

Albania today

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◀ Comrade ENVER HOXHA at the 9th Congress of the TUA

On July 10 this year the Albanian People's Army will complete the 39th year of its existence. During this period it has grown into a strong and modern army standing always vigilant and prepared in defence of the borders of the socialist Homeland. In the photo: A unit of the navy at a theoretical exercise.



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THE 9th C OF THE TRADE UN

View of the presidium of the Congress.



CONGRESS IONS OF ALBANIA



The 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana, the Capital of the PSRA, on 6-9 June.

The delegates and the guests to the Congress stood up and exploded into fiery applause and ovations which lasted for minutes on end when the First Secretary of Central Committee of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Çarçani, comrades Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, and Qirjako Mihal, climbed the tribune of the Congress.

The heads of the foreign delegations, who had come to participate in the work of the Congress, also took their places on the tribune.

The 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania was declared open by the Hero of Socialist Labour Hysen Veizi, worker at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, who among other things said:

«All of us delegates, the working class and the working people of the entire country are greatly honoured and happy at the participation of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with the beloved leader and teacher of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, in the Congress.

«This Congress constitutes a marked event in the life of the Trade Unions of Albania. They come to this assembly with important achievements in all fields and with closed ranks, which is an expression of the unbreakable steel unity of the Party and the people. In the entire country work is going on with determination for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, for

the successful attainment of the targets of the 7th Five-year Plan, relying entirely on our own forces.»

Besides the delegates, the Congress is attended by veterans of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, Heroes of Socialist Labour and vanguard workers and outstanding cooperativists, comrades from the organs of the Party and the State, from the organizations of the masses, and others.

Also taking part in the Congress were trade-union delegations from many countries of the world:

1 — The delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Germany, headed by Thomas Schäffer;

2 — The delegation of the Peasant Confederation of Peru, headed by Melquiades Ampuero Matos;

3 — The delegation of the Assembly Workers' Association of Spain, headed by Paco Bodi;

4 — The delegation of the African Trade Union Unity Organization, headed by Thomas Bediaco;

5 — The delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Vietnam, headed by Chan Kuang Nghia;

6 — The delegation of the General Union of the Algerian Workers, headed by Ghbribli Abdelkader;

7 — The delegation of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, headed by Sabri Badr;

8 — The delegation of the Portuguese Revolutionary Trade Unionists, headed by Luis Costa;

9 — The delegation of the All-Africa Congress of Azania, headed by Jacob Dlamini;

10 — The delegation of the Metallurgists of Brazil, headed by Arnaldo Alves;

11 — The delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Canada, headed by Lewis Lang;

12 — The delegation of the Workers' Union of Tanzania, headed by Charles Totera;

13 — The delegation of the Revolu-

tionary Workers of Japan, headed by Joshikiro Fakuami;

14 — The delegation of the Workers' National Union of Mali, headed by Jusuf Marico;

15 — The delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Britain, headed by Sam Mathews;

16 — The delegation of the Trade Union Congress of Zimbabwe, headed by Anselm Chiteve;

17 — The delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Denmark, headed by Christen Nelson;

18 — The delegation of the National Commission for the Founding of the Independent Revolutionary Workers' Centre of Ecuador, headed by Jorge Viteri;

19 — The delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of France, headed by Christian Pierrel;

20 — The delegation of the Trade Union Opposition of Sweden, headed by Bjorn Oker Blum;

21 — The delegation of the National Worker Committee of the Dominican Republic, headed by Victor Martinez.

22 — The delegation of the National Workers' Confederation of Guinea, headed by Mamadou Sampil.

The directing organs of the Congress: the working presidium of 69 members and the secretariat of 13 members, were elected.

The delegates unanimously approved the agenda:

1 — Report «On the Activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania and the Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party» (by the President of the Central Council of the TUA Rita Marko);

2 — Report on the activity of the Central Audit Commission (by the Chairman of the Central Audit Commission Hasan Alimerko);

3 — Adoption of the decisions and resolutions of the Congress;

4 — Elections to the central organs of the Trade Unions of Albania.

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

Comrade Rita Marko held the report «On the Activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania and the Tasks for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party». The report was listened to attentively and frequently punctuated by enthusiastic applause for our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Lenka Çuko greeted the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The hall resounded to the thunderous applause and ovations of the delegates, who expressed once again their boundless love for the Party, the steel unity of the people around the Party and their unshakeable determination to carry further forward the magnificent victories in all fields of the socialist construction and the defence of the country.

At the second sitting, the Chairman of the Central Audit Commission of the TUA Hasan Alimerko held the report on the activity of the Commission.

Delegates from different districts and professions made their contributions to the discussion of the reports held at the Congress.

At the third sitting, the Congress held its proceedings in four sessions; industry and mining, agriculture, construction-communications-communal services, and education-culture-health-trade services, with the participation of delegates from the related sectors and guests.

In the evening of the second day the delegates to the Congress went to evening parties organized by 70 working collectives of the Capital. The foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress also attended these parties.

The fourth sitting carried on with

the discussion of the reports. The Resolution of the 9th Congress of the TUA condemning Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people was adopted unanimously.

Then the young pioneers and children entered the hall at the Congress singing the song «The Party's Flowers» and dancing. They had the most ardent words, coming from the depth of their tender hearts, for this assembly of the working class.

After the Commission for the Verification of Mandates submitted its report, the delegates continued the discussion.

Then there was read a summary of the messages of greetings addressed to the Congress by working collectives, Heroes of Socialist Labour, veteran workers, cooperativists, specialists, militarymen, border guards, pupils and students.

During the sessions the heads of the foreign delegations also greeted the Congress.

Their greetings were received with fiery applause by the delegates, thus expressing their feelings of solidarity, revolutionary friendship and proletarian internationalism.

The Congress also listened to the messages of greeting sent to the Congress from trade-union organizations, friends and well-wishers of Albania in different parts of the world. A number of telegrams were addressed to the Congress by Albanians living abroad, who expressed their longing for the Homeland and their rejoicing over the successes it has achieved and wish it new victories under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Then the Congress went over to the examination of the third item on the agenda.

The 9th Congress of the TUA endorsed the report «On the Activity of the Central Council of the TUA and the Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party», the report «On the Activity of the Central Audit

Commission of the TUA» and «On Some Amendments to the Constitution of the Trade Unions of Albania». The Congress also adopted the resolutions on the duties of the Trade Unions in the sector of industry and mining, agriculture, construction-communications-communal services, and education-culture-health-trade services for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

The last session of the Congress opened in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

The Congress Hall resounded to the slogan «Party-Enver, we are always ready». Giving the clenched fist salute on the tribune of the Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha met heroes of socialist labour and cadres of the foreign trade-union delegations. This sitting took up for examination the fourth item on the agenda. The delegates unanimously approved the General Council made of 71 members and the Central Audit Commission made of 11 members.

The results of the socialist emulation organized on the occasion of the 9th Congress of the TUA were proclaimed.

Comrade Rita Marko announced the results of the elections. The General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania elected its Presidium consisting of 21 members. Comrade Rita Marko was re-elected President of the General Council. The General Council also elected the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Industry-Mining and Electric Power Industry; the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Agriculture; the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Construction-Communications-Communal Services; the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Education-Culture-Health and Trade Services.

The closing speech of the Congress was held by Comrade Rita Marko, President of the General Council of the TUA.

The Congress closed its proceedings under the tune of the International.



*A moment
of the greeting
of the young pioneers.*



GREETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY READ BY LENKA ÇUKO

Dear comrade delegates,

The entire Albanian people today live with your Congress and attentively follow its work, because this is the Congress of the heroic working class which stands in the forefront of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, allow me to bring to you fiery revolutionary greetings and to wish good work and complete success to your Congress.

The 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania meets only a short time after the 8th Congress of the Party, which both in regard to the time it was held and the majestic program it adopted, marks an event of great importance for the whole life of the country. It will go down in the history of the Party as the Congress of the rapid development of the socialist society, relying completely on our own forces.

The historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and the brilliant perspectives it opened for the country, aroused fresh enthusiasm and optimism among our working masses. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth, the women, the entire people are working with great enthusiasm to put into practice the tasks set by the Party, to further strengthen the socialist order, to fulfil and overfulfil the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan.

You, comrade delegates, have come to the Congress of the Trade Unions with this enthusiasm, ardour and resolve which are characteristic of our working class and working people, to have your say, with weight and authority, in all the affairs of the country, to speak of the brilliant achievements, to criticize shortcomings and to exchange experience, in order to impart a fresh impulse to the socialist construction in all fields.

The Party has always highly evaluated the work of the Trade Unions, and has devoted special care for them to develop as broad organizations of the working class and other working people of our country. In its relations with the Trade Unions the Party has been guided by the teachings of great Lenin that, in the conditions of the socialist society

LENKA ÇUKO — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA.

and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is the communist party which leads and directs as the conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, whereas the trade-unions are its levers, which work and fight for the application of the line and directions of the Party.

Socialism cannot be built with the forces of the Party only, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us. It is built by the masses, whereas the Party leads them and makes them conscious. Hence the irreplaceable role of the Trade Unions and the other social organizations which link the Party with the broad working masses, educate them in its spirit and line, and mobilize them to implement the directives and orientations of the Party. Their role and responsibility grow and extend in proportion with the growth and extension of the activity of the Party, with the growth and extension of its programs.

From their founding, the Trade Unions of Albania have continuously been orientated by, sought inspiration and found their strength in the leadership of the Party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this reliable road they have grown and tempered themselves continually, becoming militant and fighting organizations of the working class, capable of carrying out ever greater undertakings.

In our socialist society, the working class and the working masses, freed from capitalist oppression and exploitation, are the masters of the country. They take part actively in the discussion and solution of the problems of socio-economic development, the drafting and application of the laws and the state plans, the organization and management of production, the development of education and culture, the strengthening of the defence, the supervision and control of the activity of the administration and management, and in the governing of the entire life of the country. This is a living and concrete expression of our socialist democracy, as genuine democracy for the broad working masses, a confirmation of the fact that the construction of socialism in Albania is the creative deed of the working class and all the working people.

It is up to the Trade Unions to continuously enhance and strengthen this decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialism, considering it a fundamental question of the communist world

RAL COMMITTEE

outlook and the revolutionary theory and practice, a question which is immediately connected with the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be more persisting in ensuring that all the norms and practices which aim at translating into life the role of the working class and the working masses, are observed to the letter, must combat everything which runs counter to the spirit and principles of socialism, to the line and the directives of the Party, by arousing the working class and the other working people against bureaucratic and liberal distortions.

In the same spirit they defend the rights of the working class sanctioned by law and envisaged in the state plans, rights which have to do with the improvement of working and living conditions, the correct application of the Labour Code and the law on state-social insurances, the measures of technical safety and security at work, the fulfilment of the socio-cultural needs, the supply, health service, etc.

In a true socialist society the interests of the working class are indivisible from those of the state, because this state expresses and protects the interests of the working people, because its entire policy and activity are intended for the welfare of the people. If the state loses its proletarian features and is transformed into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, as has occurred in the revisionist countries, fierce class conflicts are bound to emerge between the working people and the state which oppresses and exploits them. In these conditions, the working class finds other ways and means, goes on strikes and stages demonstrations, in order to defend its own interests. This, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, shows clearly that the state power there is no longer in the hands of the workers, that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism have degenerated. The trade-unions of these countries have ceased to represent the interests of the workers and have become appendages of the bureaucratic apparatus of the bourgeoisie in order to beguile the working class and keep it in a state of submission.

When Lenin argued for the role and place of the trade-unions in the conditions of socialism, he made it clear from the beginning that they are the schools of communism, militant political organizations, which, under the leadership of the party, work and

fight for the communist education of the working people. In our country has grown a new working class, educated with lofty revolutionary qualities and virtues, which has responded to the tasks of the Party in a fiery patriotic spirit. The Trade Unions also have made their great and valuable contribution in these achievements.

But in the present situations the Party expects that the Trade Unions raise the level of their educative work continuously, both in content and in form, in order to equip the working masses ever better with the communist world outlook and ideals, to make them capable professionally, to endow them with broad culture and lofty moral virtues. They must devote their care to educate the working class and the other working masses with the popular patriotism, with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, and ensure that they always remain consistent revolutionaries and staunch fighters for the cause of socialism and communism.

The Trade Unions must educate the many and loyal devoted cadres, whom the Party has trained, in the spirit of the working class, so that they bear in mind that they can direct and carry out with success the tasks entrusted with them only by linking themselves closely with and relying strongly on the masses, on their innovatory and revolutionary spirit. They must educate the cadres to be modest, honest and just, never to become self-conceited, but always learn from the people and, together with them, work and fight for the construction and defence of socialism.

The work for the implementation of the line and policy of the Party, for the carrying out in practice of its tasks in all fields, the study and mastering of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in struggle with the leftovers from the old ideologies and with the bourgeois-revisionist influences, have been and remain the most effective road for the education of the cadres and the masses.

The Trade Unions must build their work in such a manner as to get as close to the workers as possible, and establish the closest ties possible with the working people. This requires better knowledge of the frame of mind of the masses, their requirements and interests, which differ for different strata, re-

quires knowledge of the level of consciousness of the masses and the problems which worry them. With their differentiated and qualified work, as well as with tact and intelligence, the Trade Unions will further strengthen their ties with the working class and the other working people, will be better able to bring to them the word and the directives of the Party, will play the role the Party has set them as

the cost of living increases not every year but every month and every day, as a consequence of the deep economic crisis into which they have been stepped for many years now, the reality of socialist Albania which knows none of these phenomena, the perspectives the 8th Congress of the Party and the 7th Five-year Plan have opened, speak of the correctness of the line our Party has always followed,



Comrade Lenka Çuko greeting the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA

schools of the revolutionary education and mobilization of the masses.

One of the main fields of the activity of the Trade Unions has been and remains that of production, the mobilization of the working class and all the other working people for the fulfilment of the economic state plan. We have entered now into the second year of the 7th Five-year Plan, during which industry will develop on a broad front and in all its branches, socialist agriculture will reach a new level of development, socialist relations will be further improved, education, culture and sciences will advance further forward, the moral figure of the new man of our society will be raised higher.

In the conditions when in the bourgeois and revisionist countries unemployment increases from one year to the other, inflation rises continuously,

the stability of our economy, the strength and vitality of the socialist order.

This new plan is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. It will be a great test for the Party, the people and the working class. There is no doubt that this new test, like all the previous tests we have stood, will be overcome with success. This confidence we have built from the fact that the tasks of this plan are scientifically based and completely attainable, we build this confidence in the patriotism of our people, in their steel unity, their readiness and determination to cope with any difficulty in order to carry out any task.

The working class will, as always, stand at the forefront of the battles for the fulfilment of the targets of the five-year plan. Its work and efforts

will be decisive. Hence are derived the major tasks of responsibility for the Trade Unions. They are called upon to make the working class conscious that the great targets of the plan in industry and agriculture, in transport and communications, in the sectors of the services and everywhere else can be achieved with success only with strict technical-scientific discipline at work, with educational and technical-vocational training, with the mobilization of the intellectual capacity of the specialists and scientists, with the encouragement of the creative and innovative thinking of the working people, with their revolutionary actions and initiatives.

In their efforts to mobilize the working class in the solution of the problems of production, the Trade Unions should collaborate and co-ordinate their work with the state and economic organs, just as the latter should find greater support in the Trade Unions, improve the organization and direction of their affairs, adopt technical, organizational and material measures in order to give solution to the problems of production, to open the road more broadly to the initiatives and the creative spirit of the masses, in order to fulfil the state plan at all costs.

The Party has absolute confidence that in the battles that await it for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan the working class, the working masses, and their militant organization — the Trade Unions of Albania, will be up to their tasks.

Comrades,

Our people, led by the Party, are secure about the present and see their future with confidence and optimism. At the same time they do not forget that in Albania socialism is built in the conditions of the imperialist revisionist encirclement and blockade and tense international situations, which continue to grow more complicated.

The events that develop in the world and around us demonstrate that the imperialist superpowers and their allies, caught in the grip of the economic crisis and locked in fierce rivalry to expand their spheres of influence and to establish their domination in the world, have increased their pressure on the peoples, have stepped up interference in their internal affairs and have embarked on open military adventures. The hotbeds of local wars the imperialists have kindled, have expanded, just as the imperialists' preparations for new aggressions and global war have increased.

In order to plunder the great wealth of the Middle East and to enslave its peoples, the United States of America as well as the Soviet Union have stepped up their interference, thus making the situation in this zone still more dangerous. The situation is by no means less grave in Central America due to the brutal interferences of American imperialism, and in South America as a result of the British imperialist aggression against Argentine.

A turbulent and ominous situation continues around Afghanistan, where the Soviet social-imperialists have massed an entire army. The navies of the superpowers have infested the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the other seas with warships, thus creating new threats to the countries which have access to these waters. The armaments race and the trade of arms, as precursors of conflicts and aggressions instigated by imperialism, have assumed colossal proportions.

These situations we must watch attentively, understand them correctly and know how to orientate ourselves in them properly. Certainly, their development does not depend on us, but they affect us in this or that manner, because they influence the life and work of our people, create difficulties and raise obstacles on our road of socialist construction. The imperialists never abandon their hostile aims towards our country. They collude with their agents inside the country to weaken and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, to wrest the socialist gains from the hands of the people, to re-establish the capitalist yoke and imperialist dictate.

In these circumstances, our valiant and patriotic people maintain and sharpen their vigilance further, unite themselves ever more closely around the Party, fight still more persistently for the strengthening of the economy and the all-round development of the country. The plans of the external and internal enemies against socialist Albania have suffered and will always suffer ignominious defeat confronted with the monolithic unity of our people, their determination to defend at the cost of any sacrifice the freedom and independence which they have won with blood, and the victories of our popular revolution. The strength and invincible character of our socialist Homeland are founded on reliable factors: on the correct leadership of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, on the lofty patriotism and revolutionary spirit, on the combat readiness of our entire people, on the strength and stability of our economy. It is the duty of the Party, the Trade Unions and all the other levers of the Party to continuously confirm these factors, in order to make socialist Albania still stronger and more invincible.

Our Party and socialist state have always followed a principled and consistent foreign policy which serves the defence of the lofty interests of our Homeland, the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, the preservation of peace and build-up of security in the world.

Socialist Albania has always stoutly and irreconcilably opposed the superpowers and the other reactionary forces on every occasion and under any circumstances. It has fought resolutely and with all its forces against their hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy, their aggressive actions against the peoples.

Proceeding from the known principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual benefit, our country has striven to maintain normal relations with all those states which abide by these principles. We have been and are for normal relations of good neighbourliness with the countries of the Balkans and the neighbouring zone, for bilateral fruitful collaboration in fields of reciprocal interest, we have wanted and want to live in friendship with their peoples.

We have always pursued a similar policy towards neighbouring Yugoslavia. But we cannot remain silent when we see that a savage policy of national oppression is pursued against our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia. Theirs is a shortsighted policy and the sooner it is discontinued the better it will be for the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves. The demands of the population of Kosova to eliminate inequality and economic backwardness, to develop their national education and culture, to preserve their traditions and customs, to achieve the status of the Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, are just and reasonable.

The foreign policy of our Party and state has won our country the great sympathy of the peop-

les of the world and a well-deserved prestige in the international arena, as well as numerous friends and well-wishers in all the countries. This is the reason why our people give this policy their powerful backing and all-out support.

Dear comrade delegates,

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its confidence that the work of your 9th Congress will strengthen the Trade Unions of Albania and raise the level of their work higher. With the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha as our guide and source of inspiration, let us, dear comrades, increase our mobilization and enthusiasm at work, exert all our energies for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan of 1982 and of the entire five-year plan, in order to make our socialist Homeland stronger, more beautiful, and more prosperous!

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

Long live our heroic working class!

Long live the Trade Unions of Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

REPORT HELD BY COMRADE RITA MARKO

(Summary)

DEAR COMRADES,

THE HISTORIC DECISIONS OF THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PLA HAVE CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF FIERY MILITANCY ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THE IDEAS OF THE CONGRESS HAVE BECOME AN INSEPARABLE PART OF THE WHOLE ACTIVITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND WORKING MASSES WHICH ARE WORKING AND STRUGGLING WITH THEIR INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGY AND MILITANT SPIRIT TO PUT THEM INTO LIFE. THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA TO WHICH THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WORKING MASSES COME AFTER A PERIOD OF WORK AND STRUGGLE, OF HEROIC DEEDS AND BROAD CREATIVE ACTIVITY FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND, IS CONVENED IN THIS BRILLIANT INTERNAL SITUATION.

I

The directives adopted by the 8th Congress of the Party for the development of our socialist economy and culture are majestic. The 7th Five-year Plan is the direct continuation of the achievements up to day and marks a new and higher stage in the irresistible economic and social development of the country on the road to socialism. «Our socialist economy,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the Congress, «enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamism and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.»

The forecast proportions for the social product, the national income, investments and construction, exports and financial sources are equal to those of 3th to 4th five-year plans of the period 1950-1970 taken together. The total social product will grow 34-36 per cent, industrial production 36-38 per cent and agricultural production

30-32 per cent. About 750 major economic, social and cultural projects will be built. The well-being of the working people will be guaranteed and raised to a higher level, their buying power and real incomes will increase, their housing conditions will be improved, and all the new work force will be occupied.

This sound situation and these brilliant perspectives are a clear expression of the vitality and superiority of our socialist order over the rotten capitalist-revisionist order which is in the grip of a deep-going political, economic and social crisis, the consequences of which lie heavy on the backs of the proletariat and the broad working masses.

Achievement of the targets of the 7th Five-year Plan calls on us to wage an all-out struggle to fulfil tasks on a broad front relying totally on our forces. The principle has always underlined the groundwork of the policy of our Party. However, taking account of the concrete situations in which we work and build socialism without any aid or credit from abroad, as well as the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, it assumes special

importance today and must lead us in our everyday activity, in all our work and in every sector.

The fulfilment of the plan by every worker collective in all its items and indices is the most concrete expression of the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This is also seen in the achievements of the year 1981 in which the plans of industrial and agricultural production were fulfilled and overfulfilled at an annual growth rate of 7-8 per cent and 7 per cent respectively, as against 1980. Targets were overfulfilled in transport, productivity of labour in industry and construction and in the lowering of costs, while accumulation sources were realized according to plan. There is a perceptible increase, especially during the first five months of this year, which is expressed in a better fulfilment of the planned tasks in all the branches and sectors of the economy. Many enterprises have overfulfilled almost all the planned indices. The population has been better supplied with the necessary industrial and agricultural goods.

Great tasks emerge for us for the intensive development of the economy, as well as the raising of the effectiveness of production in all sectors. Such problems as the complete exploitation of productive capacities, the raising of the productivity of labour, the increase of socialist accumulation, profitability, the lowering of the cost and expenditure of production, the improvement of quality, etc are up to the working class and the other working masses to solve.

Today, our country has a powerful material-technical base, which has in-

RITA MARKO — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and President of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

creased 25 times within three decades. Its efficient exploitation is one of the greatest tasks laid for this five-year period. The reserves in this field are great.

It is the duty of the trade-union organizations to better put in motion the advanced thinking of the workers and specialists for the complete exploitation of the material-technical base which we have, and to combat more resolutely the tendency to be on the safe side and keep reserves in the exploitation of productive capacities and norms of the use of materials.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that work of high quality and productivity is the decisive factor to guarantee the raising of the efficiency of production and to further advance the economy. Many tasks emerge from this. Wherever there is work and production there is room for strengthening the organization, order and discipline, so that the working-time is thoroughly used, productivity is raised, accumulation increased, costs reduced and savings made.

Organization is a powerful means which promotes production, creates the possibilities for the effective use of the means, fund, materials, etc.

The 8th Congress of the Party has set great targets for the working people of agriculture. They have to do with ensuring ever better supplies of the food for the people, the raw materials for the light and food-processing industry, the increase of exports, etc. These tasks will be achieved through intensification. Ninety per cent of the increase in total agricultural production will result from higher crop yields and greater productivity of livestock.

The working class has always linked its work and struggle for the construction and defence of socialism with its loyal ally, the cooperativist peasantry. This has always found its expression in the class solidarity and mutual assistance in their joint efforts for the development of industry and agriculture, town and countryside, of all the zones and regions of the country. The magnificent program approved by the 8th Congress of the Party will further narrow the gap between town and countryside, and will make our socialist countryside still more prosperous.

The Trade Unions should pay more attention to the further perfecting of

the socialist relations of production.

These relations are linked with fields of vital importance such as the relations of ownership, distribution, exchange and management of the economy. They are very sensitive as they have to do with the relations amongst people and their interests. More profound study of and greater concern about the social aspects that are related to them, will assist us both in encouraging the positive trends of their development and in detecting and forestalling negative manifestations in time.

The clear perspectives opened by the 8th Congress of the Party have created everywhere a lofty revolutionary optimism, increased enthusiasm and given a further boost to socialist emulation.

The builders of the Koman hydro-power station will commission not one but two turbines within this five-year period, the initiative of the Valias miners was taken up by all the miners of the country and they produced 40,000 tons of minerals above the five-month plan; the initiative of the metallurgists of Elbasan has been transformed into a powerful nation-wide movement for the thrifty use of electric energy, fuels, steels and other materials. Working in the spirit of the initiative of the miners of Gur i Kuq, new records in mining work have been established, like that of building up to 500 metres of gallery in a month. Today hundreds of truck- and tractor-drivers work on account of the next five-year plans, entire livestock-raising complexes strive to take 4,000-6,000 litres of milk from every cow. Countless kilometres of canals are dug, reservoirs built, new buildings set up, and environments made more beautiful, and agriculture and the villages assisted by voluntary labour. This is that massive heroism which gives fresh vigour and content to socialist emulation, which rouses all the working class and working people to their feet for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of economic plans.

We must make these distinguishing characteristics of socialist emulation more profound and carry them further ahead.

Today more than ever work among people must be more vigorous, resilient, carrying it out in various forms, using moral incentives extensively and

intelligently in order to encourage people to increase their mobilization in the fulfilment of their tasks.

II

The intensive development of the economy in the 7th Five-year Plan raises the urgent need for the further deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the raising of the educational and technical-professional level of the working people.

In the present stage of development of the technical-scientific revolution there are many problems the Central Council and the other directing organs of the Trade Unions should focus their attention on. In the first place, it is necessary to further increase the participation of the masses in this revolution so that science and technique do not remain the monopoly of some people or institutions.

A living expression of the participation of the masses in the technical-scientific revolution is their innovative spirit which has produced a powerful movement and introduced important changes into technique and technology, production and organization, making people find new ways for the rational exploitation of primary materials and the improvement of the technical-economic indices of the plan.

The creative spirit and the mental and physical capacities of our innovators and rationalizers have found their expression in the solution of many problems. Over the last five-year plan more than 60 thousand proposals were put into practice, 964 new production lines, workshops and factories were set up and 49 thousand new articles were produced. Many are the worker collectives that have made a major contribution to the achievement of these successes. In their ranks have been brought up and educated thousands upon thousands of gifted innovators who have placed all their creative energies in the service of the progress and prosperity of our socialist Homeland.

The trade-union organizations have the task of paying greater attention to the movement for innovations, getting more workers, specialists, young men



Comrade Rita Marko delivering the report on the activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

and women, from all branches and sectors of production, involved in it.

The involvement of the workers and specialists in perfecting technological processes and their rigorous observance of technical-scientific discipline have always been a very important duty of the trade-union organizations.

The high rate of production growth dictates the need for the complex mechanization of work processes, especially in some sectors, such as the mines, construction, forestry, various services in agriculture and animal husbandry, those enterprises with predominating artisan forms and methods. We should never for a moment forget that the development of the technical-

scientific revolution in socialism serves, at the same time, to make the work of man easier, enriching it with as many elements of the creative mental work as possible. This means that we must see the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution not from one aspect, the economic aspect only, considering only its advantages, but also from the other aspect, the human aspect.

The schooling and qualification of the working people is an essential condition for the further deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and for carrying production forward. Under the constant care of the Party good re-

sults have been achieved in this direction. The number of working people with higher and secondary schooling has doubled and the number of qualified workers has increased 1.7 fold today against 1975.

But the need for knowledge and culture is felt more and more. Our society, the 8th Congress of the Party stressed, needs people with learning, with broad cultural horizons, with a high professional level, people who are conversant with technique, technology, organization and management, who study and create with a will. These requirements constitute a very important front in the activity of the trade-union organizations.

III

Under the leadership of the Party, a working class imbued with the communist ideology and virtues has been formed in our country. The Trade Unions consider the all-round education of the working people as their fundamental duty and connect it closely with life, with the work and struggle for the construction of socialism in all the stages of its development. However, after the 8th Congress of the Party set new and greater tasks for the economic and social development of the country at rapid rates, the Trade Unions are required to raise their work for the ideo-political education of the working people to a higher level. «The Party,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Congress, «has charged the Trade Unions with major tasks for the ideo-political and technical-professional education of the working class, in order to make it capable of successfully carrying out the tasks, not only in the field of production, but also in all the other fields of the life of the country, of taking part actively in the management of state and social affairs, and of exercising its control, as the class in power, over everything and everybody.»

The working class is convinced from its own experience that only socialism guarantees it freedom, independence and well-being. But at a time when the imperialist and revisionist enemies have concentrated all their attacks on socialism, the question of strengthening this confidence further is raised.

Our socialist life and reality, the active participation of the working class in the revolutionary transformation of the country play a great role in the creation of ideological convictions among the working people. This, however, is not enough. **The mastering of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha creates deep-rooted and stable ideological convictions.** The Trade Unions have always worked to form and temper their members as unyielding fighters for the great cause of the revolution and socialism.

Young workers swell the ranks of the working class every year. The youth are the future of the working

class. It is our duty to work ceaselessly for the education of the youth to make them class conscious, to raise their level of technical-professional knowledge and increase their readiness to take part enthusiastically and unreservedly in all the socio-economic transformations of the country.

Almost half the working class and the membership of our organization are women and girls and there are many enterprises in which they make up the majority of the collective. They are a great force in the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party. Women have their problems not only as workers but also as mothers and educators of the younger generation. On the basis of the successes achieved and the new economic and social conditions created under the leadership of the Party, we must work to carry forward the general and complete emancipation of woman in our country without interruption.

The education of the workers residing in the countryside also deserves special attention. It devolves on the trade-union organizations to work more intelligently with this category of people in order to implant the socialist psychology of ownership and work more deeply in them, to raise their class consciousness and their professional abilities to a higher level.

In their whole educational work the Trade Unions always keep in mind the all-round economic, political, ideological and military pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world against our country, which is also closely linked with the activity of the internal enemy.

In these conditions **the education of the working people in the spirit of the class struggle** for the ceaseless strengthening of the people-Party unity, for the raising of their revolutionary vigilance and building up their readiness to defend the people's state power and the gains of socialism against any enemy, assumes particular importance.

The education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, of love for the Homeland and the Party, is one of the main tasks of the Trade Unions. It has particular importance for the preparation of the masses for the defence of the country.

The tense and complicated situations in the world make this education even more imperative now. In these conditions we must always be vigilant, because socialist Albania is encircled by many and savage enemies who have not given up their aims to deprive the Albanian people from the victories they have achieved with their blood and sacrifices. Therefore, with the Party at the head, young and old in our country stand always undaunted and ready to cope with any situation, no matter how difficult.

We defend the Homeland by educating ourselves ideologically, tempering ourselves militarily and strengthening the economy of the country.

The active participation of the working class and the other working masses in governing the country, as the Party teaches us, is an absolutely necessary and decisive condition to safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry the construction of socialism forward. We have consistently implemented this principle. The working class has become the master of the country. The workers enjoy all the democratic rights and freedoms, work and education are guaranteed to them. The workers are elected up to the highest forums of the Party and the state. They have their powerful say on important political, economic and social matters.

All this is an expression of our socialist democracy, which is true democracy for the working masses. As the 8th Congress of the Party emphasized, it is not only an historic victory of the masses of the people won in war and revolution, but also a need, an indispensable condition, an intrinsic law of the development of our socialist society, a great motive force which carries it forward. The further deepening and development of socialist democracy calls for determined struggle against bureaucratic manifestations.

The Party has made clear to us the dangers that threaten the people's power and socialism from bureaucracy. Under its leadership, the working class and the other working masses have waged a ceaseless struggle against bureaucracy. The results achieved are abundant proof of the great teaching

of the Party that where the working class speaks, bureaucracy is silent.

The direct control exercised by the working class and the working masses under the leadership of the Party, is an effective means to combat bureaucracy, as well as other manifestations of liberalism and technocratism. As the class in power, the working class exercises its control everywhere and over everything for the implementation and the defence of the line of the Party, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the successful accomplishment of tasks in all the fields of socialist construction. It is up to the Trade Unions to ensure that this control is carried out continuously and in the most effective manner possible. For this process to be developed further, the trade-union organizations must form a broader idea of it and not reduce it to one of its forms — the groups of worker and peasant control. For this purpose debate, confrontation and criticism at the meetings of the organization, the press and many other forms, must be used better. Every worker must know our main laws not simply in order to be able to defend his personal interests, but first and above all, to defend the interests of the state and the enterprise. It is the duty of our organizations to explain to the workers the political, ideo-political, ideological and economic aspects of the laws, in the first place, and then to educate them for their application.

In the struggle against bureaucracy the establishment of correct relations between the cadres and the masses has great importance. Thousands of revolutionary cadres closely linked with the masses and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them for the fulfilment of tasks, have grown under the constant care of the Party. Everywhere we find lofty examples of active collaboration between the cadres and the masses, of the combination of the intellectual abilities of the cadres and specialists with the struggle and experience of the masses.

The main road for the strengthening of the relations between the cadres and the masses is the constant education of the cadres in the class spirit,

their systematic rendering of account before the working class about the main problems, and this not formally, just to get it over with.

Being in close and constant touch with these problems, the organizations of the Trade Unions must become tribunes for the expression of the opinion of the masses, must enhance their role so that they have a decisive say in everything, open the road for their innovative spirit, encourage debate, self-criticism and criticism of errors. «The aim is,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the Party, «to ensure that the process of construction of socialism is never transformed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but is always a living, creative work of the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party.»

IV

The Trade Unions have been guided by the directives of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in all their life and activities.

In the future, too, **ensuring the leadership of the Party remains the only source of inspiration and correct orientation for the Trade Unions.** Both the leading organs and the basic organizations should pay particular attention to this question of principle in order to successfully carry out the tasks the Party has charged them at its 8th Congress.

We have always rejected in principle and in practice the false anti-Marxist «theories» of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists about the pretended independence of the trade-unions from political parties. Lenin in his time emphasized that such theorizations are either a hypocritical counter-revolutionary disguise or a manifestation of complete unawareness. There is and can be no apoliticism in the trade-union movement. The living reality shows every day that the trade-unions, both in the capitalist and the revisionist countries, have placed themselves in the service of the bourgeoisie and carry out the policy of its parties

to split the proletariat and to undermine its struggle. Not only do we not deny but on the contrary, we stress the socio-political character of our Trade Unions and the need for them to be led by the Party.

The great tasks set for the construction of socialism in our country require that the influence, weight and role of the Trade Unions, as important levers of the Party, be enhanced further. **To convey to the full the directives of the Party to the masses and to mobilize and throw them into mass actions for their implementation** has first-rate importance in this context. Making the voice of the masses heard and bringing their thought and rich experience to the Party, has been and remains a constant task of the Trade Unions.

The attainment of the great objectives set by the 8th Congress of the Party **calls for a further improvement of the method of work.**

The further strengthening of collaboration with the other mass organizations will play a great role in the implementation of the tasks we are faced with. Each organization has its own specific work, but they are united by the one aim — the implementation of the line and directives of the Party.

At the same time it is also important that **the collaboration with the state and economic organs should be strengthened**, because the Trade Unions face great tasks in the sphere of production. To solve the problems the state organs have set, the trade-union organizations support them powerfully and lay down tasks for their ideo-political work with the working people.

The Trade Unions have the working man at the centre of their attention. Under the leadership of the Party, the achievements in meeting the material and cultural needs of the working people are great. The well-being of the masses is steadily raised. Employment is ensured to all. Education and health service are free. There is no kind of taxation. Social insurance is developed and covers the countryside, too. Pregnancy and childbirth leave has been extended to about 6 months. Thousands upon thousands of house units, the rents for which amount to the average pay of 1-2 days' work, have been built

for the working people. Our working people spend their holidays happily in rest homes and tourist centres.

Working for the implementation of the policy of the Party in the social field, too, the Trade Unions have seen to it that all the possibilities our socialist order creates for raising the well-being of the masses are utilized. Concern for man requires that his needs for regular, well-organized and cultured catering and services on time and with high quality, are ever better fulfilled. The duty of the trade-union organizations is to make the working people of these sectors aware that this problem has to do with the living of the working people. More imagination and creativeness is demanded from the workers of the light and food industries so as to supply the people with better, cheaper and prettier commodities according to our socialist tastes.

In the future the trade-union organizations must step up their efforts to implement to the letter the state laws defending the rights of workers and never put up with any violation of them by anybody. They should work better to carry out the tasks as provided by the law and envisaged in the plan for the improvement of working conditions, of safety at work and technical security, and the education of the working people in the spirit of respect for the regulations established.

Therefore, agreements compatible with the stipulations of the Code of Labour and the state plan should be entered into at the beginning of each year between the administration of the enterprise and the trade-union committee, laying down the obligations binding on the administration for the technical-professional qualification of the working people, the improvement of the cultural and artistic work, their physical and military training, and the improvement of safety at work and technical security, etc. From time to time the administration of the enterprise renders account to the organization of the trade-union on the implementation of the agreement.

Likewise, the trade-union organizations should follow more attentively the problems of temporary or permanent disablement for work, of physical

and vocational rehabilitation, etc. The new provision according to which the disputes between the working people and the organs of state insurance should be settled not only through administrative channels but also through the Trade Unions, as is done in all other differences envisaged in the Labour Code, will also serve this purpose.

The qualitative rise in the work of the Trade Unions dictates the need for some improvements in their structure. The aim is to bring the Trade Unions closer to the workers, according to their profession or the economic branch they work in, to make them more thoroughly acquainted with the tasks the Party sets and the problems that emerge, carry out more concrete and differentiated work with people for their education and mobilization and convey the voice of the masses to the Party better than up till now.

For this purpose we propose that out of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania which will be elected by this Congress, four Central Councils of the Trade Unions according to the main branches of the economy: for the working people of industry and mines; for the working people of agriculture; for the working people of construction, communications and communal services; and for the working people of education, culture, health service and trade, be set up.

The setting up of Trade Unions according to the economic branch is not a mere organization change; it will bring about improvements in content, will help create a more complete idea of the role of the Trade Unions as important levers of the Party, and a broader concept of their social character. This, in turn, will bring about a further improvement of the method of work from the centre to the base.

The Central Councils will carry out their activity under the leadership of the General Council without impinging on the unified leadership of the Trade Unions. The same will be done in the district: local councils out of the Council of the Trade Unions of the district, will be set up according to the economic branches.

These improvements in the structure

of the Trade Unions will also be reflected in the alternations that will be made to the Constitution with the approval of the Congress.

V

The working class and the Trade Unions of Albania powerfully support the principled foreign policy of the PLA and the Albanian state. The lofty revolutionary and internationalist spirit which characterize this policy, and the consistency of principle in its implementation, serve both the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland and the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world.

The grave economic, political and social crisis, which has swept the capitalist-revisionist world, is making the situation worse with each passing day and increasing the threat of war.

The working class and masses are saddled with all the consequences of the crisis: inflation, increasing taxation, steep price rises, falling real wages, sinking standards of living, which are accompanied with new measures and laws by the bourgeoisie to annul the rights the working class has won after many years of struggle and to oppose the revolt of the masses. The bourgeoisie curtails the democratic rights and trade-union freedoms, limits the right of strike, freezes wages, seeks new forms and means to step up the exploitation of the workers, going even to such lengths as the fascization of the life of the country. Unemployment, which has become a chronic ulcer, has assumed particularly large proportions. The consequences of the crisis fall especially on the working people of the undeveloped countries, where the interference of the foreign bourgeoisie and the multi-national companies make capitalist exploitation ever more savage.

But the working class has not reconciled and will not reconcile itself to this situation of oppression and exploitation. Life shows the steady enhancement of its political and class consciousness.

The working class, as the most revolutionary class, is in the lead, not only

of the struggle for social liberation, for the realization of its legitimate aspirations, but also of the anti-imperialist and liberation movements. At the same time it is the most active force in the struggle for peace against war, against the war-mongering policy of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers.

The class struggle of the proletariat exposes and discredits the anti-worker and strike-breaker stands and activity of the reformist and revisionist trade-unions. These trade-unions today are over-zealously indulging in social demagoguery about class collaboration and spreading other illusions and speculations of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology. The numerous reformist trade-union centres in the capitalist countries, regardless of the labels and names they assume, are manipulated by the bourgeoisie and always find a common language with it when it comes to opposing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

As the crisis in the capitalist countries grows deeper, the diversionist role of the worker aristocracy and trade-union bureaucracy, which as the social base of reformism and revisionism have been transformed into administrators in the service of the bourgeoisie, is laid bare and exposed still more thoroughly. This bureaucratic stratum is one of the main stumbling blocks in the development of the class struggle, therefore its exposure and isolation frees the workers from many reformist illusions and helps raise their class consciousness and revolutionary activity.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries has transformed their trade-unions into bureaucratic organisms and tools in the hands of the capitalist-revisionist state. The very large pay differentials between the workers, on the one hand, and the bureaucrats and technocrats on the other, indicate a deep differentiation going on in the present bourgeois society of the Soviet Union and the existence of a wide gap dividing the working class from the new bourgeois stratum in power. The last congress of the Soviet revisionist trade-unions revealed their complete degeneration and, willy-nilly had to admit the

wide gap separating the revisionist trade-unions from the working class.

The events in Poland are undeniable proof of the rotteness of the revisionist system. The revisionist course steered by the 20th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party, the savage oppression and exploitation of the working class, the neo-colonialist Soviet plunder and dictate, the opening of doors to Western capital — all this led to the outbreak of class conflict between the working people and the revisionist regime. Convinced that it was reduced to an oppressed and exploited class, the Polish working class has risen in revolt. But it lacks a leading political force and its revolt is exploited by the Catholic Church and reaction. The offspring of their activity is the so-called independent «Solidarity» trade-union, which is for capitalist relations, the further political and economic penetration of Western imperialism and the replacing of the rule of Moscow with the yoke of Western imperialism. This is the real reason why the statesmen of the imperialist countries, the Vatican, the bosses of the American reactionary trade-unions AFL-CIO, etc support it by all means. In this clash of interests of the superpowers and world reaction, it is the interests of the working class and other working people that are trampled down and negated.

The ever greater enhancement of the political class consciousness of the proletariat raises the need for its organization and unity. But unity cannot be achieved either through «unitarianism», which the revisionist trade-union chiefs, especially the Soviet ones and the World Trade Union Federation, demagogically advertise, or through theorizations of the revisionist reformists about trade-union pluralism, which they present as the acme of democracy in their propaganda. Real unity can be achieved on the basis of the scientific ideology of the proletariat, in the course of the class struggle, of the fulfilment of its economic and political demands.

Achievement of the sound class unity of the proletariat is impeded by the influence and control the revisionists and reformists exercise over a large section of the trade-union movement. That is why the new revolutionary trade-

union forces work actively, in the context of the efforts for the unity of the working class, within the existing trade-unions, in which large masses of the proletariat are organized, with the aim of raising the workers to revolutionary actions to defend their vital interests, to shake themselves free from the influence and domination of the reformist and revisionist chiefs who are agents of the bourgeoisie, and to transform the trade-union organizations into instruments of their class struggle against the exploiting order. Where the conditions and possibilities exist, new revolutionary trade-unions are set up.

The revolutionary unity, resistance and vigilance of the working class and the peoples grow and wax strong in struggle against the aggressive, hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy of oppression and exploitation pursued by American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers. The international trade-union centres, such as the World Trade Union Federation, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Confederation of Trade Unions, etc which as tools of imperialism and social-imperialism try to break the revolutionary spirit of the working class, to spread pacifist illusions and the spirit of class collaboration, serve this policy. Against this war-mongering policy, against the demagoguery of the modern revisionists, mounts the powerful anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle of the working class and the peoples, which is in a position to stay the blood hand of the imperialist superpowers.

The working class, the working masses and the Trade Unions of our country, educated by the Party in the spirit and principles of proletarian internationalism, attentively follow the developments in the world and express their complete solidarity with the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the proletariat and the peoples against oppression and exploitation, against imperialism and social-imperialism for the defence of their rights and freedoms, for independence, democracy and social progress.

The working people of our country have hailed whole-heartedly the victory of the Iranian people who with their

armed uprising toppled the barbarous regime of the Shah and drove American imperialism out of their country, the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and the overthrow of the pro-American dictatorship in Nicaragua. They resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, the war of the Afghan people against the Soviet occupiers, the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian people against the racist yoke, the outbreak of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and the struggle of all the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for national and social liberation and all-round emancipation.

The Trade Unions of Albania have further extended and strengthened their

relations of collaboration with the progressive and revolutionary trade-union organizations and forces in many countries of the world, with which they maintain friendly relations. The Trade Unions of Albania appreciate their high encouragement for our working class and people in the construction and defence of socialism.

The working class and the Trade Unions of Albania support the principled stand of our Party for the resolute defence of the rights due to our brothers who live on their own lands in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. The world public opinion has been informed now of the problem of Kosova and the just demands of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership, especially that of Serbia, continues its brutal attack on the national education and culture of the Albanian population,

offending and trampling on its best traditions and customs.

The blame for this situation falls on the Yugoslav leadership, which still has not found the necessary cool-headedness and wisdom to see the situations with a realistic eye and to seek such correct solutions as would comply with the interests of the people of Kosova and Yugoslavia.

The fact is that the Yugoslav leadership has not stopped to consider thoroughly, with cool-headedness and political maturity the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania towards Yugoslavia in general, and the events in Kosova in particular, which Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed clearly in the Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA.

Socialist Albania, from its creation until today, has been and is for peace and security in the Balkans, for real freedom and independence of all its neighbours, including Yugoslavia, too.

OUR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY FLOURISHES AND IS CONSTANTLY PERFECTED

by **XHAFER SPAHIU**

*The highest form of democracy,
which is continuously developed, deepened and perfected,
exists only in socialism*

APPLYING THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN FAITHFULLY AND CONSISTENTLY, IN A CREATIVE MANNER AND IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE CONDITIONS OF ALBANIA, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA LEADS WITH SUCCESS THE WORKING CLASS, THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY, THE PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE OTHER WORKING PEOPLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM — THE MOST PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

IN THE 38th YEAR OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND WE TAKE PRIDE IN THE GLORIOUS ROAD WE HAVE TRAVERSED THROUGH DIFFICULTIES, SACRIFICES, STRUGGLES AND CLASHES WITH SAVAGE AND DANGEROUS ENEMIES. WE SEE WITH PROUD SATISFACTION THE GREAT AND ALL-ROUND ACHIEVEMENTS WE HAVE MADE AND THE RADICAL TRANSFORMATIONS REALIZED IN ALL FIELDS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD.

The Albania of the first years after Liberation bears no comparison with the Albania of today. Transformations are so radical that very often it is impossible to find a starting-point from which to make the comparison. Total industrial production has increased nearly 148 fold and that of electric power over 475 folds as against the level of 1938. Albania today is one of the few completely electrified world

XHAFER SPAHIU — Member of the CC of the PLA, Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania

countries. It would have taken the despotic feudal-bourgeois regime of Ahmet Zog more than 15 centuries, at its growth rates, to cope with the volume of investments made in the 37 years of the people's state power.

With the level of the economic development and the technical-scientific progress it has achieved today, our country is in a position to design and execute, relying completely on its own forces, all its construction projects — from railways and ports, land improvement, irrigation schemes and housing

schemes and large-scale socio-cultural buildings, industrial projects and extensive system of electric power distribution to complicated projects, such as the «Light of the Party» hydro-power plant in Fierza, Koman, etc which rank amongst the biggest of the kind in Europe.

The Albanian workers, technicians, engineers and scientists, relying on their own forces, study and discover oil and gas, extract and process it in a full cycle. This wealth, together with the coal mines and water-power sources, constitutes a complex energy potential which ensures the independent development of our economy at rapid rates and creates large possibilities of increasing exports. Working according to the spirit of self-reliance, our working people discover other minerals, too, and build mines the number of which has increased 20 fold in comparison with the pre-Liberation time, set up enrichment plants, smelting shops, assemble complete blast furnaces and are ever better mastering the processes of the complex chemical-metallurgical industry. Cop-

per and iron-nickel industries, too, are gradually completing their production cycle, which will also be done for other minerals, especially chromium, in the production of which Albania ranks third in the world.

From 85 to 90 per cent of the broad consumer goods are produced today by our own industry, working on local primary materials. Our socialist agriculture, state and cooperativist, which during the period after Liberation has increased its production about twice as rapidly as the population growth, has also developed at rapid rates. It has made the country self-sufficient in bread grain and other staple agricultural and livestock products, thus creating ever greater possibilities for a gradual increase of exports. In the course of the current five-year plan (1981-1985), it will be further strengthened and intensified.

These successes have been made possible thanks to the fact that the Party of Labour of Albania, from the beginning of its existence, attached extremely great importance to the development of education and culture for the masses of the people. The Albania of the past, kept in ignorance and illiteracy by the anti-popular regimes, with more than 80 per cent of its population illiterate, today has become a country of mass education. In Albania one in every three persons goes to school. The pre-Liberation Albania had only 380 cadres with higher schooling, whereas now it has over 47,500 such cadres. Against less than 2,000 people with secondary schooling before Liberation, today there are over 131,500 cadres with secondary vocational schooling. Today, the number of the students in vocational secondary schools is 83 times as large as in pre-Liberation time. Albania has hundreds of thousands of workers and cooperativists who are in a position to ever better master the achievements of science and technique, and all together, specia-

lists, workers and cooperativists, constantly carry forward the technical-scientific revolution. All work with devotion in various sectors and all over the country for the deepening of the revolution and the construction of socialism.

The advance of the economy at rates unprecedented in history, the unexampled flowering of education which is free for all, culture and science, the extension of free-of-charge medical and other services for the population, the abolition of all sorts of taxes and fees, guaranteed pensions for the working people of both town and countryside, stability of prices for all consumer goods and alimentary products, independently of their instability abroad, extremely low rents, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country, and a number of other achievements of great importance, have been made possible only by the socialist society we are building in the years of the people's state power, by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour, loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism.

Socialism, which is built in a conscious manner by the broad masses of the people, which is possible only in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party, has freed our people from any form of exploitation and created many and all-round possibilities for the development of their personality. It has invigorated the active and conscious participation of the masses in all fields of activity for the implementation of the majestic program of the Party. The active participation of the working masses in social activity and its ceaseless intensification have been fundamental factors for the achievements we have made so far.

The 8th Congress of the Party, relying on the experience gained, further deepened the significance of the de-

cisive role of the masses in continuously carrying forward the socialist construction and ensuring an unbreakable defence of the Homeland.

«A correct understanding of the decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialist society is fundamental to the communist world outlook and revolutionary theory and practice,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at this Congress.

The Party of Labour of Albania has faithfully adhered to this principle. It has always fought consistently for the broadest and most active possible participation of the working class, cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth, the women and all other working people of Albania in the government of the country, in all productive and social activities. This participation explains why socialism in our country has been built and continues to be built on the right road and with complete success. At the same time, as the Congress put it, it is the most profound expression of the fundamental direction of the development of the socialist democracy.

Socialism created unprecedented conditions and unlimited possibilities for the complete emancipation of the Albanian women, for their participation in social and state activities. Today about 30 per cent of the membership of the Party, 33 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly and 46 per cent of the members of the people's councils of all levels are women. Many women are members of the highest forums of the Party, of the People's Assembly and its Presidency, of the Council of Ministers, the High Court, etc. Those few figures clearly show the dignity the Albanian women, who made up the most oppressed and scorned section of the rotten feudal-bourgeois society before Liberation, have been raised to.

In these years of struggle and efforts for the elimination of backwardness

inherited from the past and the liquidation of the destructions caused by the nazi-fascist occupiers and their tools, for the development of the economy, for the setting up of a multi-branched modern industry and advanced agriculture, for coming out of the darkness of ignorance to the light of the road of deep-going revolution in education, culture, science and technique, for transforming the country into an impregnable bastion against the plans and plots of the foreign and local enemies of all colours — the US and other imperialists, the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists, the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Maoist and Eurocommunist modern revisionists and their tools within the country, our Party has always followed the line of the masses. It has always given absolute priority to the ever greater extension of the participation of the working masses, organized in the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Youth Organization and the Women's Organization, in the direction of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the solution of the problems of the economy, education and defence of the Homeland.

On this question, the Party, inspired and guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, has always taken account of the fact, which is irrefutably borne out by historical experience, that the role of the masses in the work and struggle for the construction and defence of socialism is decisive, has to do directly with its destiny and cannot be achieved without developing, deepening and continuously perfecting the proletarian socialist democracy.

«The decisive, ever increasing role of the popular masses in our socialist society is the most profound expression and the fundamental direction of the development of our socialist democracy,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. «From this standpoint, our socialist democra-

cy is not only an historic victory of the masses of the people, won in war and revolution, but also a need, an indispensable condition, an intrinsic law of the development of our socialist society, a great motive force which carries it forward.»

Abundant proof of this is the many-year long road which socialist Albania has traversed. Under constant blockade and encirclement, Albania has overcome many obstacles and emerged triumphant over innumerable difficulties. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people stood unflinching and nipped in the bud all the hostile plans of the Anglo-Americans and their collaborators who concocted every imaginable plot and scheme against the freedom and independence of our country. We discovered and defeated the sinister schemes of the Titoite revisionists directed against the independence and sovereignty of Albania. We tore the masks from the Khrushchevite revisionists and proudly made light of their blackmail, exposed the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attitude of the Chinese revisionists, coped with success with their numerous sabotage acts and won victory after victory in deepening the revolution and building socialism, relying completely on our own forces.

All this is a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, of its struggle and efforts for the constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of proletarian democracy, which is characterized by the broad participation of the masses in the government of the country. Socialist democracy and its uninterrupted development have always been seen as a great motive force, a powerful and vital factor for safeguarding our state and society from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and for continuing the construction of socialism with our own forces consistently and at rapid rates.

The strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of proletarian democracy have always been seen by our Party in their close inter-connection, in dialectical unity, as democracy constitutes the fundamental condition for the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the latter constitutes the indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of true proletarian democracy.

The highest form of democracy, which is continuously developed, deepened and perfected, exists only in socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «Our society is distinguished by the fact that it is governed by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist democracy, it is conscious that the rights and duties of the citizens are built on the basis of reconciling the interests of society with those of the individual giving priority to the general interest.» The Albanian working class and other working people are vitally interested in the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are interested in ensuring that no concession is made in using violence against the minority, the remnants of the overthrown classes and the evildoers and hostile elements who impede progress. At the same time they work to develop and perfect the democracy for the majority, for the broad masses of the people, because in this manner most favourable conditions are created for their broad participation in the construction of socialism. Freedom and democracy in our country exist only for the broad working masses and not for the enemies of the working class and the people, who want to undermine the proletarian state, to bring back the black past and re-establish the dictatorship of capital, the dictatorship of the minority against the majority. «Our socialist democracy is genuine democracy for the working

masses and for them only,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The people in Albania enjoy broad democratic rights and freedoms. Right to work and education, to elect and be elected to the organs of the state power, freedom of speech and the press, etc have not only been guaranteed by law and sanctioned in the Constitution, but are also implemented in practice. The ulcer of economic emigration, which continues to plague so many peoples of the world, has been wiped out once and for good in socialist Albania. Here there is work for everybody. People work full of enthusiasm all over Albania, making their contribution to the construction of socialism, the prosperity of the country, in order to make their own lives still happier and more beautiful.

The 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the 8th Congress of the Party endorsed, will give the country about 750 more important projects in the economic and social-cultural fields. Our possibilities for the full employment of the people are great. The possibility for the real fulfilment of the right to work is created only by the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, where broad democracy for the masses flourishes.

In the bourgeois and revisionist constitutions there is much talk about «the right to work», too. But it is merely a legal formulation which does not apply to everybody. The bourgeois labour legislation contains hollow sounding and ambiguous words which are open to sorts of interpretations, but which invariably express and defend the interests of the capitalist bosses, who consider the working class the same as any other commodity. This legislation is full of articles and provisions which confirm social inequality in the field of labour relations. It also provides for safety at work, but the measures it calls for are never applied because they would entail expenditure

which the capitalist bosses are unwilling to make as it effects their profits. This is why accidents at work keep increasing in the capitalist countries. The large army of the unemployed and massive economic emigration, common phenomena in the capitalist and revisionist countries, are likewise concrete manifestations of the deceitful character of the right to work proclaimed in these countries. Unemployment, a chronic ulcer, has thrown into the streets over 110 million workers of the capitalist countries, without mentioning the countries where the revisionists are in power. Unemployment is close to a record 10 million figure in the USA, the unemployed are 1.5 million in Britain, 3 million in West Germany and so on. Economic emigration also continues to increase, especially from Italy and Yugoslavia which top the list among the European countries. It is worth noting that inside Yugoslavia this phenomenon is more rampant in Kosova. Many Albanians of Kosova have left their families for decades on end in quest of jobs in Europe and on other continents. Kosova, which has a rich land, has been abandoned in backwardness. Its wealth is plundered by the other Republics of the Yugoslav Federation, especially by Serbia. Besides a deteriorating economic situation, the population of Kosova is subjected to savage national oppression. This situation has more than once compelled the Albanians of Kosova to demand through massive peaceful and in other ways demonstrations that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation be improved. To these just demands the Serb and Yugoslav chiefs replied with tanks and terror. The reality shows the deceitful character of their claims about Titoite democracy or any other bourgeois democracy in general, allegedly guaranteeing «human rights» and «democratic freedoms».

Unlike any other country of the

world, in Albania the freedom of speech is guaranteed. Suffice it to mention that the five-year plans just as all other plans are drafted by the masses themselves. In the discussion of the draft-directives for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the workers, cooperativists and all the other working people, in all fields of production and services, work teams, brigades, shops, shifts, and sectors, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, set up 24,000 commissions and working groups to study the plan. With nearly 125,000 members and over 1 million people participating in the work of the commissions and groups, there were 210,000 contributions to discussion. People exchanged opinions, carried on debate, compared notes on achievements and tasks, made new reserves available and put forward valuable suggestions in order to make the plan as realistic and as scientifically well-based as possible, and found solutions to the present problems of the development of the economy and culture, always bearing in mind the perspective development. They made 69,000 proposals, of which 58,000 proved useful and were included in the final draft of the plan. The working people of socialist Albania openly express their opinions about work and people. Both when plans are drafted and endorsed, or in the process of their implementation, people discuss, criticize harmful manifestations, come out with new suggestions to improve the plan, take revolutionary initiatives to expand the range of goods produced, to improve their quality, to raise productivity and lower costs, etc.

However, it is not in the field of planning only, but in all other fields and questions that the working people of new Albania have their say, as it is expected from them, and what they say is listened to, has its effect, contributes to the progress of work, strengthens the life of our socialist society.

This is how our proletarian democracy, which extends and operates in all fields, guarantees the working people of our country the freedom of speech and the press and all other democratic rights. This democracy, so broad and thorough, characterizes the entire social life, permeates all the structures of our socialist state, from the lowest to the highest organs of the state power and administration.

Of very profound significance was the broad participation of the working masses in drafting and discussing the fundamental law of the state — the new Constitution of the year 1976. In the meetings organized all over the country for this purpose took part over 1.5 million people, of whom 300,000 contributed to the discussion of the draft and made valuable suggestions for its improvement.

In the PSR of Albania extensive consultation of the masses and thrashing of opinions with them has become a norm of life, a normal and indispensable practice outside which the problems of the development of the economy, education and culture, science, defence or any other field, cannot be solved. In the world today there is no country like Albania where there is no problem on which the broad masses of the working people do not have their say. In our country the laws are made by the working people through the representatives they have themselves elected and it is again they that implement and defend them consciously, developing the class struggle against those enemy elements who try to violate them and damage socialist property, the work of our people and the gains they have achieved.

In the report submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The entire life of our country, the organization and direction of the state, the economy, education and culture, and defence is built

in such a manner as to ensure and require the active participation of the working masses.» This correct line of our Party is clearly expressed in our Constitution, which says that the state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is one and indivisible, stems from the working people and belongs to them. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the entire working people exercise their power through their representative organs as well as directly. This is clearly seen in the composition of the representative organs of the state power. Nearly 33,000 of the finest sons and daughters of the people, the most loyal to and most devoted servants of the people who have distinguished themselves in various fields of the productive and social activities of whom 78 per cent come from the ranks of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, have been elected by free, secret and direct vote to these organs — from village people's council to the People's Assembly. In Albania it is the people that present the list of their candidates, that elect them in an entirely free manner, that support and back them up in their work, that criticize and show them the right road when they make mistakes, but that also recall them at any time if they fail to justify the trust placed in them, if their actions are in opposition to the interests of the people. This is an expression of the strength, depth and breadth of our socialist democracy.

The great number of those elected to the various representative organs of the state, or the forums of the mass organizations such as the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Women's Union, the Youth Union, etc., the thousands of activists working in the ranks of these organizations as well as in the people's councils, etc. is abundant proof of the constant and special care the Party shows about

drawing the broadest possible masses into the government of the country, the solution of the many state and social problems.

The rights of citizens in our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, sanctioned in the socialist legislation, are seen in close connection with their task, because without citizens carrying out their task their rights cannot be realized, either. In this manner, the right of work necessarily implies the obligation of work. Socialism and proletarian democracy guarantees everybody the right of education and culture, create practical possibilities for the citizens to develop their talents and creative abilities, but this right, in return, obliges everyone to broaden their education and culture, and to make their creative contribution, in proportion to their abilities, to the economic, scientific, and cultural development of the country, because our society needs all the contribution of its citizens to the fulfilment of economic plans, the cultural and scientific development of the country and the strengthening of its defence potential.

On the basis of this unity of the rights and duties of citizens our Homeland marches forward non-stop. The men of the new socialist Albania enjoy their rights and have a clear and healthy understanding of their duties towards society, therefore they fight and work with a high sense of duty even selflessness, according to the motto «One for all and all for one» and feel themselves bound to each other «shoulder to shoulder like the mountains» for the implementation of the majestic program of the Party of the all-round development of our Homeland and our new life.

Being a complete expression of the Marxist-Leninist principle of the unity of the rights and duties of the working people and their subordination to the needs of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our so-

cialist democracy opposes all the anti-worker and anti-Marxist concepts and practices of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists of every stap. In the capitalist and the bourgeois-revisionist states there is much talk about «democracy» and «participation of the masses in the affairs of the state». The propaganda of these countries, through its mass media and its many means of corruption, leaves nothing undone, even inventing things in order to create the impression as if there the law is made by the people, as if the people govern «through the intermediary of their representatives elected to the Parliament», by universal suffrage. All this is a lie and humbug. In these countries the right to be elected does not belong to the people in any way, but only to a very small minority of rich people who, after being elected, do not care about the problems of the people, and what is worse, oppress them most savagely. The same can be said about the participation of the masses in the governments of those countries where the revisionist cliques, which have restored capitalism, are in power. The new bourgeoisie, which is paid salaries several times higher than those of the lower workers and employees in addition to its many bribes and speculations, makes the law in these countries. It keeps state power in its own hands and governs in such a manner as to further its own interests. This is how things stand about the «rights» the bourgeois-revisionist constitutions and their rotten democracy allegedly guarantee to the «free» citizens. The proletarian democracy which operates, develops and grows stronger in our country in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, once again proves the truth of Lenin's words that «the proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy».

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the right of the masses to take

effective part in the running of the country not only the most important basic direction of the deepening of socialist democracy, but also one of the main factors of the preservation and strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of averting the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of it and society.

In our country the dictatorship of the proletariat has always remained strong and unbreakable, because the masses of the people under the leadership of the Party and basing themselves on the real rights and freedom guaranteed them by the law and proletarian democracy, have always fought in a conscious manner and firmly against any alien manifestation which weakens the revolutionary character and spirit of our state organs and leads to the degeneration of cadres. Such manifestations are, in the first place, isolation of the state organs from the people, and of the cadres from the masses, which are expression of bureaucracy and liberalism, entirely alien to and very dangerous for socialism. The fight against these phenomena in Albania has resulted in the creation in Albania of a sound moral-political situation, the steel unity of the people around the Party, on which our invincibility in the face of many enemies and our progress of the road of the uninterrupted deepening of the revolution and socialist construction, rest.

The bonds of the people with the organs of the state are strengthened and perfected every day, because the state organs express and protect the vital interests of the working class, of its ally — the cooperativist peasantry, and our people's intelligentsia. The working people, led by the Party, carry out a very extensive activity in defence of their state, which they cherish like the apple of their eye, against any danger threatening it, like bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, and

for the ceaseless strengthening and development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always taken systematic measures to protect the state organs, state administrations and cadres against any manifestation of bureaucracy, liberalism and technocratism, which if not hit and dealt with in time, are fraught with grave consequences, pave the way for the re-establishment of capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of the most important measures which the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the PSR of Albania have taken in this direction are the following:

In our country the average wage of the worker compared with the highest salary of the office worker does not exceed the ratio 1:2. This ratio of wages in our country is unmatched in any other country of the world. In the capitalist-revisionist states pay differentials are as high as 1:30 and even higher. In the revisionist Soviet Union for example, while the worker is paid 80 to 100 rubles a month, the directors of enterprises and the functionaries of the revisionist party draw salaries of 1000 to 3000 rubles, without mentioning the many «bonuses», bribes, etc. In our country differentials between the average wages of the worker and the average salary of the functionary is small, according to the Marxist-Leninist principle of remuneration. This is another significant expression of our proletarian democracy.

In the context of these revolutionizing measures, all the cadres in our country do a month's direct production work. They work together with the workers in plants, factories, enterprises or with the cooperativists in the fields. In this manner they come to know the problems of production, its difficulties, the vigour and dynamism of the masses and profit from their revolutionary experience and enthu-

siasm, test in practice the correctness and accuracy of their leading activity, submit themselves to the control and criticism of the masses, overcome their weaknesses and shortcomings, and temper themselves ideologically and become better revolutionaries.

Another important measure to combat manifestations of bureaucratism to bar all paths leading to the degeneration of cadres and the political power of the working class, which also constitutes another concrete expression of proletarian democracy, is the practice according to which the elected representations and cadres systematically render account of their work before the electors and the mass of the workers, cooperativists and other working people. This has become a norm of our political and social life. In this way, the elected representatives and cadres render account periodically of their activity be-

fore the working masses. On these occasions the electors openly express their opinions about the cadres' activity and work, criticize them when they have not done their job well, help them to correct themselves and, when they form the conviction that some of them prove incorrigible, they demand that they be recalled and replaced by others, who are more able.

The control by the masses, which the Party has always seen in its close connection with the decisive role of the masses in governing the country, in the work for the construction of socialism and the deepening of socialist democracy, has a very broad scope. It has become an important instrument of the struggle against bureaucratic and technocratic manifestations, which, when they are not fought against, curb the revolutionary spirit and dampen the initiative of the working

people. The working class and masses exercise their control over the activity of all the sectors where they work and on all the problems that interest them. No other democracy than the proletarian democracy is in a position to guarantee this right to the people.

In this manner, the spirit of the proletarian democracy in socialist Albania manifests itself clearly and strongly in all directions. It constantly develops and grows stronger on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the great experience our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has gained.

Socialist Albania, small in the size of its population, but great in the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism which it carries out in practice and defends with determination and courage, marches always confident and proud on its correct road.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINING INDUSTRY AND SIDERURGY *by MAQO BLETA*

Albania has large mineral resources which are among the greatest and most profitable reserves of its economy. The mining and processing industries, as the base for the continuous intensive and extensive development of heavy industry, have been given priority

SOCIALIST ALBANIA ENTERED THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1981-1985) WITH A POWERFUL ECONOMIC BASE, WITH ALL-ROUND AND HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE BRANCHES OF ITS INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. TODAY ITS ECONOMY IS GROWING, ADVANCING, AND BECOMING EVER MORE INDEPENDENT AS A RESULT OF THE CORRECT AND FAR-SIGHTED LINE OF THE PARTY FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY.

THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEFENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY ARE CLEAR TESTIMONY OF THE VITALITY AND INVINCIBLE STRENGTH OF THE IDEAS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM APPLIED WITH WISDOM BY THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA. AMONG OTHER THINGS, IT PROVES THE UNIVERSAL VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE IN ALL THE STAGES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

Another very important aspect of the implementation of this principle in Albania is the development of a complex economy based on a multi-branched heavy industry and internal sources of primary materials, and powerful mining and mineral processing industries.

Albania has large mineral resources which are among the greatest and most profitable assets of its economy. The Party has carried out a correct and far-sighted policy in their exploitation. The mining and processing industries, as the base for the continuous intensive and extensive development of heavy industry, have been given priority. This has brought about that all the branches of the economy, and the defence capacity of the Homeland, have been strengthened. In this manner, the mining and

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processing industries in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) were raised to a higher stage. In the field of mining, the main attention was focussed on the most rational possible exploitation of the known resources, along with the discovery and exploitation of new resources. In 1980, as against 1975, the production of the chromium ore increased 26.3 per cent, copper ore 48.9 per cent, iron ore 73.2 per cent, and the upgrading of mineral ores rose 83 per cent. In the efforts for the fulfilment of tasks in the mining industry, special attention has been paid to increasing the amount and improving the quality of mining work, with the aim of making it precede the actual extraction of mineral and the overall development of this branch of industry. In view of the close correlation existing between the mining industry and the processing industry,

these two industries have developed together from both the quantitative and qualitative aspect, in conformity with the concrete conditions, while always maintaining due proportions between them. Efforts have been directed with priority to creating the possibilities for an ever greater increase of the production of the mining industry, with the objective of ensuring that, in the near future, all the primary materials are processed locally. In the copper and chromium industries only, during the 7th Five-year Plan new modern factories, which will submit mineral reserves to more thorough and rational utilization and increase the degree of their concentrates, will be put into production.

The perspective of development and extension of the mineral upgrading branch, especially in order to put into economic circulation even mineral reserves of low useful coefficient, is great, so more thorough studies have been carried out for the introduction of advanced technology in this field. Work is under way for the preparation of blue-prints and designs of machinery and technologies relying entirely on our own forces, as well as for the training of specialists. All this will bring about an increase of the extraction of minerals and their enrichment. The enrichment of minerals will double in 1985 as against 1980.

In 1985, compared with 1980, extraction of chromium ore is envisaged to increase about 29 per cent, copper ore

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about 53 per cent, iron-nickel ore 2.5 fold. Similarly, extraction of phosphorite, quartz, rock salt, olivinite, magnesite, marble blocks, etc will increase. Mineral extraction will grow on the basis of the known mineral reserves, through the intensification of extraction, first of all, in the mines under exploitation and through their extension.

In the 7th Five-year Plan extraction of newly-discovered minerals, such as bauxite, titanomagnesite, alabaster, nickel-silicate, etc will also increase.

For this purpose greater work will be done to raise the degree of preparatory work in the mines, the mechanization of work processes and the construction of vertical shafts and other capital operations bearing on the exploitation of mineral reserves in depth and distance.

An important place in the development of our industry is occupied by the metallurgical industry, which, though new in our country, is in a position to solve a number of very important economic tasks.

Metallurgy, as one of the organic branches of the economy, was set up and is growing only after Liberation. From the pre-war period the Albanian people inherited only one small copper smelting plant at Rubik. The anti-popular regimes of the past had left this branch of the economy, like the entire development of the country, in complete neglect. The working class having become the master of its fate, has set to work for the development of this important branch of our economy.

The discovery of mineral reserves, the opening of mines and their exploitation, along with the export of minerals, such as iron-nickel ore, chromium ore, etc called for their local processing by the metallurgical industry which was to be set up. However, as a result of the anti-socialist, diversionist and reactionary policy pursued

by the Soviet revisionists and their followers, as well as their sabotage activity, this urgent need of the independent development of our country came up against many obstacles.

The metallurgical industry developed with particular vigour in the last two decades. To the copper metallurgy large-scale smelting and processing factories and plants were added, the ferrous metallurgy began with a plant for rolling iron imported profiles, but then the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine was set up. A ferro-chrome plant was set up for processing chromium ore, and so on.

With the setting up of this industry, today our country is in a position to work on a full cycle almost all the amount of copper, mineral and concentrates producing copper wire and cables, various copper products and alloys for the needs of the country and export. Full-cycle production has been achieved in the processing of iron-nickel ore, from which many kinds of steels for construction, for the engineering industry, communications, agriculture, defence, for export, etc are produced.

In the last five-year plan the working class, under the leadership of the Party, overcame the difficulties arising from the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and those caused by the hostile and wrecking activity of the Chinese revisionists, while successfully coping with the pressure of the world economic crisis, and foiling all the attempts of the enemies to impede the construction of socialism in our country. In 1980, compared with 1976, the production of blister copper increased 31 per cent, of rolled steels 3 fold, pig iron 27 per cent, wire 36 per cent. In 1980, as against 1977, the production of steel billets increased 1.8 fold, of metallurgical coke 29 per cent, etc. At the same time the ideological, cultural and pro-

fessional level of the workers and working people, which is fundamental for the realization of all the great tasks of the future, has been raised. Achievements in the metallurgical industry during the past five-year plan are reliable foundations for new achievements in this five-year plan, too.

The distinguishing feature of this five-year plan (1981-1985) is complete reliance on our own forces, the human, material and financial resources of our country. Like the other branches of the economy, in metallurgy, too, the rates of production growth during the 7th Five-year Plan are very high. In 1985, compared with 1980, production of rolled steels will increase 76 per cent, of blister copper 28 per cent, ferro-chromium about 3 fold, etc. Our industry will supply almost all the needs of the economy for foundry pig iron, iron-resistant materials, electric conductors, will increase the production of alloys of non-ferrous minerals, giving priority to the rolled and drawn products, will further raise the degree of the local processing of our minerals, etc. These growth rates are based on the intensive and extensive development of our metallurgical industry. The results of their implementation in practice were reflected in the year 1981 and later on.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «Metallurgy, in general, and iron metallurgy, in particular, will be given special attention not only to deepen the full-cycle processing of our main minerals, but also to strengthen the independence of our economy from export.»

During the current five-year plan our metallurgy will be extended with a number of new sections of the metallurgical combine, the ferro-chromium plant, the copper wire and cables plant, etc. In this manner, in the metallurgical combine the inauguration of the first

phase was followed by the commissioning of the refractory bricks plant, the second blast furnace, the second coke battery, two production lines in the No. 12 plant, all of them mainly with our own forces. This speaks of the real possibilities and the technical-scientific capacities of our men in the construction and operation of major projects. The nickel treating plant which will be set up in the years of the 7th Five-year Plan, will process the iron-nickel ore of our country for the production of metallic nickel and cobalt. The plant of carbonic products will also use local primary materials for the production of articles which used to be imported up till now. Similarly, the section for the production of steel wires of Albanian make will be completed. Work will begin on the construction of major projects such as a hot rolling plant for the production of sheet iron, a plant for the production of welded and unwelded pipes to meet the needs of the oil in-

dustry, geology, engineering, construction, etc thereby greatly expanding the range of the rolled steel products of the metallurgical combine. The introduction of new technology in some plants, which is already under study, will further improve the technical-economic indices and raise production to a higher level.

Albania is rich in reserves of a good quality chromium mineral which today is partly exported in the state of crude mineral and partly processed for the production of carbonic ferro-chromium. Apart from the existing ferro-chromium plant in this five-year plan and the five-year plans to come, the objective will be to set up a metallurgical complex for the production of ferrous alloys.

Improvement of technology in the copper industry will bring about improvements in the technical-economic indices and a considerable growth of production. The increased degree of pro-

cessing of concentrates produced by the upgrading factories will have special importance here. In the current five-year plan the range of copper products will increase through the production of thin and extra-thin wire, cables for interurban communications, billets and many other products.

Thorough studies are being conducted about the local processing of new minerals such as nickel-silicate, bauxite, quartzite, which will open great perspectives to the development of new branches of metallurgy.

All this, and the important achievements made by the other branches of the economy, constitute that reliable base on which the Party has charted the way for the high-rate development of socialist industry, the further strengthening of the independence and defence capacity of the Homeland, and the continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the working people in the future.

BIOLOGY IN THE SERVICE OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE

by **TEKI TARTARI**

Studies in molecular biology will further deepen the knowledge of the processes which lie at the foundation of the phenomena of biological life of plants and animals and enable us to scientifically guide so as to constantly increase yields and lower cost for unit of production

THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IS BASED ON THE BIG AND CEASELESS INVESTMENTS MADE BY THE STATE IN AGRICULTURE AS WELL AS ON THE SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION OF A SERIES OF TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC MEASURES, PERTAINING TO VARIOUS FIELDS OF BIOLOGY.

ONE OF THE MAIN FIELDS OF THE APPLICATION OF BIOLOGY FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE IS THE CREATION OF NEW STRAINS AND HYBRIDS OF AGRICULTURAL CROPS FOR THE CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY. FROM THE PAST WE INHERITED ONLY VARIETIES OF PLANTS WITH A LOW GENETIC AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY, WHICH THE PEASANTS THEMSELVES SELECTED ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT ECOLOGICAL AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, BUT WHICH IN THE NEW CONDITIONS COULD NO LONGER MEET THE REQUIREMENTS AND BE PLACED AT THE GROUNDWORK OF AN INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE.

The creation of new strains and varieties is an important field of work for many research institutions in biology and agriculture and enterprises specialized in the production of seeds in our country.

The contribution of the biological science to these realizations is great and many-sided. It begins with genetic

TEKI TARTARI — Doctor of zootechnical sciences, director of the Biological Research Centre at the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania

and biological studies conducted on the autochthonous biological material inherited from the past or the biological material introduced recently in our country, in order to single out its useful qualities such as adaptability to different ecological environments and resistance to certain diseases, and continues with the concrete creative work of an entire body of selectors engaged in producing new strains and hybrids. Selection work, which is conducted

by a broad network of research institutions and specialized enterprises, is based on the principles of contemporary genetics, physiology and biochemistry.

Thus, the work of the Institute of Rice and Maize in Shkodra for the production of new strains of «Rozafa» maize involved in its scientific program a series of studies of genetic combinations based on the general and special features of each line, as well as analyses of grafts, proteins and amino-acids of high biological value, such as lizine, triptophane, etc. Various mutation lines such as the opaque line, etc. were successfully used for this purpose. Special attention was paid to the physiological study of the various aspects of maize in order to produce strains and hybrids with physiological parametres most suitable to the utilization of mineral fertilizers, of irrigation and light coefficients.

As a result of complex biological studies of maize, new high-yield hybrids, giving 80-100 quintals of maize per hectare in extensive blocks, have

been created, and new genetic programs of raising this ceiling to a higher level, accompanied with the improvement of special qualities, such as the protein content, the fat content in the embryo, the content of lizine and triptophane, have been worked out.

With the genetic programs of the Institute of Agricultural Research in Lushnja and the Higher Institute of Agriculture in Tirana for the improvement of wheat varieties, based on the cytogenetic and genetic analysis of varieties, it has become possible to create new varieties of wheat, such as «Dajti», «Agimi», etc. with qualities which ever better meet the requirements for the intensification of agriculture and yields of 50-55 quintals per hectare at a low cost. Specific genetic studies are under way for grafting of hard and soft strains of maize in order to obtain interspecific hybrids. In this same direction, good results have been achieved in the study and spread of the tritical hybrid intermediary between wheat and rye.

The intensification of agriculture in our country is characterized not only by the continuous deepening of concentration and specialization of the large-scale economies, but also by the development of its many branches on a national scale, ie by the cultivation of all agricultural crops which are important to the economy of the country. Therefore, along with the production of bread grain crops, special importance is devoted to the cultivation of industrial and technical crops, such as sugar-beet, tobacco, cotton, sun-flower, etc., as well as vegetables and forage crops. In the cultivation of these crops, too, the biological sciences have already begun to make their contribution to the enrichment and improvement of the genetic fund for the production of crop varieties, throwing light on special aspects of the physiology, biochemistry and ecology of these crops. In this manner we have strains and hybrids of satisfactory biological value, which have become widespread and are giving good results in the agricultural economies of our country.

Albania is rich in forest and fruit trees. The tradition and experience inherited from the past in these bran-

ches of the economy has been further enriched through placing many processes of forest and fruit — tree growing on scientific biological bases. Ecological studies are being carried out on the most suitable weather belts for the different forest and fruit trees. As regards forest trees, many-year work has been done on forest growth, the Alpine pasture-lands, and in general, the flora of Albania on which important publications have been made. Varieties of fruit trees are being distributed according to the ecological conditions of microzones, which will result in a higher specialization and intensification of the work in this sector. The combination of the applied biology with increased investments on fruit-growing has made Albania a country exporting fruits and their industrialized products.

An important role in the work for the intensification of agriculture and the ensuring of high yields from agricultural crops is played by the fight against pests. In this direction the science of biology, while not discontinuing the use of chemicals against harmful agents in agriculture, has contributed, through genetic programs, to the creation of kinds and hybrids more resistant to various diseases, and has taken the initial steps towards the use of biological means against pests. This latter method is very promising, not only as regards the increase of profitability of agricultural economies, but also in another very important direction, that of protecting the environment against pollution caused by frequent use of pesticides. The Scientific Station of Phytopathology is working in this new direction of the biological struggle against pests.

Biological studies, correlated as they are with pedological studies, also treat problems connected with the latter. In this direction intensive work is being done, mainly through scientific research activities, in the study of the useful micro-flora and -fauna of the soil, which can be put to good use for the increase of its fertility. Likewise, many problems have been solved and concrete measures taken to build up the fertility of the land by means of bacterial fertilizers destined to gummiferous plants in order to increase their absorption of biological nitrogen.

Albania is a country with a rich tradition in livestock-raising which, apart from other factors, is due to its mountainous configuration. Alongside important investments made by the state, the biological sciences are making their contribution to the rapid transformation of many aspects of animal husbandry with a view coping with the growing needs of the economy for valuable animal products.

Of first-rate importance is scientific research in the field of biology for the creation of new breeds of livestock of better productivity, especially sheep, goats, cattle and fowl. The creation of new breeds is ensured by combining the properties of local breeds in different ecological zones with those of the cultivated breeds with high yields of wool, for sheep, high productivity of meat and milk, for cattle and cows, high percentage of fat, for milk cows, high productivity of eggs, for hens, etc. As a result of utilizing various genetic schemes of cross-breeding it has been possible to create new breeds and cross-breeds, which respond better to the need for the intensification of animal husbandry. Among them worth mentioning are the improved Cigaya and Merino breeds of sheep, the improved Jersey breed of cattle, the improved Arab, Haflinger and Nonius breed of horse, etc.

However, in order to respond better to the needs for the intensification of agriculture and animal husbandry, pure Jersey and Black cattle as well as Cigaya and Merino sheep have been introduced. Biological studies have been made in order to form a complete picture of the development of these breeds in the weather and feed conditions of Albania. As a result, at present we are in possession of experimental data which add to our knowledge of the biological requirements of these breeds and enable us to carry out a more rational distribution of them in our country.

In order to step up breed improvement rates for cattle and sheep, special studies and experiments have been made as to the methods of artificial insemination and the genetic estimation of pedigree animals and their progeniture. The method of artificial insemination of cattle and sheep is fairly widespread in our animal husbandry and predominates over the na-

tural method. Considering the different ecological conditions of our country, new methods have been worked out for the conservation of the sperm, and successful tests have recently been made for the deep freeze of the sperm by means of liquid nitrogen. Estimation of the qualities of pedigree animals on the basis of their progeniture helps form a more complete idea of their genotype and employ the best method for the improvement of the breed of the livestock proceeding from scientific genetic criteria.

In recent times studies have been carried out and new contemporary genetic methods used to increase the production of meat from cattle and sheep, through simple or complex cross-breeding of cattle and sheep with pedigree animals of the Charlotte and Simmenthal breeds for meat cattle of high productivity, of the Suffolk, Texel, Ile de France and German White-head breeds of meat sheep of high productivity. The broad range of studies and experiments showed that these methods are greatly profitable. In the sector of sheep-raising, in particular, industrial cross-breeding with pedigree animals specialized in meat production has given very positive results especially in increasing the live weight of lambs up to 50-60 per cent over that of their mother and reducing the conversion index of fodder.

By the method of industrial cross-breeding it has been possible to obtain a supplementary growth of 10-40 per cent in weight for the same amount of feed, to have lambs weighing 25-30 kg at the sixth month in the normal conditions of livestock-raising economies, and to bring about a marked improvement of the quality of meat.

In poultry-raising, the method of hybridization of the lines, in order to produce hybrid hens of high productivity of meat and eggs, has been extensively introduced. For these results to be achieved, genetic studies and tests have been made on cross-breeding and on the general combining capacity of various lines, on which the entire system of the work for the improvement of the methods of hybridization has been built.

The genetic transformations thus obtained have been accompanied with various physiological and biochemical studies, in order to throw more light on the problems of metabolism and the way of feeding the new breeds of animals.

Studies in microbiology and experimental veterinary have brought about marked progress in the field of zootechny, especially into preventive veterinary by means of vaccines against different infections. Thus, with each passing day we see biological sciences becoming a direct productive factor.

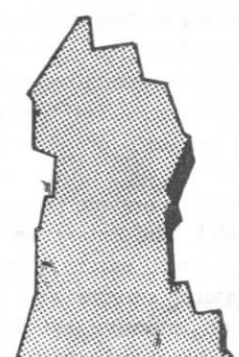
The contribution the Albanian biological science is expected to give to the further intensification of agriculture of our country in the future is even greater. Studies in molecular biology will further deepen our knowledge of the processes which lie at the foundation of the phenomena of biological life of plants and animals and enable us to channel these processes scientifically in the direction of continuously increasing yields and lowering costs per unit of production. Progress in genetics will bring about the creation of new lines and hybrids of high biological capacity. Physiological and biochemical studies will ensure a more rational use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, water and other factors for lowering costs. Individual scientific studies will be carried out in bio-engineering, guided microbiological and fermentative processes, in order to increase protein sources even from one-cell proteins through the utilization of agricultural sub-products and various organic refuse as primary material. The Enterprise of Ecological Studies will ensure a better balance of natural systems and the development of intensive agriculture in an unpolluted natural environment.

All this is done with the objective of increasing the sources of alimentary products and continuously raising the standard of living of our people.

ANOTHER REDUCTION OF PRICES IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

DECISION ON THE REDUCTION OF RETAIL PRICES FOR SOME MASS CONSUMER GOODS AND OF TARIFFS FOR SOME COMMUNAL SERVICES

In implementation of tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party for raising the material and cultural level of the working masses, and based on the results achieved by the working class and the cooperativist peasantry in increasing production, cutting down on its cost and raising the social productivity of labour, and on instructions from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers.

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DECIDED:

1. To reduce retail prices for some mass consumer goods, with an annual gain of 75 million leks for the population, as follows:

— Turkey	15 per cent
— Chicken	8-10 per cent
— Goose and duck	8-10 per cent
— Acrylic thread and knitwear	18-20 per cent
— Cotton singlets and underwear of Pogradec and Shkodra	18-20 per cent
— Stamped cotton cloth and popeline mixed with cotton and polyester cloth and confections	8-10 per cent
— Confections of coupons of woollen and cotton cloth for children	8-10 per cent
— Plastic mass consumer goods	15 per cent
— Plastic slippers	17 per cent
— Pressed plastic shoes of local PVC	25 per cent
— Igelit shoes and sandals	15-20 per cent
— Black and white television-sets	11 per cent
— Home-made tape-recorders and cassettes	20 per cent
— Home-made and imported radio-sets	35 per cent
— Home-made washing-machines	30 per cent
— Home-made bicycles	7 per cent
— Enamel kitchen ware	15-20 per cent
— Winter perambulators	22 per cent
— Local artistic products	25-30 per cent
— Igelit bags of all kinds	10 per cent
— Rubber toys for children	20 per cent

2. To cut down 8-15 per cent on 135 kinds of tariffs for communal services in the nomenclature of the Ministry of Communal Economy and the executive committees of district people's councils.

This decision comes into force on June 16, 1982.

* * *

The Council of Ministers expresses its conviction that these measures for further raising the living standard of the people will enhance even more the mobilization of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the fulfilment of the targets of the state plan, in the strengthening and advancement of our socialist Homeland, and in the implementation of the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

THE 9th SESSION OF THE 9th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The 9th session of the 9th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings from 28 to 30 of June.

The session was declared open by the chairman of the Chairmanship of the People's Assembly, Comrade Simon Stefani, who proposed the following agenda:

1) Endorsement of the Draft Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania;

2) Report of the Council of Ministers «On the results achieved in the extension and improvement of communal services in town and countryside and the measures for carrying out further the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party in this sector»;

3) Endorsement of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies unanimously approved the agenda.

The session went on with the examination of the first item on the agenda. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, submitted the report on the Draft Family Code. Among other things he said:

«In continuation of the work for carrying out the tasks set by the Party for the revision of the main legislation and in conformity with the orientation of the Central Committee of the PLA the Council of Ministers presents the Draft Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for examination and endorsement by the People's Assembly.

«The radical transformations made in all fields — political, economic, cultural, and social, by our people under the leadership of our Party with Com-

rade Enver Hoxha at the head, have brought about a real revolution in the Albanian family, too. They have resulted in the creation of a new family, the socialist family. Our family is entirely free of economic exploitation. Its moral-political situation is sound and its educational and cultural level is rising. The pure feelings existing between people, between husband and wife, between parents and children and vice versa, are prominent in our family. As is known, each individual family is the miniature picture of the contrasts and contradictions within which society develops. Our new socialist family is a mirror of all the achievements of our society on the road of social and moral progress, and at the same time, is the basis of the strength and stability of our society, a premise of the uninterrupted development of our socialist revolution. This is also the fundamental reason why the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally have devoted constant care and attention to the problems of the emancipation of the woman and the creation of a new family, have called and still call on us that we do ideological, political and economic work for the ceaseless tempering of our new socialist family in order to free it from everything alien and reactionary. The Draft Family Code, worked out in compliance with the conditions of the present development and with the requirements and principles of our Constitution, responds to the fulfilment of this task.

«The Draft Family Code, like any other constitutional document of our life, was submitted to the judgement of the working masses. A broad popular discussion of its principles and provisions has taken place. The many

suggestions and proposals, which emerged from this discussion, have found their expression in the Draft Family Code and have contributed to bring it to this point of revision and improvement in which it is presented today for examination and endorsement.

«The fundamental objective of the Draft Family Code, in general, is to place our socialist family on the soundest bases possible, to defend and strengthen it further, in conformity with the norms of communist morality, to ensure the complete implementation of the principle of equality between consorts, as well as between them and the other members of the family. Through its provisions it combats, at the same time, alien manifestations in family relations.

«Of decisive importance is the reaffirmation of the constitutional principle that «marriage and the family are under the care and protection of the state and society». In our socialist society there is no room for the deceptive bourgeois concept according to which marriage and the family are only personal questions in which society should not and cannot meddle. On the contrary, the state and society in our country are directly interested in the creation and preservation of a sound family. The direct interest of our state and society in the problems of family, while not interfering in the least with its intimate and delicate character, is intended to prevent any action which weakens the family, to do away with any obstacle to the fulfilment of its important functions.

«The constitutionally sanctioned equality of husband and wife permeates the whole of the Draft Code. Liberated of oppression and economic exploitation, woman enjoys equal rights with man. This principle covers not only work, remuneration, holiday, social insurance, education and culture, all political and social activity, but also all family relations.

«Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, has not limited itself to merely proclaiming equality between husband and wife and sanctioning it by law, but also has fought and fights every day to ensure that it is translated into life.

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«The promises the statesmen or the various parties in the bourgeois-revisionist countries frequently make about ensuring equality between husband and wife, are a fraud. The feminist movements and initiatives of this kind in these countries are mere illusion. So long as the economic social order which is based on private property and the exploitation of man by man exists, so long as the entire life of these countries is pervaded by a reactionary ideology and directed by just as reactionary a policy, equality between husband and wife cannot be achieved, hence there can be no fa-

mily in the real sense of the word. This can be achieved only through the destruction of the bourgeois-revisionist order, only through the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the creation of a new, socialist society.

«A special place in the Draft Family Code is devoted to the institution of marriage. Marriage, as the legitimate basis of the creation of the family in our society, is characterized by the freedom of the individual to choose his life partner. Article 13 of the Draft says: «The future consorts are united in marriage on the basis of acquaintan-



ce and love.» This provision of the law has great importance for the family itself and for its future, since only a sound marriage contracted on the basis of free will of the consorts, on the basis of acquaintance and love, can create a sound family.

«Our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has recognized and recognizes only the marriage contracted before the competent state organs. Actual cohabitation enjoys no legal protection. It is typical of the bourgeois and revisionist society which treat marriage as a civil contract which can be entered into and dissolved when-

ever the interests of the sides cease to coincide. The views the bourgeois ideologists about «free love without family obligations,» are alien to our society.

«A special chapter of the Draft Code deals with the rights and duties of the consorts in family life.

«The Draft Code, proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist concept on marriage, also regulates its dissolution. In our socialist society marriage is dissolved under certain circumstances, which is an inevitable phenomenon and which, in the cases when marriage has lost its social mission, is useful and

necessary. The duty of society is to prevent hasty and baseless requests for the dissolution of marriage.

«Divorce in socialist society is by no means a deviation from the principle of the state protection of marriage and the family. The socialist state is interested in protecting sound marriages, which are really living cells of society and fulfil the mission they are charged with.

«Our Family Legislation does not recognize divorce by mutual consent of the couple. On this point, too, it is different from the legislation of other countries. In the spirit of our legisla-

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tion, the agreement of the couple to the dissolution of marriage is not reason enough, the court also must form the conviction that the relations of the married couple have been thoroughly shaken before it gives its consent to the divorce. The judgment of such a situation is not left to the subjective wish of the couple, because this would open the road to liberalism and moral decay, but is within the competence of the court, as the only state organ which has the right to decide.

«The constitutional provision that mother and child enjoy special care and protection permeates the entire Draft Code and especially the institutions related to marriage — maternity, paternity, adoption and parent-child relations. The protection of the rights and interests of mother and child is one of the main duties of the court in examining such cases. It is precisely for these reasons that the Draft Code provides that the court entrusts the bringing up and education of the children to the parent who is in better moral-political conditions to do this.

«The Draft Code pays particular attention to the regulation of parent-child relations.

«Proceeding from socialist humanism, the Draft Code has a new provision for the regulation of personal relations between grandfather and the under-aged grandchildren even when one of the latter's parents has died and they are supported by the other parent or other persons. Lack of such a provision in practice has caused worries to the grandparents when they wanted to see and look after the children of their children.

«Unlike the Code in force, regarding the question of the obligation of parents to support their children, the Draft Code provides that this obligation should remain in force also for the period when the children who have come of age attend the secondary school or higher school, until they reached 25 years of age. This change is dictated by the need to ensure that the children continue their further education even when their parents are

divorced. This solution is also compatible with the stand of our state which provides family pensions for children up to 25 years of age when they attend higher studies.

«In our family legislation relations between parents and children can also be created by people other than the parents undertaking to bring up and educate one or more underaged children (adoption). Adoption is intended to defend the interests of children under 18 years old, who, as a rule, have no parents of their own, as well as to fulfil the paternal feelings of those persons who, for various reasons, have no children of their own. Adoption is an important event in the life of the child adopted, of the parents that have given him birth, and of his adoptive parents. Therefore, the Draft Code provides that adoption should take place before and by decision of the court.

«Unlike the Code in force, the Draft Code prohibits the interruption of adoption, whatever the cause, because with the act of adoption adopted children become equal to natural children.

«The Draft Code reaffirms the constitutional right of orphans or children left without support, to special protection. They are brought up and educated by the socialist state, accommodated in state institutions or entrusted to a tutor. The institution of tutelage is maintained over this category of under-aged children as well as over persons whose capacity to act has been totally or partially impaired.

«The profoundly democratic character of the Draft Family Code is also expressed in the strong guarantees of procedure it envisages, so that each spouse, child or parent can claim the fulfilment of the rights guaranteed by the law and the defence of these rights by the courts and other state organs.»

The report of the Juridical Commission was delivered by the secretary of the Commission, deputy Liri Gjoli-ku. The discussion of the Draft Family Code began at the second session.

In conclusion of the discussion, the deputies unanimously endorsed the Fa-



family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in principle, article by article and as a whole.

The third session examined the second item on the agenda. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Rrapo Dervishi, minister of the communal economy, presented the report «On the results achieved in the extension and improvement of communal services in town and countryside and the measures for carrying out further the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party in this sector.»

The Chairman of the Commission of the People's Assembly for Health, Communal Services and Post-Telecommunications, deputy Nazmije Poga, delivered the report on behalf of this commission.

After the discussion was closed, the chairman of the leading body of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Comrade Simon Stefani, proposed the endorsement of the work done so far and the tasks emerging for the further development of the communal sector and called on the Council of Mi-

nisters and the local state and economic organs to pay constant attention to the tasks set in the report and the suggestions and proposals forwarded by the deputies, in their activity.

The deputies unanimously approved the decision no. 157, dated June 30, 1982.

In connection with item three on the agenda, the floor was taken by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance, Comrade Qirjako Mihali, who presented the draft law on the institution of the savings and insurance banks. Among other things, he stressed that the development of our socialist economy, the increase of the incomes of the working masses and of their deposits in the savings banks raised the need for the new draft law on the institution of the savings and insurance banks in compliance with the respective provisions of the new Civil Code. Comrade Qirjako Mihali stressed that this draft law, in compliance with the provisions of the new Civil Code which regulate the relations of property between con-

sorts, provides for the first time that the deposits made in the period of married life are common property of the couple.

The deputies unanimously approved the law on the institution of the savings and insurance banks in principle, article by article and as a whole.

The secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu presented the report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The Assembly approved unanimously the decrees in principle, one by one, and as a whole, amongst which the decrees on the nomination of Comrade Pali Miska vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of the power industry, in the place of Comrade Prokop Murra who is assigned to an important party duty; of Comrade Reis Malile minister of foreign affairs in the place of Nesti Nase who goes into retirement and of Comrade Ajli Alushani minister of health in the place of Llambi Ziqishti who is discharged of this post.

The Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Comrade Simon Stefani, held the closing speech.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The National Conference on the Formation of the Albanian people, their language and culture, organized by the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania jointly with the University of Tirana and other institutes of higher education and scientific associations of the country, held its proceedings from July 2 to 5, 1982.

Students from other countries also attended the Conference.

The Conference was declared open by the director of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, Prof. Stefanaq Pollo, who among other things said:

«This Conference will deal with one of the more important problems of our social sciences — that of the ethnogenesis of the Albanian people in its fundamental aspects; the Illyrian-Albanian continuation, the autochthony of the Albanians in their territories and the consolidation of the Albanian nationality with its language, culture and territory in the Middle Ages.»

Prof. Stefanaq Pollo thanked the foreign students for attending the Conference. He expressed his regret that, despite the invitation extended to them, the students from Kosova, who would have made an outstanding contribution with their valuable works to the treatment of the common problem of the ethnogenesis of the Albanian people, were not attending the Conference.

Prof. Aleks Buda delivered the report «The Ethnogenesis of the Albanian People in the Light of History».

Prof. Mahir Domi delivered the report «The Formation of the Albanian Language — Problems and Tasks».

Senior Scientific Worker Skënder Anamali delivered the report «On the Problem of the Formation of the Albanian People in the Light of Archaeological Research».


Historians, linguists, archaeologists, ethnographers, teachers and workers

of scientific associations of districts as well as foreign scientists read their papers and contributed to the discussion.

On behalf of the foreign scientists participating in the Conference, Prof. Hermann Olberg (Innsbruck) thanked the Conference for the warm hospitality and made a positive appraisal of the proceedings of the Conference that had dealt in an all-round and serious scientific manner with the complex problems of different disciplines, such as archaeology, history, language and folklore.

Then the President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania Prof. Aleks Buda held the closing speech. He said among other things that our post-Liberation Albanological sciences are shedding new light on the truth about the centuries-long history of our people, as the direct successors of the Southern Illyrians, the formation of the Albanian nationality, the original language and culture of this nationality, their irresistible development through their struggles for freedom and social justice, and the creation of the Albanian nation which has become today an advanced socialist nation.

Prof. Aleks Buda pointed out that the Conference reaffirmed the fundamental idea that the popular masses, as the main carriers of the local language and culture, were the decisive factor of the preservation, consolidation and development of the Illyrian ethnos and later the Arbrian ethnos. From the linguistic viewpoint, the Conference proved convincingly that the Albanian language, one of the most ancient languages of the Balkan Peninsula, is the direct continuation of the Illyrian and is formed as the language of a nation since the Early Middle Ages in the territories inhabited by the Albanians today, including the regions of ancient Dardania.

FROM THE

COUNTRY



THE CONGRESS OF THE CONTINUATION C

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

*The grave crisis which has swept
Titoite Yugoslavia is the direct outcome of the capitalist system
of self-administration, of the bourgeois
relations which it has produced in the Yugoslav
society, of the policy of open doors to foreign capital*

THE SPONSORS OF THE 12th CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA DESCRIBED THEIR FORUM AS THE CONGRESS OF THE CONTINUATION OF THE COURSE OF TITO. TORRENTS OF PRAISE WERE LAVISHED ON TITO, THOUGH HIS NAME AND THE SOPHISTRY OF SELF-ADMINISTRATION WERE RARELY MENTIONED. HOWEVER, APART FROM WORDS THIS CONGRESS OFFERED NOTHING NEW. ITS PROCEEDINGS REVEALED ONCE AGAIN THE ALL-ROUND BANKRUPTCY OF TITOGITE SELF-ADMINISTRATION, THE FAILURES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ECONOMY AND THE PARTY, THINGS WHICH WERE KNOWN EVEN BEFORE THE CONGRESS, BUT WHICH NOW HAVE BECOME OBVIOUS TO EVERYBODY. THE CONGRESS ALSO REVEALED THE SET-BACKS THE REVISIONIST CLIQUE OF BELGRADE HAS SUFFERED IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY.

Judging from the economic difficulties, from the aggravation of the internal contradictions and the piling up of unsolved questions, there were people in Yugoslavia who hoped that this congress would bring some change for the better. However, the congress solved none of the problems and opened no perspective at all. It made some compromises and couched its resolutions in such a way as not to change anything and to allow the situation to continue as before. In other words, they intend to proceed in that way as long as they can, to grab as much as they can, hoping for better time to come and for the diseases to disappear automatically!

The proceedings of the 12th Congress of the LCY were another confirmation of the thesis of our Party to the effect that self-administration leads by no means to socialism. On the contrary, «ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA

as Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved with scientific argument in his well-known book «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», and in a number of his earlier and later writings, self-administration is a form of capitalist development of society, but one which is given a coat of wishy-washy, supposedly Marxist, colour. The very results of the new congress of the Titoites corroborated that stern and principled criticism and the correct struggle our Party has waged and will continue to wage against Yugoslav pseudo-socialism and anti-Marxism.

Despite the efforts the Yugoslav congress made to gloss over the situation, now no amount of propaganda can cover up the gloomy reality, the grave economic crisis, the national dissensions, the political confusion and ideological disorientation, all the old and new factors which have contributed to making Yugoslavia a sick country, ridd-

led with all sorts of contradictions and social conflicts.

Proof of this situation is the extension of the crisis to all sectors, the steep rise of prices for consumption goods and services, which has hit hard the working masses, increased unemployment which according to official statistics has reached the 800 thousand mark, apart from one million and more Yugoslavs who have gone to seek work in foreign countries, a drastic fall of investments, incomplete utilization of productive capacities, decrease of budget expenditure in the cultural-social sphere, galloping inflation which is one of the highest in the world. Yugoslavia's debts to foreign countries have reached the colossal sum of 20 billion dollars. Relative to the number of the population, Yugoslavia's indebtedness is greater than Poland's, and if the big banks still have not come down hard on Yugoslavia, as they are doing with Poland, this is the political price international big capital demands from Belgrade in return for its services.

The grave crisis which has swept Titoite Yugoslavia is the direct outcome of the capitalist system of self-administration, of the bourgeois relations which it has produced in the Yugoslav society, of the policy of open doors to foreign capital.

Tied closely to the bourgeois economy of the West and built as its appendage, the Yugoslav economy is

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suffering now the consequences of this capitulationist policy. The principal sectors of the Yugoslav economy have developed in line with the neo-colonialist strategy worked out and implemented by Western big capital in the last three decades. This strategy was intended to make such countries as Yugoslavia dependent on both Western credits and primary materials and technology and spare parts by assuring the purchase of their products. These combined factors have wrought havoc on the Yugoslav economy, disorientating and smothering it. Prices for primary materials, spare parts, semi-finished products have increased, while Yugoslav finished products find no place in export markets.

Yugoslavia is compelled to listen obediently to and rigorously comply with the demands of the World Bank and the International Fund, like all the other countries which have great debts to the West. These banks fix the amount of the devaluation of the dinar, the ceiling of inflation, the rise of prices, the priorities of the economic branches, etc. The Western big banks decide on how much more the belts of the masses of the people in Yugoslavia are to be tightened, how many workers are to be thrown out in the streets, what economic and political conditions are to be fulfilled in order to postpone the payment of debts, etc.

In the discussion at the congress there were some who spoke openly about the great difficulties Yugoslavia is going through and the set-backs which self-administration has brought it. Sergej Krajer, who has been placed at the head of a commission which is supposed to prescribe the remedies for the ailing economy of Yugoslavia, assessed the situation as «very difficult», and demanded that everybody should be made aware of «the growing tendencies in the communes, and especially in the republics and autonomous regions, to getting ever

more independent and autarkic, thus undermining the Yugoslav integral market.» «The tendency to anarchy,» Krajer pointed out, «has found its complete expression in growing inflation. Breaches began to form in the cycle of reproduction and they could no longer be stopped with the aid of foreign loans, ie with the further increase of debts.» Voicing his concern lest the theses according to which self-administration is the cause of the difficulties in which Yugoslavia finds itself, may gain further credit, he said that «the situation of the economy and society requires a radical change in the economic policy of the country.»

Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, who as a Titoite of the first hour cannot be accused of failing loyalty to the system his patron created, declared to the congress that «the situation in which our economy finds itself today has all the signs of a crisis. Many production organizations are obliged to stop work. Unemployment, inflation, and huge foreign debts are the concomitant phenomena of a crisis situation.» «I heard Dragosavac speaking about satisfactory results in connection with the foreign debts,» he said. «What are they? After the 11th Congress (1978), our debts rose from eight to twenty billion dollars. And now we are threatened by the foreign banks... The crisis is not only a political, but also a social one. Indeed, it is a crisis of self-administration!» In connection with the so-called long-term stabilization program he said: «I doubt whether anything at all will come out of it.» There were others who spoke in the same dramatic tone, but none of them explicitly indicated the political line which had led to a destabilized economy and unemployment and which had divided the country into rich and poor. None of them spoke about the ideology which inspires this line, the political system which applies it and the people who give leadership in it.»

This analysis was not made, because it would have brought out the Titoite

betrayal of the working class and the working masses of Yugoslavia and would have made the delegates admit openly the failure of the system of self-administration, which, like all other bourgeois experiments, proved itself unable to cure the capitalist society of its grave social ills.

Though proclaimed as a system allegedly giving state power to the workers, it gave state power to the technocrats and bureaucrats who have themselves turned into a savagely exploitative class. «Who has been accustomed to governing in the name of the workers,» declared the delegate Vinko Hafner, «can hardly accustom himself to being governed by the workers themselves.» He said that now it is no longer necessary to prove «the existence of bureaucracy, ie the presence in the leading post of an élite as a new class, which on the one hand, tries to pose as a fighter for the success of self-administration, and on the other hand, seeks to hold on arbitrarily to its own leading positions as long as possible.»

The Yugoslav revisionists boastfully claim that the workers themselves decide on the division of the income of their enterprises. But this is what Raif Dizdarević, the presentative of Bosnia, declared at the congress: «As a rule the share of the workers in the total income is 63 per cent, and 37 per cent goes to the fulfilment of common needs, in general, however, no one knows how much of this 63 per cent is disposed by the workers in reality. In fact, most of this income is allocated beforehand to other purposes.» And in this manner, while not a single dinar is available for the expansion of productive capacities, the Titoite self-administrative managers who have begun to be strikingly similar to the sheiks of the Persian Gulf, can afford to build gaudy villas not only in Dalmatia but in Florida, too. The safes of the Yugoslav state have long been drained of all foreign currency, but they

have five billion dollars owned by private people, apart from other billions that have found their way into the pockets of different people or the foreign banks. Where has all this money come from? This seems inexplicable, but everybody knows that it comes from the plunder of the wealth of the people and the exploitation of the toil of the working people.

Advertised as a system for the equal development of the republics and regions, self-administration created closed national economies and created an unprecedentedly deep gap between the rich and the poor regions.

The supposedly unified Yugoslav market, conceived to work as the main pivot for the convergence of the various political, economic and social interests, has shown so many breaches and undergone such distortions that it can hardly support the load of the Yugoslav economic structure. A characteristic fact is that immediately after the congress, at which many highfalutin words were said in connection with the possibilities of overcoming the crisis, the magazine «Nin», in its issue of July 4, carried an article under the title «Neither Unified nor a Market». «In the opinion of the journalist of 'Nin',» TANJUG points out, «the disfunction of the unified Yugoslav and each one's isolation within his own 'enclosure' has contributed to making inflation so high, because of tendency of each one always to favour his own commodity over the 'foreign' (of the other republics — Ed.) commodity, his own investments over foreign investments, disregarding the fact that foreign investments and commodities may prove to be more rational and cheaper and, what is more important, may justify themselves from the viewpoint of the general national economy.» Even though customs duties have not been established between the republics by law they exist in practice. It is easy to imagine what sort of an economy is that in which the enterprises of the different republics use the American dollar in their exchanges, instead of the dinar.

The congress itself was a meeting of the representatives of the various economic and political groupings strugg-

ling for privileged positions to the detriment of the others. Sergej Krajger complained at the congress about insufficient determination in the struggle against autonomist tendencies in the republics, which cause «grave problems, threaten the stability of the country and its international position.» Nevertheless, he was the most outspoken advocate of the preservation of those ideological concepts and sociopolitical structures which brought about the unequal development of the different regions of the country and guaranteed the privileged, almost monopoly, positions of the Slovenian-Croatian bourgeoisie in the economy.

The congress failed to conceal the grave situation in the socio-economic relations of the country and the rampant ideological degeneration and confusion. Dragosavac, who read the main report to the congress, was forced to admit that «stagnation in the development of self-administration has opened the road to the operation of anarchic-liberal and pseudo-leftist forces, mainly technocratic, which offer various models and alternatives to the social order.» «These ideologies,» he declared, «have penetrated the League of Communists and even some of its individual leaderships.»

Seen in complex, this confusion is an expression of the decay and failure of Titoism both in theory and in practice. Divorce from the reality and the very ambiguous and detached manner in which the congress treated the many grave problems that afflict the present-day Yugoslav society, show that the Titoite revisionist ideology has also degenerated in its demagogy and propaganda, which used to be its main card for the deception of the masses. But people cannot be fed from an empty spoon. They demand to know what is to be done about unemployment which continues to grow, about prices which rise from day to day, about corruption which has infected all the apparatuses of the party and state, about the rampant national violence, about the independence of the country which is being threatened, etc, etc. They demand to know especially who is to blame for the crisis and why it came about. A worker delegate to the congress, complaining about the

crisis and its consequences, declared: «We must free ourselves from the cadres who have led us to this situation.» Obviously, when this worker criticizes the cadres he implies the system.

Efforts were made at the congress to blame the failures, as in the case of Kosova, on individual persons and leaderships, such as the former leading team in Kosova. But it is a fact that economic and social crises are not caused by this or that person, by this or that official, by the construction of one factory more or one factory less, or by the shortage of this or that article on the market and its presence in the warehouses. Crises are the consequence of the social order, of the existing relations of production, of the predominant ideology and the political line pursued. But the Congress of the LCY passes these problems in silence. The only explanation it offered to them, and which in fact is an expression of scorn for the people, is that «So far we have consumed more than we have produced,» which strictly means that they should tighten their belts.

The grave situation of the country, which the Congress of the LCY was forced to admit, proves that the system established in Yugoslavia is exacerbating more and more the old ulcers of the oppressive and exploitative bourgeois society, a society which the peoples of Yugoslavia fought to overthrow and eliminate. What «socialism» is this which preserves economic inequality, capitalist exploitation and national oppression? What «workers' power» is this which leaves «the owners of their product» jobless or sends them to sweep the streets of Germany and Sweden?

The congress clearly showed that the League of Communists has degraded, its members have grown apart from the masses, and that it has become bureaucratic. «Our society has a bitter experience of the situations created in society because of the power of the bureaucratic apparatus,» said delegate Gligor Miçajko. «And if we are united and monolithic in words, we are divided in deeds.»

Self-administration brought about the

degeneration and fragmentation of the party, just as it brought about the degeneration and fragmentation of the economy and the state, and the split in the whole Yugoslav society. In practice, the LCY works now as a unified party only when it comes to adopting resolutions and making general declarations of a theoretical and propagandistic character, while only the parties of the republics are really active. This was apparent also in the recent party congresses of the republics at which the centrifugal, separatist and narrow nationalist tendencies, the spirit of polemics were clearly evident. In these conditions the calls for «democratic centralism», «ideological-organizational unity», «unity of action», etc were voices in the wilderness, remained only pious desires because they run counter to the system of self-administration. Self-administration is a factor of division, not unity. There can be no unity over anything on this basis.

The most striking thing in the Congress of the LCY was the complete absence of a guiding ideology whatsoever, based on some principles, some concepts, some theses, an ideology representing some sort of a whole, be it eclectic, as was, for example, Mao Tsetung thought. Marxism-Leninism has long been betrayed. Their Titoism is a failure. To compensate for it, the Yugoslav revisionists tried, at this congress, to prove that the spawn of Titoism — self-administration, is good, but, according to them, unfortunately it is misapplied, and hence the situation is bad. They can fabricate no end of arguments of this kind, but the situation in Yugoslavia incontestably proves the complete failure of Titoism and self-administration as an ideology and practice, in the economic and moral field, in the structure of the party and the state, in cultural and social life, in internal and external policy. This situation, these failures, have resulted in the peoples of Yugoslavia being fed up with absurd preaching and losing all confidence in what is said and written in their country.

The tenser the economic and the national crisis the more so becomes the situation within the LCY itself, its organizations become passive and alie-

nated from the masses, turn into clubs of abstract discussion and debate, into centres in which each tries to defend the interests of his own republic, region, locality or individual. Even if factions do not exist formally, they are very much active in practice, so much so that they do not fail to proclaim their opinions in the press as well. The different ideological trends that the congress criticized, do not exist outside the party but operate within it, and their adherents are active at all levels.

Yugoslavia is now subject to grave political tensions which are another expression of the failure of self-administration. In one form or the other, these tensions made themselves felt at the congress, too. The quarrels, already rife between the so-called unitarians and federalists, have come into the open. The Serb clan, especially, which seeks to establish its absolute rule over the whole Yugoslavia, has gone over to the offensive. Under the slogan of strengthening Yugoslavism, it seeks to establish Great-Serb domination over the whole of Yugoslavia. As an initial step, it is insistently demanding the amendment of the Constitution in order to bring about the revocation of the rights to autonomy recognized to the regions of Vojvodina and Kosova and the concentration of all power in the centre where they have every possibility to play first fiddle. This is what worried and frightened the Slovene Joze Smole who stressed that «any tendency to restriction of the rights and role of the socialist autonomous republics represents, in essence, an attempt on the federal structure of Yugoslavia, because the regions are constituent elements of the Federation.» The Serb leadership demanded that the congress should discuss constitutional amendments in the spirit of unitarianism, but apparently did not succeed in having this demand included in the agenda and the question was adjourned.

The Serb campaign for unitarianism and centralism has caused notable reaction in the republics and no small resistance on the part of other elements. Another Slovene, Franc Popit, addressed himself to the Great-Serbs, telling them openly that «the theses,

according to which the system of socialist administration is realizable only in normal economic circumstances, that it must be suspended until the present economic problems are resolved, are unacceptable.»

Everything indicates that these conflicts are bound to become more acute and will characterize the whole Yugoslav political life in the future. The after-Tito crisis has only begun and his lieutenants have only drawn their daggers for the power struggle. Tito and Kardelj invented self-administration as an ideology and a policy which would guarantee the interests of the bourgeoisie of the different republics and protect the domains of each from mutual threats. They turned the central organs of the state and the party into a kind of parliament at which decisions can be taken only on the basis of unanimity. This practice could not fail to result in divisions and splits, squabbles and confrontations and, above all, the strengthening of the nationalism of the different republics and of the Serb great-state chauvinism. The facts show that while the centre takes many decisions, especially in the economic field, the base which has its own laws, implements them according to its own wishes or does not implement them altogether. Thus, for example, many words have been said about the centralization of the monetary fund, but each republic, indeed each enterprise, always keeps hard currency for itself.

The national question has been an all-time acute political problem, the fundamental problem of the Yugoslav life. In the wartime the peoples of Yugoslavia had positive faith in the slogan «fraternity-unity» and made unprecedented sacrifices to liberate themselves not only from the fascist occupiers, but also from Great-Serb chauvinism of the Karageorgević kings. But their faith was misplaced and their blood betrayed. The monarchy was overthrown, but its chauvinist ideology and practice were not eliminated. In the national question Titoism remained a slave to Serb pressure and dictate. The only thing it did was to grant some positions and possibility to the Croat-Slovene clan in order to protect its own interests and

to play the role of a sort of balancing in the political and economic life of Yugoslavia. However, the dominant positions remained in the hands of the Serb bourgeoisie, which kept for itself the key positions in the Federation, in the army and in the party.

The economic and political crisis, while exacerbating all the internal contradictions, brought first the national problem which, on its part, is splitting the country in two, those who support the preservation of the republics and autonomous regions as constituent parts of the Yugoslav Federation by Constitution, and those who are for a unitarian and centralized state under Serb domination. In order to support their chauvinist line, the latter have put into circulation the theory of «Yugoslavism» borrowed from Alexander Karageorgević. According to them, in Yugoslavia is taking place a process through which the former nations are dying away and a new «Yugoslav» nation is in the making. In order to prove this tendency with «scientific argument», they produce the fact that 1, 316, 463 people have registered themselves as «Yugoslavs». But they forget to say that these same people had almost all declared themselves Serbs only two or three years ago.

Against this Great-Serb drive have risen, in the first place, the Albanians of Kosova against whom unprecedented violence is being exercised for their denationalization, the Bosniaks who are told that their republic is artificial, the people of Vojvodina who see themselves endangered by the Serb immigration, the Slovenes who see their relative independence, secured under Tito, threatened, the Montenegrines who are being denied their national identity and so on.

All the calls by the delegates of the republics at the congress for «following Tito's road», «safeguarding self-administration», «opposing étatism», «consistently implementing the Constitutional amendments of 1974», etc are not expressions of allegiance to Titoism and self-administration, but, first and foremost, expressions of the attempts of the republics and regions to ward off the Serb onslaught.

As could be expected, a great deal

was said about the situation in Kosova in the Yugoslav congress, but no analysis was made or conclusions drawn. All the debate, if we may call it such at all, was inspired by the Serb chauvinist line in the interpretation of the tragic events in Kosova.

As up till now, the Yugoslav leadership again lacked the political courage to seek the road of reason and come out of the impasse into which it has led itself with its policy and actions in Kosova. Its persistent chauvinist policy of denying the democratic rights of and oppressing the Albanians of Kosova and the other regions of Yugoslavia reflects its fear of seeing the reality as it is and its unwillingness to correct its mistakes. The fact is that Kosova is now full of Serb police and soldiers and the jails of Yugoslavia are full of Albanian boys and girls, nevertheless the situation has not improved in the least. Although the congress and the Yugoslav propaganda claim that the people of Kosova are allegedly satisfied with the policy Belgrade follows towards them, voices that said the truth were also heard. Thus, some delegates pointed out that the material conditions and spiritual mood in Kosova are not as the propaganda makes out. A delegate of Albanian nationality declared at the congress that in Kosova only one out of 10 Albanians has an occupation, whereas the figure is one out of four for the Serbs and one out of two for the Montenegrines. It is known that when a people become politically aware of their wretched state, they can never reconcile themselves to it and will press for recognition of their rights to the end.

The Albanian population of Kosova has not sought to destabilize and destroy Yugoslavia, or to alter its social and state system, as many Serb delegates claimed in the congress. Its only demand is that it should not be oppressed and persecuted, that it should not be offended in its national feelings, that its traditions and customs should not be trampled, that it should not be discriminated against and segregated. It has demanded justice and equality, recognition of the constitutional rights enjoyed by the other nations of Yugoslavia. It has demanded that Kosova be raised to the status

of a republic within the framework of the Federation, that it be enabled to freely develop its national culture and language, that it be ensured normal economic development.

Our people have always considered the demands of the Albanian population of Kosova to be just, wise and reasonable. This is no interference in the international affairs of Yugoslavia, as some delegate said at the congress of the LCY, but a mature and objective assessment deriving from the right belonging to us to defend our brothers of the one blood when they are oppressed and persecuted, and from our sincere desire that the problem of Kosova be solved in favour of its people and the whole of Yugoslavia.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. From the time of the National Liberation War to this day it has always been the Yugoslav leadership that has interfered in the internal affairs of our country. This anti-Albanian activity is known and documented.

The policy of our Party and state towards Yugoslavia, Kosova and the other Albanians living in their own lands in Yugoslavia is a principled, correct and unalterable policy. This policy was once again very clearly proclaimed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA. Our country will implement it consistently and to the letter.

In questions of external policy, the Yugoslav congress tried hard and with dubious success to balance itself on the tight rope. The Yugoslav leadership lays itself out to please and serve everybody, but for opportunity's sake it must also pose as non-aligned, a friend of the rich and the poor at the same time, of Moscow and Washington, of England and Argentina. Its interests impel it «to oppose» NATO, while enjoying the generosity of the credits of its members, «to attack» the Warsaw Treaty, while conducting most of its trade with its member countries.

On this score the congress remained loyal to Tito. But the present Yugoslav leaders have not his ability, and the situations are not the same as those of the time when illusions about the movement of the non-aligned were

widespread. Now that many so-called non-aligned countries have sided with this or that bloc, when open military and all sorts of other conflicts have broken out between them, the bid of the Yugoslav leaders to become also the leaders of this movement is more than ridiculous. Moreover, the situation itself, especially the opportunist and pro-imperialist stances of the Yugoslav leadership, do not lend credibility to what they say and what they do in the field of international relations.

The Yugoslav foreign policy has always been a policy of scabs and fire-extinguishers of the revolution. It has tried to manipulate the movement of the non-aligned according to the interests of this or that superpower, and especially to undermine the anti-imperialist and national liberation stands often expressed by its individual participants.

Yugoslavia is neither non-aligned in the blocs, nor is it independent in its

actions, as was declared with great noise at its congress. The Americans give it credits amounting to billions of dollars, while the Soviets supply it with arms and buy its unsold goods. Neither the Americans nor the Soviets do this for nothing.

The superpowers think and work for today and tomorrow. The policy followed by Yugoslavia allowed them to penetrate this country, to create influences and trends in their favour, to wait for the development of the situation and be ready to act whenever the need arises. Therefore, the delicate general and global criticism the congress made of the blocs, the superpowers and their philosophy, as well as its vain philosophizing over the policy of non-alignment are not addressed to the superpowers, but to internal opinion to nourish people with illusion and lull them to sleep. All this is done in order to cover up the failure of the foreign policy followed by Tito and his collaborators, as well

as the dangers this policy entails for the freedom and independence of the country, peace and security in the Balkans.

The 12th Congress of the LCY confirmed the forecasts of our Party, namely that the ideology of self-administration can bring no good to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Seventeen years ago, in an article written on the occasion of the 8th Congress of the LCY, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the failures of the Yugoslav self-administration and its grave economic and social consequences. «Whatever the promises about the perfecting of the 'self-administration' system, whatever the 'criticism' and 'self-criticism' of the Titoites to amend its negative aspects,» he writes, «the economic laws of capitalism on which this system is based do their work. They have led and are leading the Yugoslav economy ever deeper into chaos, spontaneity, unrestrained competition, growing unemployment and exploitation of the working masses.»

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORK OF GEORGE DIMITROV IS IMMORTAL

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The consistent and principled stand of George Dimitrov in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in struggle with all opportunist and revisionist deviations, is a brilliant example from which the Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries in the world learn and draw inspiration in their struggle against the various trends of modern revisionism – Khrushchevite, Chinese, Titoite, or Eurocommunist

OUR PEOPLE COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGE DIMITROV, THE OUTSTANDING MARXIST-LENINIST LEADER OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTER WHO WILL REMAIN UNFORGETTABLE IN THE HEARTS OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE PEOPLES.

GEORGE DIMITROV EMERGED FROM THE RANKS OF THE BULGARIAN WORKING CLASS AND GREW UP WITH THE BRILLIANT FEATURES OF THE OUTSTANDING BOLSHEVIK FIGHTER. THESE FEATURES MANIFESTED THEMSELVES IN FULL FORCE ALL THROUGH HIS LIFE, WHICH HE DEVOTED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GENUINE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF HIS OWN PEOPLE AND FOR THE GREAT CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD.

The personality of George Dimitrov, the loyal disciple of Lenin and Stalin, one of the main leaders of the Third Communist International, is outstanding for the great contribution he made to the unswerving struggle of principle for the triumph of bolshevism and the tempering of communist parties, the strengthening of their links with the masses, the organization of the resistance and struggle of the proletariat and the working masses against

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capitalist oppression and exploitation, against fascism and the threat of the imperialist war.

The activity of George Dimitrov for the strengthening of the communist parties and the communist movement is still valid today for the Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine communists everywhere in the world. From this activity they learn how to strengthen their links with the masses and to organize them, how to utilize and correctly combine all the forms of the legal and underground work, how to strengthen unity in struggle against

any manifestation of bourgeois legalism and liberalism, as well as narrow sectarianism and forms of closed work.

Throughout his whole life of an outstanding communist George Dimitrov unswervingly defended the Marxist-Leninist theory and resolutely applied it in practice. Working besides J.V. Stalin, as his disciple and comrade-in-arms, Dimitrov waged a consistent class struggle against right opportunism, Bukharinism, as well as against «left» opportunism, Trotskyism, in the international communist movement. He fought to place the communist parties in the full role of the political and ideological staff of the proletariat and transform the Communist International into a powerful and militant organization of the communist movement and of the proletariat of the world. When J.V. Stalin and the international communist movement uncovered and exposed Titoite revisionism, George Dimitrov adopted a

staunch stand of principle, stigmatized the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, its counter-revolutionary divisive role in the world communist movement, its activities to undermine the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The consistent and principled stand of George Dimitrov in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in struggle with all opportunist and revisionist deviations, is a brilliant example from which the Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries in the world learn and draw inspiration in their struggle against the various trends of modern revisionism — Khrushchevite, Chinese, Titoite, or Eurocommunist.

The personality of George Dimitrov rises giant-like as the great proletarian fighter against imperialism and fascism, in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples, of freedom and independence, of national and social rights. The legendary hero of Leipzig, from the dock of the trial rigged by the fascists against the communists, exposed and confounded the nazis with his rare skill and courage, and from an accused became the accuser. The heroic stand of George Dimitrov in Leipzig «was a brilliant example of the bolshevik tempered in the school of Stalin, of the old fighter with an ever young heart who never feared death,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said.

By laying bare the essence and the threat of fascism, George Dimitrov stressed that fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and imperialist circles of financial capital, bent on launching imperialist wars and enslaving the peoples. He rose with all his strength against imperialism and the imperialist war which was being prepared. His stand towards imperialism, fascism and the aggressive wars is for the proletarians and the peoples in our days a great lesson which shows them how to fight to stay the hand of the imperialist superpowers, which, in concert or rivalry with each other, have stepped up their aggressive activities against the peoples and sovereign nations, are raising tension and stirring up wars all over the world, from Indochina, Afghanistan, the Middle East, to the Malvinas, carrying on with the armaments race and preparing

to bring mankind into the holocaust of a new imperialist war.

Analysing the threat of fascism and war, George Dimitrov reached the conclusion that in the situation created, the capitalist world was going through the anti-fascist stage, which was democratic in content, a period of the development of the revolution which prepared the ground for the transition to the socialist revolution. The idea of the anti-fascist democratic national liberation revolution was further developed and found its expression in our country, too. The National Liberation War of the Albanian people against the fascist invaders and the local traitors, under the leadership of the CPA (today the PLA) with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, was transformed into a deep-going people's revolution which led to the achievement of the real national independence and the triumph of socialism, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To George Dimitrov goes the great credit of having worked out the policy, strategy and tactics of the communist movement. Of special importance is his idea of the creation of broad anti-fascist popular fronts, as a form of organization and union of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. The correctness of the policy of the anti-fascist popular front, approved at the 7th Congress of the Communist International, was confirmed in practice by the entire course of events on the eve of the Second World War and during the War. Under the leadership of Stalin and of his disciple and close collaborator — George Dimitrov, the Communist International was transformed into a powerful organization of the proletariat in the world, and made an outstanding contribution to all the development of the international communist movement, and the achievement of its historic victories. The revisionists who attack and slander the activity of the Communist International today, do nothing else than prove once again to the peoples of the world, that they have turned complete traitors not only of the communist ideals but even of the democratic and anti-fascist ideals. Moreover, the Soviet, Chinese and other revisionists have be-

come social-imperialists and social-fascists who pursue a policy of aggression and war, the policy of the oppression and enslavement of the peoples.

George Dimitrov was the great and loyal friend of our Party and people. As the outstanding proletarian internationalist he was, he lent powerful support to our Party and people in their struggle against imperialism and its tools, and in defence of freedom and independence, for the consolidation and promotion of socialist victories. Speaking about our Party, which he esteemed and respected, George Dimitrov has said: «It is a Marxist-Leninist party created in the heat of the war,» a party «which has a brilliant record of revolutionary activity.»

Our Party and people, united in unbreakable unity, have always held high the banner of triumphant Marxism-Leninism under which George Dimitrov fought resolutely, have always marched confidently on the brilliant road of socialism, pledging allegiance to the revolutionary ideals of communism in irreconcilable struggle with the modern revisionists, including the Bulgarian revisionists who have turned complete traitors of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and the work of George Dimitrov.

The revisionists' fabrications about the role and figure of George Dimitrov on the centenary of the birthday of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist, the hachnosed Ponomarev-like phrases concocted in the Kremlin and served to Sophia, all their refined demagoguery cannot beguile the revolutionaries and the proletariat. Both in theory and in practice the revisionists have thrown in the mud the great ideal and all the invaluable patrimony, the experience of the struggle and the Leninist teachings of George Dimitrov.

However the life and activity of George Dimitrov are immortal. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «We Albanian revolutionaries, like all the revolutionaries of the world, have learned from them and have been educated with them...» The name of George Dimitrov will always remain unforgettable in the hearts of the ordinary people all over the world, his work will sound like a battle cry for the triumph of the cause of the revolution, the proletariat and the peoples.

THE THEORIES OF «DETE «BALANCE» AND «BIPOLA OF THE HEGEMONY - SEEKING OF THE SUPERPOWERS

By means of their colossal propaganda machines and their huge armies of diplomats and agents, the two superpowers try to convince the world that the theories of «détente», «balance» and «bipolarism» are basic to «the solution of all the problems preoccuping mankind today»

IN LINE WITH THEIR IMPERIALIST STRATEGY OF WORLD DOMINATION, THE TWO SUPERPOWERS — THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, HAVE WORKED OUT A REACTIONARY THEORETICAL-POLITICAL PLATFORM THROUGH WHICH THEY SEEK TO JUSTIFY THEIR WHOLE HEGEMONY-SEEKING POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. THE MAIN BODY OF THIS PLATFORM CONSISTS OF THE THEORIES OF «DE-TENTE», «BALANCE» AND «BIPOLARISM», AS THE MAIN THEORIES.

Certainly, each superpower tries constantly to present itself as the most authentic force that interprets the will of the peoples and staunchly defends their interests and, in this quality, advocates the theories of its foreign policy. You have only to listen to the American propaganda and the statements of the representatives of American diplomacy from the tribunes of international forums, from the UNO to Geneva, to see that their aim is to create the impression as though American imperialism is deeply interested in the «lowering of tension», «peace», «international stability», etc. The propaganda of Soviet social-imperialism and the representatives of its diplomacy seek to create the same impression.

All this happens in the «context» of their rivalry. However, the fact is that, regardless of the fierce struggle for hegemony American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism carry out in different zones of the world, a rivalry which is also reflected in their propaganda media, when it comes to the theories of «détente», «balance», and «bipolarism», both the American and the Soviet theoreticians and politicians pose as ardent supporters and advocates of these imperialist theories, regardless of the odd alteration the theoreticians and propagandists of one or the other superpower make to their formulation. This occurs, first, because in this theory both superpowers find a convenient theoretical basis for a bipartite dialogue and collaboration of mutual practical advantage to their po-

licy and diplomacy, as well as a basis for the co-ordination of their activities as international gendarmes against the other countries and peoples of the world. Second, this happens because both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are interested in creating among the peoples of the world a psychosis of capitulation and submission to their policy and dictate which they strive to create by spreading these theories.

By means of their colossal propaganda machines and their huge armies of diplomats and agents, the two superpowers try to convince the world that the theories of «détente», «balance» and «bipolarism» are basic to «the solution of all the problems preoccuping mankind today». Of course, in this context, each of them seeks to present itself as the promotor and implementor of these theories intended «only for the good and progress» of present international relations. However, these declarations and others of this kind are only disguises to cover up the true reactionary essence of these

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by **SHABAN MURATI**

theories, on which both Washington and Moscow base their bargaining to the detriment of the interests of the peoples and sovereign countries. The theories of «détente», «balance», or «bipolarism» which, «despite some nuance in form, are identical in content, are intended to guarantee the mutual spheres of influence to raise the dictate of superpowers in world affairs, the complete and unconditional submission of other countries to the two supergreat and abandonment of their national interests and sovereignty.»¹

A «DETENTE» WHICH INCREASES TENSION

The easing of international tension is one of the conditions for the normal development of international relations. That is why the peoples who want freedom and independence fight for a real easing of tension. On the contrary, the bourgeois-revisionist theory of «détente» is opposed to this process in its content, requirements and aims. It runs counter to the requirements of a real easing of international tension.

The theory of «détente», which reduces the easing of tension only to the relations between the great powers, and in particular the superpowers, in fact rules out the possibility of its extension to the whole sphere of international relations. According to

this theory, the easing or mounting of tension must be seen exclusively from the angle of the relations between the superpowers, because relations between them allegedly determine the easing or mounting of tension in all international relations. «The 'détente' trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists and others», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony among the great powers.»²

By reducing the possibilities of the easing of tension to their direct relations only, the two superpowers give themselves the right to exercise their policy of hegemony and plunder, of aggression and intervention, in all the regions of the world. The use of force, as a basic means of their imperialist foreign policy, the brutal interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the organization of coups d'état, the stirring up of conflicts among different countries, the sending of armies or mercenaries or warships, or the setting up of military bases all over the world, in their opinion, are not actions which raise tension.

However, the fact that the two superpowers consider easing of tension their policy and strategy of the actual raising of tension in international relations, is only one aspect of the question. The other and more dangerous aspect is that they want to impose on the peoples a concept of «détente» according to their own way of thinking

and acting. According to the American and Soviet theory of «détente», the peoples and sovereign countries should not oppose the manifestations of arbitrariness and arrogance of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, because their opposition may allegedly cause a mounting of tension in international relations among these powers. According to this theory, the peoples and sovereign countries are, at the same time, called on to approve all the deals, intrigues and plots of the superpowers, indeed to accept all the consequences deriving from them. In this manner, the theory of «détente» deprives the peoples in the independent countries of the right of taking independent stand and independent actions.

The dangerous nature of the theory of «détente» is revealed especially by the fact that it links the easing of tension in particular with American-Soviet relations which the bourgeois and revisionist policy presents as the only regulator of international relations in the economic, political and social fields. The collaboration and dialogue between Washington and Moscow is given as the main factor of the easing of tension whereas all their activities from the positions of dictate, pressure, blackmail, threats and aggression towards other countries are glossed over or passed in silence. Attributing miraculous power to this type of «détente», the Soviet revisionists

go to such lengths as to raise it to an absolute principle, putting the development of the productive forces in the same footing as the character of the relations of production itself. The authors of the book «Materialization of the Easing of Tension: Economic Aspects», Moscow 1978, present the easing of tension as «an objective necessity arising from the requirements of the development of productive forces». In this manner, the theory of «détente» is a catch-word to rule out the need for the social revolution and to lead the peoples and the proletariat not on to the road of the revolution, which is the road of the solution of the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in the bourgeois, capitalist or revisionist world, but to the «easing of tension», and this only in the relations between the two superpowers.

In fact preachings about the so-called easing of tension, which the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are after, are intended to create an international atmosphere in which the peoples stay, put and do not rise in struggle to win «and defend their freedom and independence», but abandon their affairs and fate to the wishes of the superpowers. So, in the name of the easing of tension the peoples are called on to renounce their revolutionary and liberation struggles, to give up their independent development and even their national identity.

It is obvious that this kind of easing of tension advocated by the theory of «détente» is very convenient to the two superpowers to realize their imperialist and hegemony-seeking policy. And regardless of the fact that at this or that moment one or the other superpower, one or the other of their allies, lays the stress more or less on «détente» in the slogans of its foreign policy, the truth remains that the imperialist-revisionist slogan of the easing of tension is a weapon in the arsenal of the policy and diplomacy of the superpowers. Despite their disagreements in the way of the implementa-

tion of «détente», both the Americans and the Soviets are interested in their type of easing of tension. The mouthpiece of the American big monopoly bourgeoisie, the newspaper «New York Times», wrote in one of its issues that the lowering of tension is inextricably linked with the common interests of both countries, which, translated in plain language, means with the interests of mutual agreement between the two superpowers, despite their rivalry, to the detriment of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

And many facts show that their common interest is, in the first place, to suppress the revolutionary and liberation struggles everywhere in the world, to check the advance of the revolution and socialism. This is what the so-called easing of tension, advocated by the theory of «détente», tries to cover up, while at the same time justifying the taking of joint actions of a political and even police character in different regions of the world on the part of the two superpowers in the name of maintaining international stability or «détente». Hence, this is a theory with an extremely dangerous demagogical content, a weapon of the hegemony-seeking imperialist and social-imperialist foreign policy.

UNBALANCEABLE «BALANCE»

That the foreign policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism develops with an emphasis of its aggressive character, this is a fact proved by the whole activity of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in different countries and regions of the world. The two superpowers seek to justify their dangerous strategic advance in all directions, from armaments to invasions, with the theory of «balance», which is the favourite word in the theoretical arsenal of the policy and diplomacy of the superpowers at the present time. At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «Up till now the superpowers have tried to

preserve a certain equilibrium between themselves, to ensure respect for their mutual spheres of influence, and to keep pace with each other in the arms race. They have made efforts to avoid a direct war between them, but now, as a result of the crisis and unequal development, this equilibrium is tending to fall apart.»³

The American and Soviet theoreticians' idea of balance is a very broad one. It does not consist in the armaments alone, although the balance of power or terror, as they call it, is among the basic concepts of the theory of balance. Balance as American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism put it means their domination of all the world on the basis of balancing their imperialist interests. This strategic balance, which has both its military and political aspects, not only places the hegemonic interests of one or the other superpower at its centre, but also calls on the peoples to sacrifice their national interests for the sake of maintaining the balance between the two superpowers. The head of American imperialism, Reagan, in two interviews given in October and November last year, declared openly that the relations between the two superpowers are such that they may entail the sacrificing of the interests of the respective allies, even allowing for a limited nuclear war. This limited nuclear war, according to the political-strategic conceptions of the Americans, need not upset the strategic balance between the two superpowers. For his part, the head of the Soviet social-imperialism, Brezhnev, in an interview he gave the West-German magazine «Spiegel» on November 2, 1981, calls «the exemplary balance between the United States and the Soviet Union a factor for the preservation of peace».

When they advocate the reactionary theory of «balance», both the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists intend to justify their policy of aggression and war, their bandit-like interventions and unjustified presence in the different regions of the world, their arms race and

their colossal war expenditure. To them, maintaining the balance means that neither side should gain an edge on the other in its military power and in its zones of influence in this or that region of the world. In this manner, in order to maintain this so-called balance, they arrogate to themselves the right to brutally intervene with their tanks, aircraft and missiles wherever their imperialist strategic interests call for it.

The imperialist theory of «balance» blames the upsetting of balance mainly on the peoples who fight for freedom and independence, the peoples who want to live outside the oppressive burden of tutelage of imperialism and social-imperialism. The imperialist and social-imperialist theoreticians link the maintenance of balance with the occupation of countries and whole regions, with the enslaving of the peoples and the denial of their freedom. The imperialist strategic balance calls for the whole world to be divided into spheres of influence between the imperialist superpowers, and to achieve this, they seek by all manner of means and embark on criminal adventures to stamp out the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. The superpowers spearhead their main attacks against the peoples, because the struggles of the peoples for freedom and independence, for national and social emancipation upset their plans for hegemony, upset their imperialist balance. So much so that when it comes to opposing revolutionary and liberation movements they even take joint actions and approve of the actions of each other in those countries or regions in which their bargainings over maintaining a balance have reached a conclusion about drawing the dividing lines between their spheres of influence. Mutual recognition of each other's interests is an indivisible part of the theory of «balance», which has also been sanctioned in official documents between the two superpowers.

Justification of the aggression by the imperialist superpowers is the basic element of their theory of «balance».

Either under the pretext of re-establishing the upset balance or under the pretext of intervening to prevent it from being upset, the superpowers do not hesitate to embark on aggression in order to establish their domination. A typical example in this direction is the aggression of the Soviet social-imperialists against Afghanistan, which was undertaken under the pretext of preserving the balance between the Soviet Union and the USA. To this the Americans replied with actions of their own. And so the circle of aggressive claim actions of the superpowers against the peoples has kept widening.

The same has happened in the field of armaments, in which the definition of the balance has always been a bone of contention and the basic pretext which has led to major initiatives that have raised the arms race to an unprecedented degree. Each superpower claims that it is arming and producing new means of extermination in order to re-establish strategic parity. Under the same pretext they have increased their troops, bases and nuclear missiles in Europe and other regions and, as a result, their attempts at dictating their policies to others have increased everywhere.

The theory of «balance» is one of the more evident indicators of the aggressive character of the policy of the imperialist superpowers. It paves the way for and justifies armed confrontations, regional clashes and wars up to a general imperialist war.

«BIPOLARISM» AS A MEANS OF WORLD DOMINATION BY THE GREAT TWO

The United States and the Soviet Union are clashing with each other in fierce constant rivalry which is the main source of current international conflicts. But this has not prevented them from striking deals and entering agreements of various character. «The efforts to come to terms to the detriment of the peoples have always been,

the response of imperialist to the tendency towards inter-imperialist clashes and conflicts.»⁴ Comrade Enver Hoxha points out. The imperialist theory of «bipolarism» which lays down most blatantly the right of the two superpowers to lead and rule the world according to a bipolar system, has emerged on this basis and is actively advocated by the two superpowers. Certainly, this theory emerged out of the need each superpower has for the other, as well as out of their calculations of each other's potential, which is considered as the most effective means to «pacify» the world and put it under the domination of the supergreat. The theory of a bipolar world was raised in the American and Soviet policy at the time of the presidency of Nixon and his frequent high-level talks with Brezhnev, when official documents sanctioning bipolarism as the basis of development of Soviet-American relations were signed. This theory is widely advocated even now, with the advent to power of Reagan who is operating along the political concepts and theories worked out formerly by Nixon's republican team.

It is evident that both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism accept bipolarism not out of their readiness to make concessions to each other, but in order to pull themselves free from the complications and difficulties in which they have landed as a result of the grave crisis and the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the freedom-loving peoples everywhere in the world.

Of course, bipolarism must not be identified with alliance. The theory of «bipolarism» presupposes joint domination of the two superpowers on the basis of preservation of their respective spheres of influence and, at the same time, of intervention, even jointly, whenever and wherever their dictate is at stake. Eugen Rostow, a member of the Reagan team, talking about American-Soviet relations, declared openly that «peace is the result not only of agreements, but also of police actions». For his part, in a letter ad-

dressed to Reagan on May 25, 1981, Brezhnev wrote about the need for recognition of the legitimate interests of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The theory of «bipolarism» not only recognizes but also justifies the international police actions to make the peoples submit to any decision of the supergreat. It is evident that the theory of «bipolarism» does not exclude the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers, as each superpower seeks in this binome. But, no matter from what standpoint it is considered, «bipolarism» means an escalation of the hegemony-seeking activity of the two superpowers in international relations and the raising of their domination to an obligatory norm in the political life of the world.

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It is clear from the very assertions made by the politicians and theoreticians of the two superpowers that the theories of «détente», «balance» and «bipolarism» are implements of the policy and diplomacy of the superpowers to establish a procedure in international relations under which the United States and the Soviet Union make the law. According to them, «détente» means that the freedom-loving peoples should not rise to oppose imperialist intervention and aggression and should accept peace in the terms of the Americans or the Soviets. As the United States and the Soviet Union see it «balance» means maintaining parity in the build-up of military stockpiles and, what is more important, to the degree both sides consider suffi-

cient to blackmail the peoples. «Bipolarism» is an immediate expression of the ultra-reactionary political philosophy of the two superpowers according to which both of them have the right to lead and dominate the world. Hence, an evident link exists in the content and character of these imperialist theories which are intended to give the arrogance of the two superpowers the force of a law with which all must reckon.

This is even more glaring in the attempts of the American and Soviet politicians and theoreticians to work out an international code of behaviour for all states, under the tutelage of the two superpowers, which the American and Soviet political schools consider as one of the component of the Soviet-American relations for the current decade. In their book «Soviet-American Relations in the 80's», published in New York in 1981, the American theoreticians Lawrence Coldwell and William Dibold write: «In the conditions of the new strategical and political realities, the two superpowers must work out a code of behaviour which must proceed from the recognition of their global balance.» This means that the two superpowers must come to an agreement over the boundaries of their respective spheres of influence in the different regions of the globe. This is also made clear by Brezhnev when he declared that «the two sides must place the principle of equal balance and security at the basis of their concrete commitments.»

In the present situation, in which the imperialist-revisionist policy of aggression and war has come up against the resistance of the proletariat and the peoples and the multi-million mas-

ses of the peoples are ever more powerfully voicing their resolute protest against the nuclear warhead and the whole military, political, economic and other presence of the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union work to suppress this anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle. They labour to convince the peoples and nations that nobody can live outside the umbrella of the two superpowers, to bring the peoples round to accept the «détente», «balance» and «bipolarism» of the two superpowers. By this they try to pave the way for their activity for carrying out their strategic plans of establishing their strategy all over the world. But these attempts, no matter how refined, cannot deceive the peoples who reject these dangerous imperialist theories, just as they oppose the interference and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers. They are becoming increasingly aware, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 8th Congress of the PLA, that «the struggle of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist superpowers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace.»⁵

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 172, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 172, Eng. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 164, Eng. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 164, Eng. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 166, Eng. ed.

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THE BLOCKADE ON ARGENTINA — A NEW ACT OF IMPERIALIST VIOLENCE

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

In the end of May this year, the EEC member countries, following in the footsteps of the United States, decided to prolong indefinitely the embargo and economic blockade on Argentina. They brushed aside all their «reservations» and joined all-out in the war of colonialist and imperialist Britain to bring Argentina to its knees and regain the Malvinas. The West-European countries did their utmost not to be forced to the point of having to assume an official stand in favour of Britain. They did everything within their possibilities to keep a façade of «regret» about this «unwanted» conflict and manoeuvred by all manner of means not to lay their cards on the table. So much so that in the beginning, hoping that Argentina would kneel down before the British military threat and the all-round American pressure, they limited the time for their embargo to only a week. Argentina's resistance, however, exposed this tactic and tore off their masks. It forced the imperialist powers to come out into the open and show that they are with the aggressors against the people of Argentina, that they are for the colonial enslavement of the peoples and against their liberation. Only Ireland and Italy, the latter obliged to take account of the pressure of some millions of its emigrants to Argentina, did not join in the sanctions.

This is not the first time that the great powers and the members of imperialist blocs unite with a show of solidarity and back up the aggressions and blockades of their partners. The Korean War, the American aggression against Vietnam, the conflict of the Suez Canal and other conflicts were the occasion for the imperialists to show their complete solidarity and mutual assistance in the oppression and enslavement of the peoples. The case of Argentina proves what has been proved many times over, that at any time and in any situation imperialism does everything to defend its predatory interests — it oppresses the peoples and forces them to live in dire want and on the verge of starvation.

With what right and according to what law do the United States and Western Europe violate the agreements they have signed with Argentina and decide to boycott and strangle it economically? What wrong did Argentina do to the United States of America, France, Germany, Holland and the others? Where did it attack them, with what did it damage them? There is no international right or law that permits or justifies the actions taken by these states. But there are no international laws or reasons within human mind that can restrain the imperialist-capitalist powers. For them exists only their ideology and policy

which, whenever they fail to subjugate the peoples by the armed force, directs them to impose political and economic blockades, to exercise diplomatic pressure and use discriminating propaganda campaigns which go as far as sabotage activities. All this they carry out without the slightest regard for decor and in the most savage manner. The blockade on Argentina is on this line; it is the result of this strategy and practice.

The political and economic blockade of the United States of America, Britain and its EEC partners is not aimed against Argentina alone, but against the whole Latin-American continent. Their blockade is a warning and threat to the South-American countries not to encroach on the interests of the great powers, as well as a direct means of pressure and blackmail to prevent them from uniting in solidarity with Argentina and supporting it in its opposition to British aggression. The imperialist powers with this parade of force want to intimidate the Latin-American peoples and force them to make concessions to the detriment of their national sovereignty and dignity, to give up their national interests and submit to neo-colonialist rule.

When we Albanians talk about the economic blockade imposed on our country by the imperialists and the revisionists, they pretend that this blockade is only imagi-

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nation and invention, etc on our part. However, is all this that is now officially happening with Argentina also «imaginary»? The imperialists consider our preparations to defend our socialist Homeland something utterly incomprehensible and futile. But history speaks otherwise and we keep its lessons well in mind.

The economic blockade, the economic pressure and the military threat of the imperialists, towards the smaller countries and peoples that refuse to submit to them, is a fact of everyday life today, something which everybody feels and sees. The economic and political blockades of the imperialist powers may be total or partial, rigorous or lax, depending on each case and each country, but they do exist and operate, are constantly developed and perfected. The talk about the supposed «aid» to the undeveloped countries, the North-South dialogue, etc are only propaganda, they are traps to put these countries more thoroughly under the imperialist rule.

At present Argentina is fighting for its right not only against Britain, but also against the whole united imperialist front which seeks to conquer and submit it by armed force. The ratio of forces is unequal, but Argentina is resisting also with the support of the peoples of Latin America and other countries who oppose imperialism and fight against the old and new colonialism. Despite the issue of the battle for the Malvinas, Britain and not Argentina will come the cropper. Right now Britain has suffered a great loss of political prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the world. It revealed its face again as an imperialist power that tries with all that is left of its former power to maintain the rotten colonialist regime and to attack the peoples who defy it. Together with Britain, the United States of America and all those states that support it in this aggression will have nothing to gain and will be exposed as suppressors of freedom and the rights of the peoples.

The British attack on Ar-

gentina cannot fail to make many statesmen and politicians in the world, who have hoped that they can rely on America, the Soviet Union and others for the defence of their interests, do a bit of thinking things all over again. The imperialist powers have always defended their interests and considered the smaller countries as mere parts of this or that sphere of influence, or as tokens of barter exchangeable according to the circumstances, or have abandoned them to their fate when they do not want to incur the wrath of their greater and more powerful partners. The case of Argentina proves again this imperialist practice.

A correct policy is that which bases the freedom and independence of the country, the economic development and defence of the Homeland on the forces of its own people, a policy which far from nurturing any illusions about the great imperialist-capitalist powers, resolutely combats and exposes their exploiting and enslaving plans instead.

REPEATED FAILURES OF SOVIET AGRICULTURE

«BASHKIMI» — Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

Agriculture is one of the weakest links in the Soviet economy. Despite the many promises of Brezhnev and his associates that the situation will be improved, in fact it

is growing from bad to worse. Last February Brezhnev proclaimed the so-called «food program», saying that it rested on the vigorous development of agriculture, for which, according to him, the

real possibilities existed and all the favourable conditions had been created. Last year, however, the agricultural plan was again a failure. The same occurred with the first trimester of the current year.

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Production not only does not increase according to promises, but on the contrary falls constantly. Some time ago Brezhnev was compelled to admit that the problem of agriculture and food supplies was «a vital question of the day which brooks no delay». New decisions were adopted and decrees issued and many additional promises were made. Although the Moscow chiefs at times admit the existence of a difficult situation, they still claim that their economy, including agriculture, develops in a «dynamic» manner, and is characterized by «stability».

Let us consider only some of the facts as they are re-

flected in the Soviet statistics and press.

In the last three years agricultural production has shown a continuous fall.

In 1978 its value was estimated at 130 billion rubles, in 1979 at 123.5 billion rubles, in 1980 at 121 billion rubles, and in 1981 at 120 billion rubles.

Thus, in 1981 as compared with 1978 its value fell by 10 billion rubles. This characterizes not only the said three years. Over the 5 years of the last 8 years, each year's production was smaller than that of the previous year. Let us compare the production of some staple items in 1981 compared with 1970.

Item	1970 (in tons)	1981 (in tons)	Difference in million tons
Cereals	186 million	160 million	- 26
Sugar-beet	78.9 »	60.5 »	- 18.4
Potato	96.8 »	72 »	- 24.8
Vegetable oil	2.8 »	2.6 »	- 0.2
Sun-flower seed	6.1 »	4.5 »	- 1.6

As the above table shows, production of some crops has undergone a perceptible fall. This process continued in the first three-month period of this year, during which production of meat and milk fell by 5 per cent. At the same time, the consumers continue to grow. Over an eleven-year period another 26 million people were added to them.

In 1938 the export of bread grain accounted for 21 per cent of the total export of the Soviet Union, whereas today the Soviet Union has been transformed into one of the greatest importers of cereals in the world. During the

period 1966-1970, the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe imported nearly 5 million tons of cereals a year, while in recent years the Soviet Union alone imported 25-40 million tons.

The Kremlin chiefs try to excuse themselves of this situation created, by laying the blame on «the caprices of weather» and everything else except their economic policy and everyday practices. The main cause of the crisis which has afflicted Soviet agriculture, should be sought in the out-and-out capitalist policy implemented in the Soviet Union. As a result of the ope-

ration of the destructive laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production and especially of the abandonment of the law of the planned and proportional development, agriculture has come to be one of the branches over which the state shows the least concern, because the profit rates of this branch are the lowest of all the other branches of the economy, although they are in a crisis, too. Brezhnev has admitted from his own mouth that the Soviet economy labours under great disproportions. On the other hand, the militarization of the life of the country, the frenzied armaments race, and the aggressive and expansionist Soviet policy in general gobble up colossal means. To the war industry go mask of the iron and steel, and non-ferrous metals, as well as other material goods produced by the Soviet working people. This is why in the last three five-year plans the Soviet Union has failed to fulfil not only the needs, but even the promises for the equipment of agriculture with machinery, chemicals and specialized cadres. Over this period no plans for opening up new land or building irrigation schemes, have been fulfilled although only 1° per cent of the arable land is under irrigation. The Soviet press admits that «50 per cent of the arable land is threatened by erosion and its top soil may be swept away.»

According to information from Soviet official sources the new farming machines sent to the countryside can hardly replace those that grow out of use. During this

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year's spring sowing hundreds of machines got locked up in repair workshops because of lack of spare parts, skilled hands, tractor-drivers, etc. The investment plan of agriculture for the last year was not realized. In 1981, as against 1980, the number of header-threshers was 12,000 less. People abandon the

countryside and agriculture because of the difficult conditions of living. According to the magazine «Novoye Vremya» the rural population has dwindled by about 11 million people over the last 20 years. And at times when the countryside lacks specialists and workers, unemployment in the cities keep growing. Ta-

xes and imposts on the peasantry continue to increase. Over the recent years the kolkhozes paid about 4-5 times as much as before for various services carried out by state enterprises.

Soviet agriculture has entered a grave crisis which is making itself felt ever more on the Soviet working masses.

SPOKESMEN OF SOVIET TUTELAGE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

«In order to achieve its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha in the report he submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party, «Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism, and develop in an independent manner without Soviet aid and tutelage.» «Theories» and «arguments» intended to back up and justify this stand, to paddle it to the peoples in the different regions of the globe to which the hegemonic interests of the Soviet Union extend, are by no means lacking in the Soviet press, and in the Soviet propaganda in general.

In the development of events today a particular place is occupied by people's uprisings of «Islamic inspiration», as the bourgeoisie and the revisionists like to define these movements in their sinister efforts to deny them their anti-imperialist and revolutionary character. The

broad masses of the Moslem peoples have risen and are rising in struggle to shake off the imperialist and socialist yoke and to stop plunder, to escape suffering and poverty. The Soviets try by all manner of means to interfere and manipulate this vigorous process of national awakening of these peoples, to stop it and, if possible, put it under their control in accord with their enslaving interests. By various means of deceit they seek to avoid being affected by this liberation movement, to gain a foothold for further penetration and fill the gap left by the American imperialists. In this context they endeavour to undermine the conviction which the reality has implanted among the Moslem peoples, that the superpowers are equally enemies of their freedom and independence, that there can be no illusion about either superpower.

The spokesmen of Soviet social-imperialism advocate the tutelage of the Soviet Union

over these peoples as the only way of salvation. According to them, «these peoples are in greater need than ever — let us put it explicitly, to rely on the great world forces which support the struggle for national independence (as the Soviets pass themselves off), because the danger which threatens their independence and security is making itself more and more apparent.» In other words, the freedom and independence of these peoples are made conditional on the fact whether or not they will accept to seek refuge under the Soviet umbrella. In the final analysis, this means that Soviet social-imperialism does not recognize, nor can it recognize the free and independent existence of the peoples and sovereign states. Here we have to do with a variant, adapted to the concrete conditions, of the notorious Brezhnev doctrine of «limited sovereignty» which they have extended beyond the limits of the «socialist community».

In reality the Soviet social-

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imperialists have given this doctrine «world values», extending its application to whole continents. This is apparent from similar, if not more blatant, preachings by the Great-Russian theoreticians of Soviet social-imperialism, who try to indicate to the developing countries and their peoples, those who won their independence with the blood they shed in the past decades, how to build their relations with the Soviet Union. Thus, according to «Novoye Vremya», by severing their links with the Soviet Union or, as it puts it, «by isolating themselves from this country these people leave themselves without any backing for their struggle, or to put it more bluntly, for the continuation of their very existence. And this not only on the economic plane.» The peoples can live and breathe, according to this logic, only thanks to the Soviet Union, and it is thanks to the Soviet Union alone that they can face up to their enemies, otherwise their prospects look ugly indeed.

Their megalomania and arrogance has made the Soviet social-imperialists lose all

power of reasoning. They insult and denigrate whole peoples and whole continents with centuries-old cultural and fighting traditions. They advertise their stands as allegedly stemming from their sincere preoccupation about the destinies of the peoples who have their best friends in them. But nobody in his right mind can swallow such stuff. You cannot talk about true and sincere friendship when you insult others by putting them in a position of inferiority and try to impose on them a tutelage they do not want, a tutelage similar to that they have recently shaken off in order to live free and independent. Only from positions of equality, of non-interference and mutual respect can we talk of correct and, later, friendly relations. It is not that the Soviet social-imperialists have no acquaintance with these norms, which are the most elementary in international law and even in intercourse between individuals, but they use them only for their face value, for the propaganda value they have for them.

The apologists of the Soviet tutelage on sovereign peoples

and states spread all kind of defeatist and capitulationist concepts. Always according to them, «only on the relation» with the Soviet Union depend, to a great degree, the fate of the liberated peoples, their future, and even their existence, at least a peaceful and independent existence worthy of human beings». In other words they must entrust their future, their existence, their most sacred and important problems, as sovereign peoples and states, to the Soviet Union, to its tutelage, and thus let the wolf into the sheepfold. The Soviet social-imperialists hold the peoples and their strength in very low esteem indeed. Their aim is to create among them a feeling of inferiority, to undermine their confidence in their forces and bring them round to accept without resistance, with servile shortsightedness, a condition of subjection, to hail the Soviet tutors, the Messiahs of the Kremlin, as the great fortunate of the century event, who are the only ones who can allegedly ensure them a life «worthy of human beings», and concern themselves about them!

A FRAUD ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

«DRITA» — organ of the League of the Artists and writers of Albania

In her book «The History of Mother Love from the 12th to the 20th Century» Elisabeth Baudiner lays the claim that «with the further development of society the role of

woman in society changes; she becomes increasingly interested in the warm nest of her family more than in anything else. «Indeed,» she adds, «even the peasant woman,

who until recently had to help her husband in field work now has her sense of guilt.»

The question of the role of women as mothers in society

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has aroused the interest of a great number of students in sociology, psychology, biopsychology, etc who keep discussing the psychical, social, spritual, political and inter-personal phenomena, which according to them, operate on women as mothers and members of society on the basis of biological impulses and instincts. In the opinion of many bourgeois critics and aesthetes, they are all-powerful factors which, in the last analysis, determine the development of the entire society. The American neo-Freudian ideologist, Erin Fram, takes up the task of throwing more light on the essence of this problem when he writes that, «according to recent studies, it has been proved that in most cases the causes of acts of crime, violence, and sadism, should be sought in woman, in whom the biological strength of uncontrolled instincts, acting independently from individual consciousness and other social factors, is greater than in any other individual of society.» And immediately upon this «brilliant invention» intendend to solve many problems of the social system, and to some extent check the flow of aggressive biological impulses operating on women, the american Ally Waller declares that it is necessary «to carry out co-ordinated and many-sided work in order to involve woman more and more in family problems and cares.» At the present stage of development of society, some other students of the same order say, the only mission society has entrusted women with is to be good and careful mothers(!)

Decadent art and literature, as the direct media of expression of reactionary theories and views, give the image of this «new type» of woman in their works allegedly inspired by the «new conditions of social development». The bourgeois critique talks much about literary and artistic productions of this kind, books like «I shall Go to Dreux», or «The Madman». In the latter, the central figure is that of a mother who takes no interest at all in anything except her child — a handicapped and mentally retarded child. A newspaper writes, «Such tragedies have their positive side, since they strengthen the links between woman and her family and make her a humble and loving mother...» Hence the objective: woman must seclude herself within the four walls of her home.

In the American film «The Murderer», a mother, who wants to give free play to her sexual instincts, does not hesitate to smother her one-year old baby which spoils her pleasure with its cries. The great number of such books and film market, is not a mere aberration of decadent literature and art from the common order of things. It is a premeditated and well-co-ordinated attack which, in the framework of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda, aims at covering up the incurable ills of bourgeois society by pretending that these evils stem from the inner world of the individual and of the family life, in which the mother plays a primary role. However, is it possible to isolate this cell of society from

the political and social reality in which every individual lives and acts? The assumption is preposterous.

«All the sociologists, biopsychologists and psychologists and their ilk, who pretend that the road of salvation for the capitalist society from the catastrophe is the confinement of woman to her home and her children, try to pose as great humanitarians,» says an angered young Italian mother. «Are they sorry for our children? Not at all. A mother's love for her offspring needs no formulas. It is they, with their films and books full of horrors, sex and violence and with their absurd theories that try to cast a blur on this love. While trying to trap us in the cage of the family, they strive to induce our children to abandon the family in order to integrate them into another 'family', the great corrupt family of crime and prostitution...»

«This is a lie,» explains in «The Truth», the story of a progressive English writer, an honest working woman who is accused of having murdered her children who were found dead in a makeshift hut, while she was away. «You killed them! Hunger killed them! Your brutality, you who left me in the streets, jobless, killed them! You left me childless, killers!»

This is the truth and not the pseudo-scientific veneer and the sophisms with which the bourgeois ideologists try to cover up the rotteness. The reality of the intensification of the class struggle which is rallying round itself more and more working women gives the lie to these slanders and mystifications.

**press
review****ACTIVATION OF THE AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
OF STRENGTH IN THE MAGHREB**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

President Reagan, high officials in the USA and news agencies have dealt with some new developments which show a reactivation of the American diplomacy of force in the Mediterranean region of Maghreb.

The United States considers the Mediterranean, the countries of the Maghreb included, a «zone of strategic access» to the whole of the Middle East. According to Wolfowitz, the assistant secretary of state of the USA, the region of the Maghreb has become of «vital importance to Washington more than at any other time in these twenty or thirty years». The assistant secretary of state links this assertion with two factors. First, he mentions the «Soviet occupation of Afghanistan». Second, he deals with what he calls «the problem of moving the (American) forces stationed in the Middle East to this region». The question is always about the region of the Maghreb. This means increased American presence in the Maghreb countries. In the concrete case, American imperialism assesses this extensive geographical area, from North Africa to the Persian Gulf and further on to Central Asia, from its own positions of rivalry for hegemony with Soviet social-imperialism and from its own advantage.

The Iranian revolution dealt a powerful blow, especially at the positions of American im-

perialism in the Middle East. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, a country bordering on Iran, further strengthened the Soviet positions in this region to the detriment of the American ones. But American imperialism can never reconcile itself either to the former or the latter, with the result that it has taken steps to improve its positions, steps which are fraught with great danger for the peoples of the Middle East and other neighbouring nations. The Pentagon has set up military bases in Oman, Somalia, Kenya and other countries, and signed separate treaties of a military character with Tel-Aviv and Riad. It tries to bring Morocco around to put some military bases at the disposal of the United States for the needs of the American rapid intervention force as a compensation for the military «aid» it receives from the latter. All this, according to the news agencies, will be made operational «in case the American army will intervene in the Gulf region against the Soviet Union». In other words, this means that American imperialism is making preparations for new military confrontations and aggressions.

With the activation of its diplomacy in the region of Maghreb or in the whole of the Middle East, Washington plans to reach some objective set in its hegemony-seeking strategy. It reckons to prevent,

by armed force if necessary, the other peoples of this region from following the example of the heroic Iranian people, from taking over the administration of their national assets and deciding their fate themselves. American imperialism wants to regain its «paradise lost», and for this purpose tries to ensure the collusion of various pro-American reactionary regimes in its plans for aggression, and thus rival with the Soviet social-imperialism from the most favourable military positions possible.

For its part, the Kremlin follows these developments not without concern. The Russians, too, have publicly proclaimed the Mediterranean «a vital zone», because its waters are linked with those of the Black Sea which washes the shores of the Soviet Union. They have made the same declarations about the waters of the Persian Gulf, as they reach near to the southern borders of the Soviet Union! In all these areas the Soviet military presence, in this manner or that, is not lacking. As well as that, the Kremlin chiefs have made public, what they see as their legitimate right, to intervene just as they do in any other field, in order to re-establish the «balance of power» everywhere and whenever they declare that it has been upset. (The United States maintains the same superpower hege-

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mony-seeking stand.) That is what the Russians are trying to do in the Magherb by fanning up old feuds and creating news ones. The Americans are doing the same by inciting existing conflicts, par-

ticularly those of a local character like that over the Western Sahara.

In conclusion it may be said that the activation of the American diplomacy of strength in the Maghreb is

bound to further exacerbate the rivalry between the superpowers and to increase the threat of their intervention in one of the most explosive areas of the globe, with all the ensuing consequences.

THE MULTI-NATIONAL OF THE «HOLY SPIRIT»

«PUNA» — organ of the Central of the TUA

The Holy See is known worldwide for its hypocrisy, its political cynicism, its unscrupulous demagoguery and deception, its intrigues and plots of proportions which involve all regions and continents of the world. The Vatican has inherited these attributions since the time of the Inquisition. In its policies, with the open blessing it gives to aggressions and plots, to the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the broad working masses, it has always aligned itself with the forces hostile to the freedom and independence of the peoples.

In this way, the Vatican and the Catholic Church have been turned into the main tool of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the spread of religion and the spiritual enslavement of the masses and, at the same time, into a multinational fattening on the toil and blood of the peoples. Today more than ever before, the society of «the salvation of souls» is involved in the sphere of material production in the world. The Vatican has invested huge

capital which it has built up from the exploitation of the faithful on ventures ranging from the manufacturing of buttons and cosmetics to the steel, construction and chemical industries, and the production of airplanes, missiles and ammunition.

This financial power of the imperialist type has become a multi-national similar to «Exon», «General Electric», «General Motors», «Shell», «Gulf Oil», «Bethlehem Steel», etc. It has extended its tentacles for profit the same as its other counterparts of capitalist exploitation. The Vatican is an insatiable business concern which according to information from the progressive press owns large assets, fixed and liquid. The Vatican and The Catholic Church have a capital of 50 to 60 billion francs in France, of about 2 billion pounds in Britain, and more than 80 billion dollars in the United States. At the same time the Holy See is the biggest landed proprietor in the world, with millions of hectares of land holdings. The Catholic Church owns about 100 thousands hectares

of land in Britain, about 482 thousand hectares in Italy, half a million hectares in France, more than 330 thousand hectares in West Germany, etc. The Vatican has huge land holdings in Brazil and other countries of the Latin-American continent, as well as in Spain, Portugal and other countries.

The Holy See has established very active links with the financial oligarchies of different countries. Its vested interests can be traced up to such American banks as «Chase Manhattan Bank», «First National City Bank», etc. In Italy, the Vatican is known as one of the most powerful financial groups, controlling nine big banks. One of them, the «Banco di Santo Spirito», secures huge profits for the Vatican through the taxes on real estate in Europe, America and other continents. This bank managed to double its profits within one year alone (1978-1979). The representatives of the Vatican work in a number of other banks and financial companies. So great is the thirst of the Holy See for pro-

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fit that the fathers in cassock do not consider it beneath their dignity to gamble in the stock-exchanges of New York, Tokyo, London, Bonn or other financial metropolises. For purposes of profit the Vatican has set up every imaginable kind of mechanism such as the Administration of Property, the Institute of Religious Foundations (IOR), etc which are groups specialized in financial and banking speculation. Evidence of the shady

financial transactions of the Vatican filials was the Sindona scandal in which the bankers of the Holy See also were deeply involved.

These facts show that the activities of the Vatican go far deeper than prayer and mass. Some time ago the head of the Vatican, Carol Voytila, held in Sala Clementina a meeting with about 500 fiscal advisers (experts in balance of taxes on income). With his «spiritual authority»,

John-Paul II blessed those contributing to the Vatican finances and called on the masses «to fulfil their obligations in the form of donations and taxes, because this is an expression of social justice». All this shows that Voytila is no exception from his pontifical predecessors. They are all known as the most blood-thirsty tax-collectors the world has ever seen.

OLD REFRAIN, SUCCESSIVE FAILURES**«ZËRI I POPULLIT»**

Chao Chih-yang, Chairman of the State Council, declared that «the situation is strong and stable» in China. The facts, however, show the contrary. The Peking leadership had proclaimed with great ado the «regulation» program which was to be accomplished within the year 1981. The year 1981 came to an end and the same Chao Chih-yang extended the time limit of the «rectification» and put it off for the end of this five-year period. So we will have to wait for a few years more to see the «regulation» of the Chinese economy.

There is no end of «rectifications» and «re-rectifications» in China. The hope that 1981 would mark the turn «towards improvement» did not materialize. As a result, both the implementation

of the so-called economic reform and the drafting of the 6th Five-year Plan have come to an impasse. Instead of the «brilliant situation» hoped for, the Chinese economy is slumping, and this is more apparent in the heavy industry, in the coal, oil and gas industry, in the chemical and construction materials industry. According to information from various news agencies, last year as compared with the preceding year, the total production of heavy industry on a whole has been 7 per cent lower. Production of steel has fallen by 2 million tons of coal — 20 million tons, and oil — 6 million tons. The production of natural gas has fallen by 10 percent. In 1981 there was a great fall in investments which from 53.9 billion yuans in 1980 fell to 38 billion yuans, which severely

affected the sphere of production.

Failures in heavy industry had a negative impact on all the other branches of the Chinese economy, mainly in increasing and deepening its disproportions. This state of things cannot fail to be reflected in light industry which gets 40 per cent of its material supplies and equipment from the enterprises of the heavy industry. The new economic policy which gives priority to the development of light industry in opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, could not fail to aggravate the already grave crises of the Chinese economy. Dealing with the situation in China in general, «Peking Review» writes that «economic results today are not only below the level of the advanced countries, but also below those achieved some year

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ago.» Many facts go to prove this bitter reality. The production of cereals per head of population in China is much lower than the world average. The acreage of the arable land has shrunk by 24.5 million hectares. According to official reports, one fourth of the workers and employees of the cities live under subsistence level. Ten per cent of the able-bodied population has no occupation. Price rises have reached a 20 per cent annual average. Last year Chia's foreign debts were reckoned at 8 billion yuans, or double that of one year before. The manifestations of the crisis are becoming ever more virulent. And this process of retrogression cannot be stopped either by Peking's «rectifications» and «re-rectifications», nor by the reorganization measures taken by Teng Hsiao-ping and company to «improve the style of leadership».

For the implementation of their programs of «rectification» and «modernization» the Chinese revisionist leaders have put great hopes on Western «aid», the export of Western capital to the Chinese economy. That is why

they have opened all possible ways of access to China for the penetration of foreign capital. Western companies have been given facilities and privileges of which they could not even dream some years ago. China has signed long-term agreements with Western firms, stipulating that the latter have the right to use Chinese land and set up enterprises entirely on their own capital. They are allowed to employ Chinese workers, pay them as much as they want and sack them whenever they want. The present Chinese revisionist leadership has gone even further by undertaking to give the Western capitalists all guarantees against «any eventual political threat» to their interests.

The open-door policy has doubtlessly given its fruits, which cannot be in favour of China, but only in favour of Western capital which is invested wherever profits are highest. That is why it is rapidly penetrating into the Chinese market. Only through its so-called «joint companies» with the Chinese enterprises it has up to now invested

more than 1.5 billion dollars. According to information from the Chinese press, Peking has called again on the West to take part in one-hundred «joint ventures», which China intends for the development «some particularly backward economic areas» in the interior of China with the «aid» of the Western «benefactors», as well as utilize the advanced technology of the West for its economic and military strengthening. However, the Western magnates have other aims. They had rather set up small enterprises which ensure them immediate and greater profits. They find no great attraction in the «particular areas» which Peking has offered them and stick to the old littoral areas which are more favourable for their aims of neo-colonialist plunder. Thus, Western capital not only wants to do nothing to help China out of its acute economic difficulties, but is itself creating additional economic and social difficulties which result in more chaos, economic and political disruption in the Chinese reality.

Wheat harvesting.



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