauvinists «in order to ensure their freedom and the territorial unity of the country».

ON JUNE 10 THIS YEAR IT IS 107 YEARS TO THE DAY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN. OUR PEOPLE COMMEMORATE WITH PROFOUND RESPECT THIS HISTORICAL DATE WHICH MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW STAGE IN OUR NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

RIGHT FROM ITS INCEPTION THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE LEAGUE HAD TWO FUNDAMENTAL AIMS: PRESERVATION OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE ALBANIAN TERRITORIES AGAINST THEIR PARTITIONING AMONG THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, AS DECIDED BY THE GREAT POWERS, AND UNION OF THE ALBANIAN TERRITORIES IN ONE AUTONOMOUS OR INDEPENDENT VILAYET OR STATE.

For a clear idea of the problem it must be pointed out that the League was not merely a product of the circumstances of the Eastern Crisis, but the continuation, at a higher level, of the National Movement which had begun in the thirties of the 19th century whose main demand was the establishment of an administration with people who knew the language and customs of the Albanian people. This demand based on the idea of administrative autonomy set in motion the broad masses of the people who rose in regional, inter-regional and, in certain cases, all-Albanian uprisings which lasted until the seventies. These uprisings were put down, but the idea of the autonomy lived on. So the League of Prizren found favourable conditions to raise this idea to a higher degree, to formulate it in a program of a national democratic character and to realize it gradually in struggle with the Ottoman administration. This was not achieved without the internal struggle between the patriotic wing and the conservative and clerical forces which sought to give the League an Islamic character. Sami Frashëri, one of the outstanding ideologists of the

League, wrote on June 25, two weeks after the formation of the League, that its aims were not based on religious fanaticism, but on the principle of nationality. In July 1878 the new Constitution of the League which was called «the Albanian League» and which would fight for the national rights of Albania was adopted at the meeting of the General Council of the League of Prizren. The demand for autonomy was first formulated in the Resolution of July 24, 1878 of the Southern Section of the Albanian League. The complete program of the League for the creation of an autonomous Albanian state was published. The Meeting of Dibra in November 1878, and then, the local committees of the League adopted the demand for the creation of an autonomous province, and the general meeting of the League held in June 1880 in Gjirokastra expressed itself for the union of the Albanian vilayets in one autonomous state. However, the League did not confine itself to adopting resolutions. Gradually it began to implement them, without waiting for formal recognition from the Sublime Porte. It took state administration into its hands in the different regions of our country, organizing the collection of taxes, the recruitment

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LEAGUE OF PRIZREN- T BRILLIANT PAGES

ISTORY *by STEFANAQ POLLO*

of soldiers, the administration of justice, etc. With the fall of Ulqin, another step was taken on the road towards autonomy: in the beginning of 1881 the Provisional Government was formed, the local committees of the League were turned into administrative organs in its dependence and the armed formations were united into a national army.

Another strategic task of the League which was closely linked with the struggle for autonomy was the defence of the Albanian territories against partitioning. Under the Santo Stefano Treaty and, later, the Treaty of Berlin, part of these territories were to be ceded to the neighbouring states, which caused great alarm and aroused the whole Albanian nation (to say, as some Yugoslav authors do, that the Albanians were alarmed about the partitioning of their country because they were afraid of retribution for the crimes they had committed against the neighbouring peoples, is not only a distortion of history, but also a vulgarization of it). If the Sublime Porte tried to use the Albanian movement for its own ends, that is, to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, this does by no means infirm the patriotic and independent character of the League which took the fate of the nation into its hands by declaring in the international arena that nobody had the right to lay hand on territories inhabited by Albanians and use them as tokens for barter. This was expressed in the action of the armed forces of the League against the Ottoman Marshall, Ali Pasha, in September 1873, in Gjakova. In this manner the League deprived the sultan

of the right to dispose of the Albanian territories and returned this right to its only owner — the Albanian people.

This is proved best by the fact that the League struggled not only for the preservation of the integrity of the Albanian territories, but also for the recognition of the Albanian nation as one and indivisible national entity and the union of all Albanian territories into one state unit. So, right from the first month of its existence the League opposed both the aims of the Ottoman government and the policy of the imperialist powers and chauvinist monarchies of the neighbouring countries. At the basis of this struggle lay the correct concept that there can be no nation without its own territory and there can be no national unification without territorial unity, which the League tried to realize in the framework of an autonomous or independent province or state, according to circumstances.

To say that the Albanian League of Prizren was moved by the reactionary idea of «Greater Albania» means to attribute to it the chauvinist appetites and concrete actions of Serbia and Montenegro to the detriment of the Albanians who defended their lands, means to cover up the extermination of forced eviction of about 150,000 Albanians which the Serbian and Montenegrin armies carried out according to the order of the Serbian High Command: «The more the Albanians evicted, the higher your merits towards your country.»

The national territory, in which the Albanians were autochthonous and of which, as a consequence, they were

the incontestable masters was for the League and all the men of our National Renaissance an important and indispensable component of the Albanian nation. According to a declaration of the Albanian League of Prizren, within its boundaries were included the four vilayets existing at that time — of Shkodra, Kosova, Manastir and Janina. In these vilayets the Albanians made up the majority (about 62 per cent) of a compact population. Proceeding from the fact that in the peripheral zones of these vilayets there was also a non-Albanian population (13.5 per cent Macedonians, 7.3 per cent Greeks, 6.9 per cent Serbians, etc.), the Albanian League demanded that the belonging of these zones should be determined by the national element which constituted the majority, guaranteeing the rights of national minorities, and not by the diplomacy of the Great Powers and the neighbouring states which used the non-Albanian minorities as pretext to justify the annexation of Albanian territories. Further more, the outstanding leader and diplomat of the Albanian League of Prizren, Abdyl Frashëri, did not exclude an eventual rectification of boundaries through bilateral talks on the condition that the Albanian lands should not be touched and their integrity ensured. In that time and later the neighbouring monarchies and their propaganda left nothing undone against the Albanians, accusing them of chauvinism, as the Yugoslav authors do now. The reason for this should be sought not so much in their concern about the non-Albanian population in the four vilayets as in the fact that they did not want even

to hear about an Albanian autonomous province or state. They intended only to partition the Albanian territories between themselves, and thus, erase Albania from the political map of the Balkans. That is why the Albanian League of Prizren, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, was «an unprecedented challenge» which the Albanian people flung to the imperialists and chauvinists «in order to ensure their freedom and the territorial unity of the country».

Quarrels over territorial questions among the national leaderships of the Balkan states have been a great misfortune for the peoples of the Peninsula. However, history cannot put everything on the same plane. The Albanian nationalism in the time of the Albanian League of Prizren was patriotism, just as the Serbian nationalism in the time of the liberation uprisings of the beginning of the 19th century. Whereas the great-state chauvinism of the bourgeois statesmen of Serbia and the other neighbouring countries who aimed at creating their «national states» within the territorial borders of their mediaeval empires which also included other peoples and Albanians among them, as early as the forties of the 19th century had begun to display more and more its reactionary features, becoming a source of national and religious hatred and, later, of bloody conflicts among the Balkan countries. The assertions of the Yugoslav authors that the Albanian League of Prizren did not join the national movements in the neighbouring countries, but entered into open conflict with them, is in utter contradiction with historical documents and the historical reality and charges the Albanian League with responsibilities which in fact lay on others.

On this occasion we want to emphasize some interesting aspects of the activity of the Albanian League of Prizren. The proclamation issued on May 30, 1878 by the Committee of

Constantinople, the initiator of the formation of the Albanian League, read: «Our ardent wish is to live in peace with all our neighbours: Montenegro, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. We neither wish nor seek anything of theirs, while being firmly determined to defend everything that is ours. The Albanian territories must be left to the Albanians.» In its first memorandum the Albanian League of Prizren proclaimed the principles of equal rights among elements of different religion and nationality and implemented these principles in practice. The committees of the League severely condemned, there where they exercised their power, all cases of mishandling of non-Albanian elements. The League prohibited the recruitment of Albanians into the Turkish detachments destined to suppress the liberation movement of the Macedonians, which shows that it considered the struggle against the Ottoman rulers the common cause of the oppressed Balkan peoples.

The Albanian historiography has shed light on unknown or little known aspects of the Albanian League of Prizren of 1878 and made a Marxist-Leninist synthesis of its character, motive forces and role, as well as on the historical repercussions of the struggle for liberation and national unity led by the League of Prizren. This brilliant epoch of the history of our people, full of ideas and actions of great political, organizational, military, diplomatic and cultural importance, remains always in the centre of our historiography which, as always, based only on documents, reveals and defends the historical truth on this problem, too. After the events that took place in Kosova in 1981, in particular, the Yugoslav historians have mounted a massive campaign front intended to denigrate the achievements of our historiography on fundamental problems of Albanian history, including the period of the League of

Prizren. Their theses are the same as those of the nationalist Serbian historiography of old and ignore the rich documentation which has been published or distort its meaning through new interpretations which in fact are as tendentious as they are obsolete.

One of the interpretations of the Serbian historiography continues to be that of considering the Albanian League an instrument of the Sublime Porte, its long hand not only throughout its existence but even when, at its last stage, after the handing over of Ulqin (November 1880), it turned its arms against the Ottoman rule. During this period it allegedly fought only against the partitioning of the Turkish territories by the Congress of Berlin and thereby showed a pan-Islamic and pro-Turkish character which had nothing in common with its proclaimed aim of achieving national autonomy. It is obvious that these distortions of the historical reality have their political undertones and an actual intention which is not difficult to see.

The Albanian League of Prizren is a brilliant page of our national history, a period in which the revolutionary energies of our people burst forth with particular force, when the brilliant minds of its more progressive representatives gave them a clear patriotic guidance and set them on the road of struggle to win their independence and unite the Albanian territories into a separate autonomous or independent state entity. It was savagely suppressed by the Ottoman army, but it left behind a great message which inspired the new generations in their later struggles for independence and social advance.

The Albanian people will always commemorate this great event, thus expressing their deep respect for those fighters of the rifle and the pen who, with their work and blood, wrote down brilliant pages of our national history.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA AND ITS PECULIARITIES

by **VLADIMIR MISJA**

The technical-scientific revolution in our country is subject to the fundamental aim of socialist production: the ever better meeting of the material and cultural needs of the working masses

OUR COUNTRY IS CHARACTERIZED BY A VIGOROUS AND ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE. THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE BUILDING OF THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM AND AN EXPRESSION OF THE PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION. CHANGES IN THE TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIETY AND TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE ARE CLOSELY LINKED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CEASELESS PERFECTION OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION WHICH OPEN BOUNDLESS PROSPECTS FOR THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT AND BROAD APPLICATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL MEANS WITH WHICH ALL THE BRANCHES OF THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMY ARE EQUIPPED.

Important results have been achieved in our country in the development of the technical-scientific revolution, which have led to the increase and perfection of the material elements of the forces of production. This revolution has enveloped all the branches of

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material production and all the components of the production process tools and objects of work, technology, energy, organization and management of production, etc.

The present level of development of the branches of production shows what has been achieved in this direction. Compared with 1960, in 1983 total social production increased 4.2 fold, industrial production 6.1 fold, the vo-

lume of investments about 4 fold at a time when the population of the country has grown 76 per cent. In 1983, as against 1950, the proportion of industrial production in total social production in all the branches of the people's economy increased about 3 fold. In this period, the level of mechanization and power-equipment of the branches of production has risen at high rates, the production of a number of new articles has begun, the structure of the branches of the people's economy and the technology of production has improved, the concentration and specialization of production and the local processing of primary materials have risen to higher levels. During the same period geological reserves and other sources of primary materials have increased considerably, the production of a number of new industrial articles has begun and increased at high rates, and the

process of differentiation of the economic branches has deepened.

In the sector of industry and in other branches of material production there have been a perceptible improvement in structure and a rise in the level of technical equipment and work productivity. Albanian industry today works on the basis of modern technology, old artisan forms of organization and management of production have been replaced with new ones and are constantly being improved. In the sector of agriculture, the organization of production and the mechanization of work processes have risen to a higher level, which has resulted in the increase of agricultural production.

An important role in the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the raising of the technical level

of production has been played by the vigorous increase of basic funds, the rapid development of industry, especially in such branches as the power, mechanical engineering and chemical industries, the expansion of which is done in the main direction of the technical advance which demand the electrification, mechanization and chemization of production processes. As a result of the rapid development of the mechanical engineering industry and the improvement of its technical equipment in the recent years the production of machines which go to equip the different branches of the people's economy has increased about 4 times as rapidly as industrial production as a whole. Here are some figures on the raising of the technical level of our people's economy and its potential:

unit of measure	years			
	1960	1970	1983	
1. Population	in times	1.0	1.3	1.8
2. Total industrial production	in times	1.0	2.5	6.1
3. Proportion of industry in total social production	in per cent	39.9	46.8	57.7
4. Proportion of production of industrial materials in total production of processing industry	in per cent	27.0	42.8	54.9
5. Industrial production of work tools	in times	1.0	6.5	25.8
6. Proportion of power, mechanical engineering and chemical industries in total industrial production	in per cent	5.1	13.8	24.6
7. Production of electric power per capita	in times	1.0	3.7	8.7
8. Agricultural production	in times	1.0	1.8	3.0
9. Motor power in agriculture	in times	1.0	2.6	5.0
10. Production of chemical fertilizers per unit of acreage	in times	1.0	4.4	11.8
11. Percentage of irrigable acreage	in per cent	29.0	47.4	54.7

In this process of revolutionary transformations the technical-scientific thought of our country has set out on the road of its rapid development. This development is reflected, among other things, in the numerical increase and the rise of the ideo-professional level of workers and medium and higher specialists, in the extension of the mass movement for innovations and technical progress, in the expansion and strengthening of the experimental base, in the vigorous development of higher schools and scientific research institutions. In 1983, as aga-

inst 1950, the number of workers has grown 8.4 times and that of specialists of higher education 90 times over. Whereas in pre-Liberation Albania there were only 380 cadres with a higher education, of which only 95 engineers, economists and higher specialists of agriculture, in 1983 there were 25,600 higher cadres of these profiles.

The technical-scientific revolution and the technical advance of the economy is characterized by some particular socio-economic features. In its sphere of operation the technical-scientific

revolution is subject both to the laws of the socialist proletarian revolution in the context of which it takes place and to the peculiar laws of science and technology. The features and peculiarities of the technical-scientific revolution that takes place in our country stem, in the first place, from the socialist nature of our socio-economic order.

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Taking place, as it does, in the context of the socialist relations of production, **the technical-scientific revolution is guided by the proletarian ideology**, which gives it a broad sphere of operation in the general development of the country. It is aimed at a rapid development of science and the material-technical base in the interests of the working masses.

The technical-scientific revolution in our country is subject to the fundamental aim of socialist production: the ever better meeting of the material and cultural needs of the working masses. By placing the economy on ever higher scientific and technical bases, it assists in the improvement and easing of the conditions of work, the narrowing of the essential differences between mental work and manual work, enriching manual work ever more with elements of mental work, the narrowing of the essential differences between the countryside and the city, between industry and agriculture.

The technical-scientific revolution in our country is not aimed at any kind of development of the branches of material production and technique, but at such development as conforms with the ideology and interests of the working class. Proceeding from this class position, the power industry in our country developed in such a way as to enable the electrification of all the villages within a very short time, as early as 1970. Here the motive was neither profit nor the so-called «economic profitability», but the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between city and countryside, the improvement of the well-being of the mass of peasants, the ceaseless perfec-

tion of the socialist relations of production and the further intensification of agricultural production.

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The broad participation of the working masses is characteristic of the technical advance and the technical-scientific revolution in our country. Real conditions are created for the broad working masses to engage in technical scientific activities. The content and aims of the technical-scientific revolution coincide fully with their productive activities and their objective: to meet ever more fully the increasing material and cultural needs of society.

The dynamic development of the technical-scientific revolution and the mass character of this revolution are based, in the first place, on the principle of social equality which underlines all technical-scientific activities in our country. The mass participation of the working people in the technical-scientific revolution is possible only in conditions of equality both in the utilization and in creation of technical-scientific values. The results achieved in the technical-scientific revolution and its mass character are a direct expression of the general social-economic and technical-scientific emancipation of the masses.

The process of the emancipation of the woman and her participation in social, economic and scientific life is among the more significant expressions of the achievement of social equality as well as of the mass character of the technical-scientific revolution. Women are represented on all the fronts of socialist construction. In 1983 women accounted for 47 per cent of the total number of working people of all economic branches, 80 per cent in the health service, 52 per cent in education and culture, 54 per cent in trade, 53 per cent in agriculture, 44 per cent in industry, etc. In 1983 women made up 35 per cent of the working people with a higher education and 47 per cent of high-school students.

The participation of the broad working masses in the solution of many technical and scientific problems arising

in the process of the growth and improvement of production has increased in both depth and extension. Each year tens of thousands of valuable proposals are made for the production of machine parts, new articles and the perfection of technological processes. Broad work for the extension of studies has been carried out on the part of scientific research institutions. A great number of workers from the base have made a valuable contribution to the completion of a number of studies and the carrying out of scientific actions on a national scale.

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The planned development of science and technique is another feature of the technical progress which takes place in our country. The planning of the technical advance and scientific-research work, as an organic part of the general plan of the economy, is reflected in the plans of enterprises and individual branches of the economy. These plans lay down the fields of scientific research and experimentation, indices for mechanization and perfection of technological processes, indices for the production of new articles, indices for quality, measures for the improvement of the conditions of work, etc.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the planned development of our economy are closely linked with the perfection of the forms of organization of social production, in which an important role is played by cooperation among the different enterprises and economic branches, which ensures the extension of the range of assortments and the production of new articles, the construction of new factories, workshops and production lines on the basis of self-reliance, the increase of work productivity and the growth of socialist inner accumulation. This cooperation is linked with the character of the socialist relations in production and the planned development of our people's economy. In its content and results, it is diametrically opposed to

the cooperation in the conditions of the capitalist order, which develops through fierce competition, which hampers technical-scientific innovations, and results in the stepping up of work rates and the further exploitation of the working class, etc.

The strengthening of the material-technical base, the raising of the level of the qualification of our working people and the experience gained in the process of cooperation, have enabled us to produce new machinery and whole factories relying on our own forces. This represents a higher and more complex stage in the development of cooperation.

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The ceaseless and high-rate development of the new technique is a distinguishing characteristic of our socialist economy. The raising of the level of mechanization, electrification and chemization of production processes, the high rates in the building of new enterprises and the rapid increase of production, the improvement of the structure of its branches, etc., are a result of the rapid development and broad application of technical progress in our socialist economy. Within a relatively short time great progress has been made in the level of the development of the technical base of our country, passing from the blacksmith's shop on to the blast furnace, from the oil lamp on to the electric station, from the wooden plough on to the tractor.

The rapid improvement of the structure of social production is one of the main indices of the high-rate technical progress. As against the industrial and agricultural production taken together, industrial production has risen from 8 per cent before the war to 68 per cent in 1983. Qualitative changes have taken place in the structure of industrial production, too. They are expressed, first of all, in the different ratios between the production of the means of production (group A) and the production of consumer goods (group B), in the systematic and priority increase of the processing and machine-building in-

dustries. Thus, for example, the production of the means of production (group A) has increased 64 per cent as against 47 per cent that it was in 1950. On the other hand, there is a progressive tendency to the local production of the means of production, the production of work tools, in the period 1960-1983, has increased about 3.5 per cent more rapidly than the production of work objects. The processing industry, the production of which in 1983 accounted for 92 per cent of total industrial production, has expanded at even higher rates.

Another evidence of the high-rate technical progress is the increase of the proportion of those branches of industrial production which comprise the base of the technical progress such as mechanical engineering, power, metallurgy, chemicals, construction materials, etc. In 1983 these branches made up 36 per cent of the overall industrial production as against 10 per cent in 1960.

The development of the material-technical base and technical-scientific progress are accompanied with an ever higher level of schooling among the working masses, which results in the strengthening of the economic potential and the improving of the structure of social production. In 1983, as against 1960, the number of 8-year schools increased 2.9 times, of secondary schools — 4.8 times, whereas the average annual increase rates of working people with higher and secondary vocational education has been about 6 times higher than the growth of population.

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In the conditions of the socialist economy technical progress develops without obstacles and has different social-economic consequences from those of the capitalist and revisionist countries. The social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution are determined by the nature of the socio-economic order. Technical progress in a socialist country ensures the uninterrupted raising of the living standard of the working masses, the improvement of their working conditions, the

raising of their educational level, etc. In the period of the socialist construction the real per capita income of the population has continuously increased, with the tendency to ensure the more rapid development of the country as compared to the city. In this period the retail goods turnover has increased 2-3 times as against the growth of population. Medical care and health service have greatly improved. Albania has the lowest mortality rate in Europe, and the average life expectancy of its people has risen to 70.4 years, as against 38.3 in 1938.

The improvement of the living standard of the working masses in our country is seen not only in its development rates, but also in its absolute level. Thus, for example, in 1975 in our country there were 6.5 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants, the world average being 12.8, the European average 10.4, and in particular: Greece — 9.4, Yugoslavia — 9.2, Bulgaria — 9.1, Italy — 9.8, Rumania — 10.3, Portugal — 10.0 and Spain — 8.3.¹

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One of the distinguishing features and advantages of technical progress of the socialist economy is its general character of its utilization, which includes all the branches and sectors of the people's economy. The large-scale machine production began several centuries ago. Nevertheless, in the capitalist order it did not cover all the branches of the material production, all the enterprises of the same branch and all the regions of the same country. Inequality in the development of the different branches and regions is typical of the capitalist economy. In agriculture, in particular, the use of machinery and new techniques, the level of chemization and electrification of the processes of production, lag much behind the possibilities provided by contemporary science and technique.

In the process of the development and improvement of the socialist production the technical level has risen harmoniously in all the branches of our people's economy. Agriculture has developed vigorously, too. In 1982,

as against 1950, its total energy resources increased 10.3 times, the number of its tractors rose 54 times, its utilization of chemical fertilizers per one hectare of arable land grew 141 times. In this period the irrigation capacity has increased from 10 to 54 per cent, whereas the number of electrified villages from 2 to 100 per cent.

All these results of the technical-scientific progress have been conditioned by those new social and material factors which, in their unity and mutual interaction, ensure the intensive and all-round development of agriculture, which constitutes the base of the economy.

The development and improvement of the social production have created objective material conditions for the development of education and culture, too. With the wiping out of illiteracy and the development of mass education, an actual revolution has been carried out in this direction. Now one of 3-4 people goes to school, while before Liberation only one out of 18 people went to school.

All what has been achieved during the years of the people's state power is the direct result of the socio-economic order, the self-denying work of the working masses led by the Party of Labour of Albania.

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One of the distinguishing features of the technical-scientific progress and the development of the technical base is its proportional and harmonious extension throughout the territory of the country. This ensures high rates in the extended socialist reproduction, rational exploitation of natural and human resources, ceaseless improvement of the socialist relations of production, raising of the living standard of the working masses, protection of the natural environment, gradual wiping out of differences between town and countryside, etc.

Technical progress plays a great role in the rational distribution of production throughout the country, which enables the inclusion of resources of the different regions of the country

in the sphere of the industrial processing.

Characteristic of the capitalist order is not only inequality in the development of the different branches of the economy, but also inequality in the geographical development of the productive forces. This is an inevitable process which keeps constantly deepening. In the socialist order conditions are created for a harmonious ratio in the development of productive forces, in general, and the industrial production, in particular, among the different regions of the country. «Only a society which is capable of ensuring a harmonious combination of its productive forces on the basis of a single general plan», said F. Engels, «can achieve such an extension of industry throughout the country as is more favourable both for its own development and the development of the other elements of

production.»² Disproportions inherited from the past have been liquidated through the rational distribution of the technical base of industry. In comparison with the pre-war period, disproportions in the level of industrial development in most districts have been reduced perceptibly. In 1983, as against 1960, the proportion of industrial production in the total industrial production of seven more developed districts of the country has been reduced 14 per cent, while it has increased 3.5 times in seven less developed districts.

The results achieved so far in the vigorous and rational development of the material-technical base and the technical-scientific revolution, are the direct result of the superiority of our socio-economic order. The socialist order creates appropriate conditions for placing the resources and forces of nature in the service of man,

because in socialism, as F. Engels pointed out, «The conditions of living now are placed under the power and control of the people, who for the first time become the real and conscious rulers of nature, the masters of their unity in society... This is a leap of mankind from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.»³ The revolutionary process of deep-going socio-economic transformations made in the period of socialist construction in our country, with the working masses becoming «the masters of their unity in society», has provided ever larger possibilities for developing our technical-scientific revolution with its specific features.

1 *Population Bulletin of the United Nations*, no. 8, 1976.

2. F. Engels, *Anti-Düring*, 1974, pp. 339-340, Alb. ed.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324.

THE PARTY - PROMOTOR, AND LEADER OF THE GENERAL ARMED



ORGANIZER

UPRISING *by* MAKSIM ILIRIANI

The Military Art of the National Liberation War was worked out and further complemented in the process of armed struggle. This art, which has the originality of the conditions of a small country with outstanding fighting traditions, with limited economic and human resources, led to complete victory over an enemy superior in numbers and military techniques and weapons

THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA BY THE ALBANIAN COMMUNISTS, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKER AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY, MARKS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MOMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE. THE PARTY WAS BORN AS AN HISTORICAL NECESSITY TO LEAD THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION. IT ENSURED THEIR LOYAL, FAR-SIGHTED AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP WHICH THEY HAD NEVER HAD IN THEIR WARS WHICH THEY HAD WAGED BEFORE.

The Founding Meeting of the Communist Party of Albania defined the program of the Party for the National Liberation War on the basis of a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal conditions of the country and the external conditions. The strategic aim defined at the Meeting was: «To fight for the independence of the Albanian people and the people's democratic government of Albania free from fascism.»¹

The aim of this strategy was to solve the fundamental antagonistic contradictions of the time, that between

the Albanian people, on the one hand, and the foreign occupiers and traitors of the country, on the other. On the radical solution of this contradiction depended the degree of the solution of another antagonistic contradiction, that between the people and the exploiting classes.

To ensure the achievement of this strategic aim the CPA seized on three fundamental links. First, on organizing the political army of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution, by uniting the classes, strata, groups and individual elements interested in carrying the liberation war through to victory, in a great political organization, in the National Libera-

*Comrade ENVER HOXHA,
Comrade RAMIZ ALIA and other
leaders of the Party
and state among
a group of military men
(July 10, 1983)*



tion Front, which the Party created and led. Second, on organizing the general armed uprising, as the only road to ensure the final victory of the people's revolution, and the creation of the National Liberation Army as the powerful weapon and main force of the uprising. Third, on the creation of the power of national liberation councils as the base and support of the uprising and the embryo of the future political power of the people.

Naturally, the main place in the program of the CPA was occupied by the organization of the armed struggle against occupiers and traitors, which was the way and means for the attainment of the strategic aim. The Resolution of the Founding Meeting of the Party set the task: «We must spread the idea of the general uprising for the liberation of the people through joint actions..., we must prepare the people politically and militarily for the general armed uprising, including in the war all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces.»²

This program responded to the objective and subjective conditions of our country. The fundamental objective condition was the existence of a profoundly revolutionary situation, manifested in the resistance and struggle which the Albanian people were putting up against the fascist occupiers since April 1939. An auxiliary objective condition was the great international anti-fascist war which the peoples of the world were waging and at the head of which was the Soviet Union led by J. V. Stalin. Whereas the number-one subjective factor was the existence of the CPA as the educator, mobilizer, organizer and loyal leader of the people in the liberation war. The Party gave the uprising its revolutionary breadth and depth, realized the union and perfect organization of the masses and gave them a high degree of consciousness, which were conditions necessary for the achievement of the strategic aim of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

The armed uprising was organized, mounted and developed according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the armed uprising and the revolution, according to the experience of the October Revolution, but in conformity with the time, circumstances and concrete conditions of our country. It developed gradually and uninterruptedly in all forms, ways and means, from the most elementary ones to the general armed uprising.

The Party provided original solutions to the mapping out of the correct road towards the general armed uprising and the conception of its military art. In fact, the organization of the armed uprising began immediately after the creation of the Party, but the armed uprising did not develop as an instant burst. It began with the simplest forms of struggle, with demonstrations, acts of sabotage, etc. The Party guided the organization and development of the uprising on this road, basing itself on a scientific analysis of the ratio of forces involved.

The Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha conceived the armed uprising not as a series of actions and armed clashes carried out in a spontaneous, anarchic and uncontrolled manner, but as a war organized at a higher level, with clear and definite political and military aims, a struggle in which the participation of the broad masses of the people in war was combined with the fighting actions of the National Liberation Army.

As a true Marxist-Leninist Party right from the beginning the CPA stuck to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle of relying on our own forces for the organization and development of the armed uprising. It proceeded from the idea that even in a small country like Albania the decisive factor of national liberation and victory of the people's revolution, both from the political and the military point of view, was the internal factor, whereas external aid and support was to play a secondary role. As the facts of the past showed the Albanian

people had relied only on their own forces in their wars for freedom and independence. Therefore, the Party came out from the beginning with the slogan: «Freedom is not donated, but is won with blood and sacrifices.»

The principle of self-reliance was at the root of the solution of all the fundamental problems which emerged from the organization and development of the armed uprising. Worth mentioning, among other things, is the fact that, although the struggle of our people was part of the anti-fascist people's war and that in this war we established ties with the neighbouring peoples and the allies, the strategy of our war was not conditioned by the strategy of the Anglo-Americans, Yugoslavs, or any other strategy. The fighting actions carried out by our insurgent people and of our National Liberation War were carried out only on the basis of the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, the orders and instructions of the General Staff and, later, of the General Command. With this independent strategy it was possible to ensure the complete victory of our people's revolution.

The definition of the strategy of the armed uprising was based on the main motive forces in our people's revolution. The steel foundations of the struggle and the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and, as a component part of them, the youth and the women of our country.

The uprising developed stage by stage over the whole country, in town and countryside, in the plains and in the mountains. Although the fighting in the cities, which the occupiers had made their principal bases and centres of concentrated forces, appeared extremely difficult, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha attached great importance to its organization. The town became an important source of fighters, cadres and various military materials. However, taking account of the conditions of our country, in which

the peasantry not only made up the majority of the population, but also had outstanding patriotic and fighting traditions, as well as on account of the superiority of the terrain of the countryside for the people's warfare, the Party devoted all its attention and care to the development of the armed uprising in the countryside.

The idea of the general armed uprising, advanced in the Resolution of the Founding Meeting of the CPA, was detailed, concretized and developed in the course of the war, and was complemented on the basis of the experience gained in the process of the development of the fighting.

The experience of the proletarian revolution and any other revolution shows that the objectives of revolution cannot be achieved without resorting to revolutionary violence. The Party, enlightened by the Leninist teaching that the slogan of revolution is the slogan of the solution of the question through material force and that this material force is the military force, placed the creation of the revolutionary army at the foundation of its policy and considered this as its number-one task. The National Liberation Army, as the armed section of the revolution, would be used to drive the foreign occupier from the country, to destroy the old state, to set up and defend the new state of the people.

The solution of this task in practice was achieved not without surmounting great obstacles and difficulties, because everything had to begin from scratch and because we were confronted with an enemy which had the superiority of organization, military discipline, fighting experience and a military force of over 100 thousand strong, equipped with modern means of warfare. In these conditions, it was important to solve, among other things, such great problems as that of cadres, material supplies, military organization and direction.

The Party, as the promotor, creator and organizer of our army of the revolutionary type, devoted special care

to securing its leading role in the partisan formations, never for a moment departing from this fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of the building of the army of the revolution and securing its leadership in it. This was the main guarantee for the armed uprising and the liberation army to carry out with success the strategic tasks of the National Liberation War. The Party realized its leading role in the army through its general line of the armed uprising, the many directives and instructions which varied according to the most important moments and phases of the war and, concretely, through the party cells and forums of the partisan detachments, which led and directed all their political and military activity, through the communists and the political commissars of the partisan commands, as representatives of the Party.

Taking account of the anti-fascist character of the National Liberation War, the Party worked to ensure that the broadest sections of the masses, without distinction of class and stratum, came into the partisan detachments. In this manner, right from the beginning our army assumed a broad and popular character. Its ranks were filled by the broad masses of the people, in the first place by the working people and peasantry, and found its main support in the people, was protected and fed by the people. In the close links of the partisan army with the people, from the bosom of whom it had emerged, the Party saw one of the concrete expressions of its popular character. From this vantage point, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha sternly condemned the sectarian stands of Mehmet Shehu and other enemy elements towards the common men of the people who had been misled by the propaganda of the enemy. And the people, organized militarily, fought together with the partisan army, assisted it and grew attached to it, seeing it as their liberator.

The Party provided the people's army with the revolutionary con-

sciousness and political clarity about the just character of their liberation war. This became the main basis for a high and conscious discipline, without which no success could be achieved in the war against the superior forces of the enemy.

The armed uprising and the new army which was created as its strong armed section, raised the need for political and military cadres who would lead the war. The Party stuck to the Marxist-Leninist principle that the cadres should be trained in political and fighting actions. In the implementation of this teaching, the Party came up against the Trotskyite views of the «theory of cadres» held by the chiefs of the Group of «Youth», as well as those about «first, we must prepare the cadres and, then, go to war», or «we must safeguard and not sacrifice cadres», etc. The Party exposed these views thoroughly, uncovered their hostile contents and showed their falseness with its revolutionary actions in the great and uninterrupted process of the creation of the army and the development of the armed struggle. It was in fighting that the cadres of the army were trained, tempered and learned the military art of the partisan warfare. The cadres, who were the sons of the people, further strengthened the popular character of the army, because the class interests of the partisans and cadres were identical. On the other hand, our cadres were free from the stereotypes of the classical military art of the army of barracks.

The CPA made a correct assessment of the role of weapons, as an indispensable material factor for the army and for the development of the war, in general. It discarded the views of its enemies, who presented the lack of armament as an argument against going over to the armed uprising and the creation of the army. The Party applied the teachings of Lenin that the organization of detachments and their reorganization must not be abandoned on the pretext of the lack of weapons. The Party based itself on the

experience of the previous uprisings of our people. The arms and munition which the people had kept for themselves were placed in the service of the National Liberation War to arm the partisan units. Whereas the main source of arms remained the captures from the enemy. In this manner, the supplies of weapons and munition for the partisan detachments which increased every day, were secured through fighting actions. Our National Liberation Army did not get arms supplies from abroad. Even the odd supply of weapons that were dropped as aid by the Anglo-American allies, and which, as the liaison officers of the British missions attached to the General Staff of our National Liberation Army have admitted, was so insignificant that it was not worth mentioning, was of no consequence compared with the proportions of our army and war in general; as for the Soviet Union, as Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses most convincingly in his work *The Titoites*, we did not get a single rifle or bullet from it.

In organizational matters nothing was borrowed from the old or contemporary armies. The guerrilla units of the initial phase of the war and, along with them, the partisan *çeta*, were created gradually all over the country, in town and countryside. With its extension in all the regions of the country the National Liberation Army secured the inexhaustible source of men from the people. This manner of organization was connected with the creation of support bases which, in the beginning, were only a few in town and countryside. As time went by, however, the army grew and its bases extended. Like the guerrilla units and *çeta*, the bases of the army extended all over the country.

Within a short time the Central Committee of the CPA advanced towards more complete forms of organization. After the *çeta*, partisan battalions for the solution of more important tasks were created, whereas in August 1943 partisan brigades were organized from the merger of 3-4

battalions. Brigades, as tactical units in the hands of the General Staff, became a great striking force of the National Liberation Army, with which it was possible to liberate large zones and defeat the great enemy offensive of the winter of 1943-1944.

The general strategic offensive for the liberation of the whole country, especially the main towns, raised the imperative for the creation of bigger formations comprising divisions, and later, in August 1944, army corps, as large-scale operative-strategic formations, with which the carrying out of large-scale operations became a possibility.

One of the problems of the military strategy of the CPA was the definition of the main form of war up to the general armed uprising. In conformity with the level reached by the uprising hitherto and the superiority of the enemy in the ratio of forces, the form of war that was found most suitable was the partisan warfare. Our people had sufficient experience in this kind of war, which existed before the Party was created. On this question, too, our Party carried out the teaching of Marxism-Leninism which «accepts most diverse forms of war and does not 'invent' them, but only generalizes and organizes those forms of revolutionary class struggle which emerge spontaneously during the movement.»³ Our partisan war damaged the enemy in many directions and in a continuous manner, making the situation insecure in every moment, compelled it to disperse its forces, struck panic and terror into its troops, making any control of the situation impossible, etc. Through this form of war the struggle of the armed people continued to grow, the National Liberation Army grew, whole regions and zones were liberated until the stage of the general armed uprising was reached.

In the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teachings that defence spells death for the armed uprising, the partisan war put attack actions at the basis of its tactics. Attacks

were continuous, rapid, well-studied, and were carried out at points least expected by the enemy. Surprise, efficient use of fire power, initiative, mobility, etc, became the main characteristics and inseparable elements of attack actions.

The partisan war, which began with small fighting units, grew along with the development of the war, with the increase of the revolutionary drive of the masses, until it reached the stage of the general armed uprising and the creation of a regular popular army. These qualitative changes, which occurred after the Congress of Përmet, were reflected in the tactics of the war, especially during and after the general offensive in which the tactic of frontal war was combined with partisan tactic. The imminent liberation of many towns and whole zones and the defence of the country immediately after Liberation conditioned the need for these changes.

As in the past, the partisan warfare found very favourable conditions in the territory of our country. The mountains and the villages have always been centres of resistance in the liberation wars of our people. The main characteristics of the territory of our country, such as the broken terrain with high mountains, deep-cut gorges, many valleys, plains and hills, favoured the adoption of the partisan warfare. And this first, because the enemy could not attack without bringing up its forces, whereas the scanty communication routes, especially in the depths of the country, impeded the enemy from bringing in heavy pieces, from manoeuvring rapidly. Our people knew how to make the best use of the mountain passes for surprise attacks. The CPA made a correct assessment of this important factor in the war and transformed the mountains and villages into powerful bases of partisan war, without neglecting the development of guerrilla fight in the towns.

In the first period of the armed struggle, leadership of the war on a national scale was the responsibility

of the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha; whereas on a district scale the fighting was directed by the district party committees, and the actions of guerrilla units and partisan *çeta* by their commands.

With the increase, growth and extension of the partisan formations all over the country, the need was felt for the creation of a supreme military organ which would direct the war on a national scale. Therefore, the creation of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army ensured the operative and strategic leadership in the war. The General Staff carried out to the letter all the tasks allocated by the Central Committee of the CPA for the organization and growth of the Army, further improved its plans and direction of the war, and worked out the strategy and tactics of the National Liberation Army on scientific bases.

The development of the war required the further improvement of military leadership, therefore the General Command was created and Comrade Enver

Hoxha was appointed Commander-in-Chief. He worked out the strategic plan of the general offensive, the tasks of divisions and army corps, and the task of pursuing and destroying the enemy in the pursuit beyond the state borders of our country to assist the liberation of our Kosova brothers and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

In this manner, the Communist Party of Albania became the promotor, organizer and practical leader of the National Liberation Army and the armed uprising. In the process of war it worked out, carried out and laid the bases of our revolutionary military art. It defined a clear strategy including the objective of the war, which was the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's democratic power; the armed uprising as the only road for the realization of this aim; the armed people as the main motive force of the uprising, and the creation of the National Liberation army, as well as the target of the main attack which was the occupiers and their colla-

borators. At the same time, it chose original roads and forms for the organization of the National Liberation Army of the armed people, the tactics of the war and the main objectives of the war in different stages. The Military Art of the National Liberation War was worked out and further completed in the process of armed struggle. This art, which has the originality of the conditions of a small country with outstanding fighting traditions, with limited economic and human resources, led to complete victory over an enemy superior in numbers and military technique and weapons.

1 «Principal Documents of the PLA», vol. I, Tirana 1971, p. 26, Alb. ed.

2 *Ibid.*

3 V. I. Lenin, «On War, the Army and Defence», vol. I, Tirana 1976, p. 273, Alb. ed.

A WORK OF DEDICATED TO BETWEEN THE AL AND THE G

Comrade ENVER HOXHA's

*Our people are sincere friends of all the peoples
the Albanian people with the Greek people. «Their common fa*

OUR COMMUNISTS, CADRES AND WORKING MASSES WELCOMED WITH JOY AND SPECIAL INTEREST THE PUBLICATION THESE DAYS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S NEW BOOK TWO FRIENDLY PEOPLES. PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ARE READING AND STUDYING IT WITH ATTENTION, EXPRESSING ON THIS OCCASION, TOO, THE BOUNDLESS RESPECT AND ADMIRATION WHICH THEY HAVE FOR THE BELOVED AND UNFORGETTABLE LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, AND FOR HIS BRILLIANT AND IMMORTAL WORK.

The book *Two Friendly Peoples* strikes a very contemporary note in its realistic and truthful reflection of those pure feelings of friendship which our people have always displayed to the Greek people, that correct and principled policy which the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always pursued towards Greece and its people.

First of all, the book as a whole deals with and throws light on a very important aspect of the foreign policy of our country, the Albanian-Greek relations over a period of more than 40 years. Since the author himself was the main figure in the drafting and application of this policy the ideas, opinions and conclusions which this book contains have great historical

and present value for better knowledge and understanding of the whole process of the development of Albanian-Greek relations and the position and stand which our country has maintained.

From the opening pages of the book it emerges clearly with what care and maturity the Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has dealt with and developed the relations of our country with neighbouring Greece, pursuing a correct policy based on the principles of complete equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, respect for national sovereignty and non-violation of territorial integrity and exchanges with mutual benefit. Proceeding from these lofty principles, immediately after the Liberation of the country our state pursued the policy of good neigh-

bourliness and the normal development of relations with Greece in the common interest and it has adhered to this policy faithfully without any wavering during the whole of this period.

The book *Two Friendly Peoples* speaks mainly about events which have to do with Albanian-Greek relations. However, the author places and analyses these events in a broader political context closely linked with the political situation in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and so on. Through the explanation which he gives and the conclusions which he draws, he gives us first-hand information about the concrete political situation and the role which various positive and negative factors have played and are playing in the development of them. In this direction he gives a clear and complete picture of the correct, principled and unyielding stand which the Albanian people and their government maintain towards the ambitions and actions of Greek monarchofascist and chauvinist reactionary circles, incited by foreign powers to

GREAT VALUE THE FRIENDSHIP ALBANIAN PEOPLE GREEK PEOPLE

New book «Two Friendly Peoples»

of the world, large or small. A traditional friendship links them, their common struggle against the same enemies, has united them»

destroy the friendship between our two peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a positive assessment of the realistic and progressive Greek forces that have worked and are working to overcome the artificially created difficulties in the relations between our two countries. In this context he appreciates the objective stand and realistic understanding of the Greek government in recent years about good neighbourly relations with our country. He points out that collaboration of mutual benefit and good neighbourly relations can be achieved through the desire and will of both parties.

The Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA towards the Greek minority in our country occupies an important place in this book. The minority enjoys the same rights as the Albanian people with which it is linked by the blood shed during the National Liberation War. These rights have been sanctioned in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and are rigorously applied. The members of

the Greek minority have been guaranteed the right to freely use and cultivate their mother tongue, culture, folklore and traditions and all the conditions have been provided for them to do so. They have their own teachers and schools in which the lessons are given in the mother tongue, as well as their newspaper which is published in Greek. The Party has devoted great care to the economic and social development of the minority and the differences between the present and past are like the differences between day and night.

The interesting correspondence with working people of the minority as well as a number of other important documents which are published in the book bring out very clearly that correct Marxist-Leninist policy which has been pursued since the time the foundations of the new Albania were laid, for the development and progress on the road of socialism of the Greek minority who live and work in complete fraternity with the Albanian people. These documents reflect the Marxist-Leninist thinking of our Party

and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the just solution of the national problem which the imperialists and revisionists are making so confused today in order to keep the national minorities and the nations under the heel of a savage chauvinism. It is a significant fact that the existence of the Greek minority in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is an important factor for strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people. The Albanian-Greek relations are important not only because of the mutual advantages in the economic or cultural fields. These relations also have very great importance and value in the political field for the interests of our two peoples and peace and security in the Balkan Peninsula. However, the creation of a friendly atmosphere between neighbouring peoples cannot be achieved without exposing the intrigues and plots of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, which employ every means to arouse hostility between the different peoples of this peninsula. Today when there are hotbeds of tension all around

us and the danger exists that these could increase tomorrow, the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people serves the cause of peace in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and even further afield.

The great idea which pervades the book from start to finish is the ancient friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people. Our people are sincere friends of all the peoples of the world, large or small. A traditional friendship links the Albanian people with the Greek people. «Their common fate, their common struggle against the same enemies, has united them».

Having a profound knowledge not only of the history of the Albanian people, but also of the history of the Greek people, Comrade Enver Hoxha in many articles discloses the true character of the Albanian-Greek friendship, its deep and ancient roots, its durability and the possibilities for its ever greater development. He points out that all through history the Albanian people have supported the just cause and struggle of the Greek people. In the Greek Revolution of 1821, the Albanians, with their warrior leaders who became outstanding figures of this revolution fought loyally for the freedom and independence of Greece through to the end. This fine

tradition continued later, too. In the years of the Second World War, although the Albanian people themselves were under fascist slavery, they turned their rifles against the Italian fascists when these attacked Greece. Precisely at that time when the flames of war were searing Albania Comrade Enver Hoxha and his comrades plastered the walls of Tirana with slogans and leaflets in support of the freedom-loving Greek people against the fascist aggressors. During the National Liberation War which they waged, our two peoples fraternized even more collaborating together and assisting one another against the nazi-fascist occupiers. They have tried to preserve and develop these friendly relations even more at the present day for their common interests and good aims.

A prominent place in the book *Two Friendly Peoples* is occupied by those materials which bring out clearly Comrade Enver Hoxha's respect and admiration both for the culture, civilization and «famous Greek art» of ancient times and for the Greek culture of the present day. With lofty scientific objectivity he appreciates everything beautiful and fine that the Greek people have created during their history, speaks with sympathy about the outstanding philosophical thinking of ancient Greece and expresses high

praise for the Greek artistic ensembles which have given performances in our country.

This appreciation and respect stem from the fact that Comrade Enver Hoxha had close personal knowledge of the Greek people and read and studied their history and culture of the past and present with enthusiasm. Above all they are closely linked with his treatment of them from a principled Marxist-Leninist position. Just as he was an ardent patriot he was also an ardent internationalist. He dedicated his struggle and work not only to the development and flowering of the life of the Albanian people, but also to the cause of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, to collaboration and fraternal friendship between them.

The publication of this book by the dearly beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is a new source of inspiration and lessons for new and greater achievements in the construction of our socialist Homeland. At the same time it assists the further strengthening of the sincere Albanian-Greek friendship and shows the way in which relations of good neighbourliness can be built between various countries and peoples of the world.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE ALBANIAN VILLAGE TODAY

Life in the village is active and optimistic, it has its everyday joys and problems, but above all predominates the feeling of security for the present and of confidence in a better future

by ANDROMAQI GJERGJI

THIS IS A BROAD THEME WITH A GREAT VARIETY OF ASPECTS. HERE, HOWEVER, WE SHALL DEAL WITH ONLY SOME OF THEM, AND MORE PRECISELY WITH THOSE WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH THE VILLAGE MILIEU AND ITS MUTUAL LINKS WITH EVERYDAY LIFE.

AMONG THE OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR COUNTRY, A PLACE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IS OCCUPIED BY THE TRANSFORMATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE VILLAGE MILIEU, IN ITS DIFFERENT ASPECTS. THESE TRANSFORMATIONS HAVE COME ABOUT, FIRST OF ALL, AS A RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEW SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WITH THE CONSTANT GROWTH OF PRODUCTION, THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTRY HAVE IMPROVED, TOO.

Considering the general geographical environment we can say that the village milieu today has changed greatly from what it was in the pre-war period. In the plains, for example, in the Coastal Lowlands or in the Korça Plateau, there are thousand hectares of land planted and systematized into square plots surrounded by irrigation canals and, as often as not, forest belts to protect agricultural crops from strong winds. Entire hilly zones and the lower parts of mountains have been transformed into terraces planted to fruit-trees (the olive and citrus-tree terraces of the Ionian coast and the cherry, fig, apple and chestnut-tree plantations of Berat, Pogradec, Dibra, Kukës, Tropoja and other districts). Man has changed the

hydrographical system of the country by building many river dykes and disciplining the flow of rivers, especially, there where the huge hydro-power stations of our new power industry have been set up. Large artificial lakes like those of Fierza, Ulza, Vau i Dejës, etc. have been built and that of Koman is under construction. More than 600 big and small water reservoirs have been put in the service of agriculture throughout the country.

Before Liberation thousands of hectares of the 28,000 square km territory of Albania were covered by swamps and moors, the arable land was chopped up into thousands of small badly cultivated small plots. Today arable land has increased about 2.5 times compared with 1938 and sys-

tematized into big plots divided according to the main crops. All this has changed the aspect of the Albanian village, made it more beautiful and given it a more human dimension.

This planned transformation of nature according to the objective laws of its development and in the interest of the peasantry and the whole society is one of the fundamental characteristics of the socialist transformation of the Albanian village today.

Despite a perceptible population growth during these 40 years small rural centres continue to predominate in the life of our country because 66.3 per cent of the Albanian population lives in the countryside. This population is distributed among 2,554 big and small villages united in 438 agricultural cooperatives or «united villages», apart from the villages included in the territory of agricultural enterprises. Before Liberation the more densely populated part of the country were the lowlands, the hilly zones and the river valleys, while today the coastal plains, which have been reclaimed through drainage and land improvement schemes, have the high-

est population density. New villages have been set up in those zones.

After Liberation villages, in general, have grown and their population increased, especially, in the coastal plains which have the highest density of peasant population (about 130 inhabitants per square kilometre). The hilly zones and the river valleys continue to have a high density of population. Compared with the pre-Liberation period, the population of the mountainous zones has increased, too. The energetic measures for the improvement of the living conditions in the countryside, for the improvement of the well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the peasantry, the constant expansion of the communication network, the mechanization of many work processes in agriculture, which have made the work of the peasants much lighter, have strengthened the links of the peasants with their villages through a number of interests.

Our village today represents a social community living within its territory, within some well-defined bounds which separate it from other villages. In the past the inhabitants of a village generally worked the land comprised within its boundaries, while today they may also work the land of neighbouring villages, when they are included in the same cooperative. Most of the villages in the coastal plains and hilly zones include the village proper with its clearly defined bounds, its economic zone and its arable land, while the villages in the mountainous zone also have pastures and heaths.

In the process of the collectivization of agriculture many villages, which in the course of their spontaneous development had taken a form which was unsuitable for the new living conditions, had to be rebuilt. In many zones there were compact villages extending over suitable territories, while in other zones, especially in the mountains villages were made up of clusters of houses far removed from one another. There

were also villages with dispersed houses near the lands of individual peasant households.

The general development of our village can be analysed for two different periods: from the Liberation of the country to 1963 and from this year to our days. The first period is characterized by those dynamic processes which began with the implementation of the Land Reform and the collectivization of agriculture, that is, after the fundamental transformations that took place in the relations of land ownership. These processes led to the gradual improvement of the economic condition of the village, on which all possibilities for the transformations of the material conditions of living depended. This period coincides with the strenuous efforts of our people to liquidate the destructions caused by the war. Through general mobilization, state help and the work of the peasants themselves, as well as the contribution of many work brigades from the cities, all the damaged houses were repaired and those totally destroyed rebuilt within a few years. On a whole, the repair or reconstruction of these dwellings was made by respecting local traditions.

During the second period, the architects of the village-planning sector did great work in verifying the existing situation and then delimitating the zone outside which no new constructions could be done so as to avoid the irrational extension of villages. They also worked out village-planning schemes. All this took place after the collectivization of agriculture, when the economic situation of the peasants was improving from one day to the other.

All these village-planning schemes were aimed, in general, at the setting up of compact, well-oriented villages with a functional road network and house plots of about 200 square metres each. Every village now has its socio-cultural centre with the school, the house of culture, shops, sports fields and often a memorial. In the out-

skirts of the village are the threshing-floors and grain stores, the park of farming machines, the stalls, etc.

Today many villages in the different districts of the country are built according to village-planning schemes which undergo qualitative changes in the process of their execution. This way of doing things not only enjoys the support of the peasantry but also opens broad possibilities for qualitatively new demands.

As for the peasant house, before Liberation there was more uniformity in a given ethnographic zone, whereas today there are different types of houses according to the conditions of the terrain and climate of each particular zone.

Thus, for example, from a study made in a number of villages in the Korça Plain it emerges that the one-storey house with an outer staircase of 5-6 steps is the more widespread type of peasant dwelling. This type of dwelling which accounts for 40-45 per cent of all peasant dwellings, has 3-4 rooms acceding to a broad corridor, a verandah and a sort of summer kitchen in the courtyard. Another type of dwelling-house has two storeys, with two rooms for every storey. Twenty-five-thirty per cent of the dwelling-houses are of this type. There is a very favourable relationship between the dwelling space and the structure of the relative family, especially, if compared with the period before Liberation. This is because the average family in this zone is made up of 5.2 persons and almost 70 per cent of the dwelling-houses belong to this type. So, every family composed of the parent and unmarried children disposes of about 4.6 rooms. The conditions of living are the same or similar in many other zones of the country.

Of course, the spread of this new type of dwelling-house does not exclude the construction of houses which still preserve the features of the local traditional architecture in many zones of the country.

The transformations made in house

building congrue with the changes made in the structure of the family, and a constant mutual influence is observed in this process. This is evident when, for example, we compare the phases of the evolution of a dwelling-house built for a large family, with its complicated structure and its many modifications made to keep pace with the expansion of the family itself.

The construction of dwelling-houses has continued at high rates, especially, after the fifties, so that now there is a very small number of dwelling-houses built before Liberation. While formerly there were only a few types of dwelling-houses, today their types and their variants have greatly increased. If the level of income of the cooperativist families of these zones today is considered, it is clear that they can easily afford the building of a house for themselves. Usually the savings they have made over 2-3 years are enough for building a new house. The facilities provided by our social order such as the land given free of charge, the provision of building materials and masons by the cooperative, comradesly help, etc. play an important role in this direction. So, every peasant family has its own house, no matter how small, and only in rare cases does the peasant live in a rented house.

In case of natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods etc., the state organizes and finances the reconstruction of the damaged dwellings within a very short time, and the new houses are much better than the old ones. In these cases, apart from the cooperativists, the working class of the city also gives its assistance.

In its present houses the peasant family enjoys such comfort as it could never dream of in the past, and this for the fact that the new houses are of a much higher quality: in general, they are built with better materials, especially in the plains where formerly thatched huts were the rule. For their buildings today the peasants use not only stones and

bricks, but also cement and reinforced concrete, cement or granil slabs, prefabricated elements, etc. Houses are plastered and painted to protect them against the cold and dampness. In many zones of the country people prefer two-storied houses, in which second-storey rooms serve in general as bedrooms.

The hygiene of the dwelling-house has greatly improved, with sufficiently high and well-built ceilings and large windows. On the other hand, the new dwelling-house has no place for cattle or stalls, especially, after the pooling of the personal livestock of the cooperativists. Of course, those villages which are regularly supplied with drinking water, and their number is constantly increasing, have better hygienic conditions. About 1,400 water supply systems providing drinking water for about 60 per cent of the villages of the country, were built after Liberation. Many villages have a valuable tradition in environmental hygiene, as for example, those of the districts of Përmet, Skrapar, Kolonja, Dibra, Mat, etc.

Studies on the mode of life of the peasantry have been made in many zones of the country. They show that, according to the mentality of the peasant, which to a certain extent differs from one region to the other, in some zones more attention is paid to the fixing and furnishing of the guest room than the bedroom, while in other zones care about the bedroom and the sitting-room is the same. In many zones of the country the furniture for the bedroom is as a rule bought on the occasion of the marriage, while the furniture for the sitting-room is acquired gradually, after the completion of the new house.

The way of heating has also undergone great changes. Before Liberation in many mountainous zones of the country, where the climate is very rude, most of the rooms were without ceiling with the result that the fire in the fire-place was of little use, although windows were extre-

mely small. Today not only dwellings of better quality, rooms with regular ceilings, doors and windows that shut well, wooden floors, etc., but also the broad use of ceramic tile stoves ensure better and more uniform heating, while at the same time protecting the environment from the smoke and making it more pleasant.

Electric power, which has reached every village, every house, has made a major contribution to the improvement of the mode of life of the peasantry. Electric light has given a new dimension to life in the family whose members have the possibility to prolong their active hours in winter, to pass their free time in various ways, listening to the radio or watching the television. To have an idea of the changes made in the way of heating and brought about by the radio and television, we shall give below some figures about some villages taken from different districts of the country. In 1983, in Barbullush village of Shkodra district, 75 per cent of the peasant families had heating stoves, 47 per cent wireless and television-sets; in the village of Domje of Tirana district 70 per cent of the families had heating stoves, 74 per cent wireless and 41 per cent television-sets; in Greshica village of Fier district 90 per cent of the families had heating stoves, 93 per cent wireless and television-sets, while in Rrëmbec of Korça district 100 per cent of the families had heating stoves, 100 per cent wireless and 44 per cent television-sets.

All these changes exercise a direct or indirect influence on the rhythm of everyday life, and on the creation of a new way of life, a new psychology and mentality.

Everyday life in the village today is richer and more active. And this not only because villages have grown, have more houses and more inhabitants, but also because of many facilities which have increased contacts among people, like, for example, the extension of communications, the im-

provement of the well-being, the broadening of the circle of acquaintances, the intensification of links with the city and the other districts of the country, etc.

The peasant today sees his work on a broader plane. Formerly he cared only about the interests of his family, while now he is interested in the work of the brigade and the entire cooperative, in raising crop yields, tries to apply the achievements of advanced experience of which he reads in the press or learns from the radio or television. Today the workers of agriculture have a broader horizon of scientific knowledge about the quality of the land they work, the peculiarities of the seed they use, the crops they sow, the chemical fertilizers, farming machines, etc. they employ. Hundreds of young peasants are engaged in scientific experimentation and the results of their work are reflected in the constant rise of crop yields in our agriculture.

However, the world of the peasant does not end here. He has many other interests to which he devotes his free time. These new interests of the present-day peasant are reflected in his psychology, mentality and mode of living. So, today he does not confine himself to his family only, but has a broader circle of acquaintances with whom he is linked by everyday life, common interests and tastes, etc. Both at work and during the free time relations between different ages and sexes, not only within the family but also in society, have become much freer, without the formality of the past. Thus, for example, girls and women, due to their equal position with the other members of the family (they work and earn the same as others) behave more freely and communicate better with others, take part more naturally in all social activities. Other factors such as joint work in brigades with people of different ages, and the uplift of the cultural level have also had a positive influence in this direction. Apart from the compulsory eight-year school;

the young peasants today attend agricultural middle schools, which have been set up in many villages. Here it must be said that 54 per cent of the total number of middle school students are sons and daughters of peasants.

Various cultural and sports activities are carried out to which the young people, in particular, devote part of their free time. They often pass their evenings in the house of culture of the village where evening parties and other amusements are organized, or watch their favourite television programs, or a film. The organization of folklore festivals on a national scale has put in a new light the rich musical and choreographic tradition of the different regions and made it known throughout the country. The same can be said of folk games which are in great favour with the school youth.

Before Liberation, with some small exceptions, it was difficult to find newspapers and magazines in our villages; books were a rarity because the schools were few and about 90 per cent of the population was illiterate. Today dozens of newspapers and magazines are distributed in the countryside, books are found not only in the houses or hearths of culture but also in peasants' homes.

Before Liberation there were many religious institutions (churches, mosques, monasteries, etc.) in the countryside. In various ways and by different means they exercised on the peasant masses powerful psychological pressure which, in the everyday life of the peasant, was reflected in all kinds of practices, rules and material obligations. In many rural regions of the country there were more clergymen than teachers. The young generation today is educated in kindergartens and schools. The influence of religion has been wiped out altogether in the more emancipated strata and greatly weakened in the other strata of the peasant population. Today churches and mosques have been replaced by houses and hearths of cul-

ture, schools, museums, sports fields, etc.

Thus, for example, in 1982 in 2,554 villages of the PSRA there were:

Kind of institution	Number
Kindergartens	2,174
Upbringers	2,310
Eight-year schools	1,400
Pupils	379,700
Teachers	18,566
Houses and hearths of culture	2,095

Many other factors which operate everywhere in everyday life exercise a powerful influence on the ideological formation of the peasant: the general atmosphere in the social and cultural life of the nation, the frequent contacts with the working class and the city, the modern means of communication like the radio, the television, the film, etc.

In the past the peasants met before the church or the mosque or around a centuries-old tree to see each other and talk about the newest events. Whereas today there is always a small lively crowd in the house or hearth of culture, in the club or some small garden. Here the peasants talk about their everyday work, the results of this or that brigade, the latest film or the recent matches of the national football championship, as well as many other events of a local, national or international interest. The rural society today does not live shut up in itself, within the bounds of the village or a narrow area. The peasants go frequently to the city, the neighbouring regions, and so get acquainted with the customs of others, make friends with the city-dwellers and often take part in their weddings and other family ceremonies.

Life in the village is active and optimistic, it has its everyday joys and problems, but above all predominates the feeling of security for the present and of confidence in a better future.

UNEMPLOYMENT - AN INCURABLE ULCER OF THE CAPITALIST ORDER

by **AHMET MANÇELLARI**

Only in socialism the economic and social obstacles to combining the labour force with the means of production is cleared away, the ulcer of unemployment is eliminated. Social ownership, planned development of production at ceaselessly growing rates, create the possibilities for drawing the whole active work force of the population into production

THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS IDEOLOGISTS CANNOT DENY THE EXISTENCE OF THE ULCER OF UNEMPLOYMENT, BUT, AS ALWAYS, THEY TRY TO EXCULPATE CAPITAL FROM ANY RESPONSIBILITY, EXPLAINING UNEMPLOYMENT WITH IRRELEVANT REASONS, ASCRIBING IT TO TECHNOLOGICAL, STRUCTURAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND OTHER REASONS, ON THE ONE HAND, WHILE, ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY STRIVE TO CONVINCING THE WORKING CLASS THAT THIS SITUATION MUST BE ACCEPTED ALLEGEDLY FOR THE SAKE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION, WHICH IN FACT ARE THE INTERESTS OF CAPITAL. IN BOTH CASES, THEIR AIM IS QUITE CLEAR: TO DECEIVE THE WORKING CLASS, TO PLACATE ITS SPIRIT OF REVOLT AND TO ENSURE INCREASED PROFITS FOR THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE GRAVE SITUATION OF CRISIS, BY SADDLING THE WORKING MASSES WITH THE WEIGHT OF THE CRISIS.

In the bourgeois literature on this problem there are efforts to explain the high unemployment level with the influence of deflationist measures which the bourgeois governments have been forced to take in their efforts to curb and lower inflation levels. Whereas inflation, in turn, is explained as a result of the measures adopted to keep down unemployment, or with other non-existent external causes such as monetary and circulation sphere, thus falling into a vicious circle.

AHMET MANÇELLARI — economist

In fact, both high inflation and massive and chronic unemployment, which go hand in hand, have their roots in the capitalist mode of production, they are the result of the present developments in the general crisis of capitalism.

The consequences of inflation, which cause the real devaluation of paper currency and, consequently, price rises, directly affect the working class and the other masses of working people. The bourgeoisie applies repressive measures, uses «theoretical» arguments

that «pay increases produce price rises», i.e., what the working class stand to gain from pay increases is lost from price rises, with the aim of opposing the struggle of the working class for pay increases as a means to balance price rises to some extent. In this way, the working class is considered as the source of the evil. Karl Marx, in his work *Capital*, proved with argument that pay increase in no way affects the value of goods, and consequently, their price. Pay increases affect only the profit of the capitalists, or at least its increase. In the conditions of growing inflation, the demand for pay increase is just a demand to slightly weaken the impact of the real fall in the standard of living.

The bourgeoisie has up its sleeve another «theoretical» slogan, namely, that the pay increase for one man means the loss of the job to another man, with which it opposes the struggle of the working class for pay increase. This, too, is an old wornout bourgeois view, the vulgar and apolo-

getic character of which was exposed long ago by Marx. According to this view, if the number of occupied workers goes up, their pay will necessarily fall, and vice-versa, if pay goes up the number of occupied workers will fall, unemployment will grow. Marx produced argument to prove that the fund of jobs or «fund of wages» is nothing other than variable capital, which has its source in the work of the labourer and is equivalent to the part of the new values created in the process of capitalist production. The limits of this part, i.e., of variable capital, overlap the limits of profit. Therefore, it is clear why the bourgeoisie is interested not only in keeping the wages fund unchanged, but also in cutting it down, because this would bring a direct increase in its profit.

Capital knows no bounds to its cynicism. While the grave burden of the crisis is smothering the working class and other working masses, the bourgeoisie, in the role of the spokesman for the «interests of the nation», launches appeals for more privatisations so as to ensure the «revival of the economy», the «strengthening of its competitiveness», the «extension of production» and the «increase of jobs». What is the logic of the bourgeoisie? According to its logic, it is the high wages which have brought about the increased cost of production, lowered the competitiveness of different firms, especially West-European ones, in the internal and world markets, thus causing the increase of stocks of unsold goods and narrowing of production. That there is today a great aggravation of the economic crisis of overproduction and a further worsening of the problems of markets in the capitalist and revisionist world, this is beyond doubt. But the cause of these phenomena is not to be ascribed to «high wages».

In what consists the call which the bourgeoisie addresses to the working class in these conditions? The working class not only should not demand higher wages, but should accept a cut-down, because in this manner competitiveness is supposed to increase, profits to go up, investments and production to extend, work places to

increase, hence, both the crisis and unemployment are liquidated.

After deleting all the demagogic rubbish, what remains of this logic of capital is reduced only to one phrase: increase of profits. The clamour about restoring the economy is nothing but a frame — up for a further increase of profits.

According to official data, last year there were 34.8 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries. In fact, experts estimate that, if the unemployed who do not figure in the lists of work offices are added, the total reaches to over 50 million. Meanwhile, only in Western Europe the official unemployment record was 19 million. High unemployment levels are seen in the developing countries, in which last year estimates put it at about 300 million unemployed (*The Economist*, no. 30, 1984, p. 19). The ill of unemployment is a serious and threatening ulcer in the revisionist countries, too, although official statistics manipulate the figures in order to cover up this reality.

The population groups affected by unemployment, as the Western press admits, consist of the youth, the old, women and immigrants. Unemployment figures among the youth are much higher than the average unemployment level. And the social order which cannot create jobs for the younger generation is bound to close its own perspective of development, and fails to justify its own historical existence.

One of the theories in widest circulation, with which the bourgeoisie tries to cover up the ugly phenomenon of unemployment, has been and is Malthusianism, both in its original colours and in new, modern colours. In the views of Malthusians and neo-Malthusians, unemployment is explained with the laws of nature, with demographic reasons, with the rapid population growth in comparison with the increase of material blessings. In order to refute this point of view, Marx, among other things, mentioned also the very significant fact that the population of Ireland from 1841 to 1866 fell to 5.5 million mainly because of emigration and the great famine of 1846, which caused the death of more than one million people. Nevertheless, Marx

pointed out, the relative overpopulation remained as great as prior to 1846, wages remained just as low, whereas work became heavier.

History provides countless examples. Thus, for instance, in 1981 the population of West Germany fell by 100 thousand people and in the period 1980 to 1983 the active population engaged in the economy fell by about one million. Meanwhile, the level of unemployment went up by 6 per cent in 1980 and by 10.1 per cent in 1983.

In the Western and revisionist literature, there is frequent use of such terms as «structural unemployment», «technological unemployment», etc. The aim of those who use these terms is to allegedly determine the causes of unemployment — structural and technological causes, but in fact to cover up the true economic and social causes which stem from the very essence of the capitalist order. At the end of the 70's there was a trend to a transition to the so-called structural reorganization of the economy, which resulted in massive lay-offs of workers in the «structurally unhealthy» branches of the economy, which were affected by the energy crisis, as well as large-scale removal of branches of production which require great numbers of work force from the metropolises to the «developing» countries in which labour is cheaper and the struggle for pay increase, etc., is weaker. Such structural changes, which cannot be included in that category of measures which stem from merely technical and organizational causes, but are the product of the relations of production, the exacerbation of contradictions within imperialism, are offered as the reasons for the loss of 20-30 per cent of the jobs.

The development of the technological-scientific revolution, today, as regards the sphere of production, is connected with the application of automated systems based on microelectronics. The army of industrial robots used in the capitalist industrial world has gradually extended. The result of this, however, is the increase of unemployment toll. Potentially, the robots, just as machinery in general, are means in the hands of man to raise the degree of his domination and efficiency of operation on the

nature, in order to facilitate his work and enrich his life, whereas when they are used in the capitalist manner, they became auxiliary means in the hands of the capitalists in order to subjugate, exploit and further impoverish the labour force, to increase the psychological load on workers and to deprive work of its creative and intellectual aspects. It is not the machinery, technique and the new technology but their capitalist use, which are to blame for the unemployment and miserable plight of the working class.

Economists and politicians in different capitalist countries suggest that their governments must adopt measures to increase the competitiveness of the economy, to increase state subventions in order to maintain and increase the number of jobs available, they demand that real pay should be cut down in order to create the possibility for a greater work force to be drawn into production (but in fact, for the sake of profits for the monopolies); there are some who raise their voice against unemployment, assistance schemes, especially long-term ones; some others propose a shorter working week, or reduction of the pensionable age, etc. However, even the bourgeoisie itself and its ideologists are sceptical about the effect of these measures.

There is another set of people who

call for new stands, for adapting the offer of the labour power to the limited offer of jobs. These start from the premise that the present-day society should focus its attention not merely on unemployment, but on «ensuring the well-being» of the masses, including the army of the unemployed. According to them, this would require the increase of funds for the unemployed. In the capitalist countries there is the practice of the so-called compensation for unemployment, but these funds, which are secured through the intensified exploitation of the working people, are not directed to the improvement of their well-being, they are only hand-cuts given to the unemployed in order to meet some basic needs, and cover only a small part of the cost of living of the worker and his family. These funds are used in order to placate the anger of the working class, to stem the hatred and avoid its revolt, the revolution. Nevertheless, the economists and statesmen of the bourgeois countries protest against these funds and propose measures to cut on them, on the social securities and social funds, in general. The general trend in these countries is towards reduction of social funds.

The parasitic life of the bourgeoisie and massive unemployment are two expressions of the advance of capital

towards its final doom. A reflection of this rotted situation is also the profusion of different views and theories concocted by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and the measures which the bourgeoisie proposes and adopts allegedly for the liquidation or reduction of unemployment.

Unemployment is growing. And while it grows it has caused the struggle of the proletariat against this ulcer of the capitalist society to grow, too. In the struggle between the working class and capital, the anti-worker demagogy and policy of capitalism as well as the opportunism of the social-democracy, revisionism and the trade-unions led by them, and their sabotage in the service of capital, are exposed.

Only in socialism the economic and social obstacles to combining the labour force with the means of production is cleared away, the ulcer of unemployment is eliminated. Social ownership, planned development of production at ceaselessly growing rates, create the possibilities for drawing the whole active work force of the population into production. An example of the superiority of the socialist order in this direction is today's reality of socialist Albania, where all the new work force is included in the social production, and where the productivity of labour increases continuously, from one year to another.

THE SOCIALIST ORDER — THE MOST PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ORDER

THE STATIONING OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND TROOPS IN THE TERRITORY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA IS PROHIBITED

Our Party has nipped in the bud every effort of the imperialists and modern revisionists to establish military bases in our territory or to have support-points for their troops and naval fleets. A resolute refusal was given from the beginning of our country's existence both to the Anglo-American imperialists, the Titoites, and later to the Soviet revisionists when their foreign policy assumed the blatant features of a hegemonistic policy with aims at hatching up plots for the division of our country, for the invasion of the seaport of Vlora and for establishing a savage blockade against new socialist Albania. When this policy of the Soviet Union showed, both in theory and in practice, chauvinist tendencies and the Soviet jackboot trampled the soil of Czechoslovakia under the Brezhnevian slogan of «limited sovereignty», our country denounced the Warsaw Treaty as instrument of aggression and oppression in the hands of the Soviet social-colonialists, and finally, withdrew from this organization, revealing its firm intention that, as always, the chauvinist cliques would not find in the Albanian soil a terrain for concessions, for military bases, and other facilities.

This determination, this strength of socialist Albania, relies neither on the size of the territory nor on the number of its population. It is the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party

of Labour, successfully implemented in the whole of the socio-economic life of the country, which has built our confidence that we should build the defence of the Homeland relying only on our own forces, on all the armed people who are militarily trained, and on no other factor. Therefore, article 91 of the Constitution of our country which says, «The stationing of foreign military bases and troops in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited», embodies not only an irrefutable historical reality, but also the great truth that our socialist order has ensured the complete, all-round political, economic and military independence for our country.

Meanwhile, the policy of making concessions to and going under the umbrella of the great powers, especially, the USA and the Soviet Union, which many countries pursue, has led to an uncontrollable increase of the military presence of the superpowers there. In the year 1983, for example, more than 100 military exercises with the participation of one million soldiers of different arms, were organized in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. And this number represents only half of all the military exercises organized in the European continent. Foreign naval fleets, mainly American and Soviet, have about 100 warships of different denominations in the zone of the Mediterranean. In many

countries of this region today there are 26 military bases with 560 nuclear missiles launching sites. Only the American 6th Fleet, which is permanent in the Mediterranean since 1946, numbers 50 warships with a crew of 25 thousand and about 200 aircraft. Besides this fleet, the American imperialists have deployed 30 divisions with 8 thousand tanks and 650 aircraft, and have stations in 200 different bases in the region of the Mediterranean. The Soviet social-imperialists have in the Mediterranean a naval fleet complete with 50 warships and a standing effective of 20 thousand, and have created a special naval command for this zone. The ships of the Soviet naval fleet here often visit different points of the coastal countries from which they get great facilities for repairs, supplies, etc., according to bilateral agreements with these countries. But «both of these fleets,» as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book «Reflections on the Middle East», «are readily baptized by the imperialist and revisionist governments as 'Fleets of peace', 'for the defence and security of the peoples', etc., etc. We may affirm, without the slightest doubt of being mistaken, that these fleets, on the contrary, sow the seeds of war, threaten the free and sovereign peoples and carry out the gun-boat policy for the suppression of peoples' freedom, for the division of the spheres of influence, for the division of the booty which results after every plot they hatch up to the detriment of the other peoples.»

The American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, by creating hotbeds of war in the Mediterranean countries, have always wanted to interfere with their troops and warships in order to capture new positions.

Our Party has constantly pointed out strongly that refusal to allow foreign military bases and troops, refusal to give facilities to their fleets, is in the interest of the country which refuses to make concessions, as well as in the interest of the other countries, in the interest of the peoples who want to live in good neighbour relations with all the other peoples. Our country has become an important factor of peace in the Balkans and in the zone of the Mediterranean, demonstrating that real peace is not

achieved under the umbrella of the superpowers and other imperialists, is not guaranteed at the table of negotiations and fruitless talks about creating zones free of nuclear weapons or about disarmament. Real peace is achieved when the peoples throw out the foreign bases and fleets, when their countries back out the aggressive pacts and when they themselves become masters of national sovereignty and independence of their countries, when they refuse to submit to any hegemonic dictate or pressure.

we still do not produce ourselves. However, this concerns only a small part of the material sources of the extended socialist reproduction. Implementing the principles of safeguarding our sovereignty and independence, of equality and mutual advantage in our exchanges in the international market, we, at the same time, follow attentively any change in the structure of this market, in order to be able to cope with any negative consequence of this market to our economy. A special role in this is played by the state monopoly of foreign trade.

The consequences of fluctuations in the international market to our economy cannot lead to the emergence of such phenomena as economic crises, unemployment and other ills typical of the capitalist world. They cannot change the nature of our socialist economy, its planned and proportional development, which has created the possibility not only to set up a many-branched and independent economy, but also for our country to compete on the international markets with such products that are favourably met. In this manner, our efforts are directed towards increasing those exports which secure greater income in hard currency. This has been achieved not only by increasing quantity of exports, but also by improving their quality, some of which are in great demand on the world markets. The increase of exports is realized through revaluation of our assets, going over from the stage of the export of primary materials to the stage of the export of finished products.

In socialist Albania exports and imports are balanced. With the hard currency income from exports, we purchase, through our imports, the same amount of goods, in hard currency. In order to avoid the negative consequences of fluctuations in the international market to our economy, efforts are made to reduce imports or importing, in the first place, of those goods which we still are not in a position to produce locally. Of decisive importance in all this is the thrifty use of import goods, the application of advanced technologies, the rigorous observation of technical and scientific discipline in their use, etc. Experience shows that achievements

HOW DOES OUR ECONOMY COPE WITH THE CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET

Wherever friends and well-wishers of our country visit our country and are confronted with our reality, they ask the question: How is it possible that in the grave situation of crisis in the world, when the international market shows great fluctuations, the economy of socialist Albania maintains its stability?

Thanks to the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania the economy of socialist Albania develops always in such a manner that, despite the trade relations with many countries of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world, it is never transformed into an appendage to the world capitalist economy, and, at the same time, maintains stable and relatively high rates of growth. With the implementation of this policy most of the needs for the extended socialist reproduction are fulfilled by internal material means. We mention only the material needs because the financial and work sources are completely supplied locally, with the internal forces of the country. Our country receives no credits and aid from outside.

The implementation of this policy is aimed, in the first place, at ensuring the exploitation, in depth and extent, of all our primary materials, the gradual increase of their value by processing them at home, creating

a close-cycle industry, as is the case with the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, etc. Steps forward have been made also in the local production of different types of machines.

By marching on this road, the country supplies almost all, or at least its overwhelming part of, the needs for extended reproduction with electricity sources such as oil, electric power, coal, mineral primary materials such as iron-nickel, copper, chromium, with agricultural primary materials such as bread grain, sugar-beet, tobacco, etc. In this manner, by fulfilling the local needs for important primary materials such as oil, electric power, bread grain, etc., the objective conditions have been created for Albania to ensure its independence from the international market, its fluctuations of prices and instability of supplies of these materials, etc. The various branches of the economy have developed relying entirely, or partly, on most of our sources of primary materials.

In spite of these achievements, this does not mean that our country's economy has developed in an autarchic manner, producing as much as is consumed internally. On the contrary, in order to cope with the needs of the extended socialist reproduction we exchange in the international market export goods for those goods which

of economic independence, along with political independence, is one of the unshakeable pillars on which our so-

cialist Homeland relies strongly in face of any crisis and fluctuation of the capitalist and revisionist markets.

THE STABILITY OF OUR ECONOMY HAS ITS SOURCE IN ITS LAWS AND THEIR CONSISTENT APPLICATION

The terms «stability» and «instability» have become household words in our time. They express in a nutshell the radical distinction which exists between the two different socio-economic systems: the socialist system, on the one hand, and the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist system, on the other.

Time is the most fair, impartial and strict judge which dispenses justice and decides on economic and social matters. And 40 years is not a short period to convince one that the time of the construction of socialism in Albania is the time of the forward march of our economy, of its development at rapid rates, without interruption and without zig-zags, without crises and unemployment, without inflation and price rises, and without many other ills which characterize the capitalist system of the economy. The opposite cannot occur in a genuine socialist country when it develops according to the socialist laws of development, according to a single general plan and is directed from a single centre such as our socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To claim that our economy has had a plain sailing course, without difficulties and obstacles, is neither correct nor true. In these years of the socialist construction of the country, our economy has had to cope with obstacles and difficulties inherited from the past, especially, with those which the enemies of the people and socialism have created, or those due to the anti-Albanian activity of the revisionists of all hues and stamps, and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, throughout the

whole period of the socialist construction our social production has increased over 20 fold in comparison with the period before Liberation, national income created internally has increased over 13 fold, whereas in the state sector only about 600 thousand new jobs have been opened. Such high rates of economic development within such a short space as those which have been achieved in our country, are not experienced in any capitalist or revisionist country. They speak of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, of the correctness of the line which our Party pursues for the construction of socialism.

The stability of the development of our socialist economy assumes a special significance, especially, when it is confronted with the instability of the capitalist economy, which for more than ten years has all the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries in its grip. The economy of these countries today is experiencing one of the hardest periods they have ever had. All the governments, political parties, trade-unions, capitalists, working people, peasants and others in these countries have adopted the terms «crisis», «inflation», «price rises», old debts that must be paid or new ones that must be received, etc., etc., each according to his own class interests and class views. Each of these terms represents a thread in the Gordian knot, that inextricable noose which is growing ever tighter on the economy and the superstructure of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist society. «In this period of grave crises which have the capitalist and revisionist world in their grip, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic sta-

bility, are proof of the superiority of socialism, the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that small socialist Albania, beset by a great sea of political, economic, financial and other difficulties, is in a position to cope with any obstacle and advance non-stop, is a source of legitimate pride for all of us,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The stability of our economic development is not static but dynamic. The parametres of social production in Albania increase from one year to another, from one five-year plan to another. This stability is not something reached by accident, is not explained either with the size of the territory of the country and number of its population, or with the low level of our economy at the starting-point and the still low level as regards its complexity, as some bourgeois and revisionist author tries to prove in vain. The stability of our economy has only one explanation: it is the inherent quality of the socialist system of the economy, of its laws and rules of the economic policy which is based on these laws and rules and which our Party has always pursued with continuity; it is the result of the creative thinking of the masses and their selfless work, who have assimilated the line of the Party and put it into practice with loyalty.

The most thorough understanding of the requirements and demands of the economic laws of socialism and their conscious application by the working masses have created the guarantee for our plans of economic development to be scientific and realistic, creative and mobilizing, directly serving the ceaseless development of the economy and culture at high rates, on the road of socialism, to serve the raising of well-being of the working masses and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country. However, the Party has continuously demanded that the superiorities which our social order creates about understanding and consciously applying the economic laws should be used most thoroughly for drafting and executing the plans of the economic and cultural development of our country.

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BLUSTER AND DEMAGOGY CANNOT HIDE THE TRUTH

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

In the speech which comrade Ramiz Alia delivered on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation, he declared: «We have stated sincerely and with complete conviction that the correct settlement of the problems which are worrying the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, equal rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, respect for their culture, historical traditions and national language, would help to strengthen the coexistence of the peoples of the Yugoslav Federation and its stability and cohesion. At the same time this would also greatly assist in the creation of a favourable atmosphere for closer relations and collaboration between our two countries».

Recently Dobrivoje Vidić, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, published an article in the Belgrade paper *Politika* about the international relations of this country. He devoted a good part of his article to the position of

Albanians in Yugoslavia. In this context he also touched on the stand of Albania towards Kosova, which, it must be said at the outset, he distorted from start to finish.

Vidić tries to create an idealist image about the situation in Kosova with the aim of hiding from international public opinion the Great-Serb chauvinist terror which has burst upon the Albanians, the campaign for the restriction of the autonomy of Kosova, and the psychological terror which is being exerted against them with great intensity in recent times.

In this article, too, Vidić, like the other Yugoslav leaders, continues to harp on the old refrain that they are in no way to blame for the situation in Kosova, that the responsibility for it falls on Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha who have allegedly meddled in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, that they have allegedly incited irredentism or have indoctrinated the youth of Kosova with nationalism and other absurd claims.

The Yugoslav adopts the pose that he desires improvement in Albanian-Yugoslav relations. However, this is simply propaganda calculated for external consumption, be-

cause the concrete Yugoslav actions go in the opposite direction.

Vidić is not the first to speak in this way. From the time that the events in Kosova erupted in the Spring of 1981 to this day, all the Yugoslav leaders have acted in the same way. They leave no words or means unused to convince people that the sole culprit for the events in Kosova and the existing state of Albanian-Yugoslav relations is the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. But the historical facts, the reality, and the truth cannot be altered with words, with abuse, or with concocted tales.

The tragic events in Kosova and the grave situation which followed those events are a result of the continuing national oppression and the denial of the democratic rights for the Albanians, of keeping them in a state of economic underdevelopment, of the failure to respect their historical decisions and national culture and of placing them in the position of second-class citizens. The present Kosovar movement in defence of national and democratic rights is a broad popular movement which has emerged and developed in Yugoslav territory. Social movements such as that of Ko-

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sova cannot be imported.

We don't know whom Vidić is trying to convince when he says in his article that «the Albanian nationality is completely free and participates in the construction and application of the foreign and internal policy of the FSR of Yugoslavia, and that the relations between all the nations and nationalities are equal.» Perhaps himself, but not the Albanians of Kosova and other parts who judge their «equality» from what the reality shows and not from the words of those who want to hide the truth.

What sort of equality is it when an Albanian, who expresses the opinion that it would be better for Kosova to be declared a republic of the Yugoslav Federation, is sentenced to 15 years in prison, while when a Serb in the top forums of the Party or the state demands insistently that the economy of Kosova should be completely annulled, he is considered to have performed a great deed worthy of the highest praise?

Who can understand why the local language is used in the administrations, economic enterprises and state institutions in Slovenia or Macedonia, while the district court of Mitrovica in Kosova sentenced the engineer Nazmir Peci to 5 years imprisonment because, as the local press writes, he had asked that in the Stari Tergu, where

the majority are Albanian, the Albanian language, too, could be used in speaking and writing.

What equality is it when the Serbian women are encouraged to have as many children as possible, while pressure is exerted on Albanian women to use birth control? Can only the former give birth to valuable citizens?

What sort of equality is it when it is demanded that the teaching of the history of the Albanian people at the University of Kosova «should be eliminated completely from the curriculum, because the history of the Albanian people is harmful to coexistence in Yugoslavia, because it causes euphoria», while the students there must learn the history of all the Serbian kings and princes?

Can it be considered anything but chauvinist madness when Albanians are denied the right to know the history of Skanderbeg, Abdyl Frashëri and Bajram Curri and the literary work of Kristoforidhi, Mjeda, Çajupi and Noli under the pretext that they are allegedly romantics and incite irredentism?

A Kosovar sends a telegram of condolences over the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha to Albania and he goes to jail, or he records a folk song from Radio Tirana and the chauvinists descend upon him to tear him to pieces. Is this not evidence of a special

policy of restriction and discrimination against the Albanian nationality?

Hence, it is in vain for Dobrivoje Vidić to describe the deplorable situation in Kosova as idyllic and to present the national oppression and denial of the democratic rights of Albanians as freedom and equality between nations.

In his article Vidić considers it as something inappropriate that «even after the death of Enver Hoxha his collaborators continue to publish new volumes of his memoirs» which deal with problems of Albanian-Yugoslav relations in the past. This is a normal Titoite diversion. In regard to Albania the Yugoslav leaders have always lived with illusions, but their dreams and hopes of forcing Albania to its knees and turning it from its correct course have always failed. Apparently Vidić, too, is living with such plans and dreams.

The history of relations between our two countries is the history of Yugoslav interference in the internal affairs of Albania and their efforts to subjugate and rule it. Comrade Enver Hoxha has described and documented this history, the struggle of the Albanian people, with their Party at the head, to cope with and overcome the anti-Albanian intrigues and plots, and the bankruptcy of Yugoslav agents from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu.

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The teachings of Enver Hoxha are the teachings of history, the line determined and formulated by him is the line of the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the construction of socialism and the guarantee of the future. The Party of Labour of Albania, its leadership and our entire people will always remain loyal to it, convinced that the implementation of this line will always ensure blessings and victories. No insinuations, no blandishments, no pressures whether they come from Yugoslavia or any other country can divert them from the road of Enver Hoxha.

In regard to Kosova the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and Enver Hoxha has always been consistent and principled, a stand inspired by justice and the truth, by wise judgement and the courage to openly and unhesitatingly denounce the Great-Serb chauvinist line and the anti-Albanian acts of the Yugoslav leaders. For this Comrade Enver Hoxha will always be loved, respected and honoured by all Albanians.

The policy which the Yugoslav leadership has pursued in Kosova has been a policy of provocations, not only towards the Albanians of Yugoslavia, but also towards our country, towards the whole Albanian nation and peace and security in the Balkans. It is precisely the anti-Albanian chauvinist policy which

is pursued by the Yugoslav leadership which creates the possibility of exploiting events in Kosova for «the destabilization of the peaceful conditions in the Balkans». The Party of Labour of Albania has never fallen for the Yugoslav provocations. It has always maintained a correct, just, principled stand, while respecting the interests of the conflicting parties in Kosova and of collaboration and good neighbourliness between our countries and peoples of the Balkan Peninsula.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.» This judgement remains permanently valid and constructive. We adhere to it completely.

In his article Vidić poses as desiring the radical improvement of Albanian-Yugoslav relations, and moreover, even suggests what he calls a proven way to achieve this. «If those in Tirana truly proceed from the interests of the Albanian nationality and this would be a natural and desirable thing,» he says, «then, it would be very good if they were to take measures for the complete normalization of

Yugoslav-Albanian relations, to enable us to gradually open the Albanian-Yugoslav border at least to that extent that exists today between the FSRY and Italy or Austria,» and so on.

We do not know how the Yugoslavs act in regard to crossing the borders with Italy and Austria, but we know very well that the Yugoslav authorities have closed the border with Albania. Since April 1981, no Albanian writer, no singer, no scientist or no member of an orchestra has crossed the Yugoslav border. No Albanian book, gramophone record, painting or film has crossed it. To the official and private invitations which have been sent on various occasions to people of art, culture, science, etc., to visit Albania, the Yugoslavs give no reply, not even a formal refusal. Moreover, the Yugoslav authorities banned our participation in the folklore festival of Ohër which is only two steps from Pogradec and in which Albanian folklore groups have taken part continually.

Even in regard to those mainly elderly people who have asked permission to visit their relations in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav authorities maintain a very restrictive and completely unjustified stand. For example, of the 682 visas sought by our citizens during 1984 and the first six months of this year only 167 have been granted. The Yugoslav citizens who have been given

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passports to come to Albania, amount to a similar figure.

An anti-Albanian psychosis which is very close to racism is being created in Yugoslavia. The things which are said in the Serbian councils, for example, in the recent meeting of the Socialist League of Serbia, or the League of Writers of that republic, about the Albanians and their culture are very like what was said in meetings in München in the 30's when escape from the evils was sought in violence against Jews and other foreigners. When one hears how the shops of Albanians in Belgrade, Kragujevac, Niš, and other towns of Serbia are smashed and burnt, how public meetings are exhorted not to buy bread from the Albanian bakers and not to eat meals in their restaurants, one cannot but recall the pogroms we saw during the Second World War.

In these conditions what kind of opening of Yugoslav-Albanian border is Vidić talking about? He is bluffing when he demands such a thing, because he knows very well that those who are in command and ruling in Belgrade are not for, do not want and will not tolerate human and cultural contacts between Albanians on this or that side of the border.

What other atrocities are being hatched up against the Albanians, what other crimes against them are being considered by those who com-

mitted the ugly anti-Albanian provocation of Martinović in Djilan, those who want a state of emergency declared in Kosova and the establishment of martial law?

Vidić says nothing about these things, but he cannot get over them. Before there can be any «opening of the borders» an atmosphere of genuine friendship and good neighbourliness, sincere collaboration and mutual respect must be created. But this atmosphere cannot be created by abusing Albania or by oppressing and persecuting the Albanians.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and is for extensive contacts with the Albanians of Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia and with the other republics of Yugoslavia, because it is not afraid that it might be indoctrinated and has no intention of indoctrinating anyone else. It has sought the re-establishment of the contacts which it had previously with the autonomous province of Kosova, with the republics of Macedonia and Montenegro and the extension of those contacts and the signing of the cultural agreement on the basis of conditions acceptable to both sides. But, up to date the Albanian initiatives have run up against a wall of silence.

In our relations with Yugoslavia we have proceeded from the idea that irrespect-

concilable ideological and political contradictions, the possibilities exist to find ways which lead to the normalization of relations between the two countries. But to achieve this the desire and predisposition of only one side is not enough. Socialist Albania has not interfered and does not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and has done nothing which would affect or damage its stability, sovereignty or territorial integrity. It is up to the peoples of Yugoslavia to settle its internal problems, be they economic, political, national or what have you. Socialist Albania has adhered to this stand and these principles in regard to Kosova, too. In the speech which Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation, he declared, «We have stated sincerely and with complete conviction that the correct settlement of the problems which are worrying the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, equal rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, respect for their culture, historical traditions and national language, would help to strengthen the coexistence of the peoples of the Yugoslav Federation and its stability and cohesion. At the same time this would also greatly assist in the creation of a favourable atmosphere for closer relations and collaboration between our two countries.»

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review****BLOODSHED AIMED AT BURYING THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

World opinion is following with consternation the tragic events in the Palestinian camps of Sabra, Shatila and Burj-el-Burjinah near Beirut. Streets, buildings and shelters in these camps have been turned into ruins filled with corpses of Palestinian children, women and men barbarously massacred. The number of the killed is said to have reached 500 and that of the wounded about 3,000, but it may be greater still, for one cannot find out the exact number of the victims as access to the camps has become almost impossible. Heaps of 50 or 60 corpses have been found in shelters or lying about under the ruins of houses. These hair-raising and revolting scenes, with terrified children running about under hail of bullets in search of their killed parents, or stunned women passing from one corpse to another to see if they can find their dear ones among them, are difficult to describe.

What is happening in the Palestinian camps of Beirut is a blow intended to put an end to the heroic struggle of the martyred Palestinian people, to defeat their just cause and dash all their hopes of returning to the homeland they have been dispossessed of. Why are the Palestinians

again under attack? It is by no means an accident that attacks, massacres, intrigues and plots are organized by the imperialist powers and Arab reaction, first of all, against the Palestinians. The Palestinian people have always stood in the forefront of the struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli zionists, the imperialists and social-imperialists. More than any other people in the region, making light of innumerable sacrifices for tens of years on end, they are waging a heroic fight in extremely difficult conditions so as to be able to return to the homeland they have been dispossessed of by the Israelis, to regain the right to live free and independent on their soil, just as all the other peoples.

Precisely at these extremely difficult moments for the Palestinian people, after inciting the genocide of the Palestinians, American imperialism comes out with the «Hüsein card» in Reagan's game to bury the Palestinian question. The provoking of the Palestinian bloodshed with the simultaneous reactivation of King Hüsein of Jordan is by no means a casual coincidence. While at these moments Israel seems as though it is concerned only about the problems of «ensuring its bor-

ders» and has no direct connection with the tragedy in the camps of Beirut, Jordan reveals the role Washington has assigned it for the burying of the Palestinian question. Imperialism and zionism seek to put the Palestinians before such an alternative as to be forced to accept their inclusion in the Jordanian-Palestinian confederation (under King Hüsein's rule), or to face the complete extermination of their people. The genocide of the Palestinians has already begun in the refugee camps of Beirut. Hüsein expressed this openly in Washington and London, when he called Reagan's plan for a confederation very important and its implementation very urgent. In this manner Hüsein gives himself the right to represent the Palestinian people and to strike bargains to the detriment of the Palestinian interests in direct talks with Israel. This constitutes the final step in the implementation of Reagan's «peace» plan for the Middle East. For its part, the Soviet Union is not against the blow dealt at the Palestinians, as is seen from its proposal for an international conference on the Middle East, with its participation. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out in his book *Re-*

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flections on the Middle East, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are «interested in the exacerbation of the situation in this region of the world and the breaking of the resistance of the Palestinian people».

At these difficult moments for the Palestinian people the

Albanian people stand by them, just as they have done in the past. They will support with all their forces, on the international arena, the struggle of the heroic and unconquerable Palestinian people to regain their homeland, to realize their lofty national aspirations. The Albanian peo-

ple have always given all-round support to the struggle of the Palestinian people and expressed their unshakable confidence that, regardless of the grave blows, regardless of the many enemies, the cause of the Palestinians will eventually prevail.

THE «EUROPEIZATION» CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN REVISIONISTS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

A conference of the revisionist parties of the countries of Western Europe held its proceedings in the French capital recently. As occurs always at the international meetings of revisionists, the pretension was great indeed: they thought they would find «the way for the European working class to overcome the present crisis of capitalism». Even without the holding of this conference, knowing the line, stands, programs and tactics of each revisionist party, it is clear what the West-European revisionists are after in the present political and social situation on our continent. It is evident that the conference of the European revisionist parties is closely linked with the interests of European big monopoly capital, to which the conference gave fresh proof of alle-

giance. Faced with the deepening of the economic crisis of capitalism and the exacerbation of social and class contradictions in the capitalist countries, in which the indignation and protest of the masses is assuming ever broader proportions, as proved by the one-year long strike of the English coal miners, the West-European bourgeoisie is extremely interested in the strengthening of the opportunist and reformist line and stands in the European worker movement. The revisionist parties are among the most zealous representatives of this opportunism and reformism which, as is known, has raised and continues to raise great obstacles to the present revolutionary movement in Europe. Analysing the character of the political and ideological line of the European

revisionist parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The attempts of the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries and all the modern revisionists at the implementation of a so-called policy of 'joint action', a policy of the left or a democratic program are an open betrayal of the struggle of the working class, of its vital interests and the proletarian revolution, and an aid to capital to prolong its existence through the putting down of the class struggle.»

At the Paris conference of the revisionists there was a review of the traditional reformist theses of the revisionist parties for the solution of the problems of the economic crisis, such as democratization of the existing political and economic system, expansion of the investments of the bourgeois state and

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increase of the competitive power of national industries, limitation of the power of the monopolies, collaboration with social-democracy, etc. However, what was given more place and more propaganda noise was the «Europeist spirit» of the conference. This spirit was materialized in the advertisement of those political and ideological theses and stands which have already become the favourite of European big monopoly capital and are linked with the creation of a pan-European union, the «United Europe». The Italian revisionist party came out as the champion of the Europeist spirit and one of its leaders, G. Chiaromonte, declared at the conference that «a change in Europe can be brought about only through the creation of a European union». He repeated the declarations of another leader of this party, G. Pajeta, at the parliament of «United Europe» in Strassburg: «European unity is the only means to cope with and solve the existing problems.» In this manner the European revisionists have turned themselves into political tools of European big capital. «United Europe» is the project of the European big monopolies and is intended to avert the revolution in Europe and to step up the suppression of the European workers, it is, as Lenin has it, «an agreement among the European capi-

talists for the sole purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe».

Why did the conference of the European revisionist parties raise so much clamour about the «Europeist» spirit before the working class as the only road to the solution of the problems that worry the working masses today? This is done at a time when the circles of European big capital are discussing plans for the further advancement of the capitalist political and economic integration of Europe, such as the treaty of the European political union adopted at the Strassburg parliament, but still unratified by the parliaments of the member countries. In the end of this month there will be a high-level meeting of the members of the European Common Market which will have this treaty as the main point on its agenda. In these circumstances the bourgeoisie needs to convince the proletariat and the other working masses of Europe that the «European union» must be supported and accepted by them. It is clear that all this will be achieved at the cost of the stepping up of the oppression and exploitation of the working class. Precisely because the capitalists foresee resistance on the part of the working class to this reactionary process of capitalist political and economic integration they encourage the revisio-

nist parties to advertise the recipe of «United Europe» at their international conference.

This capitalist recipe is intended to put down the European worker and revolutionary movement and, further more, to make it an accomplice of the «Europeization». The arguments the European revisionists bring forward are already known: they are based on the supposed changes that have taken place in individual countries of Western Europe and in the whole of Western Europe, which allegedly call for the union of Europe. In this way the European revisionists seek to justify their betrayal, their plunging ever deeper in the reformist and opportunist quagmire, their open hostility to the class struggle and the revolution. At a meeting with industrialists, the general secretary of the Italian revisionist party, Alessandro Natta, said: «You need not be afraid of the class struggle. The class enemy is an obsolete term. Our Party is for a genuine spirit of enterprise on the basis of profit.»

With their «Europeization» the European revisionists seek to render new services to the big monopoly bourgeoisie of Western Europe. The conference of the revisionist parties did not meet «to find solutions» to the economic crisis, but to bring the working class and the other working masses to link

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themselves ever more closely with the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation. It gave fresh proof of the betrayal of the modern

revisionists and the threat they pose to the worker and revolutionary movement, to the efforts and struggle for social advance, for the re-

volutionary solution of problems for which the true Marxist-Leninist forces and parties are preparing themselves.



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