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*VIEW OF THE PHYSICAL-CULTURAL AND SPORTS MANIFESTATION ORGANIZED  
IN THE CAPITAL ON THE 40th ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA.*

*Town libraries and reading rooms at work places and agricultural cooperatives are preferred haunts  
for the students and numerous readers.  
View of one of the reading halls of the National Library of the capital.*





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# THE 3<sup>rd</sup> SESSION OF THE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY



The 3rd Session of the 10th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania held its proceedings from June 28 to June 29.

Participating in its proceedings were guests from among the van-

guard workers and cooperativists, cadres and workers of departments, institutions, mass organizations, economic enterprises, state and judicial organs, etc.

Those present met with cheers

and loud applause the entry of the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Com-

# 10<sup>th</sup> LEGISLATURE ASSEMBLY



rade Adil Çarçani, and other Party and state leaders.

The session held its proceedings according to this agenda:

**1. Report of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, «The Further Strengthening of the Socialist Ju-**

**ridical Order and the Duties of the State Organs».**

**2. The Draft-law «On Some Amendments to the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania».**

**3. The Draft-law «On the In-**

**vestigator's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania».**

**4. The Draft-law «On Some Amendments to the Code of Penal Procedure of the PSRA».**

**5. The Draft-law «On the Drafting, Endorsement and Implementation of the Single and General State Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania».**

**6. The Draft-law «On the Drafting and Implementation of the State Budget».**

**7. The appointment of the Chairman and Vice-chairmen of the Investigator's Office.**

**8. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.**

*On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, delivered the report «The Further Strengthening of the Socialist Juridical Order and the Duties of the State Organs».*

*Then ensued the discussion of the report.*

*The Assembly took the decision «On the further strengthening of the socialist juridical order and the duties of the state organs».*

*Then points two, three and four of the agenda were examined.*

*The Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, on behalf of the Council of Ministers presented the draft-laws «On Some Amendments to the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania», «On the Investigator's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania» and «On Some Amendments to the Code of Penal Procedure of the PSRA». The Council of Ministers, said he, according to the orientations of the Central Committee of the Par-*

ty and the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, presents these draft-laws for examination and approval at this session of the People's Assembly. According to them, the investigator's office is built and operates as an organ in direct dependence on the People's Assembly. In its activity it proceeds from the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and operates according to the Constitution and the laws of our socialist state.

With this reorganization, Comrade Manush Myftiu went on, the Investigator's Office is separated from the administration and direction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is conceived and built as an organ of the people's justice. In its work and activity it will be independent from both the organs of state administration and the other judicial organs. This, said he, is a correct measure of great importance of principle which will further strengthen the class spirit and the proletarian partisanship of the Investigator's Office, will better guarantee the rigorous implementation of the socialist law.

After treating the manner of organization and functioning of the General Investigator's Office and the investigator's offices in the districts, Comrade Manush

Myftiu pointed out that the setting up of the Investigator's Office as an organ directly dependent on the People's Assembly is an expression of the strengthening and perfecting of the political superstructure of our state and constant deepening of socialist democracy in action.

The amendments to the Code of Penal Procedure, said he further, are intended to make more precise its provisions in connection with the reorganization of the Investigator's Office as well as to improve the supervision of the procurator on the investigation of penal cases.

The deputies unanimously passed the law «On Some Amendments to the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania», the law «On the Investigator's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania» and the law «On Some Amendments to the Code of Penal Procedure of the PSRA», in principle, article by article and as a whole.

The Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, examined points five and six of the agenda. On behalf of the Council of Ministers he presented the draft-law «On the Drafting, Endorsement and Implementation of the Single and General State Plan of the Economy

and Culture of the PSRA» and the draft-law «On the Drafting and Implementation of the State Budget». The draft-law on the single state plan, said he among other things, is intended to sanction the fundamental principles of the organization and planned management of the economy and culture of our socialist state. The Marxist-Leninist theory, the political and economic line of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the single and general state plan which is worked out on the basis of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, lie at the foundation of this draft-law.

The deputies unanimously endorsed the law «On the Drafting, Endorsement and Implementation of the Single and General State Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the PSRA» and the law «On the Drafting and Implementation of the State Budget», article by article and as a whole.

Then, the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, delivered the report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which the deputies endorsed one by one and as a whole.

The President of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Comrade Pali Miska, held the closing speech.

# THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST JURIDICAL ORDER AND THE TASKS OF THE STATE ORGANS

*From the report of the Presidium  
of the People's Assembly, delivered by Comrade  
Rita Marko, Vice-president  
of the Presidium of the People's Assembly*

THE QUESTION OF THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST JURIDICAL ORDER, WHICH WE ARE TAKING UP FOR EXAMINATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, SAID COMRADE RITA MARKO AMONG OTHER THINGS, IS DIRECTLY LINKED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MAJOR TASKS THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY HAS SET UP AND WITH THE IRRESISTIBLE DEVELOPMENT AND ADVANCE OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

In these 39 years of people's state power, under the leadership of the Party and relying on our revolutionary practice, our socialist juridical order, as an important component part of the state building, was developed on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In particular, the endorsement of the new Constitution of codes and other fundamental legislation in recent years is a victory of very great importance of principle and in practice. This legislation is neither a borrowing of foreign legislation nor a creation of artificial juridical norms outside our reality and needs, on the contrary, it reflects faithfully the so-

cialist social relations that exist in our country and the revolutionary experience of our socialist construction. The working out of this socialist legislation constitutes another contribution by our Party to the development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the role of the state and law in socialist society, on the construction, functioning, defence and strengthening of the socialist order, of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As an active element of the political superstructure of society, our socialist juridical order has played a first-rate role in the functioning of the whole state mechanism, as well as in the defence of the socialist order and the

freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland against the aims and activities of internal and external enemies.

Principles of vital importance sanctioned in the Constitution, such as the prohibition of the establishment of foreign bases and of the stationing of foreign troops on the territory of the PSR of Albania, the prohibition of the granting of concessions and of the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions or of joint ventures with the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist monopolies and states, as well as of the taking of credits from them, etc. guarantee and strengthen the economic and political independence of the country, serve the defence of our socialist Homeland.

In its essence and in the ideological, political and social content of our laws, our juridical order is a vivid expression of true socialist democracy

and humanism. It ensures the broadest and most effective possible participation of the masses in the governing of the country, in the running of state and social affairs, their supervision on the activity of state organs and economic organizations, guarantees to all working people and citizens their democratic freedom and rights, all the possibilities for the all-round development of their capacities, talents and personality, all the conditions for them to feel themselves the masters of their proletarian state. The example of our country proves the great Marxist-Leninist truth that only in socialist society, only in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is there real democracy for the working people, for the majority. It proves that only in such a society and state, humanism, concern for the working man, pervades through and through all social relations and that all horizons of development lie open for the working people.

The construction and constant perfecting of the juridical order have always been at the centre of attention of the Party and our socialist state. The strengthening of our socialist economy, the raising of it to a higher scientific level, the new tasks of the socialist construction of the country call for the further consolidation of this juridical order. Its strengthening and perfecting in the present stage are also dictated by the present degree of development of our socialist democracy, the quantitative and qualitative increase of the participation of the masses in the governing of the country.

Then, Comrade Rita Marko dwelt on some problems of the socialist juridical order in the economic field.

In our socialist society, in which the whole development of economic life is organized and led in a planned and centralized manner by the state, with the direct participation of the broad working masses, the juridical order, said he, is called on to play a particularly active and important role in the economic field. Our legislation in this field is based on the socialist

principle of distribution according to work done and has work, its quantity and quality, as its basic criterion. It reflects the directives of the Party which have brought about the constant increase of social production and the uplift of the well-being of the working people, have further narrowed distinctions, allowing no privileges or major differences in income and way of living, which has led to the gradual narrowing of the sphere of operation of the features of bourgeois laws in all fields.

The principle of democratic centralism, sanctioned in our Constitution and in other normative acts, finds its full reflection in the plans of our state. The planning of our socialist economy is done according to a scientific methodology and in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist principles and the economic policy of the Party. Our methodology of the planning of the economy has its juridical aspect which defines the duties, competences and responsibilities of the different instances, the mechanism of the process of socialist planning.

Speaking of the tasks emerging in this field, he stressed that the representative organs must play better their leading and supervising role towards the state administration from the centre to the base, paying greater attention to the problems of the fulfilment of the plan and the management of the economy, calling to account more rigorously those responsible for these problems. For the fulfilment of these tasks better than hitherto, we must address ourselves to the working masses, link ourselves closely with them and consult them, mobilize them and throw them into action.

Comrade Rita Marko continued, «Our juridical order consecrates and defends by law the consolidation, uninterrupted development and strengthening of socialist ownership, which is the foundation of our socio-economic order. Our legislation defines the objects that constitute the social ownership and envisages the means necessary to guarantee its inviolability.

The Party has taken a series of measures from time to time, especially after the abolition of private property in our country, in order to bar the paths to any bourgeois-revisionist effort to degenerate and destroy our socialist ownership.

«The organs of the state and the economy,» he pointed out, «must pay greater attention to the strengthening and raising of the quality of work by the financial organs of control and revision. This entails the improvement of organization in this sector, as well as the juridical delimitation of its powers and tasks. The uninterrupted solicitation of the opinion of the working masses assumes special importance for the protection and administration of social ownership.»

«The finance and banking organs must further activate and strengthen control through the lek on giving and the utilization of funds.»

Dwelling more extensively on the situation of the law and the juridical emerge in the field of state administration, Comrade Rita Marko said: «Just as in any other field of our life, in the administration, too, the situation of socialist law and the juridical order, in general, is healthy and stabilized. This is due to the leading role of the Party and its correct policy of the construction and working of our revolutionary administration, which is new both in content and form, and is based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of democratic centralism, the participation of the working masses in the management, in state affairs and in the implementation of the socialist law, etc.

«In this field, too, possibilities exist to make further improvements and to consolidate the juridical order.

«First of all, it is necessary that our people should form a clearer and more profound concept of the juridical order. This cannot and must not be reduced to the activity of the organs of justice alone. The juridical order comprises all the activities of the state organs, both legal and administrative, which must be carried out with unfailing accuracy and in com-



plete conformity with the socialist laws. The relationship of the state organs with the people who participate actively in the government of the country, the relationships between the representative organs and the executive ones, the control of the former on the latter, the mutual control of the organs of state power and those of the administration, etc., all these are major questions of principle which have to do with our socialist juridical order, with the class nature of our state power, with its democratic character.

«One of the important problems we face is the strengthening of legislation which regulates the relationships in the state administration. The Council of Ministers has done a great deal of work to detail the articles of law for the implementation of the various codes which have been drafted in the spirit of the Constitution.

«Carrying out the orientations of the Party that 'the laws are made by the people', the broad working masses have been activated in drafting and discussing the draft-laws and important articles, which is one of the forms of their participation in the government of the country, combating manifestations of technocratism and bureaucracy.»

Comrade Rita Marko pointed out the absolute need for further strengthening the control of the Council of Ministers on the activities and acts of the ministries and executive committees of the people's councils and the organization of control on the activities and order issued by the state administration, so that they conform to the spirit of the law.

«The control of the people's councils on the acts and activities of their executive councils, as well as the control of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the acts of the local and central organs, must be exercised continuously.

«Apart from control by the supreme organs, the control by the investigating body to see that the laws and acts of the state administration are

based on the law, has a great role and responsibility.

«The decision we will take in this session of the People's Assembly to bring the investigators under the supreme organ of the people's state power is an act of great importance for the further strengthening of the activity of investigations. This will serve to further strengthen the socialist law, the correct application of the laws, to defend the interests of the proletarian state and the rights of the working people.

«Of social principled importance is the exercise of the direct control by the workers and peasants and other working masses on the whole work of our state administration, under the leadership of the Party. The stronger and more systematic this control, the better our administration will carry out its important tasks and avoid the danger of bureaucracy and liberalism, the easier the prevention of any violation, and the stronger our socialist law will become.

«The concrete expression of the healthy situation of our law in the field of administration is the definition of the competences of the state organs on the basis of democratic Party. The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the struggle against any manifestation of bureaucratic centralism and liberal decentralization, must be always kept in mind.

«The endorsement of a series of laws and decrees, the decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the Competences of the People's Councils, as well as the adoption of typical regulations for the ministries, the executive committees of the people's councils and the enterprises by the Council of Ministers,» he stressed, «mark an important step forward. This, however, is only one side of the problem. The other important side is the profound political and ideological understanding of competences and their correct implementation in practice.

«The relations between the representative organs elected by the people

and the organs of the state administration have been built on the basis of the socialist law on the structure of the administration. The rendering of account by the executive organs to the representative organs is a great principled question which has to do with the understanding of the Marxist-Leninist principle of the unity of the state power, the leading and controlling role of the organs of the state power as the direct expression of the will of the people in power, with the teachings of the Party that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not just the administration, but in the first place, the state power of the working class, led by the Party.

«Our practice of many years shows that the necessity of placing the activity of the organs of administration under control, and their answerability to the representative organs has been and is being understood ever better, and is applied in practice.

«The Council of Ministers has rendered account regularly to the People's Assembly about the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan and the state budget, the implementation of the laws, the carrying out of services to the people and about other important problems. Besides this, the rendering of account by the executive organs to the people's councils has been improved with each passing year. It is of special importance that the positive experience of recent times about the ministers' rendering account to the commissions of the People's Assembly, and the executive committees and their sections to the people's councils, about the fulfilment of the plan of the year 1982 and the tasks of the plan for the year 1983, should be enriched and disseminated.

«The rendering of account by the executive, order-giving organs must be done thoroughly and with high quality, not only to the representative organs, but also to the masses of working people.

«On the basis of the laws in power, the organs of administration have the right to resort to coercive measures against those who trespass the

law. However, in contrast to the bourgeois-revisionist capitalist countries, where the activity of the state is to the detriment of the interests of the working people and is based mainly on violence and coercion, our socialist administration has persuasion and explanation as its main method of work in order to improve the relation between the methods of persuasion and the coercive measures.» He spoke also of the important role of the organs of justice, the investigators and the organs of the internal affairs in the implementation of the socialist law.

Comrade Rita Marko went on pointing out that, «Our juridical order is the living reflection of the new reality which has been created in our country in the field of the rights and duties of citizens. It clearly defines the position of the working people in socialist society and serves the development of the personality of the citizens, the realization of the rights and freedoms, which have a profound and broad democratic content.

«In socialist Albania the rights and duties of citizens, which have the principle of equality in their foundation, develop and are enriched continuously. Very significant in this direction is also the guarantee of the equality of national minorities. The protection and development of their popular culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and its teaching in schools, their equal development in all fields of life with all the other citizens, has been guaranteed. In socialist Albania it is impermissible, indeed the law prohibits, the imposition of limitations, the discrimination or any other sort of inequality against nationalities. Quite the opposite occurs in the bourgeois and revisionist countries in which the policy of national oppression is applied.

«A clear example of this bourgeois-revisionist policy is the savage persecution, denigration and discrimination exercised by the Yugoslav revisionists and the Great-Serb chauvinists against the Albanian population in Kosova and the other regions of

Yugoslavia, to which they have denied the national rights which belong to it on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution, its national, historical and cultural traditions, etc.

«Among the democratic rights and freedoms of our citizens, an important place is occupied by the right to work. In our socialist state unemployment, emigration and poverty have been liquidated once and for all. With the planned development of the socialist economy, with the improvement of its multi-branched structure, etc. sources of new work fronts, in conformity with the tasks for the complete construction of socialist society, are continuously created. Consequently, on the basis of plans, about 40 thousand new work forces are given employment every year.

«Great improvements have been made also regarding the working conditions, hygiene and the protection of the environment against pollution. In recent years, in particular, the state and economic organs from the centre to the base have worked to acquaint themselves better with the ideological, political, social and technical content of the labour norms, laws and articles. In conformity with them, further measures have been taken to improve the working conditions and to avoid accidents at work. An important question, which must be continuously followed up, is the adoption of measures to create the most suitable conditions, especially for the women, fighting against any manifestation of under-evaluation of the problem.

«The Council of Ministers is working to organize on more scientific basis the activity of its depending organs for the protection of the life and health of the working people and to exercise more rigorous control on the implementation of the laws and regulations on this problem, insisting on closer collaboration between the state organs and the social organizations, especially the Trade Unions.

«The rights of the citizens are in dialectical unity with the fulfilment of their tasks. Comrade Enver Hoxha

said, 'Everyone has his rights, but at the same time has duties, therefore, no one is allowed to demand his rights, while he disregards his duties.'

«The raising of the quality and effect of propaganda and educative work, the adoption of other necessary measures, and along with them, the all-round work to popularize and spread the laws, to raise the juridical consciousness of the working people to the level of our socialist legislation, are some of the directions in which we must focus our attention.

«For the orientations of the Party to be carried out most thoroughly, it is of special importance that the enterprises and institution administrations, in particular, know the ideological, political and juridical contents of the Labour Code and other laws and development of the legislation, with labour relations, and carry them out to the letter.

«For the socialist juridical order to be further improved,» Comrade Rita Marko pointed out, «the strengthening and development of the legislation, which reflects the policy of the Party in each stage of the development of the country and the socialist social relations, has special importance. In this direction before the organs of state power, the social organizations and all the working people emerge many important tasks of a political, ideological, juridical, organizational duties, which must be followed up carefully and given proper solutions, under the leadership of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«In the present conditions a very important task for all the state organs, social organizations and all the working people is the struggle to strengthen socialist law. The work to propagate the laws and articles, accompanied with the necessary technical-organizational measures and with strong control and demands for the implementation of the norms of law, remain permanent requirements of our Party and state in this stage



of the socialist development of the country.

«It is important that every organ and cadre should understand well that good work is done only when the laws of the people are applied well, that good work is done by that cadre who applies the laws correctly. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the level of the juridical education and consciousness, to form a more profound and complete understanding of the juridical order, and of the socialist law. The strengthening of our state power requires the raising of the juridical consciousness to a higher level.

«In connection with this it is necessary to improve the juridical service and to raise the juridical theoretical-scientific thinking to a higher level.»

In conclusion Comrade Rita Marko said:

«Our people have achieved many great economic, political and cultural and educational successes in all fields of the socialist transformation of society. New and more brilliant perspectives are opened before us. All these successes have their source in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in our socialist social order, in the correct road on which our

Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, lead us. A guarantee for the realization of the duties and for the achievement of success is also our socialist juridical order, the strengthening of which is the main point of our discussions in this session in which we will take important decisions. We must transform it into a still more powerful weapon to strike any enemy and wrong-doer, as well as to organize and mobilize the broad working masses for the realization of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan ever better, for the irresistible march of our society on the road of socialism and communism».

# RAMIZ ALIA

## POLICY IN THE SERVICE AND THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF

*Albania is open to normal relations and countries which adhere to the principle of affairs of each other, respect for sovereignty of each country to have the social system*

PEOPLE OF THE TROPOJA DISTRICT, DEAR COMRADES,

I AM VERY HAPPY TO BE AMONG YOU, THE PATRIOTIC, MILITANT AND HARD-WORKING PEOPLE OF TROPOJA TODAY, THE PEOPLE WHO BOTH IN THE STORMY YEARS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND IN THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER HAVE RALLIED AS ONE AROUND THE PARTY AND HOLD THE RED BANNER OF SOCIALISM HIGH HERE IN THE NORTHERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO BRING TO YOU, VALIANT TROPOJA HIGHLANDERS, COMMUNISTS, WORKERS AND COOPERATIVISTS, TO ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF YOUR DISTRICT, THE HEARTFELT GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF OUR PARTY, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY AND OF THE BELOVED LEADER OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, PERSONALLY.

The district of Tropoja is a mirror of the grave but glorious past and of the brilliant present of our people.

The life of the Tropoja highlanders, like that of all the working people of Albania, was gloomy and difficult in the past. Under the savage oppression of feudal-bourgeois regimes they suffered greatly in poverty and illiteracy.

But the proud people of these highlands never bent the knee and were

*Speech delivered by the Secretary of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the mass rally in the town of Bajram Curri, which was organized during his visits from June 19-25 to the districts of Dibra, Kukës and Tropoja.*

never conquered. They stood firm, their heads high like the mountains and never laid down their arms. The outstanding valiant fighters of the Albanian League of Prizren and the Albanian liberation movement, like Sulejman Vokshi, Isa Boletini, Mic Sokoli, Ali Ibra, Bajram Rama, Sefë Kosharja and others, were raised and found warm support in Tropoja, in the Highlands of Gjakova. The Gryka e Dragobisë, where the great patriot Bajram Curri fought and resisted, became a symbol for the dauntless struggles for freedom, for independence and national sovereignty, for social justice and a better life. The communist militant Ali Kelmendi spent a part of his youth in this region.

The people of Tropoja had fought, arms in hand, for decade after decade, but it was only under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, that they, like all the people of our country, achieved genuine liberation, became masters of their own destinies. Right from the outset the people of the highlands of Tropoja answered the call of the Party and pledged to fight the fascist occupiers and the local traitors to the end. They filled the ranks of the partisan units and battalions with their finest sons and daughters who fought valiantly for the liberation of Albania and, as part of the 5th Division of the Albanian National Liberation Army, assisted our brothers of Kosova and the peoples of Yugoslavia in their liberation from the fascist occupation. The people of this district gave the Homeland many martyrs, like Jaho Sali Mani, Haxhi Avdyli, Haxhi Paci, Islam Fasliu, Murat Paci, Muzhak Kadri Emini, Ukshin Rustemi and others.

The Tropoja district is a living example of those magnificent transformations which have been made in our country in the epoch of the Party

# OF SOCIALISM

# THE HOMELAND

*collaboration with all those  
equality and non-interference in internal  
unity and the right  
it desires*

and the people's state power. The successful building of socialism has radically changed the face of the country and the life of the people in these rugged mountains. What the great patriots of the past, from the Frashëri brothers to Bajram Curri and their comrades fought and sacrificed their lives for, has become a reality in socialist Albania, indeed on a scale such as they could not even dream of at that time.

In order to make the changes that have taken place plainer, I shall mention just one fact. In 1952, during Comrade Enver Hoxha's visit to the northern districts, that a small hydro-power station should be built to supply electric light to two or three villages was considered something pretty big. Today, thanks to the correct policy of the Party, not only is electric power supplied to all the villages of our country but the big hydro-power plant «Drita e Partisë» at Fierza supplies light to all Albania.

Education and culture have become property of the masses. The secondary schools of the district are attended by as many students as the whole country had in 1938. Today Tropoja

has twice as many agronomists and zooveterinarians as the whole of Albania had in 1938.

The well-being of the people has risen from year to year. You need only look at the beautiful town of Bajram Curri, lying at the foot of Mt. Maja e Hekurave, in order to create an idea of that profound and all-round transformation which the Party, the state of the people in power, socialism, have brought about in these mountains.

The transformations in the spiritual life of the people of these parts are great and profound, too. Many backward customs, ideas and prejudices, which enslaved the working people, especially the woman of Tropoja, spiritually, have been broken and are being more and more thoroughly eradicated. The Tropoja woman has thrown off the heavy burden of religion, the canon and patriarchalism, and takes part actively, shoulder to shoulder with the men, as an equal member of our society, in all fields of socialist construction.

Having seen and lived through these colossal transformations which have been carried out in the years of the people's state power, the highlanders

of these parts, like the whole Albanian people, have become convinced that our Party has not talked hot air, that everything it has promised has been fully carried out in practice, has been materialized in our socialist life.

This has made the people of this zone, like those of the whole of Albania, to link themselves with Party and their state power like flesh to bone.

Dear comrades,

The economic, political and moral situation of our country is very sound. During 1982 and during the current year, by putting into practice the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, important successes have been achieved in all fields of social production, in the national income and the fulfilment of the plans for the economic development in our country.

The importance of these successes is further enhanced bearing in mind that they have been achieved by relying solely on our own forces, without any

sort of aid or credit from abroad, and overcoming a series of difficulties with which we have had to grapple in recent years.

Here I have in mind the extraordinary drought of the last two years, which has caused real catastrophes for the people in some countries, whereas in our country has been overcome successfully. Our ability to cope with it is the result of the correct and far-sighted policy which the Party has pursued for many years, to build an extensive irrigation system for our socialist agriculture step by step. And, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed last year in Drilon, we must continue this great work, extending the irrigation system more widely in the hilly and mountainous zones.

Likewise, the successes achieved in the period since the 8th Congress of the Party assume special importance because they have been realized at a time when the economic crisis continues in all the capitalist-revisionist world, a crisis which has caused us some difficulties in the import-export field, although our people have not felt it at all. Only in Albania is there no stagnation and decline in production, as there is in the capitalist and revisionist countries, but on the contrary, continuous growth at high rates. In our country there is no unemployment. On the contrary, more than 40 thousand new jobs are opened up every year, as against 20 thousand two decades ago. In our country there is no inflation and price rises, but only reduction of prices, such as those which were made last year and this year.

The healthy state and the stability of our socialist economy are even more outstanding if we bear in mind the grave situation in the capitalist countries, and especially in the revisionist countries, like Yugoslavia, Poland, etc., which have debts of 20 billion and more dollars and are teetering on the brink of disaster.

The economic achievements have made the political situation in our country stronger than ever before. It is characterized by the steel unity of the entire people round the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

This unity is expressed in the lofty spirit of mobilization of the whole people to put into practice the line and orientations of the Party, to carry out the tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the country.

The brilliant results achieved in the elections to the People's Assembly, the people's councils and people's courts, which have always been an expression of people's confidence in the line of the Party, testified once again to the unbreakable unity of the entire people round the Party, to their unshakeable will to march on the course indicated by the Party. These elections gave our people's state power, the powerful weapon for the defence of the victories achieved in the construction of socialist society, even greater strength, and made its links with the people still tighter and firmer.

The Congresses of the Trade Unions, the Youth and Women demonstrated this great unity of the people around the Party with particular vividness.

The brilliant unity of our people around the Party is becoming ever more highly tempered in the ceaseless class struggle against internal and external enemies, who have always tried and try to dig the grave for socialism, our Homeland and the Albanian people. This monolithic unity is that granite rock against which all the enemies have broken their heads and all their plans have been smashed. Against the unity of the Party and the people the dangerous plot of the undercover agent of the Titoites, the American and British imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, Mehmet Shehu and his group, was smashed to smithereens, too.

Our social life is characterized by the optimism and moral purity of our people. Under the care of the Party, the younger generation of socialist Albania is growing up healthy, inspired and imbued with lofty revolutionary ideals. The phenomena of moral degeneration, lack of perspective and pessimism, of mounting crime and such like, which are poisoning the social atmosphere in the bourgeois and revisionist countries and are expressions of the decay and disintegration

of the capitalist order, are alien to our country. The superiority of our socialist order, the superiority of Marxism-Leninism, the correctness of the line of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha are obvious in every direction.

Comrades,

The successes we have achieved in all fields through our work and struggle according to the great principle of self-reliance, make us view the present and the future full of optimism. The present level of development allows us to set ourselves even bolder tasks. We have never marked time nor shall we do so in the future. Likewise, we do not close our eyes to the problems, difficulties and obstacles we encounter on our road, or shortcomings in our work, but we struggle with revolutionary determination to overcome them.

To achieve the objectives the Party has set, it is essential to concentrate all our attention and mobilize all our forces to fulfil the plans in all directions and to find ways and utilize all possibilities and reserves to overfulfil them. In particular, we must step up our efforts to ensure the fulfilment of tasks in agriculture, which is the vital base of our socialist economy. Despite the progress made in your district in the production of bread grain, the yield rates, especially in maize, are below your possibilities and far from the achievements of other districts like Mirdita, Librazhd and others, with conditions similar to yours. You must fight to make the most of the existing possibilities through work based firmly on science.

The regular and continuous supply of the population of city and countryside with agricultural products and livestock products, especially, remains one of the main tasks. As I said above, you have achieved good results in the production of milk from sheep and goats, but you are lagging behind in the management of dairy cows from which you still get little milk. This comes about because, while natural pastures are utilized

well, the proper care is not given to forage crops. In this field a change must be made as soon as possible.

At the present stage of the intensive development of our socialist economy, the ceaseless raising of the productivity of labour from which about half the increase in production must be ensured, has particular importance for the fulfilment of plans, as the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have constantly pointed out. Hence, we should pay the greatest attention to this factor in industry and agriculture, in building and in every other field of production, making it a concern of all the working people. This requires also that production, the management of the economy, and all work must be more solidly based on science.

The aim of the construction of socialism is the ever better fulfilment of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, the ceaseless improvement of their living conditions. The Party requires that this should always be in the centre of attention of the leading organs of the state and the economy. But this depends, in the first place, on you, the workers and peasants yourselves, because it is you who produce the material blessings, and only on this basis, only when plans are fulfilled and overfulfilled, is it possible to fulfil the needs of the people properly and raise their well-being at the rates desired.

Along with the fulfilment of economic tasks, we must never for one moment overlook the necessity to strengthen the defence of the country day by day, which, as the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, is a question concerning the whole people and the duty above all duties. It is a very good thing that the mothers and fathers of Tropoja hand down from generation to generation the brilliant traditions of patriotism and bravery, of permanent readiness to be always arms in hand in defence of the Homeland.

The tasks facing us and the situations inside the country and abroad require that we further strengthen the people's state power in all its links, make it an even more effective weapon for the construction and defence of

socialism and the Homeland, and extend its links with the masses of the people, making them even more intensive. In particular, they require us to develop and deepen our socialist democracy more and more each day, through even greater and more active participation of the broad working masses in governing the country. In our country, the people themselves are in power, the masses themselves are building socialism under the leadership of the Party, so it is up to them to have their say in everything — production, the management of the economy, the problems of the defence of the country, in all fields of our social and state life. Proletarian democracy, the participation of the people in governing the country, the Party teaches us, is not only a right, but also a necessity, in order to keep the dictatorship of the proletariat always strong and invincible, a great motive force to carry the revolution and socialist construction ceaselessly forward. Now you are discussing the draft-plan of 1984, the fourth year of this five-year plan. Contribute everything you can to work out a plan as realistic, mobilizing and revolutionary as possible!

Above all, today more than ever, we are required to keep the patriotism and revolutionary spirit of our marvellous people at a high level for the prosperity and defence of the socialist Homeland, to make the unity of the people around the Party with our leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, even stronger. This is the reliable guarantee of the freedom, the independence and the socialist future of our country.

Dear comrades,

We are building socialism fulfilling the state plans and carrying out the tasks set by the Party in the conditions of given international situations and relations. In this or that way, to this or that degree, these conditions exercise a direct influence on us, so we draw the necessary conclusions and take the appropriate measures to cope with them.

As a result of the escalation of the

aggressive course of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the international situation is growing steadily worse and charged with new tensions and conflicts. A characteristic of the present exacerbation of the situation is that this is taking place in the period of one of the most widespread and profound crises the capitalist world has ever experienced. This has brought about a recrudescence of bourgeois violence not only on the internal plane, to contain and suppress the dissatisfaction and revolt of the workers, but also on the external plane, to intensify the neo-colonialist plunder and to capture better positions in the struggle of the imperialist countries for expansion and hegemony. Expressions of this aggressive course and these enslaving plans are the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social-imperialists, the aggression of Israel, aided and abetted by the United States, against Lebanon, the intervention of the United States of America in Nicaragua, or the support it is giving the fascist regime of Salvador to suppress the people's uprising, and the unrestrained armaments race.

In these complex conditions and difficult situations, socialist Albania, led by its heroic Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has pursued a principled foreign policy and taken stands which have served to strengthen the freedom and independence of the Homeland and further consolidate the victories of our revolution. Proceeding from the protection of the supreme interests of our country and the duty to contribute with all our possible strength to the common struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, our people have fought relentlessly against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all other reactionary forces. We have been and are in solidarity with the victims of the aggressive policies of the superpowers and have resolutely exposed their predatory and war-mongering plans. All our sympathies are with the Arab peoples, who are fighting for their rights against the Israeli Zionists, with the long-suffering Palestinian people to whom the undeniable right belongs



*Comrade Ramiz Alia during his visit in the district of Tropoja.*

to have their own homeland and state. We are with the peoples of Latin America who want to rid themselves of the barbarous intervention of the American imperialists and the yoke of reactionary oligarchies in the service of Washington. We support the African peoples who are fighting neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation. The Albanian people are following the resistance of the courageous Afghani

fighters against the Soviet social-imperialists with close attention and are confident that they will succeed in liberating their country from the foreign occupiers.

The daily struggle of millions and millions of workers and peasants in the capitalist countries against the consequences of the crisis, for their economic and social rights, for democratic freedoms and in defence of

what they have already achieved in labour legislation is very near and understandable to us. The struggle which the working masses of many capitalist countries are waging against the attempts to set up fascist dictatorial systems, as well as their opposition to the armaments race and war preparations on the part of the superpowers have our sincere and unreserved support. We associate our-



selves with these efforts because we are convinced that only the peoples, only their powerful struggle can foil the war-mongering plans of the imperialists and ensure a lasting peace.

At the same time Albania is open to normal relations and collaboration with all those countries which adhere to the principle of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and the right of each country to have the social system it desires. The fact is that we have diplomatic relations with about 100 states and carry on a growing trade with tens of others. Our cultural exchanges with the outside world are being constantly extended just as our participation in various international activities of interest to us is increasing.

Good neighbourly relations have been established with Italy, Turkey and Greece. Our people are happy to see that our efforts for friendship, good understanding and collaboration of mutual benefit with these neighbouring countries have found a positive response there. We observe with satisfaction that progressive opinion in Italy, Turkey and Greece wants the good neighbourliness between our countries to be stabilized and become ever more durable, because we are convinced that this serves the strengthening of peace and security, not only in the Balkans and the zone around it, but also in Europe as a whole.

We want to have good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, too. We consider Yugoslavia a revisionist capitalist country and build our relations with it, as we have done hitherto, proceeding from this reality. We have adhered to the now universally recognized and accepted principle and practice that state relations are one thing, while the ideological struggle is quite another thing. For our part, the polemic will continue, not only because it has great importance and has to do with a question of principle, but also because it has never been toned down by the Yugoslav side. Yugoslavia has continually attacked the policy and ideology of socialist Albania, the structure and superstructure of its society, calling

it an etatist, bureaucratic, Stalinist country, etc. In polemics the rights are mutual. Each presents his own ideological, political and economic arguments. In the final analysis, however, life, the reality, proves who is right. And life proves that Yugoslavia is a capitalist country in all directions. Yugoslavia is a market society tight in the grip of the mechanism of world capital, not only through the huge loans it has accepted and without which it can do nothing, but also through the whole mechanism of the capitalist world market which conditions and manages all Yugoslav life.

«Self-administration», proclaimed as «a specific form» of socialism, is only a disguise to hide the capitalist nature of Yugoslav society. As we are seeing everyday, the reality tore off this mask and brought to light the complete decay of this anti-socialist theory and practice. The anti-Marxist system of self-administration has landed Yugoslavia in a profound economic, political and social crisis, a crisis which is more grave and more painful than that of the industrialized capitalist countries.

The anti-socialist system of Yugoslavia is characterized by fierce feuds amongst clans, rivalries amongst republics, each of which has its own separate historical formation and its own personality. This has always been a political rivalry for power, a rivalry for the economic domination over the others, a national rivalry to establish the domination of one nation over the others.

With the development of this situation in Yugoslavia, the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who have outstanding revolutionary traditions, have found themselves worse off than all the others. They have been saddled with all the evil consequences of the system of self-administration and the strife among clans, and their just aspirations and demands have been suppressed with bloodshed.

In our country a new society, a society of people free from any oppression and exploitation, of brothers united by communist ideals, has been built. Whether our society is to the liking of the Yugoslavs or not, whether they accept it or speak ironically about

it, matters little to us. We Albanians are convinced from our daily life that the society we are building is the true socialism. This does not hinder us from collaborating with other states, nor does it prevent us from affirming our internal and international policy, or criticizing the capitalist and revisionist societies and their ulcers.

Nobody can force us to deviate from our course. There are political, ideological, economic, social and other differences among states. We do not conceal these things, on the contrary, we talk about them openly, point them out. The Yugoslavs call this interference in their internal affairs. But they forget that they do such a thing against us, as well as against others. The sole difference is that when they speak about others their aim is bourgeois and chauvinist, while ours is not.

Ours is not a chauvinist and irredentist policy, nor does it incite disturbances in other countries, even in territories inhabited by Albanians, as in the case of the Albanian living in Yugoslavia as a result of an injustice of history.

Our policy has been and is a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. Albania has solemnly declared that it has no territorial claims towards Yugoslavia, that it does not want the destabilization of Yugoslavia, that no evil can come to the Yugoslav Federation from Albanian territory, that the internal and foreign policy which our country pursues contributes to the preservation of the freedom and independence of the Yugoslav state. This the Yugoslavs do not want to understand or to point out in their propaganda, because were they to do so, the whole falsity of the Yugoslav stand towards Albania would emerge. And it is precisely this falsity that they try to cover up.

Concretely, where has Albania interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia? Apart from empty words, the Yugoslavs have presented no evidence, no argument, because none exists. Should we conceal the history of the Albanian nation so as not to be accused of «interference»? Should we not sing the songs about the glo-

rious heroes dear to all Albanians? Should we not write our history? Should we forget our traditions, our language, our customs? Should we ignore and reject Naim, Mjeda and the others? Should we not mention the Albanian League of Prizren and the wars the Albanians waged at that time for the recognition and affirmation of their nation, for freedom and independence, for the creation of their own state? Why should we not speak about Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri and Azem Galica?

We have not renounced our history, our culture and our whole spiritual treasury, and we are not going to do so in the future, no matter how much the Yugoslavs may clamour. No nation, no state and no people that have respect for themselves, their past and their present, have done such a thing. And we see that the Albanians of Kosova have not done so, either. They have lived and will go on living on their ancestral territories, will always preserve their traditions and their culture, that lofty patriotism, which through the centuries has always made the Albanians stand firm in their determination to resist the storms of history that have burst upon them.

Yugoslavia pretends that the Albanian culture is developing normally in Kosova. This is not true. The present tendency dictated from Belgrade is that the Albanian patriotic sentiment should be abandoned, because it is allegedly dangerous, and that the culture in Kosova should assume Serbian-Yugoslav features, that is, be replaced with a decadent hybrid culture. Against their will and under the threat of imprisonment, some writers and scholars have been compelled to support these theses. This we denounce. The Great-Serb chauvinist coercion of the Albanians and their culture must be lifted.

For propaganda and diversionist aims, the Yugoslav leaders formally request the establishment of cultural exchanges with Albania. Cultural relations among different countries are useful, they help maintain good neighbourliness and, in general, create a suitable atmosphere for collaboration in other fields of mutual interest. We

have had cultural relations with Yugoslavia, and especially with Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, such as we have with many countries, but they were arbitrarily broken off by Belgrade, under the pretext that they encouraged irredentism and were means through which Albania was interfering in their internal affairs! Now we have no wish to be the cause for the Albanians of Kosova to be gaoled because they applaud an Albanian dance or because they read a novel published in Tirana. We have no intention of pleasing those who are seeking the slightest pretext in order to continue to apply the chauvinist policy of oppression in Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of wanting a «Greater Albania» and «ethnic purity», that with our dances, songs and books we incite irredentism and nationalism. But the Yugoslavs are not the only ones who have heard our songs or read our books. The whole world has read them and heard them and no one else has said or says such things about them.

From the time of the creation of the Yugoslav federative state and the adoption of the Yugoslav Constitution, which divided the Albanians among three republics, they have remained in the most deplorable plight. This miserable plight, this grave situation of the Albanians, has existed throughout all stages of the development of Yugoslavia. However, it became more obvious after the death of Tito. This is a fact. It is also a fact that what some people, who have sold themselves to the Serbs, say that the situation in Kosova deteriorated after Tito when the Albanian propaganda was allegedly intensified in its direction, is a slander. The situation in Kosova truly did become worse after Tito, but this occurred because the oppression and exploitation of the Albanians was stepped up. It was precisely the intensification of their oppression and impoverishment that compelled the people of Kosova to go out in the streets and openly and loudly demand their rights.

Protests against oppression and impoverishment took place not only in

Kosova. Demands for equality and justice were made in the other republics of Yugoslavia, too. In a country where the national problem has not been solved and the economic structure is capitalist, people's revolts are inevitable. If draconian measures were not taken in the other republics as was done against the Albanians, this does not mean that there is less discontent there. This happened because those in the leadership are afraid that difficult situations might be created for the Yugoslav pseudo-socialism and pseudo-socialists.

No concession whatever was made in Kosova, while the others were handled gently. In this the rancour of the Serb chauvinists toward the Albanians can be seen.

The Albanians are accused of allegedly demanding a pure ethnic entity in Kosova. But the chauvinists of Belgrade need these pretensions in order to raise the question that the Serbs and Montenegrins are allegedly being driven out of Kosova. No one drove them, but they left of their own accord and went to better places, because Kosova is poor and has no prospect of rapid development. Now Ribičić is demanding that other Serbs and Montenegrins go to Kosova. But why is the coming of one group acceptable and the departure of the other group impermissible? Serbs have departed not only from Kosova, but also from Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro, etc., but no one speaks about this. Why does no one say anything about the Albanians who emigrate from Kosova, and they total many many more than the Serbs and Montenegrins?

The Albanian population of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia seeks no favours or privileges. It is not seeking pity, either, but only its legitimate and undeniable rights. It wants to live in the same political, economic, cultural and social conditions in which the other peoples in Yugoslavia live. It demands that Kosova be given the status of a Federal Republic which Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, etc., have. It demands that its assets be used for the benefit of those to whom they belong. It wants to speak Albanian freely, not

only at home, but also in the office, in the enterprise, in shops and everywhere else.

The road to the solution of the problems of Kosova is not that of attacks and accusations against the PSR of Albania, or that of violence and repression, which is pursued towards the Albanians of this region. For calm to be restored in Kosova and the whole of Yugoslavia, the prisons must be emptied and the Albanian boys and girls returned to their homes, because they have committed no crime, the army and the punitive police corps must be withdrawn, and the anti-Albanian chauvinist violence must be discontinued. The language of force cannot be used with the Albanians. There must be talks with the Albanians of Kosova, but talking as equals, and sincerely seeking solutions which they will accept with conviction, conscious that these solutions truly respond to their lofty interests.

It is our desire that the Yugoslav leaders should consider the situation wisely and with cool heads, and do not remain tied up to some propaganda slogans which they themselves concocted alleging that the events in Kosova have resulted from the actions of a few so-called nationalists, irridentists, or have been incited by Albania and its propaganda. It is to the benefit of the people of Kosova and all other peoples living in Yugoslavia to look the reality right in the eye and not seek «enemies» where they do not exist. The «enemy» is the policy which Belgrade itself pursues towards the Albanians, and this must be ended as soon as possible.

As for the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we have declared and we repeat that we have not interfered and have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. But we will always raise our voice against the national oppression of our brothers in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. No one can deny us this right. We will also support the demands which the Albanians of Kosova have presented about the status and the economic and cultural deve-

lopment of their region, not because they are what we want or to our liking, but because they are just demands and the right of this people.

If our policy and stands are understood correctly, all the possibilities exist to improve Albanian-Yugoslav relations. Why are we finding common roads for the development of trade? This is a good thing. But the roads for relations in other fields are not being found, because the Yugoslavs pretend that we interfere in their internal affairs. But it is the Yugoslavs who have interfered in our country. As to how much and how they have interfered, this is very well known.

A clear reflection and an irrefutable historical document about this interference is Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Titoites». This book is in very great demand all over the world, because it helps to know the truth about Albanian-Yugoslav relations, helps to see that bourgeois nationalism and Great-Serb chauvinism have always been the basis of the Yugoslav policy towards Albania and the Albanians.

In their zeal to denigrate Albania, the Yugoslav leaders speak without any basis or any sort of logic. Our people are used to such attacks and know how to ignore them and continue the work for the building of the new socialist life, for the strengthening and prosperity of their Homeland, unconcerned by these attacks. Albania is forging ahead and expects no praise from the Yugoslavs. However, the world does not and cannot possibly see Albania and its policy through the spectacles of Belgrade. Those who are realists see how the Albanian people are living and advancing. It is a fact that not only are the anti-Albanian theses of the Yugoslav propaganda finding no response outside Belgrade, but also that they are stigmatized as expressions of a megalomaniacal chauvinist policy dangerous to peace and security in the Balkans. The world says we are right, despite some who measure our progress by the number of cars, horses and donkeys, or fortifications.

Let the Yugoslavs say endlessly and as much as they like that Albania is an isolated, mysterious country, etc. But Albania will never become the country of the drug traffick and drug addicts, will never permit the invasion and corruption of tourism, as is occurring with the phalanges of the American army and of the Soviets in Yugoslavia. We are not xenophobic. On the contrary, friends, well-wishers and honest people, wherever they come from, are always welcome in Albania.

The stand of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania towards the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia was clearly defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. This stand remains unaltered. Our country is for good neighbourly relations and for normal collaboration in those fields which present mutual interest. We will make every effort in this direction, but everything depends on the stand of the Yugoslav side towards socialist Albania and its treatment of the Albanians of Kosova and other regions.

Comrades,

In conclusion I want to express once again the conviction that the valiant and patriotic people of the Tropoja district, with the communists in the forefront, will stand firm and vigilant as always, in steel unity around the Party, will always be on the attack to implement its line, and to build our socialist society with complete success.

Long live the valiant, hard-working and patriotic people of Tropoja!

Long live our Party of Labour, the inspirer, organizer and leader of all our present and future victories!

May the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, live as long as our mountains!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

# THE 40<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE GEN OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

Comrade soldiers, con-commissioned officers and officers, members of the Armed Forces!

ON THE OCCASION OF JULY 10, THIS MARKED DAY OF THE CREATION OF OUR HEROIC PEOPLE'S ARMY, I GREET THE WHOLE EFFECTIVE OF OUR ARMED FORCES AND WISH THEM A HAPPY CELEBRATION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING.

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY COMES TO THIS GLORIOUS ANNIVERSARY WITH ITS RANKS CLOSED AROUND THE PARTY WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO IT AND EDUCATED IT AS AN ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE DEFENCE OF THE VICTORIES OF SOCIALISM. IT COMES TO THIS ANNIVERSARY STANDING AT A HIGHER POLITICAL LEVEL AND BETTER TRAINED MILITARILY, WITH HIGH VIGILANCE AND DISCIPLINE, ALWAYS READY TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND.

The Party created, educated and tempered the People's Army in the fire of the battles of the National Liberation War. From small partisan units, our Army grew to brigades, divisions and army-corps, fought with unexampled bravery and courage against the fascist occupier and internal reaction, brought the country its true freedom and independence, its people's power and prosperity.

In celebrating July 10, today we recall with legitimate pride the legendary battles of the National Liberation Army, the innumerable difficulties our people overcame and the many sacrifices they made, and bow with profound respect before the martyrs, the brave partisans who fell in the flower of their youth for the beautiful and happy days we enjoy today. Their deed will remain immortal.

Comrade soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers,

The Party has always shown the greatest concern about the

People's Army. With its wisdom and far-sightedness, and in opposition to the theorizings and brutal interference of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies, the Party has followed a consistent policy and taken a number of measures for the all-round political, military and technical training of the Army and the entire people. It has worked out the scientific principles of our Military Art of People's War on which our Army bases the defence of the country. Life has proved the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. We have today a powerful and invincible defence, a well-trained army equipped with all the necessary weapons, unswervingly loyal to the people and the Party.

The slogan of the Party «The Defence of the Homeland — a Duty above All Duties» has been deeply implanted into the consciousness of the entire people. The interests of our Army are indivisible from the interests of

the people. The entire people today are soldiers and the Army is the true defender of their lofty interests.

Comrade commanders, commissars and soldiers,

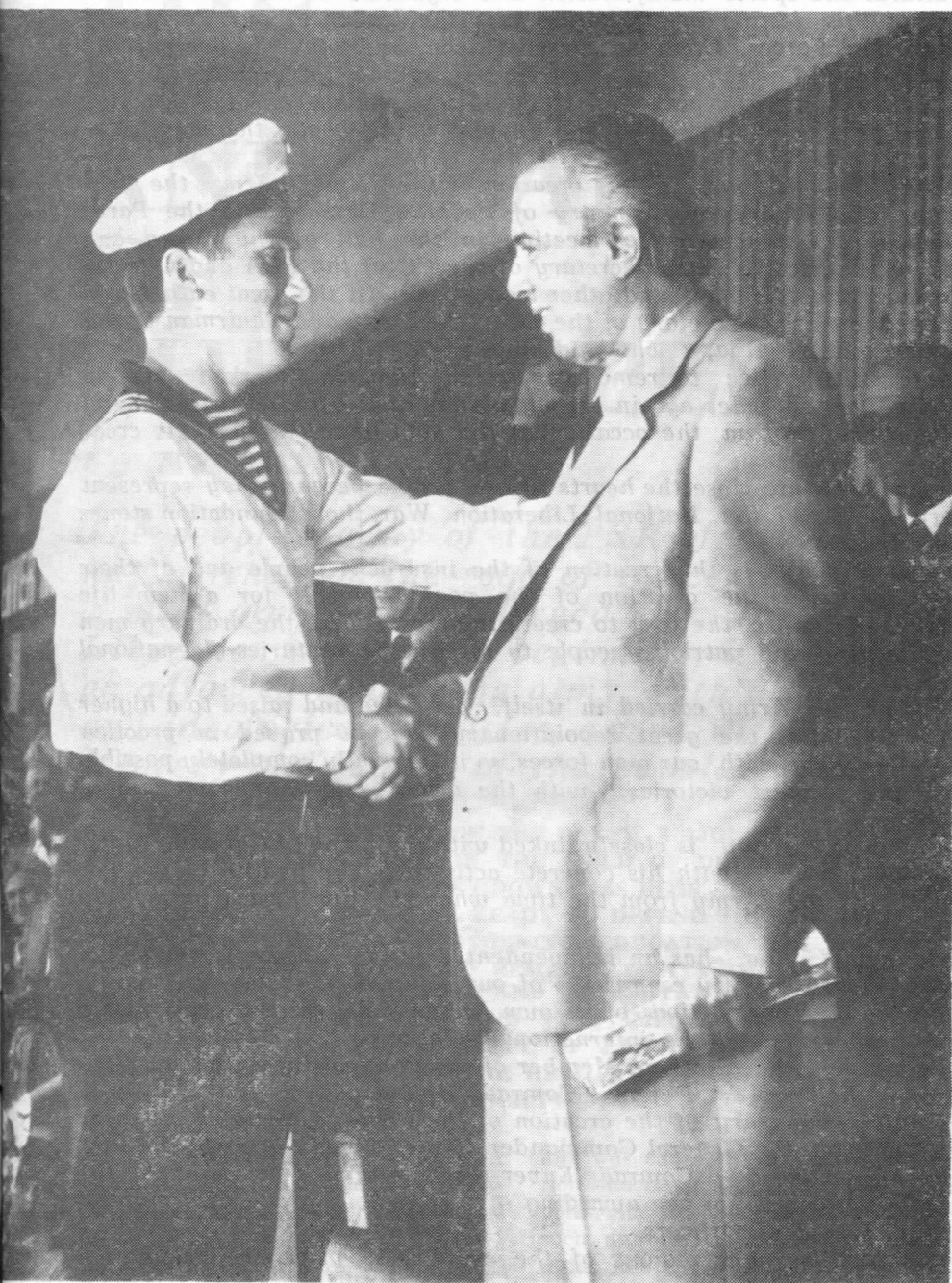
The present international situation calls on us to be always vigilant so as the enemy may never catch us unawares. This charges you with the task of, while continuing on the road shown by the Party, making all the efforts to further strengthen combat readiness and discipline, of assimilating the strategy and tactics according to the requirements of our People's Military Art, ever better.

Our people want peace and friendly collaboration with the different peoples. However, you must never for a moment forget the dangers threatening our country from the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists and other enemies of the peoples. Keep revolutionary vigilance high, live constantly with the situations, combat any manifestation of liberalism and underevaluation of the enemy.

Above all, ceaselessly strengthen the links of the Army with the people, steel the unity around the Party more and more each passing day, raise your political consciousness and ideological and cultural level ever higher, keep with honour the lofty name of our People's Army and the respect it enjoys among our working masses.

# OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

## GENERAL COMMANDER PSR OF ALBANIA,



Preserve and further develop the brilliant fighting traditions and the high moral qualities of our people, keep always alive the revolutionary spirit of the National Liberation Partisan Army, whose worthy successors you are.

The Party is confident that the soldiers and officers, the whole effective of the armed forces, our entire people will work tirelessly, under the leadership of the Party, for the constant strengthening of our glorious Army, for the steeling of the defence of our socialist Homeland, so as no enemy dare touch in the slightest the freedom and independence of our country, socialist Albania.

Long live the 40th anniversary of the founding of our People's Army!

Long live our heroic people!

Long live the glorious Party of Labour, the creator, inspirer and leader of our Armed Forces!

TIRANA, July 10, 1983

*On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, a group of youths handed the General Commander of the Armed Forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the message of greetings of the effective of the People's Army. «I am very glad about it,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Convey my warmest wishes on the occasion to all the officers and soldiers.»*



The 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army was celebrated with magnificence in all the country.

On July 8 a large-scale physical-cultural and sports manifestation was organized in the national stadium «Qemal Stafa» in Tirana. Present at this festive manifestation was the leader of our Party and people, the General Commander of the Armed Forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other leaders of the Party and state. After a group of youths handed Comrade Enver Hoxha the message of greetings of the effective of the People's Army and a group of pioneers gave him fresh flowers, members of the effective of the army, the volunteer forces, the naval force and the school and student youth began the manifestation.

On July 9, on the occasion of July 10, the anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence and the Party Committee of the Tirana District organized a commemorative meeting in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre. Attending the meeting were also the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and General Commander of the Armed Forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other leaders. Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present the meeting was opened by the Secretary of the CC of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who said among other things:

«We have met in this commemorative conference to remember one of the most marked dates in our National Liberation War, the creation, four decades ago in the mountains of Albania, of the General Staff of the Army, and to greet our People's Army on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

«Such events as July 10 of the year 1943 are close the hearts of our people because they represent those culminating moments in the glorious epic of the National Liberation War, those foundation stones on which new socialist Albania has been built.»

«Our Army,» Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «is the creation of the insurgent people and of their insurgent struggle for freedom and independence, is the creation of the popular revolt for a new life without oppressors and exploiters. Those who were the first to create this army were the ordinary men of the people. Their war was the war of the poor and patriotic people to realize the centuries-old national and social aspirations.

«Born in the heat of the popular war, our Army carried in itself, perfected and raised to a higher degree the art of this war. On its basis was built the great revolutionary concept proved in practice that just as it was possible to liberate the Homeland with our own forces, so it is equally completely possible to defend the Homeland, to guarantee the socialist victories, with the army and the people united and organized, relying on our own forces.

«The creation and development of our People's Army is closely linked with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his political and organizational thinking, with his concrete activity in the quality of the Political Commissar and General Commander of the Army from the time when the first armed units were set up and for ever after until today.

«Our country,» pointed out Comrade Ramiz Alia, «has an independent defence. Albania is not bound by any alliances or treaties. This reality is also a lofty expression of our complete national sovereignty, of the freedom of our country to engage in the construction of its own life as it desires, to speak openly and without hesitation about the world problems and the international relations.»

The speech on the occasion was delivered by the Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of the People's Defence, Comrade Prokop Murra.

On July 10, the jubilee day of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, the central press organs published the order of the day of the General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this festive day Comrade Enver Hoxha attended the parade of the effectives of the military schools and the ceremony of the awarding of medals to a group of armymen, which was organized at the United High School of Officers.

Various festive activities were organized in other regions of the country to mark the celebration of July 10.

# THE PLA AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA - THE CREATORS, ORGANIZERS AND LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

by **KIÇO MUSTAQI**

*The people's army of the PSR of Albania has marched on the road of its ceaseless development; from a small army which emerged from the National Liberation war, in the beginning, it has been transformed into an advanced and strong army, with all the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological qualities, armed with the triumphant strategy and tactics of the popular warfare*

**UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, MAJOR AND IMPORTANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE FIELD OF DEFENCE, AS IN ALL OTHER FIELDS. OUR ARMY HAS GROWN, HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND MODERNIZED, AND IS ALWAYS READY TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST VICTORIES. ITS GROWTH, STRENGTHENING, EDUCATION AND TEMPERING IN ALL DIRECTIONS, SO AS TO REMAIN ALWAYS THE BELOVED AND LOYAL WEAPON OF THE PEOPLE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, IS A COMPONENT AND VERY IMPORTANT PART OF THE STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, TO ENSURE THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**

1.

The organization and development of the armed struggle against the nazi-fascist occupiers and the local trai-

**KIÇO MUSTAQI** — *Vice-minister of People's Defence and Chief of the General Staff of the Army*

tors was closely linked with the creation and organization of a regular revolutionary people's army. Only with such an army could major strategic tasks, like the ceaseless attack of the enemy, the destruction of its military

and political apparatus, the complete liberation of the country with our own forces, the establishment of the democratic state power and its defence, be carried out.

In the conditions of occupation of Albania and of the development of the Second World War, the creation and organization of the National Liberation Army was a difficult task of high responsibility. The enemy was savage, merciless, well organized militarily, with great fighting experience and complete superiority in armaments and men. There were also other difficulties such as the supply of the

army with weapons, ammunition, clothing and food, the assimilation of the employment of technical means, the training of cadres, etc. On the other hand, the creation of the National Liberation Army was sabotaged not only by reaction, but also by the enemies in the ranks of the Party, who came out with the opportunist theories of the «preservation of cadres», pretending that «time was not yet ripe to attack the enemy», etc. However, the Party courageously threw the masses into armed struggle, realized its objectives stage by stage until the achievement of victory through the armed people's war.

The creation of the National Liberation Army went through many stages of development — from guerrilla units and partisan detachments to divisions and army-corps, stages which succeeded each other as a result of the development of the struggle. The National Liberation Army inherited nothing from the old army and was not a copy of any other army. Here the Party utilized the experience of the fighting organization of our people in their struggles for freedom and independence, enriching it and raising it to a higher level. The cadres of our army were trained in the process of struggle, they emerged from the ranks of the partisans who fought with weapons wrested from the enemy, while the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the best fighting traditions of our people lay at the foundation of the strategy and tactic of the people's war. A merit of the Party is that it did not wait for the building of the army to start the war, but, without losing time, while locked up in fierce clashes with the enemy, led with maturity and wisdom the whole work for the organization of the armed uprising and the army step by step, from one stage to the other.

The new army that was being built was a regular voluntary partisan army, clear about its political objectives and strong militarily, endowed with the finest moral qualities and fighting traditions of our people. When the appropriate conditions were created the partisan detachments had increased and were in a position to carry out more important tasks. On July 10, 1943 the Party and Comra-

de Enver Hoxha founded the General Staff as a political and military centre which would enable the transition to a higher stage in the organization and rapid development of the armed struggle. The General Secretary of the CPA Comrade Enver Hoxha, was elected Political Commissar of the General Staff.

The General Staff carried out the organization of the Albanian National Liberation Army and concentrated in its hands the strategic and operational leadership of the armed struggle against the occupiers and traitors, while at the same time working out the tactic of this struggle.

Led by the General Staff, the Albanian National Liberation Army resolved major strategic tasks, being totally independent from any front of the Second World War operationally, strategically and, even more so, tactically. In extremely difficult conditions, relying only on the inexhaustible possibilities of the Albanian people, the masses were prepared for the armed uprising and the forms and ways of development of the struggle defined and the necessary material means ensured.

While implementing the principle of self-reliance, the Party resolved with great wisdom all the problems of the People's War, like the training of cadres, the arming of the army and the insurgent people, their supply with food and clothing, etc. However, while giving priority to the principles of self-reliance, the Party did not underestimate the external factor, the support of the world proletariat and all progressive and freedom-loving forces. The Albanian people remained loyal to the end to the great anti-fascist alliance, without asking anybody for help to decide the fate of Albania. It is an undeniable fact that Albania is the only country in Europe which was liberated by its own forces, without the direct intervention of any external force. Not only that, but the Albanian people carried out a patriotic and internationalist duty by making a valuable contribution to the destruction of the nazi-fascist military machine. Large units of the Albanian National Liberation Army fought with heroism and exemplary self-abnegation against the German nazis in Ko-

sova, Montenegro, Sandjak, Serbia and Macedonia for the liberation of their Albanian brothers and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Military Art of People's War emerged and developed in the process of the creation, growth and transformation of our National Liberation Army into a regular army. As a revolutionary military art it was characterized by partisanship, the attacking spirit, consistency, fighting operations in all conditions, quick manoeuvring, lightning and frequent strikes against the enemy, the spirit of initiative, the concentration of forces and the dealing of the main blow at the suitable time and place.

The superiority of the strategy and tactic of the National Liberation Army was based on the new man imbued with the ideas of the Party. This qualitative change of the army as an army of the new type led by the Communist Party of Albania opened up new paths and forms of development of the struggle, new and original principles of military strategy and tactic which were unknown to the enemy.

The military operations of the National Liberation Army had an offensive character. The General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, ordered: «We must always be on the offensive and, when the enemy attacks us, know how to foil its plans, to attack it from all sides, to cut its communication lines and enter deep into its rear, to intercept its supplies, destroy its staffs and liberate the occupied cities.»<sup>1</sup> Even when we have to defend ourselves, said the General Commander, «we must make our operations quicker and switch over to the offensive.»<sup>2</sup>

The skilful utilization of the tactic of partisan warfare, the high morale of the fighters, reliance on and the direct participation of the people's masses in the war balanced the superiority of the enemy in number, and especially in weapons, ensured the preservation of the forces of our army and caused the enemy heavy losses, or brought about its complete annihilation.

The Congress of Përmet (May 24, 1944), which decided the unification of the High Command of the Natio-



nal Liberation Army and appointed Comrade Enver Hoxha General Commander of the Army, opened broad prospects to and further perfected the organization of our army, enabling it to successfully carry out the new tasks it was faced with in the general offensive. At this stage the Military Art of People's War rose to a higher stage in the organization and direction of the units at the tactical and operational-strategic level, the tactic of partisan warfare was further developed and frontal war successfully applied, too. In the process of the gradual growth of our forces and the gradual wearing out of the forces of the enemy, our forces, which initially were weaker and smaller in number, waxed stronger and succeeded in routing a more powerful enemy.

The Central Committee of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head planned, organized and led with skill and far-sightedness the operations of the units of our Army. Being well acquainted with the situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha resolved such key strategic problems as the working out of the plan for foiling the general offensive of the enemy in the winter 1943-1944, the taking of the initiative from the hands of the enemy and the launching of the Albanian National Liberation Army into the strategic counter-offensive of the spring of 1944, the foiling of the June 1944 offensive of the enemy and going over to the general offensive of the ANLA in order to defeat the plans of internal and external reaction.

Our National Liberation War gained strength, independence and authority because it was a war fought by the broad masses of the people, inspired and led by the Party. Right from its creation, although small in numbers, our Party did not wait till it «grew» and «was educated», but threw itself in the forefront of the struggle against the occupier and the traitors, thus becoming the promoter of the liberation war.

Remaining always in the leadership of the war of the people's masses, united in the National Liberation Front, the Party devoted special care to the strengthening of its leading role in the new army that was being created in the heat of the war. Basing

itself on the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Party was convinced that its leadership in the National Liberation Army had to do with the development and future of the people's revolution in Albania. Therefore, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha waged a stern principled struggle, both against the sectarian and opportunist stands inherited from the old spirit of the communist groups which inhibited the work of the Party for the organization of the general armed uprising, and against the efforts and intrigues of the British and Titoites and their secret agents to weaken our Party and displace it from the leadership and direction of the war of our National Liberation Army.

The Communist Party of Albania realized its leading role in the National Liberation Army through its general line, the organs and organizations of the Party, the advanced role of the communists, etc. All the work in the ranks of the National Liberation Army which included the organization and building of the army, political and military work, the education of the cadres and partisans, the problems of the military art of the people's war, etc., is fundamentally based on the general line of the Party, the instructions and directives of the CC of the Party. For this role of the Party to be as complete as possible and realized in full, the CC of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha issued clear directives and gave concrete leadership in the setting up of party organizations within the army, the strengthening of the internal life of the party cells and leading organs in the partisan formations. From the beginning of the armed uprising, the Party sent the best communists to the partisan units and took measures to set up the first cells in the Army.

As the partisan army grew and swelled their ranks and larger military formations were created, the structure of the building of the Party in it was also perfected, the powers of all the links of the Party in the army, their relations with the commands and staffs, their duties for the political, ideological and military education and training of the effective, etc. were clearly defined. The persis-

tent and rigorous work for the building and organizational strengthening of the Party and the struggle to enhance its leading role shows clearly that the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had a correct Marxist-Leninist concept of these questions, that the Party must absolutely be strong in the base, because the stronger were its roots in the base, the more difficult it would be for the enemies to destroy it, the better it would carry out its tasks as the leading staff of the armed uprising.

2.

With the complete liberation of the Homeland, the Party was convinced that the people's state power, which was born from the barrel of the gun, could not stand on its own without having its armed support. The arming and the training of the proletariat, the classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us, is an absolute requisite not only for the national liberation and the destruction of the old state machine, but must continue over the whole period of the existence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, until the building of the communist society is completed. This raises the necessity that, even after the triumph of the revolution, the revolutionary army should be maintained strong, well organized, politically and militarily prepared at the highest level, as an army which is merged as one with the armed, militarily organized people.

In the period immediately after the National Liberation War, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha combated both the views of the class enemy according to which, after the liberation of the country, the maintenance of the army was a great burden on the people, etc., and the efforts of the Yugoslav revisionists, who, through their secret agents, tried to impose the models of the Yugoslav army on our Party in the field of defence, to put our Army to its dependence. In the very difficult situations of the first years after the liberation of the country we see all the grandeur of the principled, consistent and independent stand of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the questions

of the strengthening of the Army and the defence of the country, in the irreconcilable struggle to cope with the pressures, stratagems and intimidations of the Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership and their secret agency.

In the course of the modernization of our armed forces, the Party devoted great attention to their equipment with military material and technique. The trophies and the military technique which our Army inherited from the National Liberation War did not respond to the new tasks that faced the Army. Along with the socio-economic transformations of the country and the gradual strengthening of the material-technical base of socialism, the military technique at the disposal of our armed forces was gradually extended, perfected and modernized, thus solving with success the difficult problem of the material-technical supplies for the army. The creation of the new arms and services such as the air force, the naval force, the anti-aircraft artillery, the chemical service, etc., extremely increased the military strength of our Army and gave it all the features of a modern army.

The Party took all the measures to ensure that after Liberation our Army should gradually go over to new forms of organization and be transformed into a powerful popular army. This development and transformation has proceeded hand in hand with the development and ceaseless deepening of the socialist revolution, the great social, political and economic transformations which have been made in our country. The Party has been in the leadership in our advance on all fronts, in the economy, education, culture and defence, because backwardness in one of them would inevitably raise obstacles to other fields.

While implementing the Marxist-Leninist line with determination, the PLA linked it with the military training of the entire people. Guided by the Leninist thesis that no force on earth can dare to touch the freedom of the Homeland if the shield of this freedom is made up of the armed people who have abolished the military castes, who have made all the soldiers citizens and all the citizens able soldiers who can handle weapons, our

Party found a creative and original solution to many problems connected with the implementation of this thesis in practice.

The Leninist thesis of the building and functioning of the free military school as the basic institution for the military training of the entire people, making it a consistent and indispensable part of all the masses of working people, was implemented for the first time in socialist Albania. Transition to the free military school constitutes a qualitative step towards the further deepening of the revolutionization of the army. The consolidation of the free military school, as the 8th Congress of the Party pointed out, makes military training an inseparable part of the life and activity of the working people. All these achievements in our military system constitute a genuine revolution in the field of defence, the complete guarantee for the defence of the Homeland. Marching boldly on untrodden paths, the Party of Labour of Albania has made an invaluable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the arming, military organization and training of the entire people, provides a new historical experience.

Along with the strengthening and modernization of the Army, the organization, arming and ideological and political preparation of the whole people, the Party has devoted special concern to the working out and development of the Military Art of People's War. On this question it has resolutely defended the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the war and the army from all the bourgeois and revisionist distortions.

Our Military Art of People's War is a revolutionary art which relies completely on the Marxist-Leninist military science, on the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party, on the rich fighting traditions of our people and, especially, on the positive experience of our National Liberation War. It has a deeply class character and has been built on such ideological, political, economic and organizational principles which serve the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in the field of defence too.

As the theoretical and practical base for the organization and military preparation of the armed forces of all the structures of defence, the Military Art of People's War is a scientific argumentation of the objective possibilities to cope in battle with enemies who have superior human forces and military technique, and to defeat them through the strategy and tactics of the popular warfare. It has become an important factor for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

On the foundation of the popular military art lies the principle of the superiority of man over the weapon, evaluating the man as the decisive factor for victory in war. It is characterized by the correct treatment, on the basis of a scientific analysis, of the factors operating in the field of battle and the inter-relation of them, the superiority of the permanent factors over the temporary factors. Our popular military art is distinguished for its creative character, is a living dynamic art in development.

The popular character of the Army is determined and strengthened both by the proletarian policy and ideology of the Party and by the organizational structure and the mission it has. Our Army, which has no castes, no ranks and no barracks, lives with the people and like the people. It is a political army. The road our Army has traversed in these 40 years shows that it has remained loyal to the people and the Party, because it is imbued with the characteristics of a revolutionary army and with the principles of the policy of the Party. The main axis of the general education of the army has been and is its ideological and political education, because the mastering of arms, technique and the military science, the strengthening of the cadre-masses and other relations are properly achieved only through the ideological and political uplift of the soldiers and cadres. Laying the stress on the raising of the level of ideological and political education, the Party has criticized and combated the manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy which, in this or that way, open the road to officialdom, technocratism, the divorce of cadres from the masses, etc. The measures

adopted in 1966 for the ceaseless democratization of the army raised the level of the struggle against those negative manifestations which have found suitable atmosphere in the armies of the former socialist countries and in which the military castes «extended its despotic and arrogant domination to the party, too, altering its proletarian character»<sup>3</sup>.

The democratization and revolutionization of the life of the army has advanced through the development of a fierce class struggle against the internal and external enemies who endeavoured, for years on end, to distort and sabotage the line of the Party in the Army. This was complicated still more by the fact that at the head of the Ministry of People's Defence there was a hostile group directed by the multiple agent M. Shehu, who not only disagreed with the decisions of the Party, but also tried in secret to oppose them by all manner of means.

The 40-years long experience of our Army has proved that no revolutionary popular army can exist without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «The leadership of the Party and its close connections with the people distinguish our Army as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the bourgeois-revisionist armies, therefore we give our continuing care to the strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the Army and its ideological and political tempering, because when the Army gets out of control by the Marxist-Leninist party, its very character is endangered.»<sup>4</sup> Our Party abides by this principle consistently, has taken continuous measures for the strengthening of its leading role in the Army and has fought sternly against any manifestation that leads to its weakening and negation. The leadership of the Party in the Army has been continuous, without the slightest break, and has decisive importance for the destinies of the Army. On this question our Party has created its own

rich and revolutionary experience. At a time when the party in Yugoslavia hid behind the Front, or when the bureaucratized marshals made the law in the Soviet army after the death of Stalin, and the party and its leading role were not even mentioned in the Chinese army, the Party remained in command in our People's Army.

The measures that were adopted for the further strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the Army through the institution of Party committees and the political commissars constitute a qualitative step forward, both as regards the manner of leadership and the further ideological, political and military tempering of the army.

The strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the army through the party committees and the political commissars, as well as the liquidation of ranks in the army, not only strengthened the popular character of the army further, but also barred the road to and baffled the hopes of the internal enemies who worked secretly in the Army. The discovering and smashing of their hostile activity gave a new impulse to the intensive and all-round work to put the Army, the beloved weapon of the people and the dictatorship of the proletariat, completely under the leadership of the Party, to link it closely, like flesh and bone, with the people. In the course of the work done over these years to ensure the leading role of the Party in the Army a great change was made, the Party was placed in the leadership in all the links and levels of the Army and, under the guidance of the organs and basic organizations of the Party, a series of major tasks of a political and military character were coped with and carried out with success.

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As a result of the continuous concern of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the People's Army of the PSR

of Albania has marched on the road of its ceaseless development; from a small army which emerged from the National Liberation War, in the beginning, it has been transformed into an advanced and strong army, with all the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological qualities, armed with the triumphant strategy and tactics of the popular warfare. Our People's Army, imbued with the principles of the policy of the Party, the principles of the proletarian morality, the laws of the revolution and the feelings of proletarian internationalism, will march, in the future, on the road of its further development and strengthening. As in all other fields, we consider the question of the building of the armed forces and the military art not as a dogma, as something unalterable. We work to make continuous improvements to the art of people's war in compliance with the orientations given by the Central Committee of the Party. The technical-scientific revolution finds its application, as in all other fields, in the field of the defence and the military art. Studies and the scientific-research work organized according to definite objectives for all the links of our armed forces has become at this stage an extremely important factor for the summing up of that rich experience which is accumulated every day in the process of the training of all the structures of defence, and the further development of the military art in compliance with the possibilities and conditions that have been created.

1 *Documents of the General Staff and the General Command of the ANLA*, vol. 1, Tirana 1976, p. 402, Alb. ed.

2 *Enver Hoxha, Works*, vol. 2, p. 62, Alb. ed.

3 *Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites»*, p. 43, Eng. ed.

4 *Enver Hoxha, Works*, vol. 33, p. 179, Alb. ed.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF T AND THE MAIN PROBLEMS EMERGING T

*Moment of work in one of the production units of the plasting moulding plant in the town of Lushnja.*



# THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES

## HEREFROM *by* **PETRO DODE**

*The development of the productive forces in Albania knows no anarchy and competition, is not disrupted by economic crises, nor is it governed by the laws of the capitalist market economy and profit.*

**THE STAGE REACHED IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS WELL AS THE HISTORICAL STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA HAVE PUT FORWARD A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE, PROBLEMS WHICH ARE LINKED WITH THE ECONOMIC BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY, WITH ITS MATERIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. AMONG ALL THESE PROBLEMS, THE CONSTANT ALL-ROUND AND HIGH-RATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MAIN FACTORS IN THE INCESSANT ADVANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF OUR ORDER.**

**DUE TO THE POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS CREATED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLA, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES HAVE CONSTANTLY DEVELOPED ON AN ASCENDING LINE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM WHICH ARE EMBODIED IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY AND REFLECTED IN THE GENERAL UNIFIED STATE PLANS. THEY ARE UNFETTERED BY ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS WHICH SLOW DOWN AND IMPEDE PROGRESS, AS HAPPENS IN THE CAPITALIST, BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST SOCIETY**

The economic policy of the Party of Labour of Albania is aimed at ensuring such a development of the productive forces of sciences and techniques in complete conformity with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the fundamental interests of the people, with the creation of conditions for the complete construction of the socialist and, later, the communist society. The PLA has guarded itself against slipping into the «theory of productive forces or of treating the relations of production separately from their material base. The simultaneous development of the two aspects of the mode of production has led to the creation of a complex and multi-branched socialist economy, capable of developing according to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, emerging success-

ful from all the tests of the times — the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. The main aim of the PLA has been the rapid socio-economic development of the country, the fulfilment of the ever growing demands of the people, the economy and the defence of the Homeland.

Big strides forward have been made in the development of productive forces over nearly four decades of people's power in Albania. They have been constantly strengthened and renewed, enabling extended socialist reproduction to take place at an ever larger scale and to assume totally new features, structures and contents. The structure of the basic funds, which constitute the material base for the development of productive forces, has been constantly improved. In the period 1975-1981 alone basic funds increased about 54 per cent. However, the greatest achievement in the con-

text of the development of productive forces is our new man educated and tempered by the Party, a man with an ever higher ideological, education and technical level, capable of carrying forward production and the technical-scientific revolution. In 1981 the number of workers with higher and medium professional education has increased more than 12 and 14 times respectively, as compared with 1960, and the number of workers in the state sector of the economy has grown about 3 times over. All this has brought about an increase of the social product to about 4 times over, against the 1.7 times growth of the population during this period. Such development of productive forces has supported and ensured the dynamic growth of the population, the full occupation of the active forces of the society with useful work, the introduction of natural resources into economic circulation, the constant raising of the well-being of the people, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence capacity of the Homeland.

The development of the productive forces in Albania knows no anarchy and competition, is not disrupted by economic crises, nor is it governed by the laws of the capitalist market economy and profit. This contrasts with what is happening in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, in which the modern revisionists have given the green lights to the operation of the economic laws of the capitalist mode of production through the «economic reforms» they have contrived and ap-

plied in practice. In these conditions, the aim of production and the physiognomy of the economy has changed radically there; the productive forces are stagnating or growing at very slow rates; the economy has entered a profound and all-round crisis. This crisis has also shaken the Yugoslav economy from its foundations; and this, too, is an expression of the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist system of Titoite «self-administration».

## 1.

The structure and proportions achieved in the development of the national economy of Albania serve as the sound groundwork on which the further development of the productive forces envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan is based. At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «Our socialist economy enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.»<sup>1</sup>

In this five-year plan social production is envisaged to grow at an average annual rate of 6.4 per cent, as against 4.6 per cent in the 6th Five-year Plan.

The full exploitation of production capacities, their expansion and modernization is the fundamental problem of the development of the productive forces in the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future. The development of social production is based on the increase of fundamental investments and constructions, the setting up of new branches of industry and the expansion of the existing ones, the broadening of work fronts in city and country, with priority given to the sphere of material production. Proceeding on this road has been correct and natural. It has been and is conditioned by the historical need to overcome the centuries-old backwardness within a relatively short time, to ensure ceaseless development of the productive forces at high rates and to raise them to a higher technical level, to build the complete material-technical base of socialism. However, as the Party orientates us, this road,

which continues, must necessarily be combined with the intensive road of development, as a feature and demand of our socialist economy.

1. The 8th Congress of the Party emphasized that in the 7th Five-year Plan the growth of social production and of national income, and the further raising of the efficiency of the economy should be achieved through a better combination of the extensive with the intensive road of development, giving priority to the latter. This is apparent also from the fact that about half of the increase in the total social production and national income and more than four fifths of the increase of the volume of industrial production will be ensured from raising the productivity of social labour and from a more complete utilization of the existing productive capacities. Likewise, 90 per cent of the increase of agricultural and livestock production will be achieved through raising the yields of crops and animals. Proceeding on this road will deepen the intensive aspect of the development of the economy in all its indices.

2. The precedence the intensive road of development of the economy has assumed is also based on the generally new condition of the basic funds, in all its branches, and on their ever improving structure.

3. The productive capacities and projects already under exploitation are not unchangeable quantities. Experience shows that they tend to change constantly towards growth, along with technical-scientific progress, with the expansion and deepening of the scientific knowledge and work habits of the working people, with the raising of the level of management and the application of more efficient methods of organization of production and social work.

The priority development of the power industry, of the mines, of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, of the chemical, oil and engineering industry has vital importance for the construction of socialism and for the ceaseless strengthening of the economic independence of the country. Greater efforts are called for to increase production, to raise productivity of labour, to lower production

costs and to increase socialist accumulation to a higher degree in those key branches of the sphere of material production which stand out for a greater volume of fundamental investments, for a longer term of construction-assembly work, for a more complicated technology and for more difficulties in the application and utilization of production capacities.

Our country disposes of a powerful engineering industry capable of turning out complete machinery, equipment and spare parts and of ensuring their regeneration, of maintaining the implements of production of all the branches of the economy in working conditions. Despite all the achievements of this branch of industry, the present stage of the development of our economy and its perspective require that it works with greater efficiency, improves the quality of production, puts the study and design on sounder bases through a better utilization of the capacities of its engineers, technicians and skilled workers; further deepens its specialization and cooperation so as to be able to plan things on a national scale, while at the same time maintaining the profile of each enterprise, to organize the regeneration of spare parts better and at a higher technological level, as the more fruitful road, to cope with the problems of the developing economy through ever less social work.

In such conditions, in which the engineering industry is centred in combines and big factories, although administratively distributed in all the districts of the country and dependent of different departments, it is high time to raise its organization and management to a higher level.

The main road towards a more thorough application of the intensification in the economy is the technical reconstruction of the existing workshops, factories, sections and production lines. This is a very profitable road which saves time and social work, improves the quality of production and increases its growth, and raises the technical and technological level of production with less fundamental investments and work force. In this five-year plan 40 per cent of all investments in industry will

be made to expand and modernize the existing productive capacities. In the coming five-year plan it will constitute the more important road on which the development of industry and the other branches of our economy will proceed. The economic profitability of this road is clearly evident in the work that is being done for the reconstruction of many enterprises of the heavy extracting industry, of the light and food-processing industry, in the reconstruction of irrigation and drainage works in agriculture, etc.

Unlike the new projects, reconstruction, expansion and modernization have their specific character; the construction-assembly work involved in the process can be done without interruption of production. This calls for a higher level, not only of the economic and technical thinking, but also of the organization and management work, so that tasks are better co-ordinated by investors, designing institutions and the enterprises executing them. For reconstructions, just as the new projects, to yield the desired effect they must be conceived and carried out not merely as expansion of production capacities but, before all, as their modernization on a new technical and technological level and with higher economic profitability. This leads to doing away with the practice, which is noticed in some cases, of borrowing that technique and technology which is already known and which is easier to apply, without proper regard to the qualitative indices and economic effectiveness. In this process, too, we must rely on the more advanced level of the material-technical base we have created and the existing technical-professional capacities of our working people.

The demand for scientific planning should and must lead to the application of unified criteria, norms and advanced experience in the utilization of productive capacities in the enterprises destined for similar production. Of great assistance in this direction is the working out of more precise methods for calculating the productive capacities in the individual branches of the economy, a more scientific study of the time-limit

of building and commissioning new projects, a more accurate definition, planning and following-up of technical-economic indices in the utilization of the implements of work.

## 2.

A distinctive feature of the development of the productive forces of the country, of the strength and vitality of our socialist system of the economy, is the constantly growing volume of investments and fundamental constructions and the ceaseless improvement of their structure. The investing capacity of our society in the growth and perfecting of its productive forces as well as in the development of the social-cultural sectors, in housing construction and other sectors, have gone on increasing from one five-year period to the other. The overwhelming part of investments belong to the productive sphere. During the thirty-year period 1951-1980 about two thirds of state investments have been used for the development of industry and agriculture, as the two key branches of the economy.

The 7th Five-year Plan marks a great step forward in the field of investments. Their volume is envisaged to reach 25 billion leks, equal to the total volume of the investments our country made during the twenty-year period 1951-1970.

The first problem that emerges here is the fulfilment of the plan of general state income in financial terms, the creation of financial accumulation in order to cope with the increased volume of fundamental investments that will be made in this five-year period in the economy and the social-cultural sectors.

This is one of the main tasks that the 8th Congress of the PLA has set in this field. Life shows that the targets set in this field are attained when the planned tasks of production, productivity of labour and cost are realized on all fronts and rhythmically, when a regime of frugality is enforced everywhere. This is the road on which our economy will proceed for the increase of socialist accumulation as the only source for financing fundamental investments on ever greater proportions. The increased volume of fundamental investments and cons-

tructions intended for the development of the productive and social-cultural sectors, and for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country, must be matched with the corresponding development of the engineering industry for fulfilling the plan of investments of the current five-year plan as well as for expanding and modernizing the material-technical base on a self-supporting basis. Despite all the progress made, the all-round development of the engineering industry is still an absolute necessity. On the other hand, stepping up the rates of construction and lowering costs in this sector calls for increased efforts to extend the assortments of construction materials and to improve their quality, to expand the production of pre-fabricated objects and parts, to turn building sites into assembly sites, etc.

The 7th Five-year Plan for fundamental investments and constructions was, more than any other five-year plan, based on our own studies and designs. However, in the process of the carrying out of this plan some problems have emerged which must be solved. More than at any other time today projects in all fields should be preceded by proper construction designing, especially in the field of technological and mechanical designing. Comrade Enver Hoxha has laid before the designers and estimators the task that «...designs should be as simple as possible, take well into account the functional and technological aspects of the objects they are intended for at the least cost, setting a reasonable limit to the amount of construction fund.»<sup>2</sup> This task has already assumed a very acute importance, because in this five-year period we must cope with our own forces a volume of studies and designing work for industry which is three times as big as that of the 6th Five-year Plan. It covers not only the construction of new projects, but also the expansion and modernization of the existing projects. So it is a voluminous and varied work which calls for the integration and generalization of sciences, the raising of the productivity of labour by scientific institutions and designing, technological and mechanical bureaus.

The problem of fundamental investments in our socialist economy has been and remains always an important one. This is linked with the economic policy of the Party for the non-stop development of the productive forces, of the social-cultural sectors, and for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. It is linked with the essential feature of our economy — its planned and harmonious development all over the territory of the country. By means of its ceaseless investments our society consolidates its economic foundations, resolves many social problems on the correct road and opens up new perspectives for the future.

A correct solution of these problems is beyond achievement provided the organizational and management work in the economy is raised to a higher level.

### 3.

The development of the productive forces is closely linked with the ceaseless strengthening and the effective use of the energy base and primary materials. A powerful base of primary materials and energy sources, which is being constantly expanded and perfected, has been created in our country. Now we extract and process more than 40 kinds of primary materials, hydrocarbons and useful minerals of which more than four fifths are fully or partly processed. On the other hand, as a result of socialist industrialization and the intensification of agriculture, the incidence of material expenditure has increased as well. Today it accounts for about 60 per cent of the social product, 68-70 per cent in industry and building constructions and 42 per cent in agriculture. The best and most efficient use possible of this base in the process of production and in other activities as well as the increase of the national income at rates higher than the social product, the expansion of exports and the relative reduction of imports, is among the main factors on which the fulfilment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan is based.

The first problem in this field is the improvement of the balance of mineral reserves, the discovery of new

mineral sources and the deepening of the complexity of geological work, while raising its economic effectiveness. In order to enhance the vanguard role and the part of geology in the process of the deepening of the socialist industrialization of the country it is necessary to better harmonize the needs of extended socialist reproduction and export for mineral primary materials with geological reserves and, especially, with industrial reserves which are taken into account in the planning of production, with a view to ensuring that geological reserves not only precede, but for a period of time even be double the amount of industrial reserves. Likewise, the establishment of optimal proportions as well as the preparatory work in mines to ensure available and tapped reserves, are absolutely necessary to guarantee the perspective development and the normal and rhythmic procedure of production.

Our scientific activity in the field of geology, technology and economics should be extended to the prospecting for and discovery of new minerals, to the finding of ways and means for the enrichment and industrial processing of low-grade minerals, and the revisioning of conditions set for each mineral so as to increase the profitability of their introduction into economic circulation today and in the future.

In the directives it adopted for the 7th Five-year Plan the 8th Congress of the Party set high rates for the further development of the energy base. For many years now our country has an active energy balance, meets its increasing needs with its own resources and exports the rest of its energy products. The importance of this becomes more evident if we consider that many European states, such as Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and others, have to cope with 45 to 90 per cent of their energy needs through imports.

Despite the recent increase of the participation of coal and hydro-power in the energy balance, oil and gas continue to hold the main place in the structure of primary energy sources. Therefore, the high-rate development of this branch of the power industry remains an important strate-

gic task for the present and the future of our economic development. The discovery and utilization of new oil and gas sources clearly testify to the correctness of the economic policy of the Party for the development of this industry despite the attempts of the internal and external enemy to sabotage it. The experience gained over the many years of work in the industry of oil and gas proves that the discovery and preparatory work for the exploitation of new oil and gas structures is linked with increasing the variety and improving the quality of studies, therefrom a more precise idea is formed about the age of formations and the quantity and quality of oil and gas in them.

The further improvement of the energy balance on the basis of the concept of the utilization of the better known, the more readily exploitable and cheaper natural resources, puts hydro-energetics in one of the first places for today and the future. The policy of our Party for the production of electric power from water-power sources, as many-years long experience shows, has been and remains correct and has guaranteed a high efficiency of fundamental investments. This is a profitable source of energy for the future, too, even when the need for electric power in our country doubles at rates 2-3 times higher than in many developed countries of the world. As a mountainous country rich in water courses, our country is among the richest in water-power sources expressed in relative indices.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has recommended, it is of great profitability. Such is the exploitation of water resources, of rivers with a lower water potential, of water basins and canals for the production of electric power from minor hydro-power stations. Studies carried out in this field in some districts of the country show that a considerable amount of energy can be produced in economically profitable conditions through the setting up of smaller hydro-power stations.

In the strengthening of the energy base of the country coal industry must play a major role, since in coal are considerable indices of economic ex-



ploitation very convenient. In this branch of the economy the Party smashed the hostile activity of A. Këllezhi, K. Theodhosi, etc. who were aided and abetted by the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and had his support and who undervalued the value of coal. They tried to bar all prospects of its profitable extraction and large-scale utilization. Important measures have been taken to make up for the time lost. Production has increased and liquid fuel is increasingly being replaced with gas and coal, which makes for large economies.

In order to increase the incidence of coal in the energy balance of the country, work is going on, apart from the known coal basins, for the discovery and preparation of other coal basins in other areas of the country, as well as for fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans.

The growth of the social production depends on a large scale on the expansion of the range of minerals, the raising of the degree of their processing and, especially, the most profitable possible utilization of mineral and agricultural primary materials.

The first qualitative steps being taken in the process of socialist industrialization and in the rapid expansion of the heavy extracting and processing industry, the tasks set for increasing the export of finished and semi-finished products and raw materials, the increased degree of economic utilization of the natural resources of the country call for the implementation of strict measures for the utilization of minerals, for the establishment of advanced technical and technological processes which ensure the exploitation of all their useful components, the reduction of losses and the growth of the productivity of social labour, in the most complete possible manner.

Our country today is in a position to meet, through its own production, 87-90 per cent of its needs for primary materials for the reproduction of the social product. However, raw and primary materials still continue to incumber our imports heavily. More studies and research are being carried out for the total or partial rep-

lacement of the primary materials that are still imported today. Particular care is being paid to the discovery and economic utilization of light and resistant, cheap and beautiful, primary materials in the industry of building materials such as marble, plaster, decorative stones of which there are sufficient reserves that could be brought into industrial production.

Our economic, technical and natural sciences should better express their thought and find proper solutions to increasing the degrees of recuperation of mineral components and the range of products from the industrial processing of primary materials. This remains an open field for our scientists, designers, technicians and technologists, because at the present level of industrial processing the coefficient of recuperation from minerals is still low; only the main elements are extracted from the minerals, while the rest, which frequently are just as valuable, if not more, often remain unexploited.

#### 4.

The economic policy of the PLA for the development of productive forces has always had the improvement of the well-being of the working masses at its centre. Comrade Enver Hoxha says that the superiority of our socialist society over the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist society lies in the fact that it ensures high and steady rates of development of its productive forces, which is simultaneously accompanied with the systematic improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level for all the working people of city and countryside.

During the almost four decades of the people's state power social production and national income have increased at rates three to four times as rapid as the population growth. On the other hand, the production of broad consumer goods in industry and agriculture has ensured the ever better fulfilment of the ever increasing needs of the people for them. Well-being in socialist Albania is based on the increase of the social production. It is a well-being achieved through work, with the efforts and toil of our people, and not through foreign credits, loans

or «economic aid», as happens with the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries. The economic crises of the seventies and eighties, with their typical phenomena of unemployment, inflation, price rises and deteriorating living conditions of the broad masses of the people exposed the weakness of the theorizings of the apologists of the bourgeoisie about the so-called affluent consumer society of modern capitalism.

The Party of Labour of Albania, proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions of the construction of socialism in Albania, has always followed a far-sighted, realistic and scientific policy in the field of people's well-being as well. Here stand out, first of all, the close relationship between well-being and the level of development of the productive forces, the stage reached in the socialist construction, the social policy which considers well-being to be something due to all and everybody, and does not allow excessive differentials in income among classes and groups of working people, considers it to be well-being for the present and the future. This is done on the basis of the increase of production and income as permanent factors, by ensuring the full employment of the able-bodied population, the constant increase of income, stable prices in retail trade and, eventually, their reduction along with the economic development of the country as well as the increase of the social fund of consumption.

In the 7th Five-year Plan these reads are accompanied with the raising of the efficiency of social production, with the co-ordination of production with income, with the harmonization of the value of the consumer goods with that part of the national income which is utilized for individual and social consumption and for non-productive accumulation. This, for its part, requires that industry and agriculture should increase production, expand the range of goods produced and improve the quality of them. The meeting of the needs of the country for consumer goods almost totally from our own sources (90-95 per cent through home production and 5-10 per cent through export-import trade), at a time when the population has almost trebled compared with 1938, and its cultural

and consumption level is incomparably higher, constitutes a great success for our economy which should be consolidated and carried further forward.

In the coming 15-20 years our social production will have to cope with the increasing needs of a population of about four million. Steps should be taken in time to realize this objective. The fulfilment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan occupies an important place in this direction. The task of increasing agricultural production and improving their structure is particularly important. The light and food-processing industries are also faced with important tasks. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «A real revolution, a radical improvement should take place in the production of the light and food-processing industries, because they have to do with meeting the needs of the people.»<sup>3</sup>

Because of its very character of mass production, the light industry must be more resilient in finding optimal solutions to the problems of production so as to ever better meet the needs of the people and come on time with the demands of the market.

An important role in strengthening the links of production with consumption is played by socialist trade which, in the form of retail trade turnover, copes with more than 82 per cent of the people's consumption, and the trend is towards its further growth. In 1985, as against 1980, the sale of the more important consumer goods will show an average of growth of 20-40 per cent at a time when the population will grow only by 12 per cent.

The present stage of development of the productive forces, as well as the present and perspective demographic development of the country, convince us that the full employment of all the new work forces is and remains the main road for the increase of the income of the population. This factor brings the levels of per capita income of the different population groups closer together and leads to the narrowing of the sphere of operation of the «bourgeois law» in consumption. It is for these reasons of principle that in the 7th Five-year Plan most of the growth of the real per capita income of the population will be ensured through securing full employment.

However, the economic and social effects of this policy become real when the opening up of new work fronts is always accompanied with the increase of production, the raising of the productivity of labour and socialist accumulation.

##### 5.

The PLA always adheres to the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working man is the first productive force of society. With his conscientiousness, capacities and experience, man is the decisive factor in all pursuits, and in the discharge of all tasks. Man produces the implements of work and sets them in motion, transforms nature and the objects of work, and increase the material blessings.

The development of the productive forces is the doing of our working people educated by the Party. Likewise, the technical advance of the country puts forward the need for the working people to constantly raise their educational, cultural and professional level, to sum up advanced experience and to gain new work habits.

During the years of the people's state power there has been a dynamic growth of the population in Albania. There has been created a structure of population with the younger age-groups predominating and with a population always young and active. About three fifths of the Albanian population have been born, have grown and have been educated in the last 40 years. The average age of our population is 26 years. As a consequence, the young age-groups account for a high percentage in the structure of the population. The population under 15 years of age comprises 37 per cent of the total population, as against 21-27 per cent in other countries. Our country knows no such social phenomenon as the aging of the population, which is noticed in many European countries.

At the present rate of population growth, the new contingents of workers will be relatively large. Forecasts indicate that 350-400 thousand working people will be added to the work force in the coming decade (1986-1995). At the same time the trend towards the growth of investments for creating new jobs will continue, because our socialist society calls for high pro-

ductivity of labour and goes towards the expansion of mechanization and technical equipment of work. Therefore, the full employment of the new active work force is a problem requiring special attention.

The rapid democratic growth calls for the work force and social production to grow at high and steady rates as well. Approximative calculations show that only to guarantee the present level of meeting the needs of the population for mass consumption goods and to open up new work fronts, social production must grow on an average of 3.5 to 4 per cent annually, while to guarantee the further improvement of the well-being and the narrowing down of distinctions between city and country it must grow at even higher rates.

The 8th Congress of the PLA and the 6th Plenum of the CC of the Party dwelt especially on the need for the most efficient possible utilization of the technical and human potential of the country in order to ensure the constant rise of the productivity of labour. This has been and remains a great problem which is connected with the economy, technique, organization and qualification of the working people.

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Fulfilment of the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the PLA for the development of the productive forces will raise the economic and social advance of the country to a higher level and open up new prospects for the future. In this manner our country marches with determination towards the complete construction of the socialist society, on the Marxist-Leninist road on which the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, leads us.

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 11, Eng. ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Enver Hoxha «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 470, Alb. ed.

<sup>3</sup> Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 389, Alb. ed.

# DEEPENING THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE

by **THEMIE THOMAI**

*In the conditions of a higher degree of mechanization, the new active force in agriculture will increase with about 120 thousand workers in the 7th Five-year Plan. This is a great force which will have a powerful positive impact on the fulfilment of the needs for intensification, especially in coping with the large investments that will be made for the application of new technologies, for land systematization, drainage, irrigation, the expansion of services and the creation of new blocks of fruit-trees, livestock-farming, the complex development of forest economies, etc.*

AS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS POINTED OUT, AFTER THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA THE PARTY HAD TO SOLVE TWO FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS SIMULTANEOUSLY IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE, BOTH THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE.<sup>1</sup> IN ORDER TO ATTAIN THESE OBJECTIVES THE LAND REFORM WAS CARRIED OUT WITH SUCCESS, THE SMALL PRODUCERS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE WERE GRADUALLY COLLECTIVIZED, AND THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE WAS CREATED. THE SETTING UP OF THE STATE FARMS AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES, THE CEASELESS IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD, GAVE AN IMPULSE TO THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND SET AGRICULTURE ON THE ROAD OF INTENSIFICATION AND MODERNIZATION.

As a result of the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist line and policy of the Party, in less than four decades the centuries-old backwardness was overcome once and for good and a developed, many-branched complex agriculture was created on strong scientific bases. Agriculture now is in

**THEMIE THOMAI** — Minister of Agriculture

a position to ever better meet the growing needs of the population and of the light and food-processing industries, to contribute to increasing reserves and strengthening the defence potential of the country, to increasing exports, continuously uplifting the well-being of the peasantry and narrowing distinctions between town and countryside. Self-sufficien-

cy in bread grain, beginning from 1976, is one of the greatest victories achieved in the brilliant epoch of the Party. These main achievements testify to the correctness of the economic line and policy of the Party in agriculture, to the indisputable superiority of the socialist road of development of the countryside.

## I. INTENSIFICATION — AN OBJECTIVE IMPERATIVE

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have seen the intensification of agriculture as an objective imperative and treated it scientifically, in unity with the all-round development of the productive forces and the socialist relations of production. It is conceived as a planned, rational and harmonized development, on scientific bases, of all the factors which condi-

tion the production and ensure its increase for every unit of land and for every head of livestock, with less expenditure for every unit of product.

On the other hand, intensification has been seen as an imperative for the development of agriculture in all zones and districts, in all branches and sectors, and in close connection with the overall socio-economic development of the country. The Party has established scientific order and directions in the development of production branches, zones and districts. While giving priority to the intensification of agriculture in the plains, the need for its intensive development in the hilly-mountainous zones has also been stressed; while giving priority to intensification in the state sector, measures have also been adopted to carry it in depth in the cooperativist sector; while giving priority to the higher-type cooperatives, the other cooperatives have not been neglected; while giving priority to production of bread grain, work has continued at the same time for the intensive, complex and harmonized development of agricultural production on all fronts.

The intensification of agriculture has been treated in close and constant connection with the process of perfecting the socialist relations of ownership, of exchange and distribution, and of management and organization. At the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The fulfilment of the targets envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan for agriculture will be achieved more than ever before, through intensification.»<sup>2</sup> To achieve this, over 90 per cent of the increase of the overall agricultural production envisaged in this five-year plan is to be ensured from the increase of yields of field crops and productivity of livestock, against 45 to 70 per cent it was in the past five-year plans.

The further intensification of agriculture in this five-year plan and in the future is conditioned by some factors:

**Agriculture is the basic branch of the economy;** without its rapid development and intensification the other branches of the economy can-

not develop according to forecasts. Largely connected with this is the uplift of the well-being of the working masses of town and countryside, the development of the light and food-processing industries, the increase of exports and reduction of imports, the increase of reserves and the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland. In 1981 agricultural and livestock products, both finished and raw, accounted for about nine tenths of the population's consumption, nearly 90 per cent of the primary materials for the light and food-processing industries and about one fourth of all our exports.

The further deepening of the intensification of agriculture is dictated also by **the tendency existing in our country towards reduction of the arable acreage per capita of population.** Although opening up new land will continue, the increase rate of the acreage of arable land will be smaller than the growth rate of the population.

The conditions and circumstances of the socialist construction of our country, which relies entirely on its own forces, and of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and the economic and financial world crisis also require the further intensification of agriculture and the increase of its economic efficiency.

The 8th Congress of the Party defined special tasks for the priority intensification of agriculture in the more fertile plains of the country within a ten-year period. The first stage of the intensification will be carried out during the 7th Five-year Plan and cover more than 100 thousand hectares of land in the zone of coastal plains of the country.

The priority development of this zone, which takes place in the context of the intensification of agriculture as a whole, completely coincides with the interests of the socialist construction, in general. It is aimed at making all the existing sources and reserves available for the rapid increase of the agricultural and livestock production, for the increase of the effectiveness of investments, fundamental funds and expenditure of production, as well as the rapid increase of the income, accumulation, etc. At the

same time, it is an important factor for perfecting the socialist relations of ownership in agriculture, for the gradual transformation of group ownership into ownership of the entire people. The priority, which is given to this process, is not and cannot possibly be circumscribed within the interests of the plains and coastal zone. In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that, «...it should by no means be imagined that the problem of intensification now is raised only for this zone.» On the contrary, this zone will develop more rapidly in the conditions of the deep intensification of all the territory of the country and integrated with it.

The intensification of agriculture in socialist Albania is the opposite of the same process in the bourgeois-revisionist countries. In these countries intensification is hampered by many contradictions and difficulties and characterized by the unequal development of different zones and branches, the mass depopulation of the countryside, the uninterrupted ruination of the small producers, the barbarous exploitation of the fertility of the soil and the capitalist oppression and exploitation of the working people of town and countryside, agrarian crises and constant price rises, which are rife in all the capitalist and revisionist countries today.

The practice of socialist construction in Albania proves the opposite. In 1982, compared with 1980, overall agricultural production increased 9 per cent, bread grain 8 per cent, vegetables 8,4 per cent, fruit 19 per cent, production of milk in state farms and agricultural cooperatives 24 per cent, etc. And of all this increase over 88 per cent is due to the increase of yields and productivity.

However, for the fulfilment to the letter and in all directions of the present and future tasks in agriculture a series of problems which have to do with the deepening of intensification, the harmonization of the factors of production, the perfecting of concentration and specialization, the carrying out of scientific studies and the application of their results in production, the raising of the degree of efficiency of agricultural produc-

tion in all directions, should be taken up and solved in the most correct possible manner.

## II. INTENSIFICATION DEMANDS A HIGH DEGREE OF HARMONIZATION OF FACTORS CONDITIONING AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

The state farms and the agricultural cooperatives are supported by a powerful material-technical base which grows and is perfected continuously. Investments in the land, fruit-growing, animal husbandry, irrigation works, mechanization, seed selection, breed improvement, etc. have increased. In the current five-year plan the development of agriculture will absorb 29 per cent of all fundamental investments of the economy. But a better harmonization, based on scientific criteria, of all the human, material, agro-technical and natural factors which condition agricultural production, is a major problem which has to do with the further intensification of agriculture. There is no zone, district, agricultural economy or brigade in our country which has not its specific tasks for the increase of yields. In this sense, the harmonization of these factors is an important question for all the specialists, cadres and working people, for all the scientific research institutes and other economic and planning bodies.

The best example in this field is provided by the advanced economies, which are outstanding for high yields. Such are the higher-type cooperatives of Plasa and the state farm of Maliq in the Korça district, which have taken respectively 63 and 57 quintals of wheat per hectare, the higher-type cooperative of Dajç in the Shkodra district and the state farm of Vrina in the Saranda district which have taken respectively 90.5 and 87 quintals of maize per hectare, etc. Many are the cooperatives and state farms which closely follow in the example of the advanced. In some sectors and brigades results are still higher, as is the first brigade of the Drithas sector in Maliq which

look a record of 117 quintals of wheat per hectare in an acreage of 5 hectares, etc.

These agricultural units provide a synthesized example of the high degree of harmonization of all the factors of production, eg the strains of crops and breeds of animals with the natural and weather conditions, concentration, specialization and agricultural rotation, scientific management, organization and planning. The study of the advanced experience, its scientific summing up and dissemination are a great objective of work in agriculture from which emerges a series of tasks for all the agricultural workers.

The scientific conception of the problems of harmonization of the factors of production has special importance for today and for the future. This is linked up with the new proportions which our production in the conditions of intensification has assumed.

Scientific studies and the application of new advanced technologies in the production of maize, vegetables, milk and meat cattle, poultry, etc., prove that, when even one single factor does not operate to the required degree and in the appropriate time, the operation of other factors is negatively influenced and restricted. Experience until today reveals, on the one hand, the great possibilities and reserves which advanced technologies have for the harmonization of the factors of production and, on the other hand, the need to extend and introduce them at more rapid rates and in larger proportions into the cultivation of field crops, fruit-growing and animal husbandry. Simultaneously, the dissemination of advanced technologies necessitates a proper support from the material base, the perfecting of organization, management and the further qualification of the working people and cadres, etc.

The first important problem is the husbanding and further increase of the fertility of the land, with its systematization and drainage. Although the fertility of the land is improved continuously, the rates of its increase must be stepped up. There are acid, sand, salt and pebble soils, and about

25 per cent are fat soils. The rapid improvement of these soils, carried out on scientific criteria, constitutes a great reserve for increasing yields.

The raising of fertility is connected with the measures for the drainage, the systematization and re-systematization of the top soil.

Another big reserve is the top-soil systematization combined with the improvement of the deep-water regime by means of drain-pipes. The problem of husbanding the land calls for special attention. Despite the measures taken and the many investments made, there are still losses of the fund of land due to erosion by rivers and torrents in the plains and in the hilly and mountainous areas, as well as due to constructions and investments. For the phenomena to be avoided more must be done for the systematization and protection of the land, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones.

The rapid rates of intensification bring into evidence more and more each year the fulfilment of the needs of field crops for water ever better. Thanks to the far-sighted policy of the Party in the field of investments, Albania now can not only avoid catastrophe in years of extraordinary drought, like that of 1982, unlike the bourgeois-revisionist countries, but even take in yields higher than in all previous years. Nevertheless, in this context some main questions attract our attention, such as the more scientific conception and planning of the water balance for the needs of crops in harmony with the planned yields and varieties of crops. The introduction of hybrids into all the acreage sown to maize, higher yields of forage crops and vegetables, the irrigation of wheat fields, vineyards, fruit-trees, etc. call for placing designing and execution of new irrigation works on more thoroughly studied criteria. Along with this, it is necessary to examine the possibility of reconstructing the existing irrigation works, canals, reservoirs, dams, water pumping-stations, etc. and increasing their capacity. Special concern is shown for the increase of the irrigable area, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones through a more rational utilization of water reserves, the build-

ding of small and simple irrigation works which require small investments.

For the effectivity of the use of water to increase at more rapid rates, new and more rational methods and techniques of irrigation at low norms are introduced gradually. Along with the better implementation of other methods, the irrigation in the form of rain and sprinkling is extended more rapidly and the construction of complex irrigation systems in the blocks of fruit-trees proceeds just as quickly.

A group of questions apart, which call our attention, is **the quantitative increase of fertilizers and, especially, their rational use.** The correct combination of organic fertilizers with mineral fertilizers, the perfecting of the methods of their use, their spread on the basis of a plan and on scientific agronomical and pedological bases are the key links to the increase of the coefficient of the fruitful utilization of fertilizers, in general.

**Introduction of seeds producing heavy crops provides greater support for the fulfilment of the tasks of intensification.** With their results, the more advanced economies of the country are making their contribution to the reduction to a minimum of the gap between the biological productive capacity and the factual yields. The introduction of seeds with high productive capacity always remains a most important problem. Work is stepped up in order to create and multiply seeds which, along with a higher productive capacity, the new seeds should also have a higher degree of adaptability to the concrete ecological zones, better resistance to disease, pests, drought, etc.; they must also have good chemical and technological qualities for industrial processing.

The needs for mechanization increase continuously both in order to cope with the greater volume of work, and in order to improve the ratio between mechanized and unmechanized work. During the current five-year plan and in the years to come, along with a more rational exploitation of the existing draught power, a better study is done to introduce

modern means of work into production.

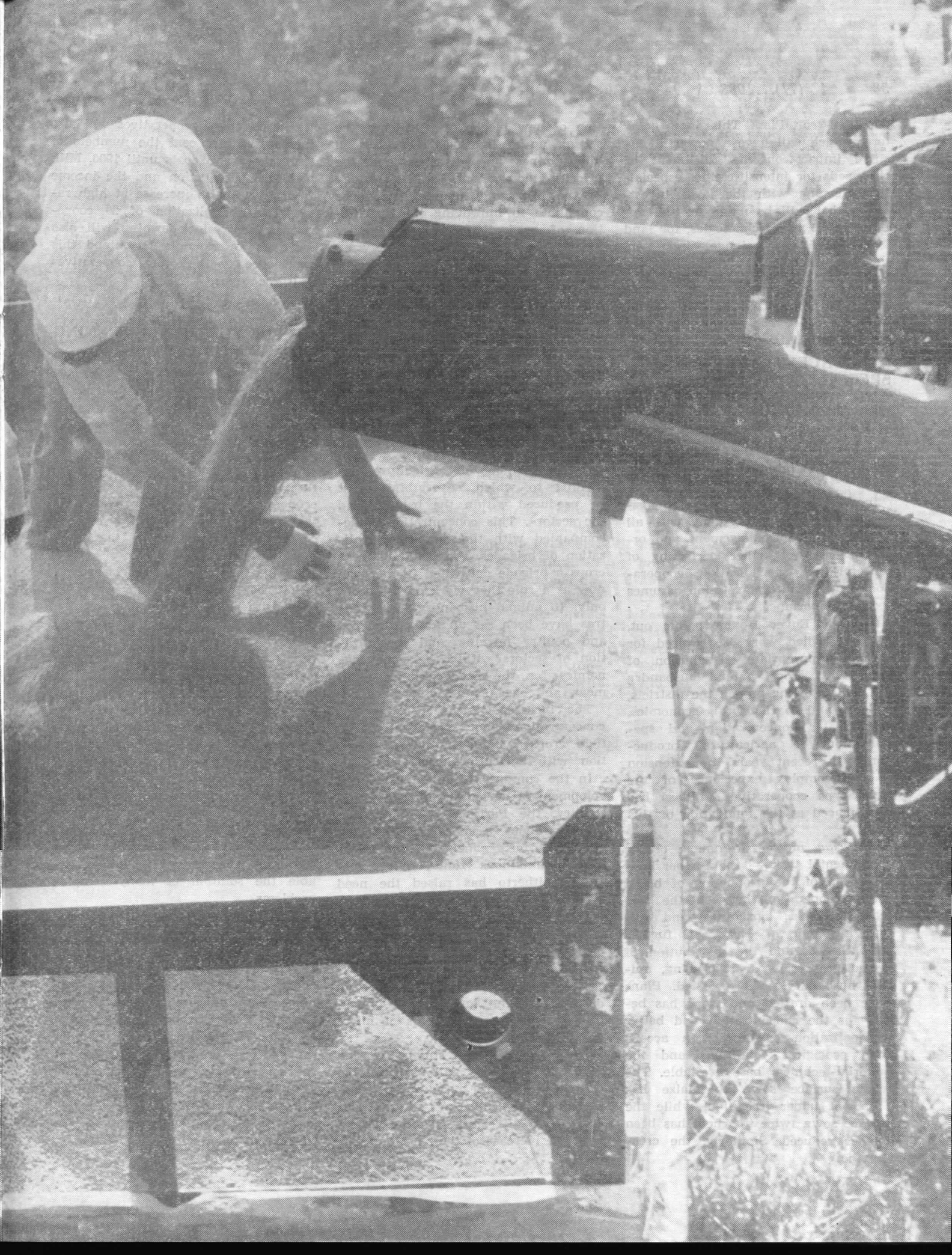
In the conditions of the intensive livestock-farming, **the work to ensure the feeding base assumes special importance.** Despite the achievements of the first 2 years of this five-year plan in the field of forage crop production, the task for yields to increase 2-3 fold still remains an objective to be attained in the coming years. The quantity and quality production of forage crops in every season of the year, and their efficient use demand the perfecting of their structure, the establishment of more correct ratios in the feeding of animals both with green, dry and concentrated foods and with fresh, ensilaged and processed foods; a balanced energy and protein diet, as well as a more rational co-ordination of the above-mentioned factors with the rhythmical and constant supply of all kinds of foods; the ensuring of the necessary capacities of transport and storing. These problems become even more evident against the large-scale concentration of livestock-farming, the introduction of advanced technologies, etc. Pastures represent a great national asset, which must be estimated and treated more seriously, in order to ensure the feeding base for animals.

Careful work, based on scientific conceptions, is done not only to ensure the increase of numbers of cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, fowl, etc. and their suitable age-structure, but also to further improve breeds and productivity.

In the conditions of a higher degree of mechanization, the new active force in agriculture will increase with about 120 thousand workers in the

*Self-sufficiency in bread grain is a question that has been solved long ago. Yields of them have kept increasing with each passing year. This year the districts of the country announced the fulfilment and overfulfilment of planned yields. Most of the districts overfulfilled the production plan for the 3-year period. Many agricultural economies fulfilled or overfulfilled the wheat yields planned for 1983.*





7th Five-year Plan. This is a great force which will have a powerful positive impact on the fulfilment of the needs for intensification, especially in coping with the large investments that will be made for the application of new technologies, for land systematization, drainage, irrigation, the expansion of services and the creation of new blocks of fruit-trees, livestock-farming, the complex development of forest economies, etc.

### III. CONCENTRATION, SPECIALIZATION AND AGRICULTURAL ROTATION

#### Imperatives for the intensive development of production

In the present state of the intensification of agriculture, along with all the elements of management and organization, the further perfecting of concentration, specialization, cooperation and agricultural rotation assumes special importance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «Better studied work is required for a more appropriate distribution of agricultural crops, animal husbandry and fruit-growing among the districts, regions and agricultural economies, and greater concentration and specialization of agricultural production.»<sup>3</sup> In recent years the extension of the complex experience of the higher-type cooperative of Plasa has been placed at the foundation of this work.

Focussing on the attainment of the fundamental task — the further consolidation of the production of bread grain, cooperation between the two main branches, agriculture and animal husbandry, has been further strengthened, and the distribution of agricultural crops, fruit-growing, animal husbandry, etc. perfected. Plans have been drafted and work has begun for the concentration and better regionalization of cereals in accord with ecological conditions and the material-technical base available. The whole surface sown to maize has been put under irrigation, while the surface sown twice to wheat has been, further reduced. Similarly, the crea-

tion of new blocks of fruit-trees, the setting up of livestock complexes in many zones and districts, and the priority increase of small livestock in the hilly and mountainous zones contribute to improving the distribution of production and the further extension of cooperation between agriculture and animal husbandry.

Along with a better distribution of crops there is more and better **concentration and specialization of the agricultural livestock production** in districts and zones. The production of cotton is concentrated in four districts, of rice in 5 districts, against 8 districts in the past, and tobacco in 13 districts against 20 in the past.

Concentration and specialization are achieved in struggle against a «mosaic» conception of agriculture according to which «everything must be produced within the brigade and the sector». This concentration is accompanied with the further specialization of brigades. From 6-7 different crops a brigade cultivated in the past, now as a rule they work on 2-3 crops only. In animal husbandry large centres have been set up for cattle, pigs and poultry farming, and specialization of sectors within the same economies for the production of milk, meat, and eggs, is being deepened.

The increase of the efficiency of concentration and specialization of field crops is done in close connection with **agricultural rotation**.

In the context of the intensive development of agriculture in the whole country, the Party calls for greater concern about a more rapid socio-economic development of **the hilly and mountainous zones**. The experience hitherto has raised the need for the solution of the problems connected with the improvement of the management of the state farms and agricultural cooperative in these zones, of their economic financial situation, of the structure of field crops, of fruit-growing and animal breeds, of the solution of problems of internal transport, etc.

According to the studies carried out, this year work will begin on the specialization of 29 agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous areas in livestock-farming. Along with the increase of their meat of cat-

tle herds, these cooperatives will also increase 65 per cent the numbers of their sheep and goats until 1986. Milk and meat production and the income from it will also increase at high rates. The specialization of 29 cooperatives in livestock-farming will also serve as an example to extend this experience to the other cooperatives of these areas.

### IV. THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF SCIENTIFIC WORK AND THE APPLICATION OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN PRODUCTION

The fruit of scientific thinking and work can be seen today concretely in every branch and sector of agriculture. The results of our vanguard economies, which are known all over the country, are convincing evidence of the achievements of the Albanian agricultural science.

Albania now has the necessary material base and intellectual forces to cope with intensification successfully. Nowadays 6 institutes, 10 scientific research stations, and over 30 university chairs work for the development of our agriculture. Besides them, thousands of specialists and production workers are actively engaged in scientific research with great maturity. With the development of our agricultural science great possibilities for studies, experiments, designs and applications have been created which, together with the development of the country in general and the best achievements of world advanced science and technique, enable the solution of many complex problems.

For science to precede our socio-economic development today and in the future, all the activity of scientific research should be further deepened and improved in several directions. **The studies of a complex character** will be extended and deepened further in order to harmonize the various production branches of the agricultural cooperatives not only among themselves, but also with the rest of the people's economy, especially with the development of the light and food-processing industry,



trade, transport, construction, etc. A higher scientific level of studies requires application, broader than up to now, of modern methods of research, as well as of the achievements of biological, mathematical, computational and other technique, reducing the time between the completion of studies and their full application in production.

Better work is done for the organization of forecast studies. The ceaseless increase of agricultural production, its complex and long-term character, the greater interconnection of the economic reproduction with the natural reproduction call for better co-ordination of development plans with forecast studies. These long-term studies open up new horizons for the development of the productive forces, forecasting the increase of yields of crops and livestock, the development of individual elements of the material-technical base, the development of demographic process in the countryside, etc.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of the efficiency of production, of economic profitability and productivity of social labour underlies the foundation of the economic policy of the Party.

The experience of many agricultural economies in our country shows that the factors increasing production, such as the rational utilization of labour sources, the efficient use of the material-technical base, the increased effectiveness of investments, etc., ensure **the increase of economic effectiveness as well**. What has been achieved up to now proves this.

Nevertheless, the further intensification of agriculture creates some new problems in the fields of effectiveness. First of all, **the economic efficiency of the utilization of basic funds and investments should be raised to a higher level**. The state and the cooperatives themselves are increasing their investments in every field of agricultural production. Here the problem is to combine the different kinds of investments better with each other so as to increase their efficiency. Many agricultural economies have a valuable experience in this direction. The agricultural enterprise of Lukova in the Saranda district, working on scientific bases, has increased the efficiency of its investments in fruit-growing by reducing the term of their amortization to about one third of the planned time.

The problems having to do with

**raising the economic efficiency of production expenditure are very important, too.**

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According to the Marxist-Leninist theory, the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the intensification of agriculture is a process that develops in depth. The fulfilment of the objectives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the all-round development and intensification of agriculture is a powerful base to meet the growing needs of the country for agricultural and livestock products, to correctly solve the problems emerging from the development of the life in the countryside and the complete construction of the socialist society in our country in general.

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- 1 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 28, Eng. ed.*
  - 2 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 35, Eng. ed.*
  - 3 *Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», p. 622, Alb. ed.*
  - 4 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 55-56, Alb. ed.*

# A GLORIOUS EVENING THAT INSPIRES MOBILITY

*The lofty spirit of patriotism,  
of hatred against oppression, of love  
of freedom, of unconquerable  
resistance to any sort of oppression and  
exploitation, confidence in one's own forces,  
which expressed themselves  
in full splendour in the eventful  
years of the League of Prizren, are  
alive today in the hearts  
of the Albanians everywhere*

THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN, THE 105th ANNIVERSARY OF WHICH WE COMMEMORATE TODAY, AND ITS ACTIVITY IN THE FOUR YEARS OF ITS STORMY EXISTENCE DURING THE EASTERN CRISIS, OCCUPIES A PLACE OF HONOUR IN THE PANTHEON OF THE HISTORY OF ALBANIA. IT IS ONE OF THE CULMINATING MOMENTS IN THE TURNING-POINT OF THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHEN THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY EMBARKED BOLDLY ON THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE WITH ARMS AND THE PEN TO SHAKE OFF THE FOREIGN YOKE, TO GAIN THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS TO FREEDOM AND THE LAND, TO JUSTICE AND PROGRESS. IT WAS ONE OF THOSE EVENTS WHICH ROUSED THE MASSES AND, WITH THE CALL «FREEDOM OR DEATH», LED THEM TO THE BARRICADES, INSPIRED THEM TO SELFLESSNESS AND ACTS OF SACRIFICE IN ORDER TO PAVE NEW ROADS TOWARDS THE FUTURE, WITH THE CONVICTION THAT IF NOT THEY THEMSELVES, THE GENERATIONS AFTER THEM WOULD ACHIEVE THE VICTORY.

Their descendants, wherever they live, fight and work, in their Homeland or outside it, acknowledge and pay the tribute of honour to this culminating event and to its outstanding men.

We take pride in the fact that the history of the Albanian nation is rich in such major movements of a progressive character. We take pride in the fact that the banner which led our ancient people on their historical road, has never served as the symbol of war for a dishonourable cause,

\* Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», on June 10, 1983 on the 105th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian League of Prizren.

as the symbol of enslavement and violence of the occupier, or the symbol of the diplomacy of intrigues and plots to the detriment of the neighbouring peoples. On the contrary, our forefathers have many and many times sounded the call of battle in order to cope with the inroads of occupationists which came wave upon wave to strike this nation with tragic regularity! They were forced to cope with the threat of extermination and assimilation, they saw their lands partitioned and boggled up by the Caesars, the Sultans, the Emperors and the Krajls of the ancient and modern times.

Alone, without allies, often bet-

# ENT

# IZATION\*

by Prof. ALEKS BUDA

rayed and abandoned by the ruling classes of the country, our forefathers got together and swore unity in their great historical assemblies, and their only word was «Neither for my sake, neither for your sake — only for the sake of all Albania.» In the series of all their great traditional assemblies, the Albanian League of Prizren occupies a special place. It is the first political organization set up inside Albania, which resorted to armed struggle to defend the interests and rights of the whole Albanian nation. It was an organization which not only had its own ideological national program and a clearly-defined political program, but also its state in an organized form and its military formations on a national scale, emerging above regional and religious divisions of the country.

It was not fortuitous that it held its first meeting precisely in the ancient Albanian city of Prizren, the name of which it adopted, in the heart of Kosova, that territory on which the predatory aims of the enemies of the Albanian people were concentrated. Thus, it began its activity in the quality of the representative of the Albanian nation and later as its Government, with a major accord and memoranda. Although more than a century has elapsed from its founding, the Albanian League of Prizren still retains its significance and will retain it in the future generations of the Albanian nation. The participation of the representatives of all the regions of the country in this League, the powerful support it won from all the social strata, speak of the fact that the founding of the League marked an historic event of decisive importance for the destinies of the Albanian nation. In the four years of its long political and armed struggle the League defended with success the

integrity, inviolability and unity of the Albanian territories, fought for recognition and for the implementation of the principle of nationality and the right of the Albanians to self-determination, to their autonomous national unified state. Under the leadership of the League of Prizren, the Albanian people, despite the inferiority of forces, clashed with dangerous enemies on two fronts: the Balkan great-state chauvinism and with the imperialist powers that supported it, on the one hand, and with the autocracy of the Sultans, on the other. In this confrontation, which set into motion all the forces of the country, were laid the foundations of that structure which the next generations completed: the union and the unity of the Albanian people as a modern nation.

All this is due to the determination and patriotism of the people's masses which rose arms in hand at the call of the League, this is due to the illuminated minds and the inexhaustible energies and political and military skill of the outstanding leaders of the League, who bore the burden of the important tasks the situations faced them with. In these decisive years for the destinies of the country, the master-mind of the Albanian national movement and head of the League, Abdyl Frashëri, was an outstanding figure, beside whom stood the other leaders of the League, just as outstanding for their courage and intelligence, such as Sulejman Vokshi, Iljaz Dibra, Ymer Prizreni, Mustafa Tetova, Mehmet Ali Vrioni, Mihal Arito, Haxhi Zeka, Daut Boriçi, Filip Çeka, Odhise Kasneci and other men from all the regions of the country. The generations will remember the great example of courage and heroism of popular fighters, such as Mic Sokoli and Ali Ibra, Isuf Sokoli and

Jakup Ferri, Ramadan Zaskoci and Mehmet Beci and many others. It was because of this heroic struggle that the Albanian question remained on the agenda of the day in the Balkans and on an international plane, as a question demanding solution and which could not be cast into oblivion, one which could not be skipped over with euphoric phrases that everything in Albania is in «order» and that the work of the League is only the doing of some «stubborn heads» instigated from abroad, etc. as the Sublime Porte and the chauvinist governments of the neighbouring states expressed themselves. It was clear to every Albanian that the partitioning of Albania, which began with the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin, was the beginning of a new, more ferocious and lethal servitude than that imposed by the Sublime Porte. The most convincing illustration of this was the violence and terror unleashed on the Albanian population, its mass expulsion which began on the border territories invaded by the Serb, Montenegrin and Bulgarian armies. This was a warning of the future calamities that would befall, especially, the Albanians of Kosova. This mass movement, which the scribes of the governments of the Balkan states and of the Sublime Porte tried to describe as a movement of masses of ignoramus who had been misled, showed to the whole world that it was motivated by a strong, moral and human, political and military spirit that was astir in the Albanian society. It explained, not in a primitive manner, as the enemies of the League did, but «in a rational manner», as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «the views of the leaders of this great military-political and state activity which was the Albanian League of Prizren.» And this be-

cause such a movement, which set in motion all the material and human forces of the country, was not and could not have been a sporadic outburst, but was the result of that objective development of the internal socio-economic forces and of the political, ideological maturity of the Albanian National Renaissance. The League considered the recognition and affirmation of the Albanian nation in close connection with the question of the state and political organization of the country, which would ensure its self-government in the framework of a modern and progressive state, as the Assembly of Gjirokastra envisaged.

Precisely because the Albanian National Renaissance had such a democratic and progressive character and was directed against the forces of religious obscurantism of the old feudal society, as well as against the Great Powers which wanted to maintain the situation of backwardness and dependence in those territories where their predatory interests were concentrated, this movement emerged triumphant in its struggle for the affirmation of the national rights of the Albanians. As part of the democratic revolutionary movement which was directed against the big empires — bastions of feudal reaction and dungeons of the peoples — the Albanian National Renaissance and the League of Prizren stood ideologically and politically in a higher and more progressive political and ideological plane than the Balkan states, which based their political-territorial claims on Albania on the mediaeval principle of the «religious community», or on allegedly historical arguments, such as the «great idea» of the Byzantine Empire and of the «sacred empire of Czar Dušan».

From the progressive positions it had, the Albanian League of Prizren imparted a strong impulse to the contemporary political thinking, the literary-scientific creativeness in Albania. Therein lie the roots of the artistic and cultural achievements which have never lost and will never lose anything of their value.

Evoking these heroic efforts of our people, our hearts fill with legitimate pride for those who fought in dif-

ficult conditions, for those causes which have been, are and will always be sacred to our people. The very significant, inspiring words that arouse revolutionary optimism and faith in the forces of the people which Abdyl Frashëri directed to the enemies of the Albanian people: «Your work with the Berlin Treaty ends here, our work as Albanians begins from this day!» carry a deep significance.

The flight of the eagle that started from Prizren in those stormy days could not be halted. The work of the League of Prizren was brought to completion on November 28, 1912 in Vlora, despite the many plots and hostile attempts, the predatory war that a whole lot of savage enemies, chauvinists and imperialists, concocted against our people afterwards in 1913 in order to carry through to the end what they had begun at the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin, and planned to do at the London Conference where they decided on the unprecedented partitioning of the Albanian territories.

Not unlike the time of the Albanian League of Prizren, scribes, hack writers and hired politicians continued and continue even in our days to consume gallons of ink in order to deny the Albanian peoples and the Albanian nation those moral and intellectual qualities required for the existence of an independent state, in order to blacken their history, including the history of the Albanian League of Prizren.

Very often they have proclaimed that Albania is nothing but an indefinite geographical notion, or, as a professor of the University of Belgrade put it recently, that the unitarian Albanian state and its history are nothing but a nationalist fiction, that there is no civilized future open before it except inside the frameworks or «federations», in fraternity with the peoples with whom they are linked up by a whole history, in the framework of «Yugoslavism!» Any other opinion to the contrary is described as «nationalist and irredentist»!

Many times and many times the Yugoslav politicians and scientists have decided and taken concrete steps to attach all sorts of «embellishments» to the Albanian national flag, consecra-

ted by the centuries-long struggles. History has never experienced anything more utterly disgusting and revolting, but at the same time, more ridiculous than the efforts of these «flag dealers» and their «big-hearted» steps to change the historical realities by bureaucratic decrees, to use intrigues and make chauvinist verdicts to deny the Albanians their right to learn and develop their historical traditions. It is known that the legitimate efforts of the Albanians in Yugoslavia to affirm their rights, their national individuality and identity on the territories they have inhabited for centuries, have not violated and do not in any way violate the rights of any other nation. It is inconceivable that the study and commemoration of the Albanian League of Prizren today in Yugoslavia should be used by the Titoites as an excuse to attack and bleed the population of Kosova which counters all these with courage that this should be used as an excuse to persecute the renowned historians in the same manner as they did one hundred years ago in the Serb chauvinist state of the kralis. The legitimate pride of the Albanians in the patriotic past of their nation does not offend anyone except those who still have not freed themselves from feelings of Great-Serb chauvinism! The efforts of our enemies to distort the history and to denigrate the Albanian League of Prizren throw more light on the great historical importance of the League, show that it becomes more and more an example of inspiration and mobilization.

The lofty spirit of patriotism, of hatred against oppression, of love of freedom, of unconquerable resistance to any sort of oppression and exploitation, confidence in one's own forces, which expressed themselves in full splendour in the eventful years of the League of Prizren, are alive today in the hearts of the Albanians everywhere. The glorious past and our brilliant patriotic traditions have always been a source of inspiration. These traditions have gained a new content and have risen higher still under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head during the heroic National Liberation War and the just as magnificent struggle for the construction of socialism.

# THE MARXIST DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE TODAY

*by* **SOTIR MANUSHI**

*Just as in the past, the ideological enemies of Marxism attack it today in two directions: in one direction, they condemn and curse and reject it as worthless; in the other direction, employing eclecticism, they take some ideas from Marxism and mix them with anti-Marxist ideas, with the intention of destroying the former*

**AMONG KARL MARX'S MANY DISCOVERIES, POINTS OUT FREDERICK ENGELS, TWO ARE EPOCH-MAKING — THE MATERIALIST CONCEPT OF HISTORY AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE SECRET OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION THROUGH SURPLUS VALUE. THESE WERE THE TWO PILLARS WHICH MADE POSSIBLE THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO A SCIENCE, ITS ESTABLISHMENT ON SOLID GROUND. THE VERY DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS AND THE REAL DEMANDS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT CREATED THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR THE BIRTH OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. MARX ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION COULD NOT BUT LEAD TO THE PASSING OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION TO THE OWNERSHIP OF SOCIETY, TO «THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE EXPROPRIATORS».**

The genius of Marx lies, first of all, in the fact that he discovered the laws of the development and revolutionary transformation of human society, scientifically proved the inevitability of the destruction of capitalist society and the equally inevitable triumph of the new socialist and communist society, while he also discovered the force which would under-

**SOTIR MANUSHI** — Prof. Head of Chair at the «V. I. Lenin» High Party School

take this mission and carry it through to the end — the proletariat.

Karl Marx's ideas about the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society, as a necessary result of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, spread with great speed and have been confirmed in the most complete and all-round way. They have been confirmed, developed and further enriched by the development of the world

revolutionary process, by the profound revolutionary upheavals, by the new revolutionary experience, which has been accumulated by the movement of the broad popular masses and, in particular, by the movement of the proletariat. Their correctness and vitality was proved with the victory of the October Revolution and proletarian revolutions in other countries, including the socialist revolution in Albania. Today the ideas of Marx have become a shining beacon for the proletariat of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the world in the struggle for national and social liberation.

Life itself has proved that the teachings of Marx about the transition of capitalism to communism retain their freshness and contemporary validity. They constitute a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat of the Marxist-Lenin-

ist movement, in the struggle to destroy the old capitalist world and to build a new world, without oppression and exploitation — the socialist and communist world.

Just as in the past, the ideological enemies of Marxism attack it today in two directions: in one direction, they condemn and curse and reject it as worthless; in the other direction, employing eclecticism, they take some ideas from Marxism and mix them with anti-Marxist ideas, with the intention of distorting the former.

After the Second World War the bourgeois ideologists, proceeding from the coming to power of revisionism, and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and a number of other former socialist countries, hastened to proclaim Marxism a «utopia», a «social myth» and a «failure», and to describe socialism as incapable of providing a positive alternative to solve the problems of modern world. In chorus with the bourgeois ideologists, the modern revisionists aim to attack Marxism and sow confusion about its most fundamental principle by spreading the idea that Marxism is allegedly obsolete, a thing of the past, that it does not respond to the conditions of the capitalist world today, that its principles must be «reinterpreted», etc. According to Berlinguer, socialism has allegedly lost its impelling force and has ceased to develop.

Rejecting the theses of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, the PLA has proved with scientific argument that Marxism-Leninism and socialism have not come to an end. The revisionist betrayal, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in a number of other former socialist countries, is a real fact. Nevertheless, the conclusions which the bourgeois ideologists draw about the end of Marxism and the failure of socialism can by no means be drawn from this fact. The degeneration of socialism in some countries, the zigzags which the world revolution might make, are not at all failures of socialism or Marxism. They came about as a consequence of departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, as a consequence of the destruction of the gains of

the revolution and the restoration of capitalism in those countries. In fact, socialism exists and is developing as a theory and practice.

In denying genuine socialism, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, the bourgeois and modern revisionist ideologists «...ignore the fact that the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism exist, are developing and triumphing, that the Marxist-Leninist parties exist, that socialist Albania exists, the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence and sovereignty exist, and that the world proletariat exists and is fighting.»<sup>1</sup>

### 1. KARL MARX ON THE UNIVERSAL LAWS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

The universal laws and principles of the revolution and the construction of socialism are reflected in the most complete and coherent manner in the works of Marx and Engels, and especially in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» and «Critique of Gotha Programme». Such are the laws about the class struggle as the motive force of society, about the violent revolution for the overthrow of capitalism, about the hegemonic role of the proletariat, and the leading role of the party in the revolution and in the construction of socialist society, about the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, about the indispensable need for the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to communism, about socialist social ownership to the means of production, etc.

The Marxist doctrine on the universal laws on the revolution and the construction of socialism has assumed exceptionally great importance today because the theory and practice of socialism, its ideological principles, as well as the ways and methods for its practical realization are at the centre of the ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism, on one hand, and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, on the other hand, with

the latter trying to create confusion and disorganization about the problem of socialism.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way.»<sup>2</sup>

For a long time the bourgeois ideologists have been trying to distort the notion «law» itself, with the aim of rejecting the laws of socialist development and, particularly, the laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism. For them these laws are «a terrible notion», the socialist revolution is a «leap into the unknown», etc. This course led them to concentrate their attacks against historical determinism. They accuse Marx of being an economic determinist, a fatalist, who does not recognize the role of the subjective factor in the development of history, but life itself and revolutionary practice have rejected this «theory». They have shown that Marxism, from its very essence, is the loftiest principle of the active role of man. Marx was not only a theoretician of genius, but also a great revolutionary leader.

Marx showed, and revolutionary practice has confirmed that the construction of socialist society is incompatible both with surrender to spontaneity and making a fetish of laws, and with the voluntary subjective treatment and ignoring of requirements of the laws of development.

Very widespread, also, are the bourgeois-revisionist «theories» which oppose Marx «the humanist» to Marx the revolutionary. The aim here is to reject the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction formulated by Marx. Or they oppose Marx and Engels to Lenin in particular, accusing him of voluntarism or subjectivism. Once again the aim is to spread the idea that the theories about the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the party, etc. are alle-

gedly an invention of Lenin's and as such they might be suitable for the backward countries, but are neither necessary nor suitable for the developed capitalist countries.

Apart from this, the ideological enemies of Marxism, first of all, the modern revisionists, try to find «contradictions» between the theory of scientific socialism and its practical realization. The revisionists' attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat, «the Stalinist socialist state», etc. were and are intended to discredit genuine socialism, that which was built in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin and is being built in our country.

Marxism teaches us that ignoring the universal laws of the construction of socialism is accompanied with grave consequences for the fate of socialism. This is clearly demonstrated by the bitter experience of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, where after the seizure of power by the revisionists, the degeneration of the party and of the state of the working class began, a thing which opened the way to the degeneration of the socialist relations in production and replacement of them with capitalist relations.

Today the bourgeois ideologists, reformists and modern revisionists talk about various «models» of socialism. By using the term «models» of socialism they aim to present the question as if socialism allegedly does not exist as a political and socio-economic order, but as if there are different orders with «models of socialism», which differ from one another in many fundamental features. The common denominator of all these «models of socialism» is negation of the universal laws and principles of socialism.

From the time it was born Marx's scientific socialism forged ahead in struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialist trend.

Karl Marx and his close collaborator, F. Engels, made a clear division between Marxism and petty-bourgeois socialist trends, consistently defending the principles of Marxism. In the documents written by them for the First International they considered

the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the necessity for the elimination of private ownership of the means of production, the violent destruction of the bourgeois state, and its replacement with the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the hegemonic role of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class, capable of liberating itself («the liberation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself,»<sup>4</sup> stressed Marx and Engels), and the necessity for the Marxist-Leninist party without which the proletariat could not accomplish its historic world mission, to be basic principles.

Later, too, Marx waged a stern and consistent struggle against manifestations of reformism and opportunism. In «Critique of the Gotha Programme» and «Circular Letter» Marx denounces the opportunist and revisionist views and defends and develops the theory about the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, etc.

At the present time the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois «socialist» trends have increased even further. The trends of modern revisionism, too, are competing with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists today to provide an alternative for «their own» form of «socialism».

Yugoslav «self-administrative» socialism has only a socialist disguise. It is a capitalist socio-economic and political order, because it negates the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the universal laws of socialist construction, the hegemonic role of the proletariat, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the role of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist construction, etc. The Yugoslav revisionists declare openly that «the universal law is the great variety of the roads to socialism and variants of socialism». At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that socialism will certainly assume different appearances and have its own specific features in different countries, but the basic principles and universal laws of socialism remain unshake-

able and are essential for all countries.» Yugoslav «self-administrative» socialism had its origin in Proudhonism and Bakhuninism, against which Marx waged a determined struggle. It decentralized, liberalized and undermined the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidated the leading role of the Marxist party, leaving it only a feeble educational role.

Seeking «new» theories to prettify the Soviet capitalist society, the Soviet revisionists elaborated the theory of «developed socialism» or «real socialism» which they try to present as a theory compatible with the ideas of Marx and Lenin, as «a necessary historical stage». The Khrushchevite revisionists' concept about «developed socialism» has nothing in common with genuine socialist society because it negates the main laws and principles of socialism, negates the dictatorship of the proletariat, which it replaces with the «state of the whole people», negates the class struggle and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and its class character, replacing it with the «party of the whole people».

The fact that the Soviet revisionists negate such main laws, without which genuine socialism cannot be built or exist, shows that their «developed socialist society» is «socialist» only in name. In fact, Soviet society today is one of the forms of capitalist society, one of the most disguised and dangerous forms, which serves to confuse the minds of revolutionaries and peoples who aspire to and are fighting for genuine socialism.

In China, too, there is a great deal of talk today about the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, the socialist construction, etc. However, the Chinese revisionists give these notions a meaning different from the Marxist meaning. To use Marx's expression, in China there is «an unhealthy parody of socialism». The state that exists in China is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is a military bureaucratic dictatorship which has nothing in common with socialism. In China power belongs to the bourgeoisie.

The Chinese «model of socialism» is the diametrical opposite of Marx's socialism. It reflects the ideals not of

the proletariat, but of the petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is very close to the petty-bourgeois socialism which Marx fought sternly. The Chinese leadership has openly rejected the universal principles of socialism and is searching for a «socialism with the colours of China» which is nothing but the present-day capitalist society adapted to the existing conditions of China.

Like the social-democrats, the Eurocommunists do not accept that genuine socialism exists or has ever existed. To them «genuine socialism» is «democratic socialism», «pluralist socialism», «the third road». This kind of «socialism», also, openly denies the dictatorship of the proletariat and the undivided leadership of its communist party, rejecting the Marxist-Leninist theory. Economic, political, social and ideological pluralism are to exist in Eurocommunist socialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted up in socialist colours.»<sup>5</sup>

Apart from these «models» of socialism, which the revisionists advocate, there are other «models» such as the «democratic socialism» of the social-democrats, which has long been discredited, because it has protected the bourgeois state and bourgeois property when the social-democratic parties have been in power. Social-democrats are heading the governments in many capitalist countries even today, but there is not the slightest trace of socialism there because capitalism is in power. The socialists of some undeveloped countries, also, take «democratic socialism» as their model because the socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is allegedly unsuitable for them. Indeed, they go so far as to claim that Marxist socialism cannot solve the question of and strengthen their national independence.

The fact that the bourgeoisie and its various agencies are making such great play with the models of socialism shows that capitalism has not any force of attraction for the workers and the peoples and is becoming more detestable to them every day. On the other hand, however, this

means that the ceaseless struggle to unmask this dangerous demagogy, to defend and spread the ideas of Marxist-Leninist scientific socialism among the masses becomes ever more necessary.

The PLA has rejected all these «models of socialism». «Today there is no need to invent new 'socialisms' or to copy the so-called socialisms of modern revisionism,»<sup>6</sup> pointed out the 8th Congress of the PLA. The theory and practice of scientific socialism exist today. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of them in the experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the period of Lenin and Stalin, and also in Albania, where socialism is being built according to the teachings of Marx and Engels. Socialism cannot be achieved or built if it is not based on the Marxist-Leninist theory.

## 2. SOCIALISM IS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

As early as 1850 Karl Marx pointed out that socialism «is the class dictatorship of the proletariat» as a necessary step to go on to the elimination of class distinctions, in general, the elimination of all relations of production on which these distinctions are based, to the elimination of all social relations which respond to these relations of production and to the overthrow of all ideas which stem from these social relations.»<sup>7</sup>

As can be seen, Karl Marx regarded socialism as inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat which, as Lenin pointed out, occupies the main place in the Marxist theory. On the basis of their summing up of the experience of the class struggle in the countries most developed in that period, first of all, in France and Britain, the experience of the revolutions of 1848-1849 and later of the Commune of Paris, Marx and Engels proved with scientific argument the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a prior condition for the triumph of the revolution, and as the political-state form of the whole period of transition from capi-

talism to socialism. Rejecting Lassalle's thesis about «the free people's state» in his «Critique of the Gotha Programme» Marx pointed out, «Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a period of political transition in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.»<sup>8</sup> This thesis of Marx allows no one to speculate with any other kind of state.

Various opportunists from Kautsky to the modern revisionists have furiously attacked the ideal and the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the aim of revising the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat Kautsky presented the matter as if Marx had only mentioned the «phrase» dictatorship of the proletariat in passing. Kautsky alleged that Lenin had invented this term for the conditions of backward countries.

It is true that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat assumed all-round development with the Leninist theory on the proletarian revolution and the state, but Marx and Engels first laid the basis for this concept. Hence, it was not for nothing that in dealing with this question Lenin wrote, «Only he who extends recognition of the class struggle to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a Marxist. Herein lies the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (and great) bourgeois. This serves as a test to show that Marxism has really been understood and recognized.»<sup>9</sup>

At the present time the bourgeois ideologists, the modern revisionists of all hues, «the leftists», etc. attack the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat from different directions. They have the one aim, to denigrate the dictatorship of the proletariat, branding it variously as «totalitarian», «a closed society», «fascist», «anti-democratic», etc. and to prettify the bourgeois dictatorship by presenting it as «pure democracy», as democracy for all.

In order to peddle their wares they treat Marx as a theoretician of «democratic socialism», allege that Marx



regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as a brief episode of the socialist revolution after which «pure democracy» must come.

Striving to outdo the bourgeois ideologists and social-democracy, all trends of modern revisionism have rejected the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Khrushchevite theory about the «state of the whole people» is a complete revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his time, Marx showed that the notion «state» is inseparable from the notion «dictatorship». The bourgeois state is a state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, while the socialist state is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to reject the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Soviet revisionists falsify Marx's teachings about the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, restricting it to the period of the economic construction of the base of socialism. Moreover, they even refer to Lenin, taking phrases of his out of content to justify this.

Lenin in his time unmasked all those opportunists who tried to speculate with the phrases «the people's state», «the state of the whole people», as the Soviet revisionists do today. He pointed out, «Only he who has understood that the dictatorship of one class is essential not only for all class societies, in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the whole historical period which separates capitalism from the 'classless society', communism, has mastered the essence of Marx's theory on the state».<sup>10</sup>

The Eurocommunists have completely eliminated the dictatorship of the proletariat from their program, while identifying it with the fascist dictatorship. Their catch-cries are: «We must reform the bourgeois state, gradually transform the capitalist superstructure into a socialist superstructure, without altering its basis.» In brief, the Eurocommunists try to justify their rejecting of the Marxist thesis about the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine.

Enver Hoxha points out that Marx

in his time considered the violent smashing of the old bourgeois state machine an essential condition for the triumph not only to the proletarian revolution, but of any genuine people's revolution led by the working class.<sup>11</sup> Lenin described this conclusion of Marx as «a gigantic step forward». The modern revisionists of all hues and the Eurocommunists, in a particularly open way, make furious attacks today on this foundation stone of the Marxist doctrine, just as their counterparts in the past.

With their theory «workers' self-administration» the Yugoslav revisionists pretend that the dictatorship of the proletariat can exist without a state. Hence, they too, divide the state from the dictatorship, just like the other revisionist currents mentioned above.

The anti-state ideology of the Yugoslav revisionists is a revival of old anarchist theories. In criticizing the anarchists, Marx stressed that he was not an absolute opponent of every kind of state, but only of the oppressive and exploiting bourgeois state. Therefore, he taught the proletariat that while destroying the bourgeois state with violence, it must replace it with a new, proletarian state, with a new, proletarian state machine, and a new, proletarian democratic centralism. Without this replacement the construction of the new socialist society and the transition to communist classless society is impossible.

Marx linked the withering away of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the highest phase of communism, when classes and the class struggle will disappear. To raise the question of the withering away of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the conditions when a stern class struggle is being waged on a national and international scale, means to disarm the working class.

The attitude of Mao Zedong thought and the Chinese revisionists also, towards the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is similar to that of Bernstein, Kautsky and the Soviet, Yugoslav and Eurocommunist revisionists. The Chinese revisionists have eliminated the class content and functions of the state of the dictatorship

of the proletariat. According to them the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is «a state of workers, peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie». Then, why is the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary, if it is not going to exercise violence against the bourgeoisie? Hence, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, both Mao Zedong and Kautsky regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as incompatible with democracy, hence they advocated bourgeois democracy.

The Trotskyites of today, like those of the past, also reject the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Trotskyites describe the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as «a bureaucratic workers' state». They regard socialist society as a society without classes, without a state, without nations, and so on. In this direction the Trotskyites are united with the anarchists. Moreover, they too, come out with the slogan of the «workers' self-administration».

In fighting the modern revisionists and all anti-Marxist trends the Party of Labour of Albania defends, further develops and applies the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a creative way. «The example of Albania,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of the theory of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.»<sup>12</sup>

Basing himself on the experience of the Commune of Paris, Marx advanced the thesis that the working class could become the ruling class and could retain its role by carrying out a new military organization, by destroying the army and its old organization, and replacing it with the army of the people. The PLA has put this important Marxist-Leninist principle into practice, basing the defence of the socialist Homeland on the arming, organization and military training of the whole people.

Marx and Engels put forward the need, also, to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat from the danger of becoming bureaucratic and degenerating. They considered correct the mea-

asures taken by the Commune of Paris about keeping the pay of high officials at the level of the average pay of the workers, a thing which would avoid privileges in socialist society. Our Party has applied this basic principle in practice, too, taking measures to narrow the differences in the remuneration of labour, to prevent disproportions in the remuneration between the cadres and the office workers in comparison with workers and peasants, and between workers and peasants, a thing which blocks the way to the creation of any privileged stratum.

The violation of the above principles in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries served as a hot-bed for the revisionist degeneration of those countries.

The teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the further revolutionization of the state power of the working class, on the struggle against liberalism and bureaucracy, as major dangers leading to the peaceful liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the strengthening of the hegemonic role of the working class, and the leading role of the party in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute an outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

### **3. GENUINE SOCIALISM CAN BE BUILT AND DEVELOPED ONLY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT**

The Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is closely linked with the Marxist theory on the party of the working class. Marx regarded the party as a living leadership in the revolution and the struggle of the proletariat. Without the leadership of the genuine party of the working class the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be strengthened or defended.

«After all», Marx and Engels pointed out, «any truly proletarian party has always presented the organisation of the proletariat in independent political parties as the first condition for a class policy, and as the most immediate aim of the struggle — the

dictatorship of the proletariat.»<sup>13</sup> It turns out from this that for Marx the question of the role of the party is not a tactical question, but a question which has to do with the fundamental principles of the socialist transformation of society. That is why from the beginning of his revolutionary activity, Marx devoted his main attention to the formation of the genuine party of the proletariat. In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», Marx and Engels pointed out the indispensability of the revolutionary party of the proletariat as the vanguard of the working class. Speaking about the indispensable need for the party of the proletariat, Engels wrote: «For the proletariat to show itself sufficiently powerful at the most decisive moment and to be able to triumph it is essential — and Marx and I defended these positions as early as 1847 — that it forms a separate party, apart from all the others, and stands confronting them, that it should see itself as a class party.» Marx and Engels never deviated from this idea but, on the contrary, developed it continuously, propagated it and fought to put it into practice.

With the aim of opposing Lenin to Marx, the bourgeois ideologists and the various right and left opportunists pretend that Lenin's doctrine on the party does not conform to those of Marx and is an invention of Lenin's. These accusations have no real basis, because all the working activity of Marx, from the year 1847 with the formation of the League of Communists and of the First International in 1864 and later with the creation of worker's parties, was devoted to the formation and strengthening of the party of the proletariat. For Marx and Engels the proletariat becomes a force from the time when it forms its own, independent, revolutionary party. Lenin made the ideas of Marx and Engels about the party the foundation stone of all his theoretical and practical activity, and he developed these ideas further in the new historical conditions. All Lenin's activity is an expression of those specific features which constitute the essence of the communist party that embodies within itself the unity of theory, practice and organization.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party has successfully passed the test in the fire of stern class battles. The victories achieved in the past and those which have been achieved today by the revolutionary proletariat have their origin in the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. Precisely because of this, the Marxist-Leninist theory on the party of the proletariat and its leading role in the revolution and the construction of socialism has become the target of attacks from opportunists of all colours, from the revisionists to the «leftists». The theory of the Chinese and Eurocommunist revisionists on leftist pluralism, the Khrushchevite theory of «the party of the whole people», the Yugoslav theory on the «party as an ideological factor», or about «democratic pluralism», the Eurocommunists' theory about the «mass party», the Chinese theory about two lines in the party, and the Trotskyite theory on the «world party», are a total revision of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, on the Party of the proletariat and its leading role.

Moreover, as the PLA has pointed out, the degeneration of revisionist countries began with the degeneration of the party. «Here we must try to find the shortcomings and mistakes which had such a tragic influence on the emergence of revisionism and the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite traitors in the Soviet Union,»<sup>14</sup> says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The events in Poland, the workers' revolts against the ruling regime, also, showed that the subjective factor, the political force which leads the working class, plays the decisive role. It is precisely this factor which the Polish working class lacks. When it creates its genuine Marxist-Leninist party then it will certainly win the freedom and independence of the country and re-establish socialism in Poland.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties have revealed the falsity of opportunist theories and have defended and further developed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party. All the revisionist theories on the party have a single aim — to turn the parties of the proletariat into instruments for

the preservation of capitalism and defence of the class interests of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism. This is quite apparent, both in the joint strategy which all the currents of modern revisionism have in common and in their individual strategies.

The struggle of the PLA against revisionist distortions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party, the struggle for the defence and further development of this doctrine, also, is an important contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. This contribution is expressed in the measures which the PLA applied for its continuous revolutionization, for its protection from the danger of revisionist degeneration, and for the strengthening and continual perfection of its leadership in all spheres of the life of our socialist society.

#### **4. THERE IS NO GENUINE SOCIALISM WITHOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION**

Karl Marx also proved scientifically the necessity for the elimination of private property and the creation of socialist ownership of the means of production. Marx set as the immediate task, after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, depriving the bourgeoisie of its material base. The feature which distinguishes communism, pointed out Marx and Engels in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», is the elimination of bourgeois ownership. «For us it is not a question of changing private ownership, but of eliminating it...»<sup>15</sup> Without accomplishing this task the victories of the workers cannot be secure and the new socialist society cannot be built.

The liquidation of capitalist ownership and its replacement by state social ownership, through carrying out the policy of socialist nationalization, the transformation of the small-scale private property of peasants and craftsmen into socialist cooperativist property through collectivization, constitute one of the universal laws of the

construction of socialism. The essence of socialism and the socialist order and its historical superiorities are determined, first of all, by the character of the mode of production, the main feature of which is the predominance of social ownership.

In order to discredit socialism, at the present time the bourgeois ideologists and the various revisionists and opportunists are trying to present the matter as though the ownership of the means of production in socialism and centralized planning of the economy are sources of economic crises. Many of these ideologists come out against the policy of nationalization in socialism. Others spread the view that the decisive factor in modern society is not ownership of the means of production but management.

The theory of «democratic socialism» also presupposed the private ownership of the means of production as a decisive factor for a «free democracy». The supporters of «industrial socialism» reject the centralized planning of the economy.

Following in the footsteps of the bourgeois ideologists and the social-democrats, all the modern revisionists without exception, some of them openly, some of them covertly, are for the preservation of private property and collective state capitalist ownership of the means of production.

As was pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, the Yugoslav revisionists indulge in great misrepresentation about ownership of the means of production. According to them, the social ownership of the means of production which exists in the «self-administrative» system constitutes the highest form of socialist ownership, while state ownership is a lower form. This thesis is revision of Marx's theory of socialism. In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» it is stressed that: «The proletariat uses its political domination to wrest all capital, step by step, from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to centralize all the instruments of production in the hands of the state ...and to increase the productive forces as quickly as possible.»<sup>16</sup> This formulation in the «Manifesto» is extremely valuable to show the falsity of the

Yugoslav revisionists' theorizing about «self-administrative» ownership as the highest form of ownership. The crisis which has seized the Yugoslav «self-administrative» system today shows clearly the hopelessness of the course on which the Titoites have set their country.

As was pointed out at the Congress of the PLA, Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the Soviet Union. It is true that socialist ownership is preserved there in form, but its content has been altered fundamentally. In the Soviet Union the means of production are capitalist collective state property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeoisie which has seized power, and which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants through the method of distribution of the social product, which has changed radically. State ownership is not always an indication of socialism. State property becomes socialist not because it belongs to the state, but because it is in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which manages it in the interests of the working class and all the working people. Historical experience and the Marxist-Leninist theory have proved that in the present epoch state property can have quite a different purpose. In the capitalist and revisionist countries state ownership has one role, but in our country, where the working class is in power, it has another role. The state ownership in our country has a social content quite the opposite of that of the various types of state ownership in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

In China the collective state ownership has never had a socialist character because there the state power of the bourgeoisie has always existed. The Chinese economy is comprised of state capitalist ownership, collective capitalist ownership, private capitalist ownership, joint ownership with foreign capital, and even ownership by foreign capital. And according to the Chinese revisionists, all these types of ownership are compatible with scientific socialism! On the contrary, the existence of all these forms of

ownership shows clearly that China has been and still is a capitalist country and that to open the way to socialism the Chinese proletariat and workers will have to overthrow the present Chinese state by revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The «socialism» which the Eurocommunists advocate, also, is very similar to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism criticized by Marx about 100 hundred years ago. The Eurocommunists envisage their communism with capitalist private ownership, with public (state-capitalist) ownership, with small-scale private ownership, etc., in which there will be the creation of surplus value and private ownership. They also advocate «self-administrative» ownership, the non-involvement of the state in the economic life, and complete freedom for the development of commodity-money relations.

The neo-Trotskyites, too, have expressed their support for «self-administrative» socialism and in this direction they have an identity of views with the Yugoslav, Eurocommunist, and Chinese revisionists.

The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have rejected the Khrushchevite revisionists' «developed socialism», Yugoslav «self-administrative» socialism, Chinese and Eurocommunist socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «It has already been proved that socialism cannot exist without the elimination of capitalist property and the smashing of the bourgeois state. There can never be socialism without the establishment of the social ownership of the means of production in all sectors without exception.»<sup>17</sup>

All international experience up to now, as well as the practical experience in Albania, show that the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the transformation of the whole economy of the country placing it on socialist foundations, the establishment of the socialist ownership of the means of production, constitute a fundamental condition for the construction of socialist society. Without the socialist ownership of the means of production there is no socialism.

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Socialism has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism. As the experience of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and as the experience of our country has shown, it has solved a series of acute problems, thus fulfilling the long-standing dreams of mankind. Socialism liberated the working people from exploitation and oppression and made them masters of their own country. It secured for them the great right to have their say in the solution of social and state problems, to exercise control over everybody and everything, to take part effectively, on a broad scale, in organized ways and in the most varied forms, in governing the country.

The majestic achievements realized in our country in less than 40 years of socialist life prove the correctness of Marx's teachings on socialist society. Naturally, in this relatively short period some problems remain unresolved but they will be solved in the future, with the further development of the productive forces, with the perfecting of relations of pro-

duction, with the eradication from the minds of the working people of everything alien which holds them back in their communist education, etc.

As the 8th Congress of the PLA pointed out, our country has to advance on untrodden paths, therefore the communists and the working people require a more profound knowledge of the doctrine of scientific socialism, of our experience accumulated during the period of socialist construction and of the difficulties which have been overcome, so that they prepare themselves to blaze new trails in the construction of socialism in advance in Albania.

Being imbued with Marxist ideas of scientific socialism the communists and working people will work with a high level of consciousness and unshakeable conviction to advance on the road of socialism and communism. At the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said. «The Party must see this as a capital question, because the stronger the foundations of the present, the more secure the socialist and communist future of our country will be.»<sup>18</sup>

In commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, of this giant of revolutionary thinking and action, of the genius who forged the weapon for the liberation of the working class, who opened perspectives for the new world, for the new epoch, for the new mankind, the PLA and the Albanian people will raise the banner of socialism even higher and will march more resolutely than ever on the road of the construction of socialism and communism, the road which the triumphant Marxist doctrine of socialism illuminates.

- 1 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», pp. 258-259, Eng. ed.
- 2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 227, Eng. ed.
- 3 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 131, Eng. ed.
- 4 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, 1975, p. 401, Alb. ed.
- 5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 258, Eng. ed.
- 6 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 215, Eng. ed.
- 7 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 286, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.

- 8 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 24, Alb. ed.
- 9 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 2, p. 24, Alb. ed.
- 10 V. I. Lenin, Selected Works vol. 2, p. 630, Alb. ed., Tirana, 1974.
- 11 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism», p. 159, Eng. ed.
- 12 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 113, Eng. ed.
- 13 K. Marx - F. Engels, Works, Russ. ed., vol. 37, p. 275.
- 14 Enver Hoxha, «The Working Class

- in the Revisionist Countries Must Take the Field of Battle and Re-establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat», p. 28, Tirana 1968.
- 15 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, pp. 104-105, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.
  - 16 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 42, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.
  - 17 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 139, Eng. ed.
  - 18 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 107, Eng. ed.

# INEQUALITY AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION - FEATURES OF THE PRESENT-DAY SOVIET STATE

by **VITORE BALLVORA**

*The raising of Great-Russian chauvinism to the position of the ruling ideology has made national oppression an integral part of the bourgeois class policy of the Soviet revisionist leading clique*

**THE DEEP-GOING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS HAVE CHANGED THE RELATIONS OF NATIONAL EQUALITY AMONG THE MANY PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO RELATIONS OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION OF THE SMALLER NATIONS AND PEOPLES BY THE GREATER RUSSIAN NATION. THE PROFOUNDLY ANTAGONISTIC AND IRRECONCILABLE NATIONAL CONTRADICTIONS HAVE BECOME AMONG THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIAL-FASCIST AND SOCIAL IMPERIALIST MULTI-NATIONAL SOVIET STATE. THE COMPLETE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIAL OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION COULD NOT FAIL TO BRING IN ITS WAKE THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION.**

In a multi-national state the national problem can find its complete and consistent solution only through a social order which has eliminated oppression and exploitation of man by man, hence, only in the conditions

**VITORE BALLVORA** — *Dean of the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of Tirana*

of socialism, in which relations of a new type, determined by the new economic base, are established among nations. That is why the classics of Marxism-Leninism have considered a correct and complete solution of the national problem possible only when it is closely linked with the proletarian revolution and the construction of a so-

cialist society. This Marxist-Leninist conclusion was proved true for the first time in the history of mankind with the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution and the construction of the new socialist society in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin.

The triumph of the October Socialist Revolution opened a new historical epoch for the oppressed and exploited peoples comprised in the Russian Empire. With joint efforts, in close unity, linked with each other by the lofty ideals of proletarian internationalism, socialism and communism, the peoples and nations of czarist Russia rose as one and overthrew the savage regime of social and national oppression, the regime of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and transformed czarist Rus-

sia, the jail of the peoples, into a great socialist republic where peoples and nations voluntarily united would enjoy all rights, freedom and full national equality. The socialist Soviet state developed as a multi-national state in the road opened by the October Socialist Revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed and, later, under the leadership of Stalin, this state developed and grew into a great industrial power, with a collectivized agriculture and a developed education and culture. «With the correct Marxist-Leninist policy he followed in the national question», writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «Stalin succeeded in kneading and tempering the militant unity of the different peoples of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Being at the head of the Party and the Soviet state, he contributed to the transformation of the jail of the peoples, the old czarist Russia, into a free, independent and sovereign country where peoples and republics lived in harmony, friendship, unity and with equal rights.»<sup>1</sup>

After the revisionist betrayal, however, the reorganization of the Soviet society along capitalist lines revived for the non-Russian peoples and nations the savage oppression and national inequality which have turned the present-day Soviet Union into the jail of its peoples, like czarist Russia. The Leninist principles on the planned and harmonious socio-economic development of all federated republics were rejected. Now there is a deep gap in the socio-economic development of the different republics, especially between Russia and the other republics. In many republics the development of the productive forces has lagged so badly behind that they cannot be compared with the Russian Federation. As admitted by Soviet authors themselves, in many republics of the Soviet Union most of the local population is engaged in agriculture, while the majority of those employed in industry and construction come from the republics and are mainly Russians.<sup>2</sup> Because of the low growth rate of social production and of the productivity of work, the turnover of goods

in most federated republics is many times lower compared with the Russian Federation. The great shortage of goods of primary necessity, which is characteristic for the whole economic life of the Soviet Union, is felt more acutely in the federated republics.

In the works of the Soviet economists and sociologists there are many arguments to justify this grave condition of the non-Russian nationalities and nations. Among their «stronger» arguments is the neo-Malthusian one, according to which the backwardness of non-Russian nationalities and nations comes about as a result of the «rapid population growth» in these republics as against the increase of production and the productivity of work. However, the true cause of this state of things must be sought, not in the rapid population growth, but in the capitalist social order which has been re-established in the Soviet Union as a consequence of the revisionist betrayal and which, just as it has brought along social oppression and exploitation, has also caused national oppression and exploitation. The Great-Russian chauvinist policy is based on essentially capitalist economic categories which exclude any possibility for the planned and harmonious development of the economy.

On the internal plane, the Great-Russian chauvinists try to overcome or alleviate the negative and regressive manifestations and phenomena of the capitalist economy of the Soviet Union, like the chronic economic crisis, anarchy, spontaneity, unemployment, inflation, price rises, etc., which heavily affect the life of working masses, by intensifying, in the first place, the exploitation of the non-Russian peoples, which has exacerbated national differences and contradictions to the highest degree.

The raising of Great-Russian chauvinism to the position of the ruling ideology has made national oppression an integral part of the bourgeois class policy of the Soviet revisionist leading clique. The Soviet revisionists try to sanction the Great-Russian chauvinist policy which has the denationalization of the non-Russian nations and nationalities as its fundamental aim, with all kinds of sup-

posedly theoretical arguments, among which their anti-historical slogan on the creation of the so-called «unified Soviet people», which in fact is an attempt to negate the national peculiarities of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, occupies a particular place. According to this «theory», such national peculiarities as language, customs, way of life, features of the national character formed in the process of historical development and reflected in the culture of every people, have now become «barriers» which hamper the coming together and collaboration of the peoples living in the territory of the Soviet Union. In the present concrete conditions of the Soviet state, this «theory» has found its practical implementation in the savage denationalization measures and activities for the Russification of the non-Russian nations and nationalities, for the strengthening of the positions of Great-Russian chauvinism.

The theory of the «unified Soviet people», which is advertised with great noise by the Soviet revisionists, deals with the problem of national relations in the Soviet Union from utterly anti-Marxist positions. According to the Soviet revisionist «theoreticians», in the present conditions of the Soviet Union the disappearance of national features constitutes a «law» of the socio-political development of the Soviet Union as a multi-national state. Whereas Marxism-Leninism has argued and practice proved the existence of an opposite law in this field. Of course, the fact that many nations and nationalities live together in one state creates some common features and peculiarities in the way of life, customs, etc. The triumph of the October Socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin did away with national inequality and oppression, created objective conditions for real equality among the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union in all fields — political, economic, cultural, educational, national, etc. However, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union at that time not only did not wipe out

national distinctions among peoples and nations, but, as Lenin said, led to the revival of nations which were formerly oppressed under the czarist regime, led to the development of their national culture and the complete affirmation of their national identity. Whereas the anti-Leninist «theory» of the «unified Soviet people» is, in fact, intended to justify the savage policy of Russification which revisionist leaders follow today towards the non-Russian peoples and nations of the Soviet Union.

J. V. Stalin was right to consider anti-Leninist the revisionist thesis which identifies the drawing together of nations with the merger of nations in socialism, a thesis according to which national peculiarities could exist and be taken account of only under czarism, while in the conditions of socialism they became a hindrance to the socio-political development of the Soviet Union. Stalin argued with very convincing scientific argument that Lenin had never linked the problem of the merger of nations with the period of the triumph of socialism in one country alone, but with the period of the triumph of socialism in all the countries of the world, and that national and state distinctions among peoples and countries would exist for a very long time, even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale. Hence, said Stalin, «To try to bring about the merger of nations by means of decrees from above, through imposition, means to play the game of the imperialists, to undermine the cause of the liberation of nations, to foil the organizational work for the collaboration and fraternization of nations. Such a policy would be tantamount to a policy of assimilation,» which, he continued, «... is completely excluded from the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism as an anti-popular, counter-revolutionary and fatal policy.»<sup>3</sup>

Under the cloak of a policy allegedly intended for the consolidation of the «unified Soviet people», of the «unified Soviet culture», of the «national homogeneity», the Soviet revisionists have taken practical measures in different fields to wipe out the na-

tional peculiarities of the non-Russian peoples and nations, denying them the most elementary national rights, the right to develop their national language and culture, to preserve their progressive national traditions and customs which constitute the indispensable conditions for the preservation and strengthening of their national identity. The theory of the «unified Soviet people» is only a deception in order to impose on the non-Russian peoples and nations their complete Russification and, as a consequence, to perpetuate the rule of Great-Russian chauvinism over the non-Russian peoples and nations of the Soviet Union. «The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the alleged creation of a 'historic new community', of the 'unified Soviet people', have been invented precisely to conceal the reality that the Soviet Union is rent with profound social, class and national contradictions,»<sup>4</sup> says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Under the disguise of the «general all-national interests of the great state», the reactionary clique in power defends the narrow interests of the ruling classes of the «great Russian mother nation» and under the cloak of «collaboration and aid» tries to perpetuate the economic, political and ideological domination of the privileged bourgeois-revisionist classes in the Soviet Union. All sort of falsifications of the historical and cultural past of the non-Russian peoples and nations are made for this purpose. The revisionist ideologists are talking and acting more and more from the positions of the mythification of the «great Russian nation», and of the oppression and subjugation of other nations. They insist that non-Russian peoples should renounce their nationality, abdicate their historical past, their culture and even their national identity for the sake of the so-called «multi-national community».

Proceeding from the supposed «indisputable superiority of the Russian nation» in the cultural development of the Soviet Union, which in reality is an expression of the cult of Great-Russian hegemonism, the Soviet revisionists deal with the feeling of love of the non-Russian nations and peo-

ples for their national culture, for their progressive cultural and artistic traditions, for their outstanding men as expressions of their backwardness, of their primitive tastes, of their «national limitation and isolation», of their «national prejudice» and «localist tendencies» which, according to them, lead to the isolation of these peoples and nations from the culture of the greater nations. They tramp underfoot and attack the attempts of the non-Russian peoples to keep alive their genuinely popular cultural values and specific customs, branding these attempts as manifestations of patriarchalism or morbid nationalism, and considering them as a hindrance to development and progress. The Soviet revisionists consider the lofty sentiments of patriotism as a kind of «outdated revolutionary romanticism».

A feverish propaganda campaign is being conducted in the Soviet Union today against national distinctions and peculiarities which allegedly hamper the coming together and merger of the peoples. Not only have the system of education and culture, and the so-called «educational work» been placed in the services of this cause, but, what is more sinister, state administrative measures up to the use of violence are being taken for the assimilation of the other nations by «the Great-Russian nation». Through one of the major channels of education, the so-called «orientated education», a persistent struggle is being carried out for the Russification of other peoples. By means of the school the Soviet revisionists try to implant Russian customs and traditions and the Russian way of life, calling, in particular, on youth to imitate and assimilate everything Russian. In this large-scale campaign for the wiping out of national peculiarities the Soviet revisionists come out with decisions and ordinances, issue instructions and encourage studies of a profoundly reactionary character.

Great-Russian chauvinist viewpoints are note merely aberrations of the moment or opinions expressed by the odd student or leader, but, on the contrary, they constitute a whole political line which is worked out, pro-

pagandized and supported by the official circles, by the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves. «In the present conditions, the social organizations, leaders, workers of science, culture and education of the smaller peoples,» says one of their leading cadres, «should work with more persistence for the unification and merger of these peoples with the greater socialist nations, for the assimilation of the language and culture of these nations and of the international language of the Soviet nation, for the resolute overcoming of traditions of exclusiveness, isolation and backwardness, the more so as in the present-day reality of the Soviet socialist society the historical trend towards the consolidation of nations is more and more retreating in front of the trend of their assimilation by other nations.»<sup>5</sup>

In this manner the Soviet revisionists proceed from the profoundly reactionary position of mechanically counterposing the greater and more advanced peoples to the smaller and more backward peoples which, according to them, have no original creative forces and, hence, should imitate the «greater» peoples and assimilate the results of their culture, literature and art.

«In the field of culture,» said G. Dimitrov, «there are no more capable and less capable peoples. There are no gifted and ungifted peoples. Any people, no matter how small, is capable of making their valuable contribution to the general treasury of world culture.» At complete variance with this Marxist-Leninist principle, the Soviet revisionists over-value and absolutize the traditions of Russian culture and emphasize its decisive influence on the development of the culture of all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, thereby negating the contribution made by the other peoples and nations, which in this state are many and well-known for their cultural traditions more ancient than those of the Russian. For this purpose the Soviet revisionists are advertising, on a large scale, the so-called «theory of supernationalism» which rejects out of hand the concept of nation and national culture and,

in general, considers all national elements as naive patriarchal forms of ethnic consciousness destined to disappear in the course of historical development. These vulgar ideas of the Soviet revisionists are the same as those of the bourgeois ideologists who have always expressed themselves for the classification of culture into two categories: great and long-ago consolidated cultures with domination potentialities, and cultures of the narrowly national type without possibilities to come out of their own shell and, hence, destined to die out gradually.

A frenzied Great-Russian chauvinist and anti-national campaign, encouraged and led by the present Kremlin chiefs, is conducted on a broad front in the pages of the revisionist press, which is more and more writing about the measures that should be taken to speed up the dying out of smaller nations and nationalities, indeed forecasting the imminent extinction of some nations and national cultures. So much so that such statements are being made as, for example, «The representatives of every nation must more and more involve themselves in the creation of common values, transcending the bounds of national thinking, social relations, way of life, traditions and customs and thereby setting out on the road of the international coexistence of people.»<sup>6</sup>

The measures that are being taken now for the oppression and subjugation of non-Russian peoples, for the plunder of their cultural values and their cultural discrimination are being covered up with agitation slogans and pseudo-scientific arguments. It is pretended that all this is being done allegedly for the sake of strengthening «the new historic community» of the «multinational Soviet people», of «developed socialism», and so on. Revisionist cynicism and demagogy reach their apogee when all this is propagandized as «an important step towards communism». However, by carrying out their unrestrained Great-Russian assimilating policy, the Kremlin chiefs are, in fact, exposing themselves as rabid chauvinists, and sworn enemies of the independence and equality of peoples.

Movements of populations, as a means for carrying out this policy, have assumed large proportions recently. There are large population shifts from one republic to the other and, as admitted by the Soviet revisionists themselves, there is a marked decrease of the local autochthonous population in the federated republics. At the same time a large influx of people of other nationalities, mainly Russians, to these republics is observed. According to data from Soviet authors, the Russians occupy first or second place in the composition of the population of many republics. In the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, for example, 40.5 per cent of the population is Russian, 23.4 per cent Bashkir and the remainder is made up of people of other nationalities. In the Buryat Autonomous Republic, Buryats account only for 22 per cent of the population, while Russians make up 73.5 per cent of it. In the Yakut Autonomous Republic, Yakuts make up 43 per cent of the population and the Russians 47.3 per cent. In the Kazakh Republic 4.2 million people are Kazakhs and 5.5 million are Russian, etc. «In all the republics,» «says the Soviet philosopher V. Semyonov, candidate of the Central Committee of the Soviet revisionist party and editor-in-chief of the journal «Voprosi filosofii», «there has been a natural growth of the local population and, together with it, an influx of people of other nations, mainly Russians.»<sup>7</sup>

Mixed marriages are actively encouraged and their percentage is constantly increasing. In some republics they account for 20-23 per cent of the total. This is considered an important means for the denationalization and Russification of the culture, language, ethics, psychology, traditions and customs and the way of life of non-Russian peoples. As the instruction is that on registration children should take up the nationality and language of their mothers, and as, for know reasons, it is the Russian girls that marry to men of other nationalities, the Russian population in the federated republics of the Soviet Union is steadily growing. At the same time, there is great talk about the «sacrifices» and the sentiments of friendship of the



Russians who go to far-away places allegedly to help in the development of the economy and culture of other peoples. In reality, with the measures it is taking on a large scale for the disintegration of the local autochthonous population of the non-Russian republics and the establishment of Russians in leading posts there, the Russian new bourgeoisie tries to further its reactionary chauvinist aims of the assimilation and Russification of the whole life of the country, family life not excepted, in the name of the so-called rapprochement and fraternization of peoples.

One of the more effective means for the elimination of national peculiarities is to cause the ever greater neglect of national languages and the ever broader spread of the Russian language which is made a fetish of and considered the sole language that not only serves as a means of communication between people of different nationalities but is also «the most perfect, the richest and the most cultivated language in the world», «the language of the construction of communism and the education of the new man». In the recent years, there is no newspaper or journal issue, not only of language or literature, but also of philosophy, history, pedagogy and even science and technology in which the Russian language is not advertised and its values highly spoken of. Pseudo-studies are also undertaken for this purpose and new allegedly scientific discoveries made, and symposiums and conferences, such as that which took place in Tashkent in 1979 with the theme: «The Russian language, the language of the friendship and collaboration of the peoples of the Soviet Union», organized.

From all these activities conclusions, as absurd as they are reactionary, emerge, such as: «Practice shows that there can be national literature even without a national language,» that «the writer can deal with a national subject without necessarily writing in a national language,» that «only the Russian language guarantees the genuine development of culture and art and only through it can people keep themselves informed about new ideas in science. «Hence, everybody without

exception must know Russian. The Soviet press and other publications try to convince people that «In the conditions of the Soviet Union acceptance of the language of another nation as a national language does not imply assimilation. Language is not the only sign of national belonging. People of non-Russian nationality who describe Russian as their mother tongue continue to be members of their nations».<sup>8</sup>

Although the constitutional right of bilingualism is formally recognized, a large-scale propaganda is conducted and concrete measures are taken for the broadest possible spread of the Russian language, and the complete replacement of the national languages of non-Russian peoples with the Russian language. So much so that statistical data are collected and public enquiries conducted to assess how many people have a fluent mastery of Russian and how many of them, although of non-Russian nationality, consider it their mother tongue. And the official propaganda is jubilant about «the great success of the Russian language», and the «extinction of perspectiveless smaller languages» and encourages people to abandon their national languages, considering all this «a new remarkable stage on the road of the formation of the Soviet internationalist culture».

But it is difficult, indeed impossible, to wipe out national peculiarities with administrative measures and through violence, because the peoples cannot be forced to forget their historical past and abandon their national customs formed in the course of hundreds of years. Hence, the measures taken in the present-day Soviet Union to bring about the spiritual and psychological merger of nations and nationalities on the basis of the Great-Russian culture cannot fail to arouse increasing opposition and protest on the part of non-Russian nations. And this greatly perturbs the revisionist clique whose chiefs are forced to admit in their speeches and articles the conflicts and contradictions existing and growing between nations, especially between the local autochthonous Georgian, Moldavian, Tadjik, Estonian and other nations and the Rus-

sians who have gone there as effective rulers.

From what the Soviet revisionist press publishes it results that 60 per cent of the population of the cities and 80 per cent of the population of the villages of Moldavia, Georgia and Uzbekistan does not want to work in one collective with people of other nations who, as known, in the overwhelming majority of cases are Russians, and most of the inhabitants of these republics send their children to national language schools, regardless of strong pressure exercised on them and the propaganda in favour of Russian language schools.<sup>9</sup>

Soviet propaganda stresses that the dynamic of development of the Soviet state creates many worrying problems and calls for all-out efforts to overcome barriers created by national interests and for struggle against national leftovers. As to what is intended with these «leftovers», this clearly emerges in an article published in a Soviet journal in which it is said that «national leftovers live on the basis of an erroneous understanding of such phenomena as national pride and national character, that allegedly «true national pride» has nothing in common with «emphasizing the merits of one's nation and one's national character,» with the reactionary chauvinist and cosmopolitan conclusion that «...a decisive mechanism for the enrichment of the culture of the individual and of a national community «is allegedly» the assimilation of the achievements of another (that is, alien) national culture», which in the concrete case is the Russian culture.<sup>10</sup>

The chauvinist policy of the bourgeoisie of the ruling Russian nation is orientated towards the introduction and spreading by means of violence of its culture among the oppressed nations and peoples, and any resistance on their part is branded as «misconceived national pride».

The anti-scientific, metaphysical and idealistic concepts of the Soviet revisionists on the national question are intended to justify their counter-revolutionary activity, to defend Great-Russian chauvinism and cosmopolitanism, trampling underfoot the rights and interests of the peoples which ex-

press their dissatisfaction, indignation and protest against the existing relations of domination, inequality, and economic, political and cultural oppression.

By negating the class struggle and the role of the masses in history, the Soviet revisionists go over to fatalism and deal with national contradictions sometimes as abstract biological phenomena, sometimes as psychological phenomena which allegedly have existed and will always exist among peoples. In order to cover up the historical truth, the basis of national conflicts is sought in ethnic or religious factors, in psychological differences between people of different nationalities which, as they say, allegedly arouse a deep-rooted unconscious suspicion and diffidence towards other peoples.

Dealt with in this manner, the national question loses its social class content and national relations are treated as permanent conflicts which supposedly constitute the basis of nationalism in its struggle against «the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism». In reality, under the cloak of internationalism and the general interests of the country, the Soviet revisionists defend the narrow interests of the ruling bourgeois-revisionist classes and, under the banner of class and national peace, try to ensure their economic, political and ideological domination. However, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, the rapprochement and union of peoples is possible only when they have common interests and equal rights, and this takes place only when the bour-

geois-revisionist rule is overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat re-established.

1 Enver Hoxha, «With Stalin» (Memoirs), p. 27, Alb. ed.

2 See the magazine «Filosofski nauki», 1982, no. 5, p. 18.

3 J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 342, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 245, Eng. ed.

5 From the book «Socializm i nacii», Moscow 1975, p. 244.

6 «Voprosi literaturi», 1977, no. 3, p. 96.

7 «Internacionalizm i obschestvenny progress», Moscow 1978, pp. 305-306.

8 «Socializm i nacii», p. 187.

9 «Voprosi istorii», 1978, no. 11, pp. 9-10.

10 «Filosofskie Nauki», 1982, no. 5, pp. 6 and 7.

# *press review*

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## **ONLY THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AGAINST THE AGGRESSIVE POWERS AND IN DEFENCE OF TRUE PEACE CAN SAVE MANKIND FROM IMPERIALIST WARS**

The newspaper «Zëri i popullit» and «Bashkimi» of June 12 made known that recently the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Adil Çarçani, received a letter from the Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreu, in which the holding of a meeting between the representatives of the Balkan countries to examine the question of the creation of an atomic free zone in the Balkans is proposed. The newspapers published also the reply of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Adil Çarçani, and the letter of the Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreu.

The letter of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania said among other things:

«It is a known fact now that in our Peninsula exist a number of factors which seriously endanger the security of all its countries and greatly hamper the realization of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples to live in peace and friendship among themselves. These dangers and obstacles come about, in the first place, as a result of the international engagements of some Balkan states. Of six countries of our Peninsula, two are members of NATO, two are members of the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Social-

ist Republic of Albania does not participate in any political-military block, while the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia has linked itself with both superpowers.

«Our opinion, Mr. Prime Minister, is that peace in the Balkans cannot be assured by ignoring or overlooking this reality. A summit or any other level meeting of the Balkan countries at present would be only illusory and any decision it took would be only declarative. Therefore, our government cannot take part in a meeting to examine the proposal for the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons.

«In the present state of international relations of the Balkan countries, the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons in this area would have no practical effect either for the security of the Balkan countries or for world security.

«Supposed that the Balkan countries would agree on the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons in their Peninsula, would anybody ask them as long as the atomic weapons are in the possession of the main aggressive imperialist and social-imperialist powers which have worked out their plans to further their expansionist and hegemonist aims?

«Only the struggle of the

peoples of the world against the aggressive powers and their predatory policy and in defence of true peace,» Comrade Adil Çarçani points out «can save mankind from imperialist wars. This has long been our opinion and stand, and life has proved it true.

«If the question of the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons in the Balkans arises,» the letter continues, «then it must be considered who is in possession of atomic weapons and who is not. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not dispose of such weapons, because it does not take part either in NATO or in the Warsaw Treaty. It has not entered the armaments race even for conventional weapons, as others do. According to its declared stand, Yugoslavia must not have atomic weapons, either, whereas Greece, Turkey, Rumania and Bulgaria must be in possession of these weapons in their quality as members of these military treaties.

«Hence, before talking about the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons in the Balkans, the states of our Peninsula must be placed in equal conditions, that is, must not be connected to either military bloc.

«Besides, I want to emphasize, Mr. Prime Minister,»

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Comrade Adil Çarçani writes in his letter, «that at a time when there is talk about averting the threat of war and the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of atomic weapons, the so-called 'Law on the state of war with Albania', a law totally unfounded and absurd which the simplest logic rejects and the Greek people themselves condemn, is kept in force for more than 40 years now in Greece. The Greek people do well know that the Albanian people have never fought against the Greek people. Failure to abrogate such an utterly illegitimate act, a unique case in the relations between states, hampers the creation of equal conditions and the proper atmosphere, about which Mr. Prime Minister, you express your justified concern in your letter. There cannot be general security in the Balkans without the security of each of its countries.

«We are of the opinion that,» the Chairman of the Coun-

cil of Ministers of the PSR of Albania goes on, «for the creation of the premises necessary for the convening of Balkan meetings and conferences, concrete steps must, first, be taken for the departure of foreign troops from the Balkan countries, the dismantlement of foreign military bases, the denunciation of political-military treaties — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, discontinuing the granting of facilities for the supply and repair of the ships of the navies of the superpowers and opposing with determination the superpowers' policy of interference in the internal affairs of any Balkan country and their machinations to introduce the spirit of confrontation into this zone. At the same time each country must make efforts and take constructive steps for the normal development of collaboration amongst Balkan countries on the basis of the policy of good neighbourliness and the principles regulating

relations among sovereign states.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania rigorously implements these principles in its policy. It has publicly proclaimed that it does not accept to participate in any aggressive political-military bloc or pact, has expressed itself against the armaments race, nuclear armament and the atomic umbrella of the superpowers. It prohibits by a provision of its Constitution the granting of military bases to foreign powers and has solemnly declared that it will never allow any evil to come to the neighbouring peoples or their freedom to be threatened from Albanian territory. The Albanian people and their government are for the complete banning of the production of atomic weapons and the destruction of all existing stockpiles of them. We are for the defence against atomic weapons not only of the Balkans, but of all Europe and the whole mankind.»

## THE PROGRAM OF ANDROPOV: OPPRESSION AND AGGRESSION

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

In June this year the plenum of the Soviet revisionist party heard a long speech by Jury Andropov, which according to the news agency

TASS, dwelt on the «preparation of a new version of the program of the CP of the Soviet Union».

The time when Andropov

came to office is a time when the Soviet Union is going through the deepest crisis since the Khrushchevite revisionists restored capitalism

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in this country. In this situation, apart from the machinations and backstage dealings concocted by the various clans in their struggle for power in the leadership of the Kremlin for the election of Andropov as the new chief of Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism, the need of the Russian bourgeoisie, which is now more urgent than ever in the past, to suppress the growing dissatisfaction at home, to couple capitalist exploitation with police violence and repression, has certainly had a great influence on the events. This is one side of the medal, the internal aspect of the problem. But in its efforts to find a way out of this situation, the Soviet state capitalist monopoly in crisis accompanies the measures for the strengthening of the social-fascist character of the Soviet state with intensification of aggression and the war-mongering and adventurous policy on the external plane, in its rivalry with American imperialism for hegemony. The «new program» of Andropov is built on this basis and as an inevitable reflection of this reality. Coming out with this program he intends to pass himself off as

the representative of the interests and ambitions of all the clans and trends in power in the ranks of the Soviet bourgeoisie, and to consolidate his own power thereby.

As for the objectives of his program in the internal field, Andropov spoke in general terms and equivocal words, repeating the old refrain of promises, like his predecessors. In the field of the economy, for example, he pointed out that «the achievements made until now promise a tremendous change in many fields of production». Where, how and how much precisely the Soviet people, the broad working masses will profit from this, Andropov did not specify and could not possibly have done so, because the program he presented has other objectives in view, which are quite opposite to the interests of the people and to the detriment of the people. Precisely here Andropov was quite articulate and final. So, speaking of the standard of living of the Soviet peoples he has «a reasonable consumption» and a «rational diet» in store for the coming years. Public order, according to what he said, «is part of the concept of the standard

of living». With this he implies an increase of the forces of law and order in the Soviet Union, which, put in plain words, means more obligation for the working people, and the further swelling of the bureaucratic apparatus of oppression. As can be seen, the perspective his program offers to the working people is one of still more gloomy days to come.

At this Plenum of the CC of his party, the head of the Kremlin tried to pass himself off as the promoter of a new policy also as regards the plan of the inter-national relations within the Soviet Union. The Great-Russian policy of savage oppression and assimilation has sorely exacerbated the inter-national relations in this country, which has again become a dungeon of the peoples, as in the time of the czars. «The problems of the policy towards the nationalities,» he pointed out, «will occupy their proper place in the new version of the program of the Party.» However, the national policy will remain essentially unchanged — it will be a policy of oppression and nationalization. If this is so, it is such not because versions of the program were

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lacking or their place in the programs of the Soviet revisionist party had been improperly assigned, but because Russian chauvinism has been raised to a state system in the Soviet Union, because such a thing is in the interest of the Great-Russian bourgeoisie in power. Alluding to this problem, Andropov demanded that «the society of the Soviet Union should proceed towards homogeneity», in other words, towards the further obliteration of the national individuality and peculiarities of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the «fusion of the peoples of this country into the so-called single Soviet people», as the Soviet revisionist theoreticians present the problem.

In his speech Andropov capitalized on the «need to change many provisions of the program regarding international problems». He wants the peoples of the world to place their vital problems, such as those of peace and international security, in the hands of the superpowers, so that the latter can have an easy play and strike their inter-imperialist deals unharassed. He wants the peoples of the world to recon-

cile themselves to this reality, or, he menaces, they will find themselves face to face with «a conflict destructive for mankind». The alternative Russian social-imperialism offers is either they accept the dictate and hegemonism of the superpowers or face a catastrophe of world-wide proportions, the extinction of life. So, in his maden speech in the ceremony of his advent to power, Andropov spoke in the language of the fascist dictators, of the gods of war.

The head of the Kremlin also spoke about peace, but not about genuine peace and security which the peoples want and aspire to. He spoke about that sort of peace and security which the superpowers want in order to carry their insane armaments race further, to prepare new tragedies for mankind. The only guarantee for peace, he claimed, was «the military-strategic equilibrium» between the USA and the Soviet Union. «To achieve this great resources and no small efforts are required of our peoples and the peoples of the socialist community. But we will not allow this equilibrium to be upset.» Andropov declared: «We will strengthen the combat readiness of

the Soviet armed forces.» Hence, Andropov's peace spells terror of nuclear missiles for peoples and sovereign countries, blackmail and intimidation, capitulation, and very dangerous adventures. The Soviet peoples and the peoples of the East-European countries are now required to pay with their toil and labour, to sacrifice their standard of living, in order to materialize this social-fascist and social-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union. In this disastrous course, which Andropov proclaimed in his program, the peoples will be called upon to pay their tribute of blood, indeed, if the superpowers are allowed to have their own way for the carrying out of their programs, with the lives of millions of human beings.

The programs of Reagan, like those of Andropov, show that as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are clashing, competing and moving in an effort to carry out aggressions and to invade other countries... This rivalry, this policy of the superpowers, makes the situations till more complicated, makes the world relations tense and full of dangerous consequences.»

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review****LONG-RANGE DIVERSION**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In January of this year a special commission charged with «planning propaganda for abroad» began its work in the White House. The task of this commission, which has been raised into an institution, is to carry out an activity which was done by other organs in the USA. The militarist and adventurous course of the foreign policy which predominates in the United States, just as in the Soviet Union, must necessarily lead to the intensification of ideological diversion in order to step up their policy of economic hegemony and expansion in the world. The CIA has specialized in organizing coups d'états. The dictatorial regimes that follow immediately upon them are propped up by America. Aggressions are carried out by the American army and mercenaries. And while this is done, the propaganda steamroller carries out its work of levelling the ground in other countries. The fact that this special committee is composed of the secretary of the State Department, Shultz, the secretary of defence, Wein-

berger, the director of the Information Agency USIA, Ch. Week, and the vice-president for national security (to whom the CIA is answerable), W. Clerk, who heads the committee, is clear evidence of the purely subversive aims and activities of this committee.

The special committee is at the head of the propaganda machine and the biggest information agencies, the main papers and magazines, the central radio and TV stations, the film industry, etc. As to the size and degree of complexity of this apparatus, it is enough to mention the fact that the USIA has at its disposal means estimated at 640 million dollars a year, which is greater than the budget of many small states of the world. Its offices employ 8 000 people, put a great variety of publications, control the activity of important radio-stations, such as the «Voice of America», etc. Here are some more facts: the Associated Press has 70 branch-offices in various countries of the world; about 200 million filmgoers outside the

USA watch films produced in Hollywood; the American TV corporations export over 300 000 hours of TV propaganda films every year, etc.

This gigantic machine, which, judging from the capital it has accumulated and number of people it employs, surpasses even the biggest branches of the economy, is carefully controlled by secret quarters. Its aim is to embellish the notorious policy of aggression, plunder and war of American imperialism, to advertize all over the world the campaign for the «defence of democracy» which Washington has launched precisely at the time when the CIA trains and arms the former members of the bloodthirsty dictator Somosa and uses them in a war of aggression against Nicaragua; at a time when it has brought scores of aircraft, helicopters and many American advisers against Salvador in order to prop up a fascist regime, at a time when American imperialism is the main support of the hated regimes in Chile, Israel, South Africa,

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the Philippines, etc. The final goal of this machine is to try to make the degenerate American way of life acceptable to the peoples, to deny the peoples their customs, culture and language for the sake of cosmopolitanism and «civilization», in return for whatever American imperialism has to offer them. This is precisely what the propaganda machine commanded by Moscow does under the disguise of «internationalist solidarity».

Ideological diversion goes hand in hand and is combined in a most complicated manner with espionage activities proper. From the investigations carried out by the American Senate, it emerged, for ins-

tance, that an incredibly large number of journalists of the «Associated Press», UPI, SBS, ABC, «New York Times», «Newsweek», «US News and World Report», «Washington Post», etc., had offered their services to the CIA. Apart from this, they collect compromising material on the political activity of the allied states or the developing countries, and regularly file them in their dossiers. These files and dossiers are reopened whenever the CIA deems it necessary, ie whenever this or that activist or statesman is to be discredited or altogether toppled because of disobedience to the dictate from Washington. Never before has the imperialist propagan-

da for abroad been so extended and so varied as it is today. The peoples clash with this unprecedented diversion, suffer its consequences and see that its aim is to demoralize them, to lead them away from the road of the revolution, to deprive them of whatever sacred thing they have, so that they are more easily reduced to American domination and kneel into submission. Therefore, when the peoples rise to oppose the two superpowers and their aggressive alliances, they must also rise to defend their language, their moral values, their culture, their valuable customs against the depriving and corrupting activities of imperialism.

## **AMERICA'S LINGUISTIC CHAUVINISM**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Superpower arrogance is expressed not only in policy, economy, defence, science, technology, technique and other fields, but also in the field of language. When steps were recently taken in Fran-

ce to limit the use of foreign words, mainly English, which have unnecessarily swamped French although the latter is not lacking words of its own of a similar meaning, Washington went in a rage.

The mouthpiece of the American monopoly bourgeoisie, the newspaper «New York Times», expressing also the opinion of the American official circles, wrote in the tone of a war communique:



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«The attack on linguistic imports will not remain without a reply. We are ready for it. A compromise would be better, and if our requests are accepted, we will be generous and work towards the easing of tension.» So openly a brutal speech is not very common in the relations of the United States with its West-European allies, even when its economic or political interests are involved.

Any reasonable person considers the measures a country or nation takes to defend the purity of its mother tongue to be fully justified. Language is amongst the more important elements of the national identity, and the peoples have the right to defend it and develop it further in accord with its nature, history and tradition. Why such a process is not to the liking of Washington and why is it showing in the question of language a fierceness seldom seen over political problems? Chauvinism, as the ideological and cultural mentality of the imperialist powers which oppress or want to oppress other peoples and nations, expresses itself in all fields, including the language. There are well-organized and generously fi-

nanced measures of the American official propaganda and culture to implant English as an outgrowth in the body of their languages. Their argument is that America's technological advance makes necessary the substitution of many words of English for their equivalents in national languages. This is done to shrink the power of the national languages of other peoples. This is also done to emasculate the cultural traditions and the national physiognomy of other peoples. Anything of a national character is unacceptable to the forces that are bent on assimilating and wiping out the language and national identity of other peoples. As the American press presents the question, the defence of the purity of the national languages of other peoples is an expression of nationalism. To be against American cultural imperialism is a form of nationalism, writes the American journal «Herald Tribune».

America's linguistic chauvinism has already assumed flagrant forms. The campaign against efforts to maintain the purity of national languages in face of the invasion of unnecessary alien words has assumed the pro-

portions of a real crusade with a profoundly anti-scientific, anti-national and reactionary content. At the foundation of this campaign lie Maclewen's reactionary information theories according to which the world today, which has been turned into «a single village», must necessarily have a single language, a sort of electronic Esperanto. It is not hard to understand which this one language must be, according to the American theory. National languages must die out gradually and be replaced by the English so as to bring about the genuine unification of the world. It is evident that here the question is not about language alone, but about culture, ideology, the psychology that America will try to impose through this single language. Cosmopolitanism is extending its tentacles in the field of language, too.

In order to present the efforts for the preservation of the purity of national languages in a false light, the imperialist theoreticians in the United States and those in Europe, who dip their pens in the American ink-pot, draw hideous parallels with what was done in the epoch

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of fascism, when it sought to play on national feelings and elements. This is a distortion of the truth. Fascism, as an ideology, culture and mentality, could not be in favour of or work for the preservation of the national character. Social-fascist nationalism is the opposite of the national spirit in the field of language or in any other field. What the American imperialists advertise in order to force into the languages and cultures of other nations words and notions alien to them is very similar to the methods the fascists used in their time.

The preservation and development of their national languages is an unalienable right of the peoples and they have the obligation to hand

them over from generation to generation. Language is a great treasury, the product of the whole historical development of the nation and, like all other national values, finds itself under the constant threat and pressure of chauvinist and imperialist forces. Of course, languages enter particular relationships with one another, borrow and loan words which they modify according to their own individual phonetical and grammatical rules. This, however, has nothing to do with the linguistic invasion American imperialism is carrying out on a world scale with its sophisticated means of propaganda and communication.

The allergy of the chauvinists towards the national

languages of other peoples only reveals their chauvinism more clearly. The American anger and threats reflect the true nature of the aggressive global strategy of the United States, a strategy which extends from the dollar, oil and armaments to words. The occupation of a language is one of the forms of the occupation of a nation, one of the means of killing its national awareness. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate and even eliminate the cultural traditions of smaller peoples, the national character of their art and culture. This is one of the means for the realization of its cultural aggression for the subjugation of the peoples».



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