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ON MAY DAY, THE DAY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, MANIFESTATIONS, MEETINGS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES TOOK PLACE ALL OVER THE COUNTRY IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE GREAT POLITICAL ENTHUSIASM AND ALL-ROUND MOBILIZATION CREATED EVERYWHERE IN ALBANIA BY THE DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. *IN THE PHOTOS: VIEWS OF THE TRADITIONAL MANIFESTATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE CAPITAL.*





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THE 40th AN THE HISTORIC CO

On May 24, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress in the town of Përmet, was organized a broad popular meeting. Among the participants were the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, other leaders of the Party and State, ex-delegates to the Congress and guests from all the districts of the country.

In his speech at the meeting Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

«On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the historic Congress of Përmet, the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, sends you, the people of Përmet and the ex-delegates, a message of greeting.»

He read the message which was received with great enthusiasm by the participants.

The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and the Vice-chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, hailed the participants of the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

Then the lofty decoration «The Order of Freedom» of the first class was awarded the district of Përmet by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.



Veterans, co-fighters of those fallen for the liberation of the country, their mothers and relatives, ex-delegates to the Congress, workers from Përmet and Këlcyra, cooperativists from the regions of the district and guests from all the districts of the country, paid homage to the graves of the martyrs.

Homage was paid and wreaths laid also by the leaders of the Party and State who took part in the festivities on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Congress of Përmet.



The ex-delegates paid a visit to the Congress hall and took their seats as 40 years ago. On this occasion, in a warm and intimate atmosphere, among comrades and co-fighters, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak. Among other things, he said:

ANNIVERSARY OF CONGRESS OF PËRMET

«The Congress of Përmet, which was convened here 40 years ago, is a major event of very great dimensions. It was important not only for the moment in which it was held. The value and importance of the decisions of this Congress are felt even in our days. The Congress of Përmet gave the people their state power, brought the people to power, which had never happened in our history, despite the great and many battles our people had waged in the centuries. The Congress of Përmet put an end to the regime of Zog and all the other anti-popular regimes of the past who had oppressed our people and sucked their blood. It created the conditions which we enjoy today for the socialist construction of the country. The Congress of Përmet said stop to all the foreigners, the various imperialists who had always played with the destinies of Albania as if it were a token for barter.»

He went on,

«If Albania today continues proudly on its road of the socialist construction of the country, if Albania today is an independent country, a sovereign country, a country which decides itself on its road, which decides itself on its policy, submitting to nobody, either imperialism or social-imperialism, the source of all this are the decisions of this historic Congress of May 24, 1944.»

Further on he continued:

«Our Party does not mark time, because it is a Marxist Party which has dialectical materialism at the foundation of its activity. Hence, it thinks and works to ensure our people an ever better future.»

Then, the leaders of the Party and state, together with the ex-delegates, visited the museum, put their signatures on the Book of the Congress and took pictures as a remembrance of this unforgettable celebration.



The leaders of the Party and state met the parents of the martyrs and their relatives in a hall of the Party Committee for the district and had a warm and intimate conversation with them. Then, the leaders of the Party and state and ex-delegates were entertained by the Përmet families to dinner which went on in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

A dinner was put on at Turism Hotel on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress. Comrade Adil Çarçani greeted the participants on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

COMRADE ENVER OF GR TO THE PARTICIPANT OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF P

DEAR COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today my mind and heart is with you, the valiant, patriotic and hardworking people of Përmet, with the former delegates who the people and the Party chose 40 years ago to go to Përmet on a lofty historic mission, with the former heroic partisans who turned Përmet into an impregnable fortress in those days. On this occasion I greet you from my heart and invite you to cheer again as on 24 of May 1944:

Long live the historic Congress of Përmet! Long live our beloved Albania! Long live our glorious Party!

The new life we are building and enjoying, socialism which marches triumphantly in Albania, the high prestige and authority which our Homeland has everywhere in the world, have their foundations in the great popular war led by the Party, part of which was the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress of the Albanian people, the name of which will be always connected with the name of your town.

It was here, at the martyred Përmet, which was burned down three times by the fascists and the Germans, but is now free, at the Përmet of the men who fought with the rifle and the pen, of the outstanding Frashëri brothers, Sami, Naim and Abdyl, that the legitimate representatives of the Albanian people who came directly from the bloody battles for the liberation of the Homeland, endorsed and proclaimed world-wide the will of the people for the formation of the Albanian State of the People's Democracy and gave it its legitimate Government.

This extraordinary victory, never achieved before in the centuries-old history of the Albanian people, crowned definitively the far-sighted and all-important policy of our Communist Party, which linked the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland closely with the struggle for the overthrow of the old state power and the setting up of the new state power. At Përmet the people came to power, became masters of their own destinies, opened up a new epoch, the epoch of socialism. Through the historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet and exercising its sovereign right, new Albania liquidated the bitter past of the kings and feudal lords, tore down and threw into the Vjosa River the

HOXHA'S MESSAGE SPEECHES IN THE CELEBRATION ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONGRESS OF PËRMET

enslaving treaties and agreements entered into the past, said «stop» once and for good to the ambitions of those who wanted to wrest a slice off Albania, said «stop» to those who wanted to play the policy of the spheres of influence, to cause turbulences and hostilities amongst the peoples, at the expense of Albania. In new Albania such things would never pass, because it had its people as its own masters, had its own glorious party at its head, had brought its legitimate, valiant and revolutionary sons and daughters in command.

With deep emotions and legitimate pride, from the distance of 40 years now we see that everything that was decided and begun in May 1944 at Përmet, has been carried out, defended, and further developed day by day with consistency, wisdom and heroism. All this has been achieved with much sweat, through great efforts and sacrifice, without stretching out our hand to anyone, without disturbing anyone and never allowing anyone, internal and external enemies, big and small imperialist, social-imperialist or chauvinist powers to violate the victories achieved, to swerve us from our revolutionary road. The 40 years that have elapsed are, in this sense, a glorious school of our triumphant revolution as well as a great guarantee that just as today, we, our sons and daughters, all our wonderful people will march in this way tomorrow and always in the future.

Therefore, comrades, my dear fellow fighters, former delegates to the 1st Anti-fascist Congress of Përmet, let us strengthen and carry forward the great and immortal work we began on May 24, 1944.

It does not matter that we are gray and wrinkled all over. We remain young, because we live, work and rejoice the eternal youth of the Homeland, because our ideals and work are and will be always new, because socialist Albania is and will remain always young!

Greetings to you all!

Congratulations on the celebration of the historic Congress of Përmet!

Long live our people!

Long live our Party!

Yours
ENVER HOXHA

FROM COMRADE RITA MARKO'S SPEECH

DEAR COMRADES,

WE HAVE GATHERED AGAIN HERE, AT HISTORIC PËRMET, TO CELEBRATE THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1st ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION CONGRESS, TO WHICH HISTORY GAVE THE NAME OF THE CONGRESS OF PERMET, WHICH IS ONE OF THE GREATEST EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE CONGRESS OF PËRMET MARKED AN HISTORIC VICTORY OF THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER BY THE PEOPLE. IT WAS THE FIRST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHICH SANCTIONED THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, WHICH CLOSED ALL PATHS TO THE ATTEMPTS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM TO GIVE STATE POWER TO THEIR OBE-DIENT TOOLS, THE ZOGITE LEFTOVERS, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. BROAD TER-RITORIES HAD BEEN LIBERATED; THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE HAD ASSUMED FRESH VIGOUR; THE INITIATIVE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS HAD GONE OVER TO THE PAR-TISAN DETACHMENTS. SO ALL THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS HAD BEEN CREATED TO SWITCH OVER TO A HIGHER AND MORE CENTRALIZED LEVEL IN LEADING THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA. IT IS THE GREAT MERIT OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA THAT THEY KNEW TO ASSESS PROPERLY AND SEIZE THESE DECISIVE MOMENTS FOR THE DESTINIES OF OUR PEOPLE AT THE PROPER TIME. ON THE PROPOSAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE GENERAL NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL TOOK THE DECISION TO CONVENE THE CONGRESS.

Today it is 40 years to the day when the dele-gates elected by the people and by the fighters of the National Liberation Army came here from all the corners of Albania to decide on the fate of the Homeland, to sanction the sovereignty of the people and to settle the main question of the revolution — that of the state power, which gave the people their legitimate rights and their true democracy.

Our Party never divorced the question of the National Liberation Struggle from that of the state power. Under its leadership, the old state power, the blind tool of the foreign occupiers, the Italian and German occupiers, was destroyed and the new state of people's democracy set up on its ruins. The Conference of Peza laid the founda-tions of the new revolutionary state power of the national liberation councils. The Conference of Labinot took important decisions on the streng-thening and centralization of the state power. These historical events in the process of the founding of the state power created the conditions for the holding of the Congress of Përmet which settled the problem of the political power defi-nitively in favour of the people, of the democratic revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of Albania.

RITA MARKO — Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSRA

Here, in Përmet were also laid the foundations of the new Constitution of our proletarian state which was endorsed by the Constitutive Assembly on 11 January 1946, when Albania was proclaimed a people's republic. So, our Party knew in the process of struggle how to pose and correctly re-solve the problem of the creation of the people's state power, a problem of vital importance.

The decisions taken by the Congress of Përmet were a great victory and the cause of great joy for our people and, at the same time, a heavy blow at the occupiers, internal and foreign reac-tion, and the Anglo-Americans.

At this Congress was decided to step up the general offensive and carry the war for the complete liberation of the Homeland through to the end, to extend the sovereignty of the new Albanian state of people's democracy to the whole territory of the country. The entire people linked themselves even more closely with the new state power, more fighters swelled the ranks of the larger detachments of the National Liberation Army which founded, organized and led by the Party and its General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, dealt shattering blows at the foreign occupiers and their local tools and eventually succeeded in completely liberating Albania. Here in Përmet Albania voted not to recognize any other government which might be set up against the

will of the Albanian people inside or outside the country, and never was another state power recognized. It was decided to build the new democratic Albania.

By expressing the interests of the people, the Congress of Përmet took its own decisions about the solution of the major problems of Albania and the fate of the country. It declared publicly that gone was forever the time when our country was used as a token of barter in the bargainings to its detriment. Throughout all these forty years, we ourselves have solved all the problems of the all-round development of socialist Albania, always under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, relying only on our own forces, allowing no other state, whether big or small, to interfere in our affairs. The sovereignty of the Albanian people and state remains a lofty and inalterable principle of our Party and state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is sanctioned in our socialist Constitution.

The seizure of state power by the people as a result of their heroic struggle led by the Party was the soundest guarantee for the consolidation and defence of the achievements of the people's revolution as well as for the construction of the new, socialist society.

With the people's state power and under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian people rebuilt their war-ravaged country; nationalized all the assets they had been dispossessed of by the foreigners and traitors; carried out major social and economic reforms, deep-going transformations in all fields of life; liquidated the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man. All our social development is carried out consciously in the interest of the people and socialism.

Our people's state power has waxed strong through fierce struggles and many clashes with the internal and external enemy. Its foundations have been laid on and cemented with blood and sweat. The people, who created this state power with the Party at the head, knew how to defend and strengthen it ceaselessly, to make it invincible. What did the enemies of all hues not resort to against socialism in Albania so as to overthrow this state power? However, the foundations of

our fortress became even stronger. The perfidious enemy tried to erode socialist Albania from within by means of their spying agencies, but the dictatorship of the proletariat stamped out the heads of all its enemies ranging from Koçi Xoxe to the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, and waxed ever stronger and became invincible over these 40 years.

«The people's state power», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working class and masses for the construction of socialism and the defence of Homeland. That is why we protect this state power as the apple of the eye and strengthen it constantly in struggle against the dangers that threaten it, liberalism and bureaucracy.»

Under the leadership of the Party and with the Party in power, Albania has been totally transformed. All the wealth of the country, which increases from one year to the other, is placed in the service of the constant improvement of the material well-being of the people and the raising of their cultural level in the service of the socialist construction. Albania now has a powerful multi-branched economy, a developed industry and agriculture, a system of education, science and culture of a mass character, a health service which works free of charge, a steel defence. In this manner Albania marches with sure steps ahead on the road of socialist construction towards ever loftier aims.

Life in socialist Albania becomes ever more beautiful, happier and richer. We work for the happy life of our people at a time when in the bourgeois and revisionist countries the working masses are oppressed and exploited mercilessly; we build socialism successfully, relying completely on our own forces without any aid or credit from abroad; we do not know the incurable ulcers of the bourgeois system; with us there is no unemployment, taxes, oppression and exploitation; there is only stability and uninterrupted development of the economy whereas the capitalist and revisionist countries are being eroded by a deep-going general crisis and heavily indebted.

Our development rates are unprecedented. During these 40 years the total social product in

our country has grown about 25 fold, the industrial production of 1938 today is coped with in about 2 days, and agricultural production has grown about 5.6 fold compared with 1938. In 1983 there were more than 147 times as many people with a higher education as in 1938 and 13.2 times as many as in 1960.

Broad prospects have been opened by the directives issued by the Party at its historic 8th Congress, and our advance in the 8th Five-year Plan will be even greater. Our economy develops steadily, our defence is invincible, our state power is as strong as steel, our society is sound, and our people live and work happily, being the masters of their destinies.

All the major revolutionary tasks in the interests of the people and the Homeland have been carried out under the people's state power, therefore the people are linked with their state power like flesh to bone and guard it like the apple of their eye, as the most precious thing. Just as the people needed this state power to reach to the present stage, so will they need it in the future for the complete construction of socialism till communism is achieved.

The masses, under the leadership of the Party, have always played a decisive irreplaceable role in the construction of the socialist society. Their active participation in the government and in the whole socio-political life of the country constitutes a necessary condition for the defence and strengthening of the people's state power. The Party works and struggles continuously so that this power remains always revolutionary, in the hands of the people and under the control of the people. New people, the best, honest and loyal sons and daughters of the people have and will always come to the organs of state power to work together with experienced people. The Party has trained hundreds of thousands of such people who know how to direct and govern.

The broad participation of the working masses in the government is a demand stemming from the life of our country, the organization and management of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that all the organs of our state power carry out their activity in close connection with the working masses and that in these close ties with the people lies the strength of the people's power. We must safeguard, strengthen and perfect these links continuously, because that is the way to increase the participation and enhance the role of the masses in state affairs, to strengthen their control over state and economic activities, to extend and deepen our socialist democracy. Our state power is strong because it is deeply democratic, it is invincible because it has its roots in the people; it is irre-

ducible because it is led by our Party of Labour, tempered in the great battles against the internal and external enemies.

Our people's state power is the most democratic state power in the world. No comparison can be drawn between our socialist democracy and the so-called democratic freedoms of the bourgeois and revisionist countries, because the word «democracy» there is a hollow word which appears only on paper, it is downright humbug, is a mask to cover up the all-round oppression and exploitation of the masses.

The Marxist-Leninist correct line of the Party has guaranteed the equality of the citizens in Albania. There is no restriction or privilege as to the rights and duties of the citizens. The nationalities have the same treatment. It is precisely this policy which has enabled the Greek minority in Albania to live happily, in brotherly friendship and complete equality with the Albanian people. This friendship has its roots in the blood they shed together during the National Liberation War and in the work for the construction and the defence of our socialist Homeland.

The reality of Albania cannot be blurred by the slanders of the various enemies of our country. It cannot be blackened by the rabid anti-Albanian campaign of the Great-Serb chauvinists, either. All this is done by the heads of Belgrade in order to divert attention from the grave ills, from the political, economic and national crisis which has beset Yugoslavia for years, in order to cover up from world opinion the policy of discrimination, suppression and terror against the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. But the truth about Albania is clear like daylight.

Albania has declared world-wide that it has not interfered and does not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, because this is against the basic principle of its foreign policy. But we have the right to raise our voice when we see that acts of injustice are committed against our brothers of the same blood, when their legitimate demands for equality, democratic rights and economic development, like all the other nations of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, are denied.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania marches ahead with determination on the road mapped out by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. It has blazed its trail in history through innumerable difficulties and has secured and defends its independence in a total struggle against any interference on the part of imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys. We have maintained and will maintain this principled stand in the future, too. The sound public opinion in the world has supported and supports this stand.

The Party, the state power and our people watch attentively the development of events in the world, the tense situations caused by the aggressive and expansionist policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. We take our stands about them, have our say, define our tasks. We are encircled, but not isolated, as our enemies claim. Our foreign policy is a principled active foreign policy, the policy of a socialist state which has its say openly and sincerely. It supports the struggle of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples to discard the bourgeois-revisionist yoke. This policy has secured socialist Albania its sound international position, has won it many friends and well-wishers, has made it a lofty inspiring example for the revolutionary people in the world, a mirror of genuine socialism, an important factor of peace and stability in the Balkans, a country, which enjoys the profound respect of all the progressive people in the world.

Our state has diplomatic relations with about 100 states and develops trade with many of them

on the basis of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and mutual benefit. Socialist Albania welcomes its friends and well-wishers, but the doors of Albania will never be opened to those who seek to use our benevolent stands in order to further their sinister aims.

In this jubilee year of the triumph of the people's revolution, we rejoice still more over the celebrations of this year, because the working class, the working peasantry, people's intelligentsia and all the working people of the country have scored numerous successes in the economy, education, culture, health, in the field of defence and all the other walks of life. The heights to which socialist Albania has risen in these 40 years have no precedent in the history of our people. In this great reality of socialism lies the basis for the joy and enthusiasm which fill our hearts, lies the basis for the revolutionary optimism about the secure and still more beautiful future that awaits us.

THE 3rd C C THE WRITERS AND OF AL

In the atmosphere of the revolutionary enthusiasm created in this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the victory of the people's revolution, the 3rd Congress of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania held its proceedings on 23-25 April in Tirana. Writers and artists from Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, Italy, Syria and Turkey also attended the work of the Congress.

The Congress was attended by the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state.

After the approval of the order of the day by the Congress, the chairman of the Writers and Artists' League, Comrade Dritëro Agolli, submitted the report on behalf of the Directing Committee of the League.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Manush Myftiu, greeted the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally.

The message of greetings was heard with attention and punctuated with frequent applause and enthusiastic ovations.

Contributions to the discussion of the report, delivered by the Directing Committee of the League, followed.

The Congress heard the messages of greetings by the Turkish poet Tahsim Sarachi, the Egyptian poet and chief editor of the review of the Egyptian Radio-Television, Fathi Said, the Greek writer and historian Janni Benekos, the Turkish poet Kemal Bajrami, the Greek painter Mina Stratis, the Danish poet Marianne Larsen, the Greek writer and publicist Lambros Malamas, the professor of Albanian origin at the University of Saint-Etienne (France) Alexandre Zoto, the Arbëreshi poet Giuseppe del Gaudeo, the director of the review «The Albanian World», the Arbëreshi poet Giuseppe Schiro di Magio, and the poet of Albanian origin from Syria, Abdyl Latif Arnaut.

Besides, the 3rd Congress of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania received telegrams of greetings from foreign literary, artistic and social associations and personalities as well as from Albanians living in different countries of the world. Telegrams were sent by the Executive Committee of the League of Literature and Art of Vietnam, the National League of the Lyrical Artists of Algeria, the Albania-Austria and Albania-Italy Friendship Associations, by the Arbëreshi poet Vorea Ujko, by the Turkish writer Yashar Kemal, by Hans Johem Rips and Hamarlund from Sweden, by prof. Mosser from Austria, and others.

CONGRESS OF ARTISTS' LEAGUE ALBANIA

In the plenary sessions 31 contributions to the discussion were made, and in the four sections 98 contributions.

The Congress adopted the decision on the approval of the Report of the Directing Committee, «We must enhance the militant spirit of literature and art, and raise their qualitative level», delivered by the Chairman of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, Dritëro Agolli; the resolutions which emerged from the work of the sections of literature, figurative arts, music, theatre, and cinematography; and some amendments to the Constitution of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania.

Next the Congress proceeded with the election of the directing body of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania. Comrade Dritëro Agolli was elected Chairman of the League.



The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, in an interval during the sessions of the Congress, met a group of writers and artists and had a cordial and intimate talk with them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the writers and artists on the very good organization of the proceedings of the Congress and said that the discussions were of a high level and were followed with interest by the whole Congress. They were characterized not only by their common literary language, but in the first place, by their common ideological and political language. In the conversations with writers, poets, singers, painters and sculptors he spoke with appreciation about their contribution to the impetuous development of our literature and arts and, especially, about the achievements in all genres of art for the truthful and realistic handling of problems in a high spirit of partisanship, for the most thorough completion of the great tableau of our socialist society.

Comrade Ramiz Alia also met the foreign writers and artists who participated in the work of the Congress, with whom he had a warm talk.

On the occasion of the conclusion of the work of the Congress, a festive concert was given for the delegates at the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

The Presidium of the League put on a dinner in honour of the foreign writers and artists who participated in the work of the 3rd Congress. The guests were greeted by the Chairman of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, Dritëro Agolli.

COMRADE MANUSH MYD GREETS THE CONGRESS OF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMRADE DELEGATES,

ALLOW ME TO BRING THE 3rd CONGRESS OF THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS' LEAGUE OF ALBANIA THE ARDENT GREETINGS AND THE BEST WISHES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND OUR BELOVED LEADER AND TEACHER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.

YOUR CONGRESS IS A GREAT EVENT NOT ONLY FOR THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS, BUT ALSO FOR THE CULTURAL LIFE OF OUR WHOLE PEOPLE.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THIS CONGRESS ARE TAKING PLACE ON THE EVE OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. OUR NEW LITERATURE AND ART ARE THE DEED OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM. THEY HAVE MADE PROGRESS BECAUSE THE PARTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT CREATING THE MOST SUITABLE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL CONDITIONS FOR THEIR FLOURISHING. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST CULTURE ARE ONE INDIVISIBLE PROCESS. EVERY NEW STEP TOWARDS SOCIALISM IS A NECESSARY PREMISE FOR THE FURTHER ADVANCE OF LITERATURE AND ART, WHILE THEIR DEVELOPMENT IMPLIES THE PROFOUND AND ALL-ROUND REFLECTION OF THE STRUGGLE AND EFFORTS OF THE PARTY AND PEOPLE AGAINST THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES TO OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND BLOCKADE. TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST GAINS AND TO CARRY THEM FORWARD IN THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE, IN POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY, IN THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE AND IN THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND.

During the years which separate them from the 2nd Congress, our writers and artists have given the people outstanding works in which is reflected their spiritual life, works which will remain in the golden fund of socialist culture. The growth of the creative forces has influenced the development of all artistic genres. New forces and talents are pouring into every sector of creativeness.

The ideological orientations of the Party and its struggle to keep them pure have been of vital importance for our art and literature. Our writers and artists have always felt Comrade Enver Hoxha's close personal interest in them, his concern for the growth and advance of literature and art. The aesthetic thoughts of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have directly contributed to our art and literature developing on sound ideological grounds and producing works of a high artistic level.

Literature and art occupy an honoured place and have a lofty mission in our society. The present-day development calls for them to carry out

this mission as best as possible, while standing with both feet on militant positions. This is an imperative task.

Our time is characterized by fierce battles and clashes of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism, between reaction and revolution, between the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and Marxism-Leninism. This class struggle represents a reality of the world development, as well as the internal development. It is bound to find its expression also in the field of literature and art. There can be no writer or artist that is uninvolved in this struggle, that remains outside it. Life has proved the hypocritical and reactionary character of the bourgeois-revisionist slogans of «ideological non-involvement», «class neutrality», or «ideological convergence» which are intended to cover up the placing of the creative forces in the service of counter-revolutionary aims. The writers and artists of socialist Albania have exposed and refuted these hostile views. In complete consciousness, they have placed themselves on the side of the revolution, progress and

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socialism, putting their mastery and talent fully in the service of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. This political and ideological involvement gives the creativeness of our writers and artists a great social meaning, places them in such conditions as to produce major works of wide resonance.

Literary and artistic creativeness is made militant by writers and artists that are concerned about the problems of the people, that work tirelessly to implement the directives of the Party, that plunge in the mainstream of the great river of life. The respect our people have for the creative work of our artists must be a great encouragement for them to live, think and struggle as revolutionaries.

The strengthening of the militant spirit of literature and art presupposes a fuller reflection of our socialist reality. Our literature and art of socialist realism have a broader horizon, are far-reaching and capable of reflecting life in all its possible dimensions, in the past, present and future. However, the socialist present reality remains at the centre of gravity of their militant spirit. Here lie the main interests of our literature and art and from here they produce their ideological and aesthetical radiation on society. A closer connection with the socialist reality makes our literary and artistic works ever fresher and livelier, makes them sound like clarion calls. On this road our literature and art express the grandiose and heroic character of socialist life, faithfully reflect the feelings, aspirations and psychology of the working class and the broad people's masses.

A closer link with the present-day reality calls for better utilization of the rich tradition of the progressive literature and art our people have created through the centuries. The Party has always instructed the writers and artists to assess the values of tradition positively, to base themselves on them, to enrich them and raise them to a higher level.

Socialist Albania is marching with sure steps towards new perspectives, towards a qualitatively new stage of its development. The writers and artists are also involved in this struggle, which expresses itself in their efforts to raise their creativeness to a higher qualitative level.

Socialism has raised the cultural, educational and artistic level of our people. They make ever new and higher demands. Therefore, literature and art must not only fulfil them as best as possible, but also lead their further development. Our art enjoys now a well-deserved prestige and authority in other countries, too. Hence, our writers and artists must create ever better works so as to represent in a worthy manner the art which conveys the message of socialist Albania.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «An appropriate form and high level of artistic realization must respond to the sound content and the revolutionary themes. To take up the theme of the day, to write about the positive hero, the socialist reality, etc., is not enough. This alone, without artistic skill, cannot arouse emotion, cannot educate or inspire you for the present and the future.»

Raising the quality of literary and artistic creativeness is a complex task. Its solution presupposes the strengthening of ideological socialist class partisanship, the popular spirit, and national originality, presupposes the raising of the cultural level of writers and artists, their better knowledge of life, the perfecting of their artistic skills. The realism of our socialist literature and art cannot tolerate sketchiness, prettification, naturalist shallowness and subjectivism. Representing life with realistic truth calls for our writers and artists to put in the centre of their creativeness the hero of our days, the determination, self-abnegation, and revolutionary optimism of the working class and working masses and stigmatize alien influences, indifference, manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, anything that becomes an obstacle in the road of the revolution. The writers and artists of our country have much to learn from the works and

writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha which stand out not only for their profound ideological thinking, but also for their masterful use of language, for the strength of their realistic reflection of life.

The strengthening of the socialist class spirit in all our artistic culture assumes particular importance to face up to and foil the pressure of the alien ideology in the present conditions of the imperialist encirclement. The cultural aggression of the superpowers — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which is part of the struggle of the reactionary forces against socialism and the independence of the peoples, poses a real threat. With their degenerate culture, with their decadent art and literature, with their idealistic sociological and philosophical, aesthetical and moral concepts which express their spiritual crisis, they try to influence people so as to divert them from the battles of the class struggle, to spread amongst them disillusionment and ideological confusion. Hence in the future, too, we must raise our ideological vigilance in the field of artistic culture and step up our struggle against any influence of bourgeois-revisionist decadent art and literature. However, while remaining closed to decadent cur-

rents, our literature and art profit from the positive values and tradition of world progressive culture; they are characterized by the spirit of internationalism.

Comrade delegates,

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its full confidence that the writers and artists of our country will, as always, close their ranks round the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will always remain closely linked with the people and, with their outstanding cultural capabilities and talents create works of a high artistic level militating for the great cause of the people and the Party — the strengthening of socialist Albania, the ceaseless flourishing of socialist culture, the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the 3rd Congress of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania!

Glory to our heroic Party of Labour, its founder and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE MILITANT SPIRIT OF LITERATURE AND ART AND RAISE THEIR QUALITATIVE LEVEL

From the report of the Leading Committee of the Writers and Artists' League, delivered by Comrade DRITËRO AGOLLI

Fifteen years have past since the 2nd Congress of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania was held. This is a period of significant achievements and striving to give a more complete reflection of the heroic struggle of the people on all fronts of the construction of socialism, to make the life of the people more beautiful and Albania more prosperous and stronger, with an advanced industry, with a modern large-scale agriculture, with a secure defence and a culture with a genuine socialist content and a national physiognomy. Under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the physical and mental energies in the ranks of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia burst out as never before, so that great intellectual and moral values previously unknown were discovered and created energies which transformed life and nature, which overcame old prejudices and formed new concepts about society and the relations between people. In the course of the ceaseless process of the

Dritëro Agolli: Chairman of the writers and Artists' League of Albania

development of socialism we have come up against continuous difficulties and obstacles, cunning, savage local and foreign enemies, who have operated in every field, in the economy and politics, in culture and art, but we have always emerged triumphant. Anyone who has tried to sally the banner of socialism we have put in his place, as we did with the rabid poly-agent, one of the most infamous traitors, Mehmet Shehu, and his gang.

Our healthy society, with its people who are confident of their present and future, has been the focal point of literature and art, which have advanced in great leaps and have played an important role in the all-round progress of the country, serving the people, the civilization and education of the people in the spirit of the immortal ideas of communism. Our artists have always taken part in the struggle and work together with the people, sharing the joys and sorrows. Herein lies the great merit of the Party which, together with the new man, formed a new type of artist, the militant artist of the people. Only the Party could have done such a work in the Albanian culture.

LITERATURE AND ART ON THE ROAD OF THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The time from the 2nd Congress of the Writers and Artists' League is the period of the all-round development of literature and art of all kinds and genres, the period when our artistic creativity was raised to a higher level and marked important achievements in content and form. A predominant characteristic of literature and art during this decade and a half is its close connection with the life of the country, the increase of its civic spirit, its aim to know and reflect the man of today, and its ever greater interest, on one hand, has had a profound influence on the progress of art and, on the other hand, on the formation of a whole army of writers and artists with new concepts about art and culture.

The writers and artists have always asked themselves the question: Does the content of their works respond to the problems which the country is solving: the economic, social, ideological, political and defence problems with which our socialist state is faced? For this reason they have not been attracted to trivial ordinary themes but to the great theme of the revolution and the construction of the new society, the theme of man and his life. Proceeding from these lofty aims they have continued to give extensive generalizations of the National Liberation War, of the past and present history, and have created monumental tableaus worthy of the epoch of socialism.

The need for the more complete reflection of the life of the people and the struggle for the construction of socialism and the increase in the qualified creative forces have influenced the all-round development of the kinds and genres of our art. Cinema and TV films, opera, ballet, symphonic music or the new monumental painting did not exist in the past, while today a new tradition, the socialist tradition, has been created in these genres. We say that the novel, as a genre of major epic forms, is in the forefront of our literature but we must not forget that from the great volume of short stories and poetry we could choose works which occupy an important place in the general fund of artistic creativity for the freshness of their ideas about the life and the man of the new society.

The past fifteen years are outstanding for the enhancement of the democratic character of art, the acceleration of communication with the readers, the spectators and the listeners. As a result the dialogue of the artist with

the people has become more lively and fruitful.

Literature and art have enhanced their democratic and militant spirit because they have always been linked with the people and been nurtured by their great spirit. And the creative work of the people, their extensive amateur movement, the national folklore festivals and the whole of folk culture, have been an inexhaustible source for their continual refreshment and for the strengthening of the national and popular spirit. Our folklore is not a lifeless recording for archives, but a torrent that roars over the entire territory of the country, uniting with all arts and our artistic culture.

The increase in the creative forces and the growth in the ranks of the Writers and Artists' League during these last fifteen years speak of the mass character and the democratic spirit of our art. At the 2nd Congress of the League we had 400 or so members and candidate members, while today 1,746 people militate in our ranks. At that time we had five or six branches of the Writers and Artists' League, while today these hearths of the artistic movement have been spread to all districts of the Republic, thus changing the artistic geography of the country. Each of the biggest branches, like those of Shkodra or Korça, has nearly the same number of members and candidates as the whole Writers and Artists' League had at its 1st Congress.

Another distinctive characteristic of the development of literature and art during the last decade is the continuous striving of the writers and artists to achieve greater mastery and a more perfect style and language. This has come from the artistic strategy itself, if we may express ourselves in this manner. And the artistic strategy has been built up in such a manner that the decisive problems of the time are at the centre of our art. However, the decisive problems of the time cannot be dealt with without the evolution of the artistic mastery, techniques and forms, means and styles, in unity with the new content.

The need to evolve in their creative mastery has been felt not only by the new creators, but also by those who have wider experience.

Having a contemporary qualitative level, our art has had an echo in the world abroad. The public of foreign countries welcomes our art, because they see in it the humanitarian inspiration and the original spirit of the people in the struggle for socialism, for freedom and progress. The enhancement of the authority of our country in the epoch of the Party and the progress of socialism make progressive people throughout the world evaluate and appreciate our literature and art.

The truly great achievements testify to the correct and principled line and policy of the Party in the field of literature and art and to the revolutionizing power of its documents and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which have illuminated the path of our artistic creative work and have made it capable of carrying any burden, of coping with acute problems and successfully waging the ideological struggle in this difficult terrain. The Party has always regarded literature and art as an inseparable part of its work, orientating and leading them and making them a problem not just of the basic organizations of the sectors of artistic creativity, but of its entire political and ideological life, because art is inseparable from ideology and politics. The securing of the continuous concrete leadership of the Party in literature and art has greatly enhanced their role in the life of society, has further developed and kept them free of the reactionary ideologies. The decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party in 1973 served to guide the writers and artists, have increased their confidence in their own forces and have opened new horizons to them. At that Plenum the deviationists and enemies of the Party, Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, who with their hostile theories and activities in the fields of literature and art had become obstacles in the road of our uninterrupted development, were defeated. By routing these enemies ideologically, literature and art assumed a new irrestrainable vigour. The greatest achievements in the figurative arts, cinematography, the novel, short stories, music and the entire amateur movement belong precisely to the period after the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party.

These achievements were realized while coping with the problems which emerged from the development of literature and art, the difficulties of growth, the untrodden paths on which was to proceed, the pressure of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and the ideological and cultural aggression of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The aim of this Congress of the Writers and Artists' League is to make all of us conscious of the important and difficult tasks we face, which we can perform because today our means are greater than ever.

The strengthening of the militant spirit is closely linked with the raising of the quality.

The advance of socialism, the progress of the economy and culture, the enhancement of the social consciousness, the transformations in the world outlook of the people and the affirmation of new concepts about life, have presented literature and art with problem which demand solution in order to go on to new levels and qualities,

both in content and in form. In order to achieve these qualities, however, the main thing is that we must truthfully reflect the life of our society, on the basis of profound knowledge of the processes of its development. For this we have a clear program which was worked out by the 8th Congress of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The extension of the range of themes of literature and art, including in them more and more of the vastness and variety of life, so that the great tableau of the socialist epoch in Albania is gradually completed by our writers and artists; is a demand of the time.» The great tableau of the socialist epoch cannot be conceived in an abstract manner, it demands the development of the powerful motives of the mass heroism and the heroes who lead in life, work, science and all social activity. In this society the social activity and work are more and more becoming personal questions, questions of the world outlook of the individual not as burdens, but as creativity. The struggle and work, the desire to know the world that surrounds us, the economy and politics has already become a personal question of contemporary man. These things do not restrict the personality of man, but extend it and give him greater breathing space, freeing him of selfishness and envy, linking his personal life with all the social activity and making his work truly creative and a spiritual need and not just mechanical action. Therefore, he who reflects these aspects of the reality in art is truly a militant writer, worthy of a developed society.

By the militant spirit in art we mean the all-round reflection of the socialist reality and the heroic struggle waged by the people to raise society to the highest level of its development, we mean the raising of the aesthetic ideal to the level of the social ideal, which is the complete construction of socialist and communist society. Militancy in art is inseparable from proletarian partisanship, from the ideological and aesthetic stand-point of the artist who expresses the interests of the working class, who creates works in the service of the people. The realization of partisanship demands that we must always be guided by the ideology and policy of the Party, by its orientations and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, engaged as militants in all the processes of the class struggle for the socialist construction of the country. Without this engagement, no matter how much talent a writer or artist may have, he cannot become the voice of his epoch. By upholding proletarian partisanship in his work, he is linked like flesh to bone with the entire struggle and aspirations of his people and feels responsibility for what he writes. Therefore, never for a moment does the Party

cease demanding the strengthening of partisanship, because this has to do with the fate of literature and art, with their present and future. This demand of our Party has become a norm and a philosophical concern for the writers and artists, it has become, as one may say, an artistic way of life. Direct and sincere service to the interests of the people and the cause of the Party give the artist the possibility to express his individuality, by giving artistic expressing to his thoughts and imagination.

In all the materials of the Party, in the documents and literature it has published, life in socialism is presented complete, full of struggle and strivings, with great achievements, with opinions and seekings, with clashes with enemies and deviators, with renegades and people who degenerate during the course of the construction of the new society. Our strength, the lofty ideal of the new man, is raised above all those things. Socialism is being constructed before our eyes and we are participants in its battles. Our literature and art must reflect this socialism without fail, strengthening its tendentiousness and deepening its realism because apart from this it cannot have a militant spirit or high artistic quality. Without this realism socialism becomes utopian and romantic and the dramatic and magnificent reality throbbing in its veins is lost.

The critical opinion of the Party and our Marxist-Leninist aesthetics has never demanded from the creator silence about or retreat from the difficulties which are connected with the struggle of the people for the construction of the future. The Party itself in its documents, Comrade Enver Hoxha in his books «The Khrushchevites», «When the Party Was Born», «The Titoites», «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania» and others, present the communists, the men of the people, amidst difficult battles and innumerable tragedies until victory is achieved. They treat the key problems of the epoch, they reflect an entire gallery of individualized and typified figures and express the perspective of the events and phenomena with great clarity. All these are embodied in a vigorous language, full of figures and colour. From these works every writer and artist can learn with what truth and class tendentiousness history and the concrete reality should be presented, with what purpose the events which develop before our eyes should be viewed. These documents and works are living examples in the struggle against the prettification and simplification of the reality. They teach us that embellishment and simplification should be alien to our literature and art, as denigration of the reality is alien to them. It has occurred that in our literature reali-

ty is presented simplified, easy, without complications and contradictions and, consequently, feeble opinions derive from this conception. Hence, the ignoring of complications and the elimination of contradictions has resulted in the emergence of schematic works about present-day life, the National Liberation War and the patriotic revolutionary movements. The heroes and situations in literary artistic works cannot be accepted when concocted from a few stereotyped ideas, with movements and plots calculated according to a simplified logic. To love the hero does not mean you should make him achieve things easily and raise him to exaggerated heights on account of the spiritual poverty of the people who surround him. Such a concept of the hero is anti-dialectical because he is divorced from the masses and his actions are worshipped.

Today we have a broader concept on the hero, we conceive him outside the former schemes which suppressed him and drained him of his vital essence. Many novels and stories have been written with this new concept, they include many novels and stories, therefore, they have had a great echo among our readers. The same thing may also be said about many works of our painters and sculptors. However, we still do not find this hero in all works in his full form and at the level of the demands of the time. Our literature needs heroes that become typical examples that become figures who are loved and serve as models in the lives of the people. Frequently our heroes and personages are like a category of ideas and not like typical individuals. It is approximately this: a man who does not know the different kinds of flowers, calls all flowers — the daisy, the forget-me-not and the primrose, simply flowers. The heroes in many books, likewise, are categories, fighters, bureaucrats, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and not individuals, they are not «this person» as Engels used to instruct. It is precisely «this person» who is lacking in many works of literature and in place of him we have a person in general, a category person, similar to the others. This occurs, apart from other reasons, because it is not understood that the typical cannot be revealed without the individual, that the general cannot be expressed without the particular.

In this phase of the process of development of our society all are greatly preoccupied about passing over to a new qualitative leap in all fields of the construction of socialism. In every field of life the new is sought for with great responsibility; the workers and peasants seek to increase production, the technicians and engineers seek to implement a modern technology, the rationalizers and scientists search in the field of discoveries in favour

of the advance of the technical-scientific revolution. The writers and artists cannot but feel the pressure of this atmosphere of research and creation. This atmosphere not only must enter in their works, but at the same time must exert its influence on the advance and rejuvenation of art with new structures and techniques. If these techniques are not carried forward, if they do not progress, if the great thought of the time is not introduced into them, the new contemporary content is difficult to introduce. The low artistic level of some publications, their schematism, the lack of the dialectics of thought, the fossilization of the content, the repetition of the old forms and the flabbiness of the realism and the truth of life—all have their source in the lack of artistic skill and the little interest in following the rapid process of life, the continual transformations, the dynamics of life, the progress of culture and science. Once a stage of development is achieved in art thought must be given to surpassing it, otherwise adaptation to the average arises, and this in fact is a step back because it inhibits development. Sometimes we feel this adaptation to the average achievements, not only in prose, but perhaps more often in poetry and painting.

One of the forms of the violation of socialist realism is objectivism which is contrary to the militant spirit of art and our ideological stand-point. It advocates the neutral stand of the author towards both the positive and the negative phenomena of life and society. In appearance objectivism is neutral, but intrinsically it is against ideological tendentiousness and as such disorients the reader.

The twin brother of objectivism, subjectivism, is no less dangerous when it is introduced in creative art. This too is anti-dialectical and idealist, because it views the world not as it is, but as the author wants to see it. The militant artist does not see what he wants to see, but what is true in this or that thing or phenomenon. It is a fact that for our literature and art subjectivist phenomena are unacceptable. But it is also a fact that they have been displayed sometimes, especially in those works which treat themes from history or our legends and myths. In this case, these themes have been reflected according to the desire of the authors, without any interest for our society. The more profound, social reflection of history is linked directly with the understanding of socialist realism, with accurate class analysis, the definition of the social tendency and the disclosure of that link which connects history with the present. We have examples of the correct treatment of history in all fields of art.

While dealing with the cardinal problems of socialist society, the efforts and struggle for major transformations in the economy and culture, while reflecting the contemporary with its opinions, morality and psychology in the specific conditions of the construction of socialism, literature and art fight at the same time for the further strengthening of their national character. Our Marxist-Leninist aesthetics teaches us that the national character is not an unchangeable historical category or a model decreed once and for all. Since the national character expresses the characteristics of the economic, historical, political, cultural development and the entire spiritual constitution of a people, then we have to do with a changeable historical category. All these characteristics have been transformed and raised to a new level in the soil of a new socialist society. Literature and art must give a more extensive and profound reflection precisely of these characteristics of the development of our socialist nation. Sometimes, through failure to understand the national character in literature and art, dialectically external details such as the clothing of people, particular colours in painting, the exaggerated dynamism in dances, etc. are reflected in art. In the efforts to give art its national character, signs of a faint provincialism in content and form have been noticed. The simple commenting and superficial literary description of historical events in novels, stories, poetry and painting is of no value for the present stage of our culture. They do not echo our days and remain as an aim in themselves.

The strengthening of national originality is not in contradiction to the demand for the creative assimilation of the world progressive art. It is true that we combat alien manifestations in literary and artistic works, but at the same time we must learn better how to profit from the progressive world literature and art, to follow in a creative manner the example of the great writers and artists who have based themselves on popular traditions, have proceeded from lofty ideals in their works.

Our literary criticism and aesthetic studies in general should be more engaged in all the problems of the socialist spirit and the national character and the entire artistic process. It is true that many problems of a national character and of present literary processes have been treated in some books, but many questions still remain untouched or mentioned only superficially. Our literary criticism, as published in literary periodicals, in books and separate studies should increase its great militant mission, avoiding conformism, in courageous scientific analyses and generalizations. It should also free itself from schematism and trite phrases in the analysis of

problems and baseless enthusiasm; it should learn to keep up with literary and artistic phenomena, supporting the new which will grow strong and bar the way to negative tendencies. We must all understand that when the criticism is open, principled and with deep thoughts, it plays a great role in the development of literature and art and in their approachement with the broad masses of the working people.

ART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND ITS ROLE IN RAISING THE LEVEL OF ARTISTIC CREATIVENESS

Literature and art are an important part of our national culture and they play a great role in its development. By reflecting the human and spiritual relationship they exercise a deep-going influence not only on the ideological, cultural and aesthetic formation, but also on the endowment of people with all-round knowledge and information. Visiting the Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana on December 24, 1981, speaking to the artists, sculptors and writers, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «We cannot speak of socialism without speaking of art and culture, because these inspire the people, they open new horizons to them.»

Art enriches the culture of a people with its wealth of material from life, its phantasy and feelings stimulating thought, encouraging research in science and technique, and inspiring the builders of socialism for great deeds. It plays a great role in the formation of the world outlook of people and makes them noble. This is the reason that the interest for art in our country has increased in the conditions of the construction of the new society. With the further development of society the thirst for a genuine art has increased, an art with a rich content and at a high artistic level. «Now man sees in literature and art only himself and the world he has created», says Marx.

With the increase of the number of theatres, clubs and hearths of culture, libraries and reading halls, with the extension of the publications and the art galleries, with the expansion of the film studios and the extension of the television, all arts have been rapidly presented to the broad masses of the working people, to their wise judgement. These powerful cultural means enable the people to meet the writers and artists every day, to enjoy the pleasures of art and exert their influence on themselves. The means of culture and art together,

with the literary and artistic production, made possible the formation of an entire army of artists of the theatre and cinematography, opera and ballet. Among this army there are talented artists, directors and actors, who contribute to the advancement of our socialist culture. With its sound content, its high artistic level and its mass character our art is continually increasing its influence on all spheres of life, including the families, production, construction and technique. Now we are not satisfied solely with the utilitarian aspect of an object or thing; but we want it to be beautiful. This is proved by the construction of many houses, social-cultural institutions and many factories which were formerly not built with the artistic beauty they are built nowadays. Art can be found today even in the transformation of nature and the tilling of the land among the valleys and at the foot of mountains. Are not the terraces of Lukova like works of art, which when seen apart from other things arouse in you a high aesthetic feeling? The terraces of Lukova are an expression of the prosperous culture of the work of our contemporaries and their yearning for the beautiful. The National Museum of History and the «Skanderbeg» Museum in Kruja express a rich culture and fruitful artistic research, they may be considered as two of the most distinguished achievements of the synthesis of the monumental art in architecture, the harmonization of applied art and decorative art with the environment.

When speaking of the influence of the artistic creativeness in the activity of people and their culture we mean an art with a sound content and a high artistic quality.

Art has a powerful influence on the culture of people. Culture with its non-artistic aspects, including the culture of production and living and science and technique, is ever more deeply influencing the development of literature and art. Thus, in our times one may not create genuine art if one does not know culture and the economy alongside life together with science and production. The classics of art, who astonish us with their works, were deeply acquainted with all forms of culture and production, as well as with all the achievements of their contemporary science. Today we have writers who do not pay the necessary attention to this acquaintance. They write novels on the life of the peasantry or the working class without any knowledge of the contemporary countryside, agrotechnics or the technology of production and, consequently, the heroes and personages have nothing to discuss about, they have nothing to say about work and people but their dialogues are lifeless and lacking in deep thought. Therefore, it is indispensable to master

culture better and in a creative manner by every creator, if we want a qualitative elevation of art.

The mastering of culture is the most acute problem for the new talents, who will take the fate of literature and art in their hands tomorrow. Greater attention and a more militant stand is demanded for the new talents and for all of us. But alongside the attention to extend their numbers we must increase our interest for the new talents with special abilities of a high level, towards those who promise to take the place of the most distinguished writers and artists.

The education and the raising of the cultural level of the writers and artists is a broad field of the activity of our organization of creators.

WE MUST KEEP OUR CREATIVE METHOD PURE

Our artistic culture, as is known, is developed according to the method of socialist realism, therefore its principles must be known and carried out seriously and in a creative manner. This method is a powerful weapon for the ideo-aesthetic formation of the writers and artists for their theoretical training. Its vitality is shown in the literary-artistic practice which is in harmony with our theoretical viewpoints in the field of aesthetic thinking, where there is not division between them, between the principles and the works which are created. Our creators understand the methods of socialist realism as a unity of principles which have emerged in certain historical and social conditions, where they are implemented through the reflection of reality and the stands which are maintained towards every phenomenon or problem of the time. This method has justified itself in practice through the best works in the different genres and kinds. Its principles and laws are considered and conceived in undivided dialectical unity not separated from one another, because this is what is demanded by the true reflection of the reality. Through understanding our creative method in this manner, the manifestations of schematism and liberalism are eliminated. Speaking of socialist realism, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «This socialist realism is not in the least presented in fossilized forms, it seethes, it is in continual development, through clash of the opposites, through class struggle, through the struggle of the new against the old.»

Our writers and artists, deeply mastering the principles of our creative methods which has the Marxist-Leninist theory at its foundation, following the revolutionary development of the reality, living with all the problems

facing the country, are conscious of their mission as aides of the Party in the communist education of our people. This mission has made them regard the development of the internal and foreign situations as active militants and fight for the implementation of the line of the Party in all fields of life. They approve the analyses which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the international situation and resolutely support this principled and open foreign policy. The present-day international situations are difficult, complex and aggravated. Freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security are under daily threat and the threat of war is constantly increasing. Like our entire people, the writers and artists, too, follow these situations, they condemn the aggressive policy of oppression and dictate of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, their enslaving aims towards the peoples of the world, they condemn the militarist course and the attempts of the superpowers at hegemony and domination. With their expansionist and hegemonic strategy, with their policy of intervention in the international affairs of others, they, the superpowers constitute a great danger for all the peoples of Europe and throughout the world.

Our literature and art of socialist realism are internationalist and stand on the side of the peoples who fight for freedom, national independence and democracy. As such they are understandable for the other peoples, too. Hatred among nations, chauvinism, racism and the scorn towards and underestimation of other cultures are alien to them.

The cultural aggression is being stepped up by the imperialist and the revisionist powers. This aggression, a component part of the strategy of the superpowers, is trying to lead astray and destroy national cultures. It is trying to wipe out these great treasures of the peoples and replace them with a poisonous art which serves the hegemonic interests, of the aggressive systems. Everywhere throughout the world the peoples are putting up an ever greater resistance to imperialist-revisionist cultural aggression. We support this resistance which protects the cultural treasure which humanity has created year after year, century after century and which is among its greatest spiritual assets.

The struggle for the protection of the national spirit is inseparable from the uncompromising struggle against all the manifestations of decadentism and modernism. The present decadent and modernist currents and schools are relieving each other and becoming less and less viable. Estrangement from the acute problems of society and the life of man, dehumanization of art in general,

the cult of the ugly, commercial standardized art produced according to the clumsiest patterns and schemes — these and other similar phenomena are typical of the bourgeois and revisionist countries today.

The decadent bourgeois literature has a limitless variety in its manifestations. Its variety gives it the possibility to confuse the minds of the different strata of society. Part of it is directed against the broad masses, part against the students and the intelligentsia, part is destined for the army, and so on. The anti-literature, abstract art, electronic music, the «new novel», the theatre of the absurd and others are the vanguard of the decadent literature destined mainly for the intelligentsia. When decadent etilist art has no success, then the «popular» massive decadentism steps in. Its power of poisonous deception is extremely great. Sometimes they seem to be in contradiction and in struggle with one another, but in fact they have the same mission: the stupefaction of people to estrange them from the problems of the revolution.

Our literature and art with the theme of the working people and for the man is in open opposition to the revisionist art of all colours and nuances, masked or unmasked, modernist or pompously chauvinist, conformist or aggressive.

Condemning the bourgeois-revisionist decadent art, our writers and artists defend the genuine art of the world from the great classics of the past down to the authors of our century or those who are living in our days. We are Marxists and know that the world has a humanist and progressive literature and art which is in opposition to decadence and degeneration. We appreciate this art and support it. Outstanding works of literature and art from all continents have been translated and become part of the culture of the Albanian people.

Our writers, artists and readers follow the Albanian literature and art created in Kosova, Macedonia and Mon-

tenegro with particular interest. We have published some of their works which our readers have welcome. We rejoice at the achievements of our colleagues and wish them successes on the road of the progress of literature and art.

The achievements of our literature and art, under the leadership of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, are great and their perspectives are even more brilliant. They prove that our writers and artists, our amateur artists and all art-lovers have inexhaustible creative energies, because the source of their inspiration is also inexhaustible. The main source of their inauguration is the people with their old and new history, their struggle and work, their patriotic and revolutionary spirit, their passion and thirst for knowledge, culture and art, their great feelings and yearning for progress, socialism and communism. Our literature and art have found an inexhaustible source of inspiration in the brilliant road which our people have traversed during these 40 years of the free and socialist life. The 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution finds our literature and art with many distinguished achievements. This anniversary will give a new impetus and inspiration to all our art to create new works with a party, militant spirit and a high artistic level. Our socialist reality, the unity of the writers and artists merged in the great Party-people unity, their maturity, their loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, are a security and guarantee to raise literature and art to a new level.

The enthusiasm which the major achievements in the economy and culture have aroused among the writers and artists, the resolute support which our people give the internal and foreign line and policy of the Party are a reliable guarantee for the implementation of the objectives which this Congress will set forth.

STEEL PARTY-PEOPLE UNITY

by **XHORXHI ROBO**

The unity of our people is a vivid historical reality. It manifests itself everyday, in all the major or minor events of our country and in the mobilization of our people to carry out the tasks set in the state plan, and in the defence of the Homeland

THIS YEAR THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WILL CELEBRATE WITH GREAT SOLEMNITY THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND FROM THE NAZI-FASCIST INVADERS AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. DURING THESE 40 YEARS OF THEIR FREE AND INDEPENDENT LIFE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE COURAGEOUSLY MARCHED ON THE ROAD OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY AND MADE THEIR LIFE HAPPIER AND MORE BEAUTIFUL. THEY ARE PROUD OF WHAT THEY HAVE ACHIEVED AND SURE OF THEIR FUTURE. THE ROAD THEY HAVE TRAVERSED SHOWS THE POWERFUL UNITY OF THE PEOPLE, THEIR STEEL UNITY ROUND THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA WHICH HAS BEEN THE DECISIVE FACTOR BOTH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER.

During their centuries-long history the Albanian people have had to cope with many savage enemies which aimed at the occupation of the country, its dismemberment, the wiping out of the Albanian nation, the oppression and exploitation of the people. Their history is full of struggles and efforts to defend their territories, win their freedom and independence, develop the Albanian language and school, and ensure social justice and progress. The lofty virtues of the Albanian people, their patriotism, their

freedom-loving spirit, their bravery and self-abnegation, have always been prominent in these struggles.

A still greater struggle our people had to wage against the nazi-fascist occupiers. The National Liberation War is the most glorious epic in the long series of our people's struggles for freedom. This time, however, the Albanian people went to war with the true and loyal leadership they had sought for so long — the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), which brought about the unity of all patriotic and progressive people in the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland. Never

in the past had our people such a leadership loyal to the end to their interests and such a powerful unity of forces as that created by the Party. These were two major successes, the foundation of all the future victories.

Founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, since its creation on November 8, 1941 the Party issued the call for relentless war against the enemy who had occupied the country. Understanding the great strength of the people's unity, the Party strove right from the beginning to establish the fighting unity of the Albanian people who, in determined struggle with the nazi-fascist occupiers and the local traitors, achieved the complete liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution.

The National Liberation Front was the best and the most effective form the Party found for the achievement of this unity. On September 16, 1942, 10 months after the founding of the Party and on its initiative, the Conference of Peza was held, which laid the foundations of the political and organizational unity of the people on

a national scale and adopted the platform of the National Liberation War worked out by the Communist Party of Albania. The National Liberation Front created at Peza of Tirana was a front uniting all the people without distinction as to class, religion, region or ideas, in the struggle against the fascist occupiers. The line of the Party in the Front aimed at the union of all honest people, of all the democratic political forces of the country, of all those who were ready to fight against the occupiers and the local traitors for a free, independent and democratic people's Albania. In implementing this line the Front united in its ranks all the patriotic people of the city and country who loved their Homeland and hated fascism.

The pseudo-patriots, reactionaries and their traitor organizations founded as a reaction to the national liberation struggle of the people — «Balli kombëtar», «Legaliteti» and the other traitor forces hostile to the interests of the country, made common cause with the occupiers and, together with their armies, turned their weapons towards the freedom-loving people. In this situation the local traitors, too, had to be fought in order to drive the foreign occupiers out of the country. This struggle deepened the popular character of the National Liberation War and its features of a people's revolution. All this brought about the smashing of the foreign occupiers and, together with them, of their local collaborators and their state apparatus. In the process of their struggle the people go to know ever better their true and loyal sons and daughters, the communists, who fought in the forefront for freedom and democracy, and their local enemies who had trained their guns on them to keep them in bondage. As a result, the masses tightened their ranks even more round the Party under whose leadership they liberated their Homeland on November 29, 1944, 40 years ago, and achieved the triumph of the people's revolution.

The Party correctly assessed the patriotic, freedom-loving and democratic traditions our people had inherited from the past, raised them to a higher level and worked with patience and maturity to educate the masses of the people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism and for the ideals of a new life, without oppressors and oppressed. It is the great merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that they knew how to link the problem of national liberation organically with that of social liberation and the seizure of power by the people. In the struggle against the occupiers and local traitors the enemy were defeated and their state power was destroyed, and a new state power, the people's power, was set up in the liberated areas. During the war, the functions of this state power were exercised by the councils of the National Liberation Front. On the eve of the liberation of the country, when most of Albania was already liberated, when the organs of the state power had been set up and were operating from the base to the centre, it became necessary to set them apart as independent organs and run the National Liberation Front (today the Democratic Front of Albania) only as a political organization led by the Party and uniting the broad masses of the people in its ranks.

In the steel unity of the people round the Party lies the cause of the victory of our people in the National Liberation War. After Liberation, firmly based on this revolutionary unity, the Party successfully led the revolution from the anti-imperialist democratic stage to the stage of the socialist revolution, the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism.

After Liberation, the program of the Party was in complete accord with the aspirations of the working people. United in the Democratic Front under the leadership of the Party, they worked with enthusiasm for the

reconstruction of the country and its transformation on the democratic and socialist road. The working class, as the leading class of society, became the master of the factories and mines. A deep-going land reform gave the peasants the land they had been yearning for centuries. Likewise, the people's power took a number of other measures of a political, economic and social character which set our country out on the road of development and improved the living of the people.

With the measures taken by the Party and the people's power, and with the work and toil of the working people, a powerful and multi-branched industry was created in our country. Albania, once the most backward country in Europe, today has a metallurgical combine, a number of powerful hydro-power stations, an ever-expanding railway network and its own merchant fleet. It figures among those few countries in the world which have achieved the complete electrification of all their villages. Our industry today is in a position to process most of our minerals and primary materials, to produce spare parts for the maintenance of machinery and equipment, to construct production lines and complete factories, farming machines, diverse transport means, and many other articles to meet the needs of the country and export. It accounts for about 60 per cent of the social product of the country which has increased 156 times over the 1938 level.

Following in the road shown by the Party, our countryside has made great progress in all directions. The collectivization of agriculture, this second revolution in the countryside, which was carried out gradually on a voluntary basis and established the socialist relations of production in the countryside, too, provided greater possibilities for the expansion of agricultural production at high rates, its development on scientific bases, its ever greater reliance on a powerful

technical base and the ever better supply of industry with primary materials and of the population with agricultural and livestock products. The policy followed by the Party in the field of agriculture enabled Albania, a country that could not feed its own people in the past so that many of them were forced to emigrate to foreign countries for a piece of bread, to meet today all its needs for bread grain and increase its total agricultural production 5.2 fold as compared with 1938. With us there is no more talk of swamps and floods, but of the reclamation and opening up of new land, higher yields, the application of agrotechnical sciences on an ever larger scale.

Colossal changes have taken place in the material and spiritual life of the people. Tens of thousands of new houses have been built in city and countryside, with 80 per cent of the present population of the country living in them, and the network of trade and communal services has been greatly expanded. Education and culture have undergone great development, too. The press, the book, the radio, the television and cinematography reach now the remotest corners of the country. A broad network of health institutions with qualified personnel and all the necessary equipment protect the health of the people. Medical aid and education in our country are free of charge for everybody. Socialist Albania is the only country in the world without taxes and fees. Prices for industrial articles and food-stuffs have undergone several successive reduction during these 40 years.

All those successes have not been achieved easily. To attain the present level of development our people had to work hard, overcome many difficulties and obstacles and wage a fierce class struggle with internal and external enemies. Many a time the American, English and other imperialists, the Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists have tried to stop our onward march

and divert us from our road. They have resorted to pressure, blockade, plots, sabotage and threats, but our people and the Party have faced up to them successfully, have fought and won over them, because they have been always united and linked together like flesh to bone, because they have always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

Great are the transformations made and the victories achieved in all fields of activity under the leadership of the Party. But the greatest achievement is that in the process of work for the construction and defence of socialism, our new man was born and educated, a man endowed with the lofty features and virtues of communist morality. Our man — worker, peasant, intellectual, young or old, puts the interest of the Party, the people and the Homeland above everything, works and struggles with a high sense of duty for the construction and defence of socialism, providing everyday brilliant examples of heroism. Our working class has grown and waxed stronger. Aware of its leading role in society, educated with the teachings of the Party, it gives its tone to the whole life of the country. Its revolutionary drive is felt everywhere people work and its great capacities for the application of modern technique are seen in the major construction projects. Our peasantry, with its brilliant patriotic traditions, has resolutely set out on the socialist road and, under the leadership of the Party, carried the victories achieved further ahead. Our people's intelligentsia emerged from the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, works and struggles side by side with them for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland in putting scientific knowledge in the service of the development and advance of the country. All these achievements and the education of the new man are the result of a great convincing and education work carried out with patience and persistence

amongst people to combat alien left-overs and manifestations, old and new, as well as manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and conservatism wherever they turn up.

The Albanian woman, half of the population of the country, was liberated once and for good from centuries-long oppression. Her complete equality with man is guaranteed not only by our Constitution and other laws of our state, but also in practice. Women's energies, these huge forces lying dormant for centuries, have now been put fully in the service of the construction of socialism. However, the struggle for the complete emancipation of the woman and the whole society is a process in uninterrupted development.

Socialism ensured our youth their good upbringing, education and knowledge. New generations have been born and have grown in the years of free and independent Albania. They are educated with the ideology of the Party and in the spirit of communist morality. Our youth studies, works and at the same time trains itself for the defence of the country and takes an active part in the construction of socialism, always ready to carry the torch of the revolution forward.

The deep-going revolutionary transformations have brought about the disappearance of antagonistic classes in our country. Our society today is made up of two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. They have the same interests and strive jointly to achieve the same aim — the construction of socialist society and the defence of its victories. Thus, these two classes are linked in a strong alliance with each other. And precisely the vitally important alliance of the working class, as the leading class, with the cooperativist peasantry represents the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the foundation of the unity

of the people, is a great motor force of our socialist society and an unsurmountable wall against which all the enemies, internal or external, have broken their heads.

«Never before», says the leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, «has the Albanian people been so united in their interests, in the political and ideological views, in their moral norms and social conduct as they are today. This steel unity forged by the Party in the heroic battles for the liberation of the Homeland and the great socialist transformations lies today at the foundation of the people's power, of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and makes them unshakable and unconquerable».¹

The unity of our people is a vivid historical reality. It manifests itself everyday, in all the major or minor events of our country and in the mobilization of our people to carry out the tasks set in the state plan, and in the defence of the Homeland. This unity had its powerful expression in the elections for the local and central organs of state power in which about 100 per cent of the electors went to the polls and 99 per cent of them voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

The spirit of unity, collectivism, sincere mutual love and solidarity have manifested themselves both on occasions of joy as well as when natural calamities, such as earthquakes, have struck our country. Our entire people have risen to their feet and, under the leadership of the Party, have come immediately to the assistance of the victims and helped them heal their wounds within the shortest time possible. Our reality is the best proof of the unity of the people with the Party, as expressed in the people's saying, «What the Party says the people do, and what the people say the Party does».

The unity of our people grows and strengthens ceaselessly, for it rests on sound political, ideological and economic grounds. The political base of

this unity is the general line of the Party for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. This line has always expressed the interests and aspirations of the working masses, so everybody struggles for its implementation. Its ideological basis are Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat and the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, which guide and inspire all activities in our country. The socio-economic basis of our unity is the socialist ownership of the means of production which has been established everywhere, in city and country, and grows constantly, as well as the socialist relations of production which are ceaselessly perfected in the process of the construction of socialism.

The unity of our people round the Party now is stronger than ever. Still, it is steeled and perfected further in the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The Democratic Front, as an organization of the broad people's masses, has played and continues to play an important role in the further strengthening of this unity.

As the direct continuor of the National Liberation Front, the Democratic Front is led by the Party of Labour of Albania and expresses thoughts, aspirations and carries out policies that are to the good of the Albanian people. It plays a very active role in the period of the socialist construction of the country, as it did in the period of the National Liberation War. Being one of the main levers of the Party in its links with the masses, the Democratic Front carries out a broad education and political work with the masses for their mobilization in the fulfilment of all the tasks of the state plan, for the implanting of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the norms of the communist morality and socialist patriotism in everybody. Led by the vanguard of the working class, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Democratic Front has such strength and maturity as to cope,

in the most diverse forms, with all internal and external problems, however complicated they may be.

The Party has charged the organization of the Democratic Front with great and important tasks such as drawing the masses to the governing of the country, strengthening our people's power, developing and perfecting socialist democracy, the true democracy for the broad working masses.

In the PSRA, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the masses enjoy all the blessings of the socialist order and socialist democracy. They are not only expressed in and sanctioned by law, but also expressed and realized in everyday life. Under the Constitution, the exploitation of man by man is prohibited in our country, and work is considered an honour and a duty. Our socialist state takes the appropriate measures to ensure jobs for all in accordance with the plans for the development of the economy and people's culture. Our society honours and respects the working man, the man who puts all his forces and capabilities in the service of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. Unemployment and emigration in our country are only a bitter memory of the past, and our economy knows no crises, inflation or price rises. It develops and grows in a planned manner, ensuring the well-being of the masses and the independence of the country. Albania is an independent country and in debt to nobody. With us the granting of concessions for the exploitation of the resources of our country to foreign companies or states and the taking of credits from them is prohibited by law. The establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops and the use of our territory to the detriment of other peoples and states is prohibited, too.

All citizens in our country are equal before the law, equal in their rights and equal in their duties. The proletarian state and the whole society struggle for the constant raising of

the well-being of the entire people, and do not allow the creation of privileged strata. The ratio between average workers' wages and top functionaries' salaries is 1:2. The differences between city and country, between physical and mental labour, are being constantly narrowed in our country.

Our Constitution recognizes to citizens the freedom of speech, the press and meeting. Anybody can write in big letters and without any fear what he thinks about work and people. Voting is general, equal, direct and secret. The same rights and freedoms recognized to Albanians are also recognized to national minorities. Any national privilege or inequality and any action that violates the rights of national minorities in our country is anti-Constitutional and is punished by law. Only criminals and fascists, chauvinists and war-mongers, oppressors and exploiters, hooligans and drug-addicts have no freedom in our country.

In our country the masses take an active part in the running of the country, in the running of the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in supervising the activity of state organs, etc. No important problem raised by the Party or emerging in everyday life remains undiscussed by the broad people's masses who are called on to express their opinion on it and work for its solution. Organized in the Democratic Front they freely express their opinions about all pro-

blems of social or personal interest. The masses have the right to exercise control on anybody — state organs and functionaries elected or appointed. At the meetings of the Democratic Front those elected or appointed to the organs of state administration are regularly called on to render account in a spirit of debate and confrontation so that they serve the people with fairness according to the laws of our socialist state and the norms of the Party. The masses fight anybody or any action that infringes, no matter how little, the popular character of our people's power, any manifestation of liberalism, bureaucracy or technocracy that weakens it.

Along with the development and strengthening of the socialist order, proletarian democracy grows and expands, and the unity of the people waxes stronger. What happens in our country is the opposite of what occurs in the bourgeois-revisionist countries. In these countries there is much talk about democracy which is supposed to exist there. But, in the best of cases, it is only written on paper and remains unapplied in practice. In the bourgeois and revisionist countries democracy is only for the minority, for the exploiting class, which through its manipulated elections changes only the teams in power. There is no democracy for the broad people's masses, for the proletariat and the peasantry. There can be no democracy

for the masses in a country where man is exploited by man, where capitalist profit is the only aim, where crises, unemployment, inflation, price rises, fellow-travellers of capitalism, make the life of the working people ever worse. A country that follows a chauvinist, expansionist and war-mongering policy, a state that violates the freedom and independence of another state, or a country that is plunged in debt or admits foreign military bases or troops on its territory, can never be democratic.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania follows a just, independent policy which is in the interest of the prosperity of its people, the defence of their freedom, and in the interest of peace, security and social progress. It has diplomatic relations with many states of the world and develops trade relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Thanks to the correct line followed by the Party and the self-denying work of the people, our country is building a new life and enjoy the respect and sympathy of progressive people, of many friends and well-wishers. In unity with the Party, our people fight to carry their achievements, the socialist revolution and the complete construction of the socialist society, further ahead.

1 Enver Hoxha, Speech before the electors, November 1982, p. 15, Alb. ed.

THE DYNAMIC AND PROPORTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY *by HASAN BANJA*

With the development the economy of the PSR of Albania has assumed, wide perspectives opened before it, it has become now a many-branched and stable economy, free of inflation and price rises, and such other phenomena which are typical of a socialist economy.

IN THE 40 YEARS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER (1944-1984) ALBANIA HAS TAKEN A BIG STEP FORWARD EQUAL TO AN HISTORICAL EPOCH. IT EMERGED FROM THE MEDIAEVAL BLIND ALLEYS, FROM THE CONDITION OF PROFOUND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS, TO THE BROAD ROAD OF REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS OF A SOCIALIST CHARACTER IN THE ECONOMIC BASE, THE CLASS STRUCTURE AND THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.

1.

Pre-Liberation Albania was a backward country which, compared with the industrialized countries, had a low level of economic development, a country with feudal-bourgeois relations of production, which did not reach the phase of developed industrial capitalism. Up till the end of the Second World War the feudal-bourgeois relations of production were responsible for the extremely low level of the development of the productive forces.

With its trade accords, concessions and other capitulating agreements, especially with its «open doors» policy, the anti-popular regime of Zog facilitated and favoured the flow of foreign monopoly capital to Albania on a large scale. The foreign countries and monopoly companies, especially fascist Italy, extended their tentacles and occupied commanding positions in the Albanian economy through capital investments and their financial policy, credits and monetary policy. SVEA (the Association for the Economic Development of Albania) was the first which on March 15, 1925,

began to penetrate into the country by means of a minimum credit of 50 million gold francs and prepared the conditions for the military occupation of the country by fascist Italy later. Other foreign capitalist companies exploited the oil-fields, chromium, copper, natural bitumen, mines, the forests, transport and the most fertile lands of the country.

As the leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «The accords for the setting up of the National Bank of Albania, the loan of 100 million gold francs for a term of ten years (1931), the accord for the systematization of the finances of the Albanian state, the loan accorded by the monopoly of tobacco, were the compensation which Italian fascism gave the government of the clique of Zog in order to get hold of the land deeds of Albania, to colonize our country...»¹

The local bourgeoisie, which possessed trading capital mainly engaged little in industry. It invested its capital especially in the light and food-processing industry, because the exploitation of the assets of our underground was directly in the hands of

foreign monopoly capital, especially Italian capital, which had become, «...the real master of the national economy of Albania. It turned the country into a market for the sale of industrial goods and a source of raw materials.»²

The small-scale artisan production prevailed in the towns. In 1938 Albania numbered about five thousands handicraftsmen (who had the licence to exercise their trades). The small commodity producers, the artisans in the towns and the poor peasantry, were continuously discriminated against as a result of the struggle of competition, especially on the part of foreign capital.

In the countryside there were pronounced feudal leftovers, although here, too, capitalist relations had begun to develop. Nevertheless, although the rich peasantry grew economically stronger, it did not succeed in becoming a developed landed bourgeoisie. The capitalist relations of production at that time were introduced mainly in the state farms set up by Italian capital, and in some farms which were owned by Albanian capitalists. Land ownership was divided in the following manner: seven big landowner families possessed 3.70 per cent of the land, 4,713 rich owners who made up 3 per cent of the families of the country possessed 23.16 per cent of the land, medium and small owners who made up 83 per cent of the families of the country possessed 60.43 per cent of the land. This left 14 per cent of the peasantry without land. The Albanian countryside numbered 118,500

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ELOPMENT

*the level it has reached and with the
alized economy which knows no spontaneity and anarchy, crises,
the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist economy*

landowners, 15,000 crop-sharers, nearly 14,000 landless peasants and 7,500 families of hired labourers.

The structure of the economy before Liberation was one-sided and typically agrarian; industry supplied only 6.6 per cent of the total volume of industrial-agricultural production (estimated at the 1981 prices) and accounted for 5.3 per cent of the national income realized. The level of industrial production per capita of population was extremely low. Export goods, as regards their volume, structure and degree of industrialization, had a very limited range and consisted mainly of unfinished primary materials, whereas 4/5 of imports consisted of industrialized articles and food-stuffs. The amount of import of machinery and technical equipment was insignificant.

2.

In order to put an end to the great economic backwardness, to develop the productive forces, and to introduce the country into the road of advancement and prosperity, the road of socialism, the task of carrying out the revolutionary transformations in the relations of production was put on the order of the day.

The successful conclusion of our People's Revolution, which was crowned with the complete liberation of the country and the transition of state power from the hands of the landowners and the bourgeoisie into the hands of the working class in

alliance with the working peasantry, led by the Party which was and remains the only leading political force of the country, raised the only possible alternative of the development of the country on the road of socialism.

Right after Liberation the measures adopted in the economy were aimed at ensuring state supervision and control over the activity of the enterprises which were owned by the bourgeoisie, putting in order the monetary circulation, securing the regular supply of the people, etc. All this was achieved through the establishment of the worker control over the economic enterprises, the state control over the relations of commodity, money exchanges and foreign trade, the application of the measures for the socialist nationalization of the main means of production which led to the creation of the socialist state sector in industry and other branches of the economy. The socialist nationalization of the main means of production was completed within a relatively short period transferred to the hands of the socialist state. That was the first stone laid at the foundations of the development of Albania on the road of socialism, and the question was raised of proceeding at more rapid steps on this road.

A central place in the process of the revolutionary transformations of the relations of production was occupied by the agrarian question. Before Liberation Albania was a typically backward agrarian country with 87 per cent of the active population

of the country engaged in agriculture and the rest in industry, transport, constructions, trade and the system of finance and credit institutions. The first step in this process was the Land Reform, which was promulgated in August 1945 and was carried out in November 1946. This marked the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. The essence of the Reform was the democratic transformation of the socio-economic relations in the Albanian village, the liquidation of the big landowner and capitalist ownership of the land, the wiping out of the leftovers of feudalism and the liquidation of landowners as a class. Besides restricting private ownership of the land, the Land Reform contained in itself elements of a marked anti-capitalist character. About 90 per cent of the total acreage of the land that was expropriated was distributed free to 70 thousand peasant families without or with little land. All the peasants and landowners who worked the land themselves were allowed no more than 5 hectares of land. In this manner, although the Land Reform retained the existence of small private ownership of the land by the working peasant and increased the weight of the middle peasant, making him the central figure in the countryside, it prohibited the selling and buying of the land under any title or its mortgaging, thus reducing the scope of the development of capitalism in the countryside and creating the premises for the socialist cooperation of the small producers of the countryside.

In a country like Albania, in which small commodity producers represented a great part of the population in town and especially in the countryside, the picture of the transformations in the economic base would be incomplete had it not covered also this sector of the economy, which in 1950 supplied nearly 4/5 of the total social product.

The cooperativist movement in the field of production and circulation in town and countryside began in the years immediately after Liberation. In the countryside it went through two stages. The first stage covers the period 1946-1955, and the second stage the period 1956-1967. Each of these stages has its characteristics and specific tasks. The first stage is characterized by the preparation of the ideological, political, economic and psychological conditions for convincing the peasants about the correctness of the road of collectivization, as the future of the countryside, as the secure road towards raising the economic, social and cultural level of the countryside, and of raising the well-being of the peasantry. The second stage is characterized by high rates of collectivization. In 1960 the cooperativist socialist sector covered 95 per cent of the arable land and 71 per cent of the peasant economies.

The completion of the socialist cooperation of small producers in town and, especially, in the countryside led to the construction of the economic base of socialism in the economy of the whole country.

The deep-going revolutionary transformation in the field of the relations of ownership, which were realized during the stage of the revolution and socialist construction, created the possibilities for going over to an important historical change, i.e. the attainment of the objective set by the Party for the liquidation of the old economic base and the setting up of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside, through the establishment of the relations of production which have the two forms of the socialist ownership of the means of production (state socialist ownership and cooperativist socialist ownership) at their base. In 1960 the socialist sector of the economy (the state

and the cooperativist sectors) realized about 90 per cent of the national income, 99 per cent of the total industrial production, over 80 per cent of the total agricultural production, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, and 90 per cent of the retail trade. Hence, in 1960, only 16 years after Liberation and the establishment of the people's state power, the many-sectored economy of the country was replaced overall by the single system of the socialist economy, the socialist ownership of the means of production was established on the entire economy of the country, the economic base of socialism, in general, was built and Albania entered the new historical stage of the complete construction of the socialist society.

3.

The building of the economic base of socialism and the creation of the single socialist system of the economy raised the imperative task of organizing and running the socialist economy, of establishing the economic principles, criteria and laws that would be placed at the foundations of its operation and development, in conformity with the aims which a truly socialist system must achieve. From the first years after Liberation, in March 1946, when he presented the program of the new popular democratic government of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy and its setting out on the road of socialism was one of the main tasks and that «in order to carry out these tasks, as well as enthusiasm drive, and a sense of duty, sound organization and work to a plan are required.»³

The management and development of our socialist economy according to plan as well as the placing of the system of economic laws at the foundation of its management were achieved thanks to the creation of two fundamental conditions: the existence of the political power of the working class and the establishment of the socialist ownership of the means of production. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «The Party has al-

ways considered the unified general state plan of the economy as the decisive means for the management of the economy in a centralized manner. Basing itself on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the social ownership of the means of production, the Party has fought for the implementation of its program of the socialist construction of the country.»⁴

The planned economy is an attribute of the socialist socio-economic system. It is realizable only when the social ownership of the means of production has been established completely, a thing which is characteristic of socialism only, whereas the economic system which relies on the private ownership of the means of production is not and cannot be adapted to centralized planning. The same is true also about the system of economic laws which operate in our socialist economy. It is the opposite of the system of laws that operate in the capitalist economy. With the establishment of the socialist relations of production, the specific economic laws of the bourgeois society ceased to operate and the economic laws of socialism began to operate instead in our economy. The system of economic laws that operate in our economy include the specific economic laws of socialism, the laws that operate in different socio-economic orders and the general laws. In our country the main place is occupied by the specific economic laws, such as the fundamental law of socialism, the law of the planned, proportional development of the economy, the law of distribution according to work, etc. Other laws, such as those that operate in some socio-economic orders (the law of value, etc.), and the general laws operate in the context of and are subjected to the specific economic laws of socialism.

The sphere of the operation of the economic laws of socialism has expanded ceaselessly hand in hand with the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of the socialist relations of production. Therefore, the possibility of knowing these laws has increased continuously along with the material, social, educational and cultural progress, with the broadening of knowledge, experience and

the raising of the consciousness of the working people.

Democratic centralism, which stems from the nature of our socialist society, the unified system of our economy, the very nature of large-scale socialist production, the democratic character of our state, is one of the fundamental principles on which the management and organization of our economy is based.

In the report submitted to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The people's economy, as a unified socialist economy, is run on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and the general state plan.»⁵

The essence of democratic centralism in the economy consists in the centralized management of the economy by a single centre, by the socialist state, in conformity with the general line and the economic policy of the Party, co-ordinate with the broad active and conscious involvement of the working masses in all the questions which have to do with the development and administration of the economy.

The unity of centralism with democracy ensures the application of the one norm and directive for the whole economy, brings about the total mobilization of human, material and financial resources for the advancement of the economy, for its development according to a unified general state plan, for the co-ordination of activities for the attainment of the targets set.

The Party, through centralism, ensures the development of the people's economy in a stable manner, in conformity with the tasks of its economic policy, which are embodied in the state plan, ensures the application of state control over production, distribution and consumption, the implementation of a single policy of work norms, defines the responsibility of the lower organs to the higher organs for the carrying out of the plan, the implementation of decisions and the economic and the observation of financial legislation, ensures that the general interests and those of the perspective override the narrow interests of departments, districts, enterprises or agricultural cooperatives.

In this manner, centralism in the economy secures the implementation of a unified economic policy in the context of the entire national economy, its rapid and proportional development in every cell of the country. It is a means which makes the economic laws of socialism effective, a means of combating manifestations of departmentalism and rounding things up, of one-sidedness in the carrying out of the tasks of the plan.

Centralism in the management of the economy is profoundly socialist and democratic because it ensures the correct combination of the unified state management with the organized initiative and participation of the masses in the expression of their opinion, in the approval of and control over the attainment of targets of the development of the economy correctly and in time.

That is why the Party has always seen to it that these two aspects, namely the unified running of the economy and the line of the masses, complement one another ever better, because any opposition to them is fraught with the danger of slipping into bureaucracy and technocracy, prepares the ground for manifestations of liberalism and voluntarism in the economy, with all the negative consequences that come therefrom.

The management of our economy according to the principle of democratic centralism has always been carried out in close connection with the unified general plan by one single centre, the socialist state. In the first years after Liberation our economy began to develop on the basis of partial plans and one two-year plan (1949-1950) and later, over a period of 35 years, on the basis of five-year plans, each of which has had its objectives and tasks and its specific features.

The planning of the work in our economy has continuously extended from the point of view of methodology. It is comprised of the principles, tasks, criteria and rules of planning, the procedure and road of the drafting and endorsement of the plan (beginning from the basic cells of the economy: enterprise and agricultural cooperative), the system of indices in kind, value, quantity and

quality, the time-limit of submitting and endorsing the plans, etc. In the present stage of the intensive development of our economy, when it relies completely on its own forces, the problems of the increase of efficiency of the economy, of the most effective utilization of work sources, natural assets, the material and financial value occupy an ever more important place.

In the management of our socialist economy a special role is played by the socialist state, which, proceeding from the ideology and the economic policy of the Party and under its leadership, carries out important economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions that bear on essential problems of the economy, such as the concentration of centralized financial sources and investments for the priority development of the sphere of material production and the social-cultural sectors, the system of wages, prices, the monopoly of foreign trade, etc. in the hands of the state.

4.

The application of the fundamental principles and criteria of the management and organization of the economy without wavering, the reflection of the requirements of the economic laws of socialism in the plans of economic development ever more thoroughly, and the perfecting of management of the economy in all its links, especially the efforts to ensure the leading role of the PLA in the economy, as in all other fields, brought about the dynamic and proportionate development of our economy. The backwardness in the level of development of the productive forces was liquidated within a relatively short time. Socialist industrialization, which occupies a central place in the economic policy of the Party and the activity of the socialist state in the conditions of the transition of our state from the technical-economic backwardness of semi-feudal relations directly to socialism, by passing the phase of developed industrial capitalism, has made big strides forward. From a formerly backward agrarian country, Albania of the years of the people's state power

has been transformed into a developed agrarian-industrial country. The heavy, extracting and processing industry, and along with it, the light and food-processing industry, have assumed great development. Important qualitative improvements have been made to the structure of the branches of industry and its distribution over the whole territory of the country. A series of new branches of industry have been created, such as energy iron-nickel, chemical, engineering industry, the industry of mineral enrichment and the production of chromium and copper concentrates, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, etc. Statistical data show that industry is the branch of the economy that has developed at more rapid rates and is ever better playing its leading role in the overall development of our national economy. In 1983 the volume of total industrial production increased 6.1 fold compared to 1960, nearly 2.4 fold compared to 1970, and nearly 1.5 fold compared to 1975. Within industrial production, the production of the means of production (group «A») has increased at more rapid rates. In 1983 the production of the means of production increased 8 fold compared to 1960, 2.6 fold compared to 1970, and nearly 1.7 fold compared to 1975. In the beginning of the 80's group «A» accounted for 2/3 of the industrial production. In the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), in conformity with the directives approved at the 8th Congress of the PLA, total industrial production will increase at an average annual rate of 6.5 per cent, of which the production of the means of production 6.8 per cent and the production of the consumption goods 6 per cent. The proportion of the production of the implements and tools of work in the structure of the means of production is continuously increasing, accounting for more than 12 per cent of the growth, against 4.2 per cent in 1969. The development of heavy industry has been achieved on the basis of the correct harmonization of extracting and processing industry, a thing which is dictated by the aim of the uninterrupted development and ceaseless strengthening of the productive forces, the need of creating a most efficient structure of industry and the other

branches of the economy. On this basis the relationship between the different parts of the structure of industrial production has changed, with a tendency of increase of the proportion of production in the heavy and light processing industries.

The rapid-rate development of industry and the qualitative changes of its structure have been accompanied with noticeable changes in the structure of our export-imports. Before Liberation the volume, structure and list of export goods were limited and consisted mainly of commodities of agricultural origin, whereas today Albania exports a wide range of industrial article such as oil by-products, electric energy, mineral ore concentrates, carbonic ferro-chrome, basic carbonate, copper wires and cables, ready-made clothes, canned fruit and vegetable, etc. Our processed industrial goods now occupy more than 70 per cent of the structure of exports, as against nearly 24 per cent in 1955.

The development of industry has been achieved in harmony with the development of agriculture. These two branches have been considered as the key branches of material production. The unwavering line of the Party for the economic development of the country has been and remains the line of the harmonization and proportionate development of industry, the growth rates of which have not been achieved at the expense of agriculture or by slowing down its growth rates. This is an indispensable condition for a stable and independent economy, which relies strongly on the harmonization of the extensive road of the development of agriculture with its intensive road, giving priority to the latter, the increase of the arable land, the rapid increase of yields of field crops and the productivity of livestock, as well as the raising of the general economic, social and cultural level in the countryside. As a result of this policy agricultural production has increased from one five-year plan to the other. In 1983 the volume of total agricultural production increased 3.1 fold compared to 1960, twofold compared to 1970, and 18 per cent compared to 1980. In the years of the people's state power the farming area reclaimed from the draining of swamps

in the plains and from the opening up of new lands in the hilly and mountainous zone of the country, has increased nearly 2.5 times. Bearing in mind the fact that our country is a predominately mountainous country, with a limited acreage per work force and capita of population, the increase of agricultural production is achieved mainly through modernization and intensification of agriculture, the increase of yields of field crops and the productivity of livestock at rapid rates. In 1983 the yields and productivity reached new higher levels. The average yield achieved in all the acreage sown with wheat was 30.9 quintals per hectare, of which 41.3 quintals per hectare in the plains, against 7 quintals of wheat per hectare that was taken in 1938, and 18.4 quintals of wheat per hectare in 1970. The yields of maize in 1983 reached an average of 41.3 quintals per hectare, of which 63.7 quintals per hectare were taken in the plains. The increase of the production of bread grain with priority, beginning from 1976, has enabled our country to produce locally the whole amount of bread grain needed for a population that continues to increase at rapid rates. Along with this the volume of production of other field crops has increased and the ratio of the growth of production from the extension on the acreage and increase of yields has changed. While in the 4th Five-year Plan (1966-1970) the increase of agricultural production was ensured from the extension of the acreage (55 per cent) and from the increase of yields (45 per cent), in the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) the ratio between them was 23 and 77 per cent respectively, in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) they were further improved to 16 and 84 per cent respectively, and in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) it is envisaged that more than 90 per cent of the increase of agricultural production will be ensured from the increase of yields.

In the report submitted to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that intensification will be the main road of development of agriculture in the future. Along with the intensification of agriculture in general, the Congress adopted a ten-year long-term program for the

priority intensification of agriculture in the zone of the coastal plains, the first stage of which covers 102,000 hectares and is being applied now in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985). Besides bread grain, our agriculture produces cotton, sunflower, tobacco, sugar-beet, etc. At present the field crops occupy more than 4/5 of the area of arable land and supply more than 60 per cent of the total agricultural production. Great investments have been made in the development of fruit-growing, the increase of the irrigable land, which now occupies about 54 per cent of the whole acreage of agricultural land, in vegetable-growing, in setting up livestock- and poultry-raising complexes, specializing in the production of meat, milk and eggs.

The rapid-rate development of material production is accompanied with the extension and intensification of transports: motor, rail and sea transport. In 1982, as against 1960, the volume of circulation of goods by transport on roads increased 7.3 fold. The extension of the railway network and the connection of many towns, regions and industrial centres by railways, has increased its role and weight in the goods circulation. Nearly half of the volume of circulation of goods for the Ministry of Communications is occupied today by railway transport.

The intensification and continuous raising of the efficiency of our economy has brought about the increase of the financial resources of the state and the uninterrupted financing of the people's economy and the social-cultural sectors. In 1982, the total volume of investments increased 3.7 fold as against 1960, 1.7 fold as against 1970, 9 per cent as against 1980.

The concentration of work, fundamental productive investments and material values in the sphere of material production has brought about the increase of social production at more rapid rates than the natural increase of population. In the last ten years (1971-1980) the social product has increased at an annual average rate of 5.4 per cent, whereas the population has increased 2.3 per cent. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «At the dynamic rates with which our socialist economy develops, social pro-

duction doubles within one decade at a time when the population of the country doubles in every three decades. This means that the development of material production in our country creates the possibility for a better ever increasing supply for the population, meeting the needs arising both from the increase of the population and from the gradual but steady increase of consumption per capita.»⁶

The extended socialist reproduction ensures the extended consumption for the needs of productive consumption and consumption by the people. In each stage of development the indices of production are combined with the plan of the material-technical supply and with that of the retail goods turnover, with the purchasing power of the population and the currency in circulation. This is achieved through the unified plan in conformity with the extension of the sphere of production. The rates of the retail goods turnover have shown a tendency to rise from one five-year plan to the other. In 1980, as against 1950 the total goods turnover increased 10.9 fold, whereas in 1985 it is envisaged to increase 13.6 fold.

During the whole 40-year period of the development of our economy to plan the aim has been to ensure that in the distribution and utilization of national income, the accumulation fund increases at more rapid rates on the basis of internal material and financial resources. In this field, our Party remains unshaken in its economic policy because without accumulation, without ensuring its increase with priority, the attainment of rapid rates of development of the productive forces and the increase of the social product is impossible. At the same time, this has secured the gradual and steady increase of the consumption fund for the raising of the material well-being and the cultural level of the working masses continuously. The dividing up of the national income into accumulation fund and consumption fund during the five-year planned periods fluctuates within the ratio of 26:74 per cent.

The increase of the social product and national income in our country has been secured both through the increase of the number of working peo-

ple and through the increase of the productivity of social labour. Harmonization of these two ways, giving priority to the increase of the national product and national income through the increase of the productivity of social labour, speaks of that distinctive feature of our economy which consists in its intensification and increased efficiency, the technical-scientific progress and the application of its results in production, the raising of the scientific level of management and organization of the economy.

5.

The rapid development of the productive forces has been accompanied in our country with the ceaseless perfecting of the relations of production, which play their role ever better as the social form of the productive forces. In the nearly four decades of the existence of the people's state power the system of the relations of production, the socialist ownership of the means of production which lies at its foundation, and the relations of distribution and exchange, have been perfected continuously. Socialist state property consists no longer of the small nucleus of the past, but has been extended and strengthened beyond all comparison. This has been achieved not only through state investments, but also through the efforts to bring part of the ownership of the group in town and countryside closer together and integrate it into the socialist state ownership. In this issue the Party has pursued the line of bringing the ownership of the group closer to and gradually merging it with the ownership of the entire people, as the highest form of ownership of the means of production in socialism. In conformity with this policy, in the beginning of the 70's, when the economic, political and ideological conditions had matured, the handicrafts cooperatives, the cooperatives of consumption and buyer-and-seller cooperatives, which until then had functioned as economic organizations of the masses, went over to the state sector of the economy.

Qualitative changes are taking place in the countryside, too, regarding the

strengthening of group ownership and the maturing of the conditions for bringing it closer to and making its transition to the ownership of the entire people. In the beginning of the 70's the first higher-type cooperatives were set up. Their aim was to secure the increase of the agricultural and livestock production in the most fertile plains of the country, first, and, then, to create the conditions for their gradual transformation into state farms. In these cooperatives, which have and retain the form of group ownership, the state participates with investments which consist mainly of means of production. In this way it makes its contribution to the intensification of production through supplementary financial means, which are beyond the possibilities of the agricultural cooperatives. The higher-type cooperatives today represent a relatively high proportion in the cooperativist sector of agriculture. At present they occupy about 17 per cent of the arable land of the country. In recent years, on the basis of their development some of them have been transformed into state farms with the consent of their members and the approval of the state.

An important place in the strengthening of group ownership in the countryside and its rapprochement to and gradual transformation into ownership of the whole people, is occupied by the long-term program of the Party for the priority intensification of agricultural production on the coastal zone of the country, and for the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, both of the common type and of the higher type, in which the state participates

with investments and the powerful material-technical base.

The relations of distribution and exchange, also, have been perfected continuously in the years of the people's state power. The distribution of the social product and the product for oneself is done in conformity with the aim of production in socialism and the socialist law of distribution according to work, «from each according to his abilities, from each according to his work», without allowing great differentiations in the incomes of the working people and without slipping into egalitarianism, either. In this important field, the Party proceeds always from the level of development of productive forces, the degree of qualification of work, the distinctions which exist between mental and physical work, between work in industry and in agriculture, from the continuous narrowing of the «bourgeois right» of distribution, the narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside and within the countryside.

The relations of exchange and the economic relations between town and countryside, in particular, the links between industry and agriculture, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, have been continuously perfected. Today this is achieved through two channels: as relations without remuneration (state investments in land improvement schemes, irrigation, etc.), and as relations with remuneration, through the intermediary of the commodity and money relations for the sales by the cooperatives to the state enterprises and vice-versa.

With the constant solicitude of the Party and the socialist state, the so-

cialist relations of production, which grow in harmony with the level of productive forces, give the latter a powerful impulse forward, just as the productive forces, with their rapid advance, serve as the material base for the perfecting of the socialist relations of production.

The harmonized development of these two aspects and the proportionate development of the economy at rapid rates on the basis of the unified general state plan, are questions of fundamental importance in the economic policy pursued and implemented in our country. With the development the economy of the PSR of Albania has assumed, with the level it has reached and with the perspectives opened before it, it has become now a many-branched and stabilized economy which knows no spontaneity and anarchy, crises, inflation and price rises, and such other phenomena which are typical of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist economy.

1 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 195, Alb. ed.*

2 *History of the Party of Labour of Albania, Second Alb. ed., Tirana 1981, p. 19.*

3 *Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 520. Eng. ed.*

4 *Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 520, Eng. ed.*

5 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 79, Alb. ed.*

6 *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 60 Eng. ed.*

7 *Enver Hoxha, On the 7th Five-year Plan, p. 70, Alb. ed.*

SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE DEVELOPING PRODUCTION AND RAISING WELL-BEING *by KOLË POPA*

Albania today has all the conditions to put its production on an ever-broader scientific base and, while pressing ahead with the development of the economy and technique, also promote scientific thinking and science

IN THE FIRST DAYS FOLLOWING LIBERATION A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM WAS WORKED OUT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW ALBANIA, THE CREATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW PEOPLE'S POWER, THE BUILDING OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY, THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE, EDUCATION AND SCIENCE. WORK STARTED FOR THE SETTING UP OF INDUSTRY ON THE BASIS OF THE LOCAL PRIMARY MATERIALS, FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE, AND IN GENERAL, THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIA FROM A BACKWARD ONE WITH AN ADVANCED AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY AND, EVENTUALLY, INTO AN INDUSTRIAL-AGRIAN COUNTRY.

With the implementation of the educational reform education reached the remotest corners of the Homeland and the school doors were flung wide open to all the sons and daughters of the people without exception. In 1946 the first two-year teachers' training school was opened in Tirana. In the years 1951-1953 six four-

year institutes of higher education were set up for the training of higher cadres to meet both the needs of the diverse sectors of the economy and culture and the pedagogical sector. Later other higher schools were opened as well.

In 1957 a great step forward in the field of education was taken with the founding of the University of Tirana, a major centre for the scientific, intellectual and professional develop-

ment of the country. Today the University and various higher schools train all the cadres for the different sectors of education, science and production. The University runs special courses for the specialization of cadres of particular branches and their post-university qualification.

With the setting up of the University of Tirana, of a high farming school and other institutes of higher learning, the institutional forms of the development of science and education were further perfected, various chairs and scientific sectors were created to promote scientific and pedagogical development of an advanced world level.

In 1947 the Institute of Sciences was founded. It was the first institution of scientific research in many fields (history, language, archaeology,

folklore, ethnography, botany, zoology, ichthyology, geology, chemistry, etc.). This was the first step towards the development of scientific research by means of specialized institutions. Studies of the ancient historical, language and cultural traditions of our people were carried out, as well as prospecting and evaluation of rich primary materials of the country to exploit them for the development of production and the economy in general.

The activities of Institute gradually extended to the different chairs and sectors of the University for the improvement of the teaching and scientific process. In 1972 the Party decided to found the Academy of Sciences as the highest scientific institution of the country. The Academy was set up on the basis of institutions specialized in scientific research in fields formerly untrodden by our researchers. These institutions, which carry out their activities in diverse fields of social, natural and technical sciences (history, language, popular culture, archaeology, nuclear physics, applied mathematics, biology, seismology, hydrology and meteorology, hydraulic models for the construction of major hydro-technical projects, scientific and technical information and documentation, etc.), have not only made a great contribution to the study of our history, language and popular culture, past and present, to the application of modern physical and mathematical methods for the solution of many complex problems arising in the different sectors of production, to the study and assessment of hydrological resources and reserves of primary materials, etc., but have also gained great importance as methodological institutions for

the diffusion of new and rational methods of scientific research, for the application of mathematical and physical methods in the economic sector, and for the establishment of scientific and technical documentation without which no normal research work can be carried out at an appropriate level today. Other institutions have been and will be created in the future under the Academy of Sciences, and collaboration between them and other scientific institutions operating both in the centre and in the districts is becoming ever closer.

With collectivization agriculture enters a new phase of organization of production, mechanization of farming operations and selection of seeds for the more important crops grew into everyday agricultural practice, along with broad and systematic utilization of chemical fertilizers besides organic ones, a number of factories producing superphosphates and azotic fertilizers (ammonium nitrate, urea, etc.), were set up. Yields were rapidly increased mainly as a result of the implementation of correct and well-studied directives issued for the development of the agricultural sector, the application of a series of advanced agro-technical measures, a more scientific study of soils and crops, and appropriate organizational measures ranging from the preparation of the soil for sowing to irrigation, draining, use of fertilizers and pesticides, as well as other measures connected with harvesting, selection of products and their delivery in the best possible conditions to the interested sectors of internal and external trade and industry. Of particular interest are plantations of selected varieties of fruit-trees which are run by specialized enter-

prises: citrus tree plantations along the southern coast, fig-tree plantations at Berat, plum-tree plantations at Tropoja and in other northern regions of Albania, apple-tree plantations at Korça and Peshkopia, etc.

Our socialist agriculture has achieved great results: selected seeds used on a large scale, yields over the world average, the needs of the country for bread grain, meat and eggs satisfied, the internal market industry and export regularly supplied with agricultural products — all this is evidence of the creation of a modern intensive agriculture, and it is due to the wise and far-sighted policy of the Party in this important sector of the economy, as well as to its special concern about the development of scientific research and the application of its results in this field.

In the field of industry, the plan of the socialist industrialization of the country has been realized with brilliant results. For the fulfilment of the present five-year plan (1981-1985) the different sectors of our industry are working in more advanced conditions than in the former five-year plans, at a higher scientific and technological level, with better trained cadres and a more rational processing of local primary materials. Proof of this are the major industrial projects built so far: factories of chemical fertilizers, a factory of caustic soda and soda ash, a copper refinery, a copper wire and electric cables factory, a plastic materials factory, paper mills, copper, chromium and coal enrichment factories, and especially industrial projects built during the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) such as the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power sta-

tion, an oil processing factory, a urea factory, a copper smelting and sulphuric acid factory, a PVC-factory, a ferro-chrome factory, an ore processing factory, a new paper mill, factories for the enrichment of minerals and coal and many other new factories, factory sections and production lines. They represent not only the present backbone of our industry, but also important assets for the further development of it and the economy in general.

The present five-year plan (1981-1985) envisages tasks greater and more complex than those of any other five-year plan of the past; however, it is scientifically based and fully realizable. Albania is relatively rich in natural resources. It has large quantities of different metalliferous and non-metalliferous minerals which have fundamental importance for the economic and industrial development of the country. Albania today extracts and processes large quantities of iron-nickel, copper and chromium ore, pyrite, as well as non-metalliferous minerals such as limestone, silicates and aluminosilicates, sea and stone salt, quartzite, etc. Great assets of our country are also the oil, natural gas and coal which are exploited on a large scale both as energy sources and for the other purposes (hydrogen for the production of ammonium, etc.).

Besides, an independent powerful power system meets the ever growing needs of the country and the demands of export, at a time when the industrialized world is suffering from acute power shortage. Our country has abundant water resources which are very convenient for the production of electric power. Most of the power it needs is produced by the

hydro-power stations built on the Drin and other rivers to which other power-stations will be added. There are also many thermo-power stations which account for part of power production and make the country totally self-sufficient in this field.

The metallurgical industry turns out pig iron, iron, standard and special steels, metallic alloys, etc. The mechanical engineering industry produces machinery for new lines and factories for the reconstruction and expansion of the existing industrial plants, and, in the course of the current five-year plan, is ever better meeting the needs of the country for production lines and complete machinery of a higher degree of complexity and perfection, so as to ever better contribute to the construction of new projects on the basis of self-reliance. Here belong the construction of a new superphosphate and sulfuric acid factory working on pyrite concentrates, the reconstruction and expansion of the soda and PVC-resin factory, the expansion of the ferro-chrome ore processing factory, the setting up of a number of factories for the enrichment of minerals, etc.

Albania today has all the conditions to put its production on an ever broader scientific base and, while pressing ahead with the development of the economy and technique, also promote scientific thinking and science. At present studies about the complex exploitation of polymetallic sulfurous minerals, copper, zinc, iron, etc. are uppermost on the agenda of our scientific research institutions. The objective today is to carry out the reconstruction of industrial plants so as to ensure the complex exploitation

of primary materials, for example, combining the smelting of copper with the production of sulfuric acid, which not only improves the economic indices of production, but also prevents the pollution of the natural environment.

The further development of industry, especially chemical industry and the uninterrupted and well-studied expansion remain always top priorities. The expansion of the existing capacities will be done through the setting up of new factories, the reconstruction of the existing ones to increase their production capacity, the creation of new production lines for the processing of by-products of an economic interest, the constant improvement of the technology of production, the modernization of machinery, etc.

Another aspect of our industrial development is the inception of new industrial activities. In order to surmount the difficulties connected with the fulfilment of this task appropriate experimental, organizational and institutional measures have been taken, research work in laboratories has been further activated, and perceptible progress has been made in the application of the results of research. Special designing institutes staffed by qualified cadres have been set up for the proper solution of problems. Many designs and technological schemes which formerly were imported are now realized by the local cadres through close cooperation of the interested specialities (mechanics, technology, automation, mechanization, etc.). This has already led to the further activation of our industry, as for example, in the case of several enterprises having already started the

production of anticryptogams and pesticides and proceeding towards the development of an industry of chemical synthesis. In this context, there is an enlivenment of the cooperation and coordination of activities among several institutions of scientific research attached to production enterprises. Good progress is also being made in carrying out complex studies of the perspective development of

industry, which take account both of the possibilities of exploitation of natural primary materials and the main direction of the further development of the local production and science.

Those are some of the more important applications of science and technique in production during this 40-year period of the glorious epoch of the Party. The favourable conditions created by our socialist order for the

development of science, and the application of its achievements for the expansion of the economy and the raising of the well-being of the people, the broad prospects opened to our sciences by the far-sighted leadership of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha encourage our scientific workers, specialists and vanguard workers to go further ahead in their scientific studies, research, experiments and applications.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENERGY INDUSTRY IN THE PSRA

by **LLAZAR PAPAJORGJI**

*Socialist Albania is a country with a positive balance
of energy industry*

THE MAGNIFICENT OBJECTIVES OF OUR PARTY TO OPEN TO THE PEOPLE AND THE WHOLE COUNTRY THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND TO BUILD THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM WITH SUCCESS IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE SAVAGE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT, CAN BE SEEN, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IN THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF ENERGY INDUSTRY IN THESE 40 YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

IN THE PRESENT CONDITIONS, WHEN THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD IS IN THE GRIP OF THE ENERGY CRISIS, ALBANIA IS FREE FROM THIS ILL, MOREOVER IT DEVELOPS AT HIGH RATES AND IS IN A POSITION NOT ONLY TO AVOID ANY SHORTAGE OF ENERGY IN THE ECONOMY AND THE ENTIRE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, BUT ALSO TO EXPORT ELECTRIC POWER TO OTHER COUNTRIES. SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS A COUNTRY WITH A POSITIVE BALANCE OF ENERGY INDUSTRY.

Our Party has always borne in mind the words of great Lenin that communism is the electrification of the country plus the dictatorship of the proletariat, has always correctly assessed the role of energy industry in the development of the forces of production of the country, the increase of the productivity of social labour and technical progress. Electrification has always been treated with priority in every stage of socialist construction, as decided by the

PLA for the industrialization of the country.

The process of the development of energy industry is carried out in conformity with the stages of development of the entire economy of the country. When our country was transformed from a backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country, as a result of the fulfilment of two five-year plans, 1951-1960, the Party, despite the stepping up of the savage blockade imposed by the Khrushchevite revisionists, worked for the further perfecting of its program of the development of energy

industry. In this context it envisaged the construction of major electric power projects which, as regards their size and complexity of construction, compare with those of the developed industrial countries of Europe.

Alongside the development of energy industry, the completion of the work for the electrification of the entire country in 1970 has special value for our socialist Homeland today and in the future. This achievement opens up new prospects for further deepening the ideological and cultural revolution in the country. In the social field, the complete electrification of the country creates conditions suitable for accelerating the process of the all-round transformation of the way of life in our socialist countryside and for gradually narrowing the essential distinctions between town and countryside. It creates possibilities for the productivity of social labour to increase and opens the road to raising the degree of industrialization of agriculture. Ours is among the few

countries of the world with all its villages completely electrified.

The Party worked out the program of the development of energy industry in conformity with the conditions of the country. Its aim is to ensure the more rapid development of the other branches of industry which precede the process of the growth of the economy, in general, with the aim of bringing about the most rational exploitation of the water power and thermal power sources on a national and local scale. Priority has been given to the construction of hydro-power plants and to ensure the simultaneous operation of all the sources of energy, combining them in a unified national energy system, so as to raise the degree of guaranteed supply of the consumers, and economic efficiency of all energy sources.

ON THE SITUATION OF ENERGY INDUSTRY IN THE PAST

The first Diesel power station, that was built in our country by the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 in Tirana, had an installed capacity of about 350 kW. More Diesel power stations were set up in other cities later. All of them were property of foreign shareholder companies, or were owned jointly by foreign and local holders. The stations operated individually, according to very low technical standards; most of them were used engines that were brought to Albania from abroad. This backward situation is described in an article of the newspaper «Java» of Elbasan, in June 1936, in the following terms: «Elbasan has an old power station; the streets are scarcely illuminated, and the lights are put on only after 2 o'clock Turkish time, when the inhabitants go to sleep.»

Electricity was used mainly for illumination, and this only in the main cities of the country, though there, too, not all houses were supplied with electricity because the price of one

kW was equal to the worker's one day pay. During the period of occupation and the war, a number of the electric stations were destroyed, such as those in Vlora, Saranda, etc. As a consequence, in 1945 the country produced only 46 per cent of the total production of electric power of the pre-war period. This situation of energy industry of the country after Liberation had to be radically transformed.

The Party devoted special care to the development of energy industry. The resolution of the 1st Congress of the Party (1948) pointed out that the electric power sources were to develop on the basis of the water power capacity of the country. Work began immediately on the construction of hydro-power plants, such as the «Lenin» hydro-power plant, and the construction of thermal-power plants. In 1952 the basis was laid for the creation of the unified energy system of the country through the parallel connection of generating sources, which had a higher capacity of conveyance up to 220,000 Volt. This marked the beginning of the work for the complete electrification of the country.

THE SITUATION OF THE ENERGY INDUSTRY AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT

Electric power in our country is used at increasingly higher rates. At present, energy industry is an important sector, accounting for about 25 per cent of the fundamental funds of production and about 20-30 per cent of the total investments in industry. In 1984 alone electric power production will be twice as great as the production of 15 years taken together (from the 1st Five-year Plan to the 3rd Five-year Plan), or about four times as great as in 1970, or 440 times as great as the pre-war level.

The «Steel of the Party» metal-

lurgical combine consumes in one day all the whole amount of electricity the country used in the year 1950. The per capita production in 1984 will be about 170 times as great as in 1950.

The hydro-power sources remain the main basis on which the production of electric power is to increase. In view of this orientation work is going on for the construction of hydro-power stations on the Drin River. In 1985 work will be completed on the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station of Koman, which will have an installed power 175 times as great as that of all the power stations of Albania taken together.

The water power resources of the country constitute one of the biggest and most profitable assets of the economy. Weather conditions, abundant rainfall, and the mountainous relief with narrow gorges and valleys, form the rich hydrological system of the main rivers of the country. Our country has a mean of 1,500 mm of yearly rainfall. The main rivers of the country, which represent an interest from the hydro-energetic aspect, account for about 65 per cent of the mean yearly flow, most of which is concentrated in the largest two rivers, Drin and Vjosa. The water power reserves of the country, in proportion to its area, are among the richest in Europe, second to Norway. At a time when many of the European countries have already exhausted all their water power resources, in our country the possibilities exist to build a series of hydro-power plants even after the commissioning of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman, which uses only part of the water power resources of the country.

The studies conducted in our country reveal that the foreign specialists deliberately minimized the data on Albania's hydrographic sources in order to create the false idea that our country's water power sources present no interest for exploitation. The studies carried out in this field have also

revealed the economic advantages of the exploitation of the main rivers on which projects of a national size are built, as well as the possibility for the exploitation of local water power sources, on which a series of small hydro-power plants can be built.

In the '60s work began for the construction of large-scale hydro-power plants on the Drin River. It is worth mentioning that our designers courageously tackled a number of complicated technical-scientific problems which called for special ability. The studies, designs, construction, assembly, testing, and the coming into production of such projects as the «The Light of the Party» hydro-power plant at Fierza, speak of the great self-sacrificing work and ability of our working people. This hydro-power plant, with an installed capacity of 500,000 kW, is considered amongst the biggest of its kind in Europe, as regards its output, the complexity of its sections, such as the dam, the discharge and inlet tunnels, the protection grid, etc. With its height of 168 me-

tres it is ranked amongst the highest dams of Europe. The building of the dam involved 9 million m³ of fillings of concrete, stone, gravel and clay, which would have sufficed to build a wall 3 m high, 3 m thick and 1,000 km long. The investments made for its construction and assembly, without including the value of the machinery and equipment, would have been enough to build as many dwelling flats as to accomodate 250,000 inhabitants.

The work for the construction of the third hydro-power station at Koman has begun long ago. It is envisaged that this power plant will have a greater output than that of Fierza — about 600,000 kW; it will produce twice as much as the Vau i Dejës hydro-power station on the Drin River, allowing for the increase of the latter's capacity due to the influence of the head lake of the Fierza hydro-power plant. Two more hydro-power plants are envisaged to be built on this river in the future, a thing which will ensure the complete utilization of

its water power and create the possibilities for a long-term regulation of its flow. With this the needs of the country for energy will be completed even in the conditions of complete draught for two years in succession.

With the building of these powerful energy projects the possibilities are created for the fulfilment of the growing needs of our people's economy for energy and create reserves for export. During the current year, it is envisaged that our country will export an amount of energy about 110 times greater than the production of the whole country in the pre-war period.

This degree of the rapid development of energy industry and of the economic, cultural, technical and scientific development of a small country like Albania, formerly one of the most backward countries of Europe, is the result of the great creative work of our people led by the Party of Labour of Albania, based on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, on Marxism-Leninism and on the great principle of self-reliance.

CHEMIZATION OF AGRICULTURE ACHIEVEMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES

Chemical fertilizers and various agrotechnical services have helped double the yields of wheat, trebled the yields of maize, forage crops and vegetables

THE RAPID INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE IN ALBANIA IS ACHIEVED ALSO THROUGH THE EXTENSIVE APPLICATION OF THE SUCCESSES OF CHEMISTRY.

IN COMPARISON WITH THE PRE-WAR PERIOD THE AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN ALBANIA HAS INCREASED 2.4 FOLD, THE AREA UNDER IRRIGATION 14 FOLD. IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY 56.5 PER CENT OF THE AREA OF ARABLE LAND IS IRRIGABLE AND ABOUT 65 PER CENT OF THE LAND IS WORKED ACCORDING TO SYSTEMATIZATION SCHEMES. THE BASIS OF FARMING MACHINERY HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BOTH AS REGARDS QUALITY AND IN THE RANGE OF MACHINES. HENCE, FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN CREATED FOR THE MORE EXTENSIVE INTRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL METHODS IN AGRICULTURE. THIS IS THE REASON WHY THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY INSTRUCTED: «IN THE FUTURE, TOO, INVESTMENTS AND CARE FOR THE LAND MUST CONSTITUTE THE MAIN DIRECTION OF THE WORK FOR THE INTENSIFICATION AND INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. THIS CALLS FOR THE APPLICATION OF COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES TO INCREASE THE FERTILITY OF THE LAND AND PROTECT IT AGAINST EROSION, TO ENRICH AND IMPROVE THE SOIL THROUGH A COMBINED AND INTEGRAL SYSTEM OF FERTILIZERS...»

The slogan of the Party «we must rely on our own forces», implies also the husbanding of the land and intensification of its fertility in order to take high yields, greater production and fulfil the needs of the people for food, the needs of industry for primary materials and meet the growing demands of export. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «These products will be taken from our land after a detailed study on the basis of its physical and chemical properties, on the basis of the water regime, weather, rainfall, humidity, drought, and a series of other factors.»

It is known that one of the most powerful levers to maintain and increase the fertility of the land is the use of chemical fertilizers and other chemical agents, which were very little used in our country before Liberation.

The collectivization of agriculture, which was carried out in the year of the people's power, created favourable conditions for the setting up of an economic system of the land on the basis of crops, through the creation of a suitable environment for the plants by means of systematization, services, fertilizing, the use of pesticides and various other chemical compounds which improve the structure of the soil. This dictated the need for the gradual extension and

AQIF DABULLA — Senior scientific worker

F AGRICULTURE,

ES *by AQIF DABULLA*

deepening of studies in the field of the chemization of agriculture. Hence, a number of measures were taken to train the necessary cadres such as agronomers, agrochemists, pedologists, entomologists, phytopathologists, chemical engineers, toxicologists and other specialists who were needed for this purpose.

In the field of agrochemistry, beginning from 1949, a series of valuable scientific and applied studies were made, which, with the passage of time, increased in number and quality.

In 1954, on the basis of scientific methods, which see the land as a dynamic living body, the genesis of the lands and their geographical extension, the basic characteristics of the types and kinds of soils and their agrochemical properties were studied, and on this basis, the pedological map of all the regions of the country (1:200,000 and 1:50,000) was drafted. Later studies of the land, of the scale 1:25,000 and 1:10,000, were carried out for the zones that were to be improved, including acid soils, the zones which were set apart for citrus-tree plantations, vineyards and some agricultural enterprises. Map-making and analyses of the physical properties of the soils were accompanied with stationary research for salt and marsh lands, for other zones of low fertility, for the protection of land against erosion, etc.

The work of the Research Station in Tirana and later those in the sector of the agropedology and protection of plants in the Institute of Agricultural Research in Lushnja and the department of Agropedology and the Protection of Plants at the Higher Agricultural Institute, along with hundreds of studies and experiments carried out at production level, brought into light a series of questions and

made valuable recommendations for the rational utilization of chemical fertilizers, for the fight against diseases, pests and weeds.

These studies boosted production, rejected many outdated practices and confirmed the establishment of better rules for the calculation of the doses of fertilizers, the timing and manner of the spread of fertilizers according to the different plants, soils and ecological zones. In the field of plant protection, chemical treatment was based on prognosis and signalization of pests.

The studies carried out on the problems of chemization of agriculture, in the regions and in the central institutions, have been extended and have brought about marked improvements in the correct solution of many problems of the agrotechnical code. At the same time possibilities were created for the transition to a higher phase, that of the large-scale national action of soil study, which was crowned with complete success in all the agricultural lands of the Republic within a record time of less than three years (1971-1973). Soil analyses were carried out with the participation of scores of chemical laboratories in various sectors of the people's economy. This large-scale action in the field of scientific research was concluded apart from other things, with the compiling of the agrochemical maps of every single agricultural economy and each plot of land. This study provides a great deal of detailed information about the situation of every plot of land, about the nutritive qualities, the contents of humus, nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium of the soil.

The use of agrochemical maps and the information resulting from many experiments on the problems of plants nourishment and their fertilization,

the work for the calculation of the doses, the manner and the time of the spread of fertilizers was improved. Many tests carried out in large-scale production showed that the implementation of the conclusions reached therefrom help increase the effectiveness of fertilizers by 20-30 per cent, unify and increase the fertility of the soil according to scientific discipline.

The agricultural land is very different, depending on the conditions of its formation and the different levels of agrotechnical methods used on it in the course of time. The agrochemical map of Albania pointed out clearly all these differences and the need for the measures that must be taken in order to achieve some uniform rules in order to maintain and increase their productivity through chemical processes. Therefore, immediately after the studies were completed in 1973 work was organized for the systematic study of all the lands of the Republic each 4-5 years.

The data obtained from the first agrochemical study of the soils opened up new perspectives for more research in the field of the chemization of agriculture. The setting up of the Institute of Soil Studies in 1971 marked a new stage in the history of the development of the Albanian agrochemistry and gave a new qualitative and quantitative impulse to the studies in the field of the chemization of agriculture. At the same time, the central station of plant protection was set up, which together with the agricultural laboratories in all the districts of the country, formed the preliminary basis of the agrochemical service in the country.

The agricultural laboratories of the districts, under the guidance of the central scientific institutes, systematically follow the dynamic of the nutritive elements of the soils, carry out

studies on the problems of plant nourishment, and their fertilization, make prognostic studies and signalize the spread of pests, diseases and weeds, giving, at the same time, relevant recommendations for the measures that must be taken against them.

It has been proved through hundreds of tests that 50-52 per cent of the increase of the agricultural production is due to the use of chemical fertilizers. Both the scientific experiments and large-scale production have shown so far that chemical fertilizers and various other services account for the doubling of the yields of wheat, trebling of the yields of maize, forage crops and vegetables.

For the problems of the chemization of agriculture to be studied and solved and for their results to be introduced in all the branches and sectors of agriculture, the state has made large funds available. One such step is the setting up, during the five-year plans, of the necessary industry for the production of chemicals destined for agriculture, which secured the amount of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals needed. Today, along with organic manure, we use more than 6 quintals of chemical fertilizers per hectare, thus surpassing many countries of the world.

Increase of chemical fertilizers and pesticides in times against 1960:

	1960	1970	1975	1980
Chemical fertilizers	1	6.3	8.4	12.0
Pesticides	1	7.3	10.6	12.3

Our industry today produces ammonium nitrate, urea, (both as fertilizer and food for animals), granular superphosphate; ammonium sulphate; phosphorous meal, and scores of pesticides and herbicides against diseases, pests and weeds. Some secondary fertilizers, such as copper sulphate, zinc sulphate and others have been produced and experimented for introduction in large-scale agricultural production; along with them our industry produces chemical compounds that find extensive use as supplementary food for ani-

mals. Studies are conducted in order to produce locally some complex fertilizers of great nutritive values and of great economic profitability. In this manner the instructions of the 8th Congress of the Party to ever better fulfil the needs of agriculture for chemical fertilizers and pesticides, are always in the centre of our attention.

The local production and extensive use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals has become one of the most important factors for the continuous increase of yields of all field crops, for the increase and improvement of the feeding base of livestock and, as a result, for the increase of livestock production. In comparison with 1960, bread grain production in 1970 increased 2.5 fold, in 1975 — 3.4 fold and in 1980 — about 4.5 fold. In 1983, despite the increased bean targets, the production of bread grain was overfulfilled. Again compared with 1960, the production of vegetables in 1970 increased about 3 fold, in 1975 about 4 fold and in 1980 about 5 fold. During this time the production of sugar-beet, potato, rice, sun-flower, tobacco, forage crops, etc. has also increased.

In order to improve low productivity soils, such as salt, acid, heavy and other soils, the production and large-scale utilization of limestone, gypsum and other improving agents have been placed on correct bases. The chemical treatment of such soils has yielded quite good results. Suffice it to mention that the area of salt soils has been reduced 4-5 times in the last 15 years.

The studies in the field of the chemization of agriculture have been deepened with a special preoccupation for the application of their results, the demonstration of them in large-scale economies, in order to make them the property of the entire working people of agriculture and generalize and spread the advanced experience.

Without underrating the agrotechnical, and sometimes biological measures, which have been further intensified, the utilization of chemicals has been of great importance to preventing and combatting diseases, pests and weeds at the present stage. A

series of studies on diseases, pests and weeds and their categorization in our country have been completed. After the biological study of their characteristics, more efficient measures were taken to combat them. In this work the setting up of prognostic and signaling centres, on the district and the economy level, were of great help.

Both the experience of production and the research work carried out in this field have shown that, in the fight against diseases pests and weeds, the use of different chemicals was decisive, an essential need of modern agrotechnics. Good results have been achieved in the study of the operation and effects of different pesticides on harmful organisms.

The number of suitable pesticides has increased with each passing year according to studies. In this manner, compared with 1960, the number of pesticides used in 1965 increased 3.8 fold, in 1970 — 15 fold, in 1980 — 19 fold. The acreage treated with them and the number of treatments also increased greatly. As a result of this, the damage caused by diseases, pests, and weeds was substantially reduced.

But along with the care for the extension of the use of pesticides, special attention has been paid to taking measures for the protection of the people and animals against poisoning and for the protection of the environment against pollution. The further improvement of protection measures against chemical poisoning was secured through the raising of the professional level of the people working in this sector and the level of mechanization in the process of chemical treatment.

As a result of the use of pesticides on more correct criteria, the technical, economic and productive effectiveness of them has also increased. During the current five-year plan the production of different pesticides will increase both in amount and in range, giving priority to those which have complete effect, have no residues and do not constitute any threat to people, animals and the environment.

The Party of Labour of Albania has set the task of bringing about a great

change in the increase of livestock products. Progress in this direction is great. However, in order to carry the achievements in the sector of livestock raising still further, the necessary food should be secured in full, in quantity, with good quality and in time. The chemization of agriculture and the use of chemicals in livestock-raising has made and will continue to make a still greater contribution to the fulfilment of this task.

In order to ensure the development of livestock-raising, great importance is attached to the utilization of different compounds from chemical and biological synthesis, which create the possibilities to fulfilling all the requirements for feeding animals with active physiological matter. On the basis of the studies carried out until now, different chemicals have been more and more extensively used for the preservation of food for animals, for the disinfection and hygienization of stables and other environments in livestock-raising units. The use of synthesized substances with a nitrogen

basis, such as urea and others, has become an important element in livestock-raising, because they provide a large amount of proteins for the animals. In the studies carried out for this purpose, the doses, manner and time of the use not only of urea but also of many other macro and micro elements which serve as complementary food in livestock-raising, were determined. These complex food matters consist of a basis of sulphur, phosphor, cobalt and other microelements, which, in our opinion, greatly increase the nutritive values of the food, improve the health of the animal and protect it against diseases while increasing its productive capacity.

The further chemization of the livestock-raising sector has raised before the scientific workers of the country, the cadres and specialists of production, a series of problems in connection with the research work, especially in finding the roads and means for the production of proteins, aminoacids, vitamins, stimulating matter and minerals for the materials of

which the food is made up so as to improve the doses of combined foods and find sources of primary and additional materials.

Our country today has many capable specialists who, together with the advanced workers in production sectors, have made great steps ahead in the chemization of agriculture and livestock-farming.

The effectiveness of the chemical means used in our country to increase the fertility of the land, to increase and preserve the production, to feed the animals better, combined with the mechanization of work and systematization of land, the regulation of the irrigation regime, the application of agricultural circulation, the use of high productivity strains and hybrids, is great. Therefore, special care has been devoted to the chemization of agriculture in our country. Extensive studies are being carried out to boost production and the more intensive utilization of different chemical compounds in agriculture and livestock-farming.

THE SOCIALIST ORDER IS THE MOST DEMOCRATIC

Consultation with the masses, the broad participation of the masses in assigning all the activity of the state, this is the deep gap which divides the genuine revisionist bureaucratic state in which the masses are divorced and isolated

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WHICH TRIUMPHED IN ALBANIA, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, OVERTHREW THE OLD FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS EXPLOITING ORDER AND OPENED THE ROAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW, HIGHEST, ORDER IN HISTORY — THE SOCIALIST ORDER.

THE GREAT HISTORIC MERIT OF OUR PARTY IS THAT NOT ONLY IT USHERED THE PEOPLE INTO THE BRILLIANT EPOCH OF SOCIALISM, BUT IS ALSO LEADING THEM WITH RESOLVE AND WISDOM ON THIS GLORIOUS ROAD, REMAINING LOYAL TO THE TRIUMPHANT DOCTRINE OF MARXISM-LENINISM.

OUR PARTY, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THE THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN BY MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID: «OUR PARTY HAS ASSIMILATED AND APPLIED THESE PRINCIPLES CORRECTLY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, THAT IS WHY OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM AN ECONOMICALLY POOR COUNTRY WITH CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS IN THE PAST, INTO A FREE, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN COUNTRY WITH A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST ECONOMY, WITH ADVANCED CULTURE, EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, WITH A STRONG DEFENCE AND A CORRECT PRINCIPLED FOREIGN POLICY.»¹

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The Constitution of the PSR of Albania, as a document of special political, ideological and juridical importance, gives priority to the treatment of the chapter of social order.

The bourgeois constitutions make no mention at all of the real character of their social orders, which are basically anti-popular orders, or of the social structure of their society, which is a society divided into antagonistic classes, into the rich and the poor, into the exploiters and the exploited. They fail to treat the political bases of the state because the state there is in the hands of a minority which exploits and oppresses the broad masses of the people, whereas the economic base, which is built up on capitalist private ownership, is treated as something which allegedly boosts

LIRI GJOLIKU: — Deputy of the People's Assembly of the PSRA

general welfare, as though all subjects without exception are or could become owners of the means of production.

The economy of the PSR of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production. This rules out the possibility of the existence of exploiting classes in our country. Private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and is prohibited, thus liquidating the source for the exploitation of man by man.

Our social order prohibits the stationing of foreign bases and armies in the territory of the PSRA, granting of concessions to, the creation of companies jointly with bourgeois and revisionist state capitalist monopolies, guarantees and strengthens the economic and political independence of the country.

In our social order all kinds of

taxes and taxation have been abolished, while in the bourgeois and revisionist countries they lie heavy on the working people and their families. At a time when the capitalist and revisionist countries have been caught in a deep crisis, our country, in a period of nearly four decades, has built a powerful and stable socialist economy which has withstood all tests with success. It is free from such phenomena as crisis, stagnation, unemployment, inflation, foreign debts, price rises, rising cost of living, and other ills typical of the bourgeois and revisionist order. Suffice to mention that in 1980, as against 1950, total social product of our country increased 11.4 fold and production per capita of population 5.2 fold. During the same period industrial production has grown more than 33 fold overall and more than 15 fold per capita of population, at a time when the population has increased 2.2 fold. The plans of our state fully reflect the principle of democratic centralization, sanctioned in the Constitution and other normative acts. The planning of our socialist economy is done according to scientific methodology, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the economic policy of the Party. Our plans are the embodiment of the objective economic laws of socialism, the great principle of self-reliance which underlies the foundations of all the work of socialist construction, the organizing and directing role of our proletarian state, the active and direct participation of the masses in running the economy, etc. Our methodology of planning has its internal juridical aspect which defines the tasks, powers and responsibilities at different levels and the mechanism of the process of socialist planning.

ORDER *by LIRI GJOLIKU*

*ning duties and solving problems,
ne state of the proletariat from the bourgeois and
from real state power*

The bourgeois ideologists and jurists, proceeding from their class positions, strive to beautify their socio-economic order, to present it as the order of «social harmony», «complete democracy», and «general welfare». But there is no doubt as to the real anti-popular and anti-democratic character of the bourgeois-revisionist state, which is based on the merciless oppression and exploitation of the working people and the enslavement of peoples.

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The Constitution of the PSRA, the different codes and other juridical acts, sanction, in an unequivocal and scientific manner, the type and form of our state as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its social and political base, the undivided leadership of the working class and its Party in the state and society. It proclaims Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology, assigns the place and role of the organizations of the masses, and lays down the main principles that lie at the base of the political and economic organization of our social order.

This is directly connected with the establishment of correct relationships between the organs elected directly by the people and the executive and administrative organs. This is a great problem of principle, connected closely with the democratic character of our people's state power, which stems from and belongs to the people.

The historic merit of our Party is that, from the time of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it followed the Marxist-Leninist road for the vio-

lent destruction of the old machine of exploitation from its foundations, and for the creation of the state apparatus which is new both in content and form.

The Party of Labour of Albania devotes special care to safeguarding the state apparatus against the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, so as to ensure that our state apparatus is not eroded from within by bureaucracy and liberalism, to avoid that catastrophe which occurred with the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union and in other countries where the modern revisionists are in power, to ensure that our state apparatus remains always the apparatus of a proletarian state.

Special importance has been attached to strengthening the links between the state apparatus and the broad masses of working people, securing their active participation in running the affairs of the state and placing the state apparatus under the control by the working people.

Direct and organized control by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and other working people of the state apparatus and its activity, is a means of major importance for safeguarding the proletarian class character of the state, keeping it as an effective weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, which are two main threats to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bureaucratic state apparatus in the bourgeois-revisionist countries is divided by an unbridgeable gap from the masses of the people, because it is a means for their oppression.

The organization of our people's

state power is one and undivided. The Constitution of the PSRA and other acts and decrees correctly reflect the role of the principle of unity in the legislative and the executive activity, as one of the main principles of state organization. The principle of the unity of state power is embodied in the People's Assembly, which has the right to elect and dismiss the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the High Court, the Attorney General's Office and the Office of General Investigation. Hence, the theory, practice and contents of our Constitution and other sections and sub-sections of the law, are openly opposed to the bourgeois theory of the «division of the state», which is sanctioned in the bourgeois constitutions and according to which the legislative, executive and juridical power exist separately.

In the present conditions when class contradictions within the bourgeois society grow worse, when the general crisis of the capitalist system, including the parliamentary system grows deeper, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie endeavour to justify the need for the concentration of state power in the executive organs, in the government and the bureaucratic apparatus. This situation compels many authors of the bourgeois state law to admit that the bourgeois parliaments are nothing other than voting machines in the hands of cabinets. The general trend in the revisionist countries is towards the concentration of state power in the hands of the revisionist government, which is in opposition to what is written in their constitutions and by the revisionist authors.

The People's Assembly and the people's councils constitute the political

basis of our state order. These organs are elected directly by the people through universal, equal, direct and secret ballot, on the basis of an electoral system which is the most democratic. Our social order guarantees all political, economic and juridical rights to the citizens so that they exercise their electoral rights in practice. Our electoral system is free of any restriction and privilege, is completely opposed to the slightest impediment, to the exercise of the right to elect and be elected without discrimination of sex, nationality or social position. The electoral system of our country guarantees the electors not only the right to propose their best representatives for the organs of state power — beginning from the people's councils of the towns and villages up to the People's Assembly — and to give them their votes directly, but also the right to exercise control on the activity of their representatives. The election right is sanctioned also in the constitutions of the bourgeois-revisionist countries where there is much talk about democracy, but as long as they are ruled by capitalism and revisionism, as long as political and economic power is in the hands of exploiters, there can be no true rights and freedoms for the broad masses of working people. This is evident in the mechanism of elections in the bourgeois-revisionist countries, which is built on the basis of restrictions and exceptions, and allows for racial, national, age, sex and other discriminations. In the USA, for example, there are about fifty kinds of restrictions. The specialists of the American state law have to admit that only about 50 per cent of the people eligible for voting in the USA enjoy the right to take part in elections. Indirect voting, buying and selling of votes in clubs and cabinets, touching up of electoral lists, political espionage, etc. turn the election campaigns in these countries into a typical arena of corruption and deception.

In our country, the campaign of elections for the organs of state power, the election of councillors and deputies, is an occasion for the manifestation of the unity of the people round the Party in a brilliant manner. Our

people have always been interested and have actively participated in the elections to these organs, choosing the best representatives of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and other working people. In the elections to the 10th Legislature of the People's Assembly, for instance, the electors turned out 100 per cent to the voting centres and 99.99 per cent of them voted for the candidates proposed for the Democratic Front. In those elections 76.6 per cent of the deputies are of worker and peasant origin, 30.4 per cent of them are women.

The deputies to the People's Assembly and the people's councillors are not professional and receive no compensation for the work they do as such. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Our system of socialist democracy is quite different from that of the bourgeois countries. In our country, the deputy is not a professional politician, imposed on the masses and outside of their influence. Our representative to the People's Assembly carries out his function as deputy and, at the same time, works directly in production, in office or in some other sector of social activity. He takes part not only in drafting and passing bills, but also in putting them concretely into practice.»²

In our country the rights and duties of the representatives of the people have been clearly and amply defined both in the fundamental law of our state, the Constitution of the PSRA and in the sections and sub-sections of the law. Our social order is built in such a manner as to ensure that the connections between the people and their representatives do not cease with the conclusion of the elections and the gaining on the part of the representatives of the mandate to exercise state power in the name and on behalf of the people. This connection continues even after the elections, because this is conditioned by the right of the people to exercise their continuous control over the state activity of the deputies to the People's Assembly and the people's councillors, as well as by the constitutional obligation of the elected to render account to the people before elections about the state activity which the People's Assembly and the respective

people's council carry out in general and about their specific activity.

When the opposite occurs, when the deputies and the councillors do not remain loyal to the interest of the people and the Party, fail to maintain regular connections and contacts with the electors and to render account for their activity in the People's Assembly, the people's councils, the electors have the right, depending on the case, to revoke them.

The right of the citizens to revoke their representatives is the direct expression of the constitutional right of the sovereignty of the people. Speaking about this important principle, Lenin has pointed out, «No representative institution can be truly democratic if it fails to recognize and implement the right of the electors to revoke their representatives.»³ The bourgeois theoreticians and the constitutions of their countries, basing themselves on the concept that the deputies are the representatives of the whole nation, categorically refuse to recognize the right of the electors to exercise their control on the elected. They claim that the electors have no right to give orders to the representatives they have elected, because such a thing would be in opposition to the concept that the deputy represents the nation in general and not a given electoral constituency. Judging from the contents of these constitutions we conclude that the deputies there have no connection at all with the people, that they keep aloof from the people, serve the interests of the ruling classes loyally, and do not subject themselves to the control by the electors.

The 8th Congress of the PLA again emphasized the need for further strengthening the role of the organs of state power, especially the people's councils, for combating any manifestation of formalism in the activity of these organs. Stress was laid on the need for a thorough knowledge of the powers they have and their creative application. It pointed out the importance of the moment when the executive organs render account to the organs elected directly by the people, as well as the greater activation of the elected not only during the sessions of the People's Assembly

and in the meetings of the people's councils, but also outside them and always, both through active participation in the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly and the people's councils for the solution of the problems of the people, and through the solution of problems connected with the implementation of the laws and carrying out the various decisions of these organs of state power.

The people's councils, as organs of state power, have nothing in common with the mayorship and similar organs of the capitalist countries, which are organs of state administration and which, as V.I. Lenin has said, «go tinkering about», or with the local representative organs of the revisionist countries, where they are purely formal.

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Our social order is the most progressive and democratic order also as regards the creation of all possibilities for the active participation of the broad masses of working people in running state affairs. Socialist democracy is democracy for the working masses. It develops and extends as the socialist order develops and grows stronger.

At the present stage of the development of our social order new possibilities have been created for the further development in breadth of proletarian democracy directly for the masses, by drawing the working masses more and more into the governing of the country, and the development in depth through making this participation in every form and aspect of life more effective and qualified.

The participation of the working masses in running state affairs today has increased and become more perfect, reaching the stage Lenin pointed out when «our aim is to ensure that every working man, after he has done his 8-hour workday in production, carries out his state duties without remuneration, so that all of them learn gradually how to govern.»

Our country has gained rich experience in this direction. The active participation of the working masses

in drafting the plans of the economy, the draft-laws and in their implementation has played an important role in deepening and developing socialist democracy.

Thousands of working people made suggestions and proposals during the drafting of the new Constitution of the PSRA and the various codes. The draft of the Family Code was prepared with the participation in discussions of 800 thousand people, 35 thousand of whom made very valuable proposals for the completion, accuracy and improvement of the draft-code.

Today the country has thousands of social activists who participate in the social activity groups of the councils of united villages as well as members of the courts of villages and city quarters, without mentioning hundreds of assistant judges and popular attorneys, who after their normal work hours try civil and penal cases within their powers, control the implementation of the law to the letter and the struggle against alien manifestations of infringement of the law.

Consultation with the masses, the broad participation of the masses in assigning duties and solving problems, in all the activity of the state, this is the deep gap which divides the genuine state of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the bourgeois and revisionist bureaucratic state in which the masses are divorced and isolated from real state power.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA: «As the experience of our country has shown, the active participation of the masses in running the country, and in the whole of social life, constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the preservation and strengthening of the people's state power, for ceaselessly carrying the socialist revolution forward, for ensuring a strong and impregnable defence of the Homeland.»⁴

The Party has repeatedly underlined that the direct control by the masses from below constitutes one of the fundamental aspects of the development of socialist democracy. Control by the Party and the proletarian state from above and direct control by the masses from below constitute two in-

dispensable aspects of the single proletarian control in the entire life of the country. The Constitution of the PSRA, the different codes, as well as other sections and sub-sections of the law sanction the obligatory norm of the principle of the implementation of the line of the masses in all the activity of the state and economic organs.

Direct control by the working class, as a concrete expression of the leading role of the working class in the socialist order, has decisive importance. Article 10 of the Constitution of the PSRA stipulates: «Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the working class, as the leading class of the society, the co-operativist peasantry, as well as the other working people, exercise direct and organized control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and their workers, for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening the socialist order.» A rich experience has been accumulated in our country in this aspect. The working class, under the leadership of the Party, organizes and carries out continuous control over the activity of the economic and state organs, such as, for instance, over the implementation of the sections and sub-sections of the law, the best possible administration of the socialist property, the solution of problems, the fulfilment of demands, the answer to suggestions and proposals of the citizens, the conditions of work and technical safety at work, etc. The tasks assigned by the worker and peasant control are carried out to the letter by the organs and organizations on which control has been exercised.

The continuous development and deepening of our socialist social order creates the conditions for the enhancement of the role of social organizations as important centres of organizing the working people, as tribunes of the ideas and revolutionary initiative and direct control of the people, as very important forms of the participation of the masses in the running of the country. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «Our Party, as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, has always had a correct apprecia-

tion of the mass organizations which have played and are playing a role of particular importance in educating and mobilizing the workers for the fulfilment of the program of the Party. Being its levers, the social organizations base not only their general directives but also their daily activity on the policy and ideology, decisions and directives of the Party. The specific features of their work are linked, in the main, with the particular requirements of the Party in regard to the different strata of the population that are included in these organizations, and with the forms and methods of work which each of them must use in order to fulfil its tasks.»⁵

The Party, led by these principles, has sternly combated any manifestation of undervaluation of these organizations and formalism in their activity. It has exposed the anti-Marxist practices of the modern revisionists which are aimed at keeping the working class isolated from acute political problems, putting the trade-unions in positions of economism, narrowing their horizon almost entirely within the problems of production. Our Party has repeatedly stressed that all problems not only economic, but also ideological and political problems, including the problems of the communist education of the working people, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the socialist Homeland, the struggle against bureaucracy and the development of socialist democracy, the exercise of control by the masses over the state apparatus, and the problems of the all-round revolutionization of the entire life of the country, in general, should be placed in the centre of attention in the entire activity of the social organizations. Social organizations have always played an important role in educating the working masses with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, in mobilizing them for the economic and cultural development of the country and the strengthening of its defence, in the struggle against bourgeois-revisionist alien manifestations, against backward customs and for the complete emancipation of women and the entire society, etc.

Our Party has exposed the preachings of the revisionists who claim the

«independence» of social organizations from the proletarian party and place them in opposition to the socialist state allegedly to defend the interests of the working people from «socialist bureaucracy» in the name of «true democracy». In fact this is tantamount to divorcing the mass organizations from the revolutionary policy and ideology of the working class, exposing them to the direct influence of the bourgeois policy and ideology, in opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, transforming them into a means for confusing the masses and spreading the counter-revolution. Because of the great importance of these organizations in our social order, article 13 of the Constitution stipulates: «The state relies on the social organizations, cooperates with them, and creates conditions for the development of their activity. The social organizations unite the masses and broad strata of the people, draw them, in an organized way, into the running of the country, the socialist construction and the defence of the country, work for their communist education and take care of the solution of their individual problems.»

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Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the social order plays a decisive role which determines the position of man in society. The mode of production is placed at the foundation of the entire system of social relations, which, as Marx says, comprise in themselves the very essence of man.

The Constitution of the PSRA sanctions the rights and duties of our citizens. In the analysis of the rights and democratic freedoms of the citizens and in the treatment of their substance and importance, our Party proceeds from the proletarian point of view that, as Lenin says, the question is posed only in this manner: freedom from oppression by which class? Equality of which class and with which? Democracy on the basis of private ownership or on the basis of the struggle for the eradication of private ownership?

Private ownership of the means of

production, which is dominant under capitalism and is the basis of oppression and exploitation, the basis of the division of society into antagonistic classes, into the oppressed and exploited, on the one hand, and the oppressors and exploiters, on the other hand, does not and cannot create the conditions for true freedoms and civil rights.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Although bourgeois deputies churn on fruitlessly about human rights, in the long run it is capitalism, the big bourgeoisie, which rules there, which from time to time share state power with the middle bourgeoisie and holds in thrall the proletariat, the poor peasantry, and the other sections of the working people such as the handicraftsmen and poor intellectuals...»

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania brought about the genuine liberation of the working man and secured the realization of rights and freedoms of a profound genuine socialist content. Socialist order brought our country the flourishing of true freedom which finds its highest expression in the liquidation of exploitation, thus realizing genuine socialist justice. The Constitution of the PSRA sanctions the most important rights and duties of the Albanian citizens in our socialist order. These rights and duties have been treated more extensively in other acts and laws. Our state guarantees the rights which they enjoy in reality, because in our country there is no gulf between the law and the reality.

Social ownership of the means of production as the economic basis of our social order, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political basis of this order, and our socialist legislation, are the full guarantee for the implementation of these rights. Article 30 of our Constitution sanctions the principle that, «The rights and duties of citizens are built on the basis of the reconciliation of the interests of the individual and the socialist society, giving priority to the general interest. The rights of the citizens are inseparable from the fulfilment of their duties and cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order.»

Harmonization of the personal interests with the interests of society is one of the distinguishing features of our social order. The PLA has pointed out that the degree of the achievement of this harmonization is directly dependent on the degree of the development of the economy and the entire society. This speaks of the non-antagonistic character of the contradictions between the interests of the individual and society in socialism, which are connected with the definite historical stages of the development of this society.

The right to work is connected with the participation and contribution of each according to his ability, and remuneration of work according to the quantity and quality of work. In our socialist society work is considered as a duty and honour for all able-bodied citizens, who exercise their profession according to their capacity and the needs of the socialist society. The right to a yearly paid holiday which is sanctioned in the Constitution derives from the right to work.

Social security of the working people of town and countryside in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work, is realized from the necessary means placed at the disposal of society for this purpose. Citizens enjoy the right to education, with the result that one in every 3-4 persons attends school. The expenditure for education and medical services is met by the state. Our country is the first country in the world where the people pay no taxes or taxation. Besides socio-economic rights, the citizens enjoy a series of other rights, such as the right of free speech, the press, organization, association, public manifestation. They have all the material means necessary to exercise these rights which are made available by the state. Of special importance in our socialist order is the general principle of the equality of citizens in exercising their rights and fulfilling their duties, without discrimination on account of race, nationality, education, social position and material situation, the principle of equality of all citizens before the law and the equality of man and woman in all fields of life.

Article 41 of the Constitution of the PSRA sanctions that the woman, liberated from political oppression and economic exploitation, as a great force of the revolution takes an active part in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the Homeland. The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all socio-political activity, as well as in the family.

These rights of the Albanian woman have been defined and analysed in detail in other acts and sections and sub-sections of the law such as, for instance, in the Code of Family, Civil Code, the law «On social and state security», etc. Today 46 per cent of the working people of the country, 40.75 per cent of those elected to the people's councils of all levels, and 30.4 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly, are women.

The life of the Albanian woman has undergone colossal changes which are dedicated to our socialist order, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. The 8th Congress of the PLA underlined, at the same time, that the women of our country and their organization — the Women's Union of Albania — must fight to uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves and in society as a whole, so that the role of the women, as active builders of socialism, staunch defenders of the Homeland, careful mothers and educators of the younger generation, is steadily enhanced.

The socialist order focuses its attention on the working man, his emancipation from all shackles of the old exploiting society, the all-round development of his personality, his creative abilities and energies, the continuous raising and tempering of the new man. The greatest victory of our socialist social order is the creation of our new man with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, freed once and for good from oppression and exploitation.

Our fundamental law, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the different codes

and other acts and sections and sub-sections of the law, sanction that: «Protection and development of their people's culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities. Any national privilege and inequality and any act which violates the rights of national minorities is contrary to the Constitution and is punishable by law.» The nationalities in Albania have decided their own destiny in complete freedom and sovereignty, have decided it with the people's revolution in which, together with their Albanian brothers, have fought against the fascist invaders for the establishment of the people's power and for the construction of socialism later. The people of the national minority have the same rights and duties as and enjoy the fruits of socialism equally with their Albanian brothers. The socialist reality has created conditions of equality both for the nationalities and for the whole Albanian people. This is the result of the correct national policy the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued constantly.

The considerable rights which our social order has guaranteed for our citizens are connected closely with the duties they have towards our socialist society. These duties by no means restrict the democratic rights and freedoms they have gained, on the contrary, they serve the realization and implementation of these rights ever better. Socialism creates such a connection between rights and duties that there are no rights without duties and no duties without rights.

1 Enver Hoxha, «Proletarian Democracy Is Genuine Democracy», p. 9, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Our Policy Is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles», Tirana 1974, p. 22, Eng. ed.

3 V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 26, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 122, Eng. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 104-105, Eng. ed.

WINDOWS ON THE



THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAD TO FIGHT MANY A TIME IN THE COURSE OF CENTURIES IN ORDER TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST FOREIGN INVADERS. AT THE SAME TIME, JUST AS OTHER PEOPLES THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN CREATING A RICH MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THEIR OWN. OUR COUNTRY LIES IN A REGION OF THE WORLD WITH RICH CULTURAL TRADITIONS. FOREIGN STUDENTS AND TRAVELLERS WHO HAVE VISITED ALBANIA FROM THE 15th TO THE PRESENT CENTURY HAVE SPOKEN WITH GREAT ADMIRATION OF ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL WEALTH.

The interest of the foreign students in the material culture of our people grew greatly since the beginning of the 19th century. As a result,

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many archaeological and artistic objects testifying to our people's culture found their way to the museums of Paris, Vienna, Istanbul and several Italian cities. The plunder of our archaeological wealth increased

during the Balkan and world wars in the course of which the successive invaders availed themselves of the troubled circumstances to ship to their own countries valuable objects from Durrës, Pojan, Vlora, Butrint and other centres of antique culture. Many Albanian patriots laid down their lives in defending the monuments of the culture of the Albanian nation against the foreign plunderers.

The interest in the material culture of the distant past of our peo-

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

by **BURHAN ÇIRAKU**

The evaluation of our cultural traditions became a state concern only following the liberation of Albania. With the seizure of state power by the working people, a great change for the better was made in the field of the museology as in all other fields of the life of the country

ple and the first collections of archaeological objects begin in the period of the National Renaissance when the Albanian people strove to free themselves from the centuries-long Ottoman bondage not only by force of arms but also through the dissemination of knowledge and culture in their midst.

Following the proclamation of Independence the interest of patriotic and progressive people in the setting up of museums increased. Museums were

considered important hearths for the diffusion of the national culture and centres of patriotic education. Little was done, however, in this direction, because the governments of the time and, especially Zog's anti-popular regime, cared little about the preservation of archaeological objects and museums. They followed the policy of giving the archaeological sites in concession to foreigners and curbed all the initiatives of progressive individuals, and the aspirations of the po-

pular masses in this field. As a result of an anti-popular policy, which found its expression in the field of museology, too, only a few poorly furnished local museums were set up during this period in Shkodra, Vlora and Tirana.

The fascist occupation of our country brought along more plunder and damage of our cultural assets. As a result liberation found Albania still without a museum worthy of this name.

The preservation of our cultural tra-

ditions became a state concern only following the liberation of Albania. With the seizure of state power by the working people, a great change for the better was made in the field of museology, as in all other fields of the life of the country. In this first days of the people's power, when the wounds of the war had not yet healed, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally issued instructions and took important measures for the preservation of those museum objects which had escaped the destructions of the time, thereby creating the conditions for the further enrichment of the treasury of national culture. At that time the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum of Tirana and the People's Museum of Shkodra were created with those objects which had been preserved and made people's property. Simultaneously a network of local museums was gradually created, covering all the regions of the country. During the following 40 years they have become important centres for the patriotic, revolutionaly and scientific education of the masses.

Our country comes to the 40th anniversary of Liberation with a rich balance of successes in the field of museology just as in other fields. We have now 18 historical museums in the different districts of the country. Some of them reflect the history of our country from the antiquity to its Liberation on November 29, 1944. Others include the period of the construction of socialism, too. There are also 14 special museums such as the Museum of Armaments in Gjirokastra, which exhibits different kinds of weapons used in our country from the antiquity to the Second World War; the Museum of Education in Korça, which testify the strivings of the Al-

banian people for education and culture; the Museum of the Proclamation of Independence in Vlora; the Museum of Lenin and Stalin in Tirana, with exhibits about the life and activity of these classics of Marxism-Leninism; the Museum of the Working Class in Stalin City, etc. We have 12 museum houses connected with major historical events, or outstanding political or cultural figures of the period of the National Renaissance, the progressive and democratic movement and the National Liberation War, such as the Museum House of the Party in Tirana, where the Communist Party of Albania was founded in November 1941, the Museum House of the Frashëri Brothers (Abdyl, Sami and Naim), politicians and fighters, ideologists and writers of the Albanian National Renaissance (1860-1900), in Përmet; the Museum House of Mic Sokoli, outstanding fighter of the Albanian League of Prizren, at Bujan of Tropoja; the Museum House at Peza where the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council was founded on September 16, 1942; the Museum House of the Nushi Brothers, People's Heroës, who fought for the liberation of the country from the foreign invaders in 1941-1944, at Vuno, etc. Then come 8 ethnographical museums in different cities. They are very rich in the materials exhibited and the funds preserved. Of great interest are the 4 archaeological museums. Besides the one in Tirana, there are three others at the more important cities of the antiquity — Apollonia (Fier), Bouthroton (Saranda), and Dyrrachium (Durrës), with archaeological objects found, especially, in the years of the people's power. There are many regional, village, enterprise

and school museums as well as three museum cities — Gjirokastra, Kruja and Berat.

During the last four years special museums have also been set up. Such is the Museum of the Albanian Mediaeval Art in Korça, with exhibits and documents on the development of this art and its fine traditions; the National Museum of Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg in Kruja, with objects and documents testifying to the struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of Skanderbeg against the Ottoman invaders (1443-1468) for freedom and the unity of the country. This museum is sited in the territory of the ancient castle and is built in the style of the Albanian castles of the 15th century. However, the greatest achievement in the field of Albanian museology is the Museum of National History in Tirana which was inaugurated on October 28, 1981.

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The Museum of National History, built on Tirana's central square, is the result of all-round studies carried out during these 40 years in the field of history. It testifies to the great quantitative and qualitative development of Albanian museology. It has a total volume of 81,000 cubic metres, with exhibition halls and other rooms occupying an area of 18,000 square metres.

The Museum is a review of the history of the Albanian people from the ancient times to this day, a synthesis of their national history. Comrade Enver Hoxha's words that «The Albanian people have blazed the trail of history sword in hand», runs through it like a red thread from beginning to end.

The Museum shows the history of the Albanian people in 11 halls: two halls deal with the Ancient Times and the Antiquity, one with the period of the National Renaissance, one with the period of the Independence, three with the period of the National Liberation War and another three with the period of the Construction of socialism.

In the two halls of the Ancient Times and the Antiquity the visitor sees exhibits testifying to the ancientness of our nation, the autochthony of our people in their present lands since the time of our forefathers — the Illyrians. Here he is acquainted with the economic and cultural development and the state organization of the Illyrians and the wars the Illyrians waged against the Roman invaders. Then the formation of the Albanian people begins in Southern Illyria. The Albanians are a ramification of the Illyrian trunk and our archaeological studies have brought out their history of several thousand years, the ancient rich culture of a brave, hard-working and tireless people. The period of the Ancient Times comes to an end in the Late Antiquity, in the 4th-6th centuries of our era, when successive waves of «barbarian» populations swept the country. However, the autochthonous population survived and even underwent further development.

Then come two halls with exhibits from the 13th and 14th centuries. This is an important period in Albanian people's Mediaeval history during which, despite the inhibiting influence of foreign occupiers (Byzantine, Anjou, Serbian and others), they continued to progress on the road they had set out on in the previous cen-

turies, affirming themselves as an individual nation with its own characteristic features in all fields of economic, social, political and cultural development.

The State of Arbër, the first independent Albanian feudal state, which appears first about the year 1190 and existed until 1266, belongs to this period. In the second half of the 14th century emerge the independent Albanian principalities of the Balshas, Topias, Zenevisis, Shpatas with Shkodra, Durrës, Gjirokastra and Arta respectively as their centres. The coats of arms of these principalities exhibited in the Museum prove the complete independence of the Albanian feudal class. The all-round development achieved by the Albanian people in the 13-14th centuries came up against the Ottoman invasions. From sketches and maps the visitor sees that the Albanians waged the first battles against the Turks on Balkan soil. They fought in the battle on the banks of Maritza, and in other battles in Epirus and Macedonia. In particular, the Albanians made up the more numerous and the more active contingents participating in the great battle of the Kosova Plain in which, in the framework of an anti-Ottoman coalition of the Balkan and Central-European peoples, they fought with heroism to defend the lands of their fathers and to stop the Ottoman invasion.

The struggle of the Albanian people against the Ottoman invaders assumed even larger proportions under the leadership of Skanderbeg. In that time the Albanian people faced the difficult task of defending themselves and the European civilization against the threat of the Ottoman invasion.

By means of exhibits, documents, maps of battles, and works of art the visitor is acquainted with the principal aspects of the political and fighting activities of the Albanian people under the leadership of Skanderbeg. There are assessments by important personalities of the significance of the struggle of the Albanian people led by Skanderbeg. In 1456 the English Knight, Newport, said, «The invasion of Europe is inevitable, because there is no force which could check it, if the resistance of the Albanians comes to an end...» The Museum shows the political, economic and religious pressure of the Ottoman occupiers on the Albanian people, their attempts at wiping out the national individuality of the Albanians who fought incessantly to resist assimilation.

A large hall of the Museum is devoted to the period of the National Renaissance, the period of the disintegration of feudalism and the birth of capitalism. Here the visitor sees the expansion of the handicrafts, the strengthening of market relations, and the further development of the popular culture on the basis of the ancient culture and the rich spiritual world of the Albanian people; the educational and cultural activity of the more famous representatives of the Albanian nation of that time — Naum Veqilharxhi, Jeronim de Rada, Konstandin Kristoforidhi, Thimi Mitko, Zef Jubani and Elena Gjika (Dora d'Istria), who laid the foundations of the new ideology of the liberation of the nation and the democratic Albanian state. One of the principal moments of this period is the Albanian League of Prizren, founded on June 10, 1878. It was the first political and military organization of the whole

Albanian people, in all the Albanian regions of that time, and called on them to defend their national rights against the Saint Stefano Treaty and the Congress of Berlin which had sacrificed Albania to the imperialist and chauvinist interests of the neighbouring countries. This glorious event of the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their national unity is represented by a huge eagle with weapons in stead of feathers and with the main organizers of the League — Abdyl Frashëri, Ymer Prizreni, Sulajman Vokshi, in its heart against the background of heroic Prizren.

Another culminating moment is the proclamation of Independence by Ismail Qemali and others on November 28, 1912 in Vlora as a result of the centuries-long wars of the Albanian people for freedom and independence.

Another hall is devoted to the period of 1912-1939 or, as otherwise called, the period of Independence. The exhibits here have to do with the more important moments of the Albanian history of this period: the activity of the Vlora Government in the years 1912-1914, its attempts at organizing the independent Albania and defending the territorial integrity of the country. There is a photograph of Ismail Qemali, the head of the then Albanian government, together with Luigj Gurakuqi and Isa Boletini, leaving for the London Conference of Ambassadors to defend the rights of the Albanian nation. An important event of this period is the democratic movement of 1921-1924 which led to the bourgeois-democratic Revolution of June 1924. This was the first attempt on a national scale at the democratic transformation of the country. There is a picture of the first

Democratic Government headed by Fan Noli, as well as documents about its program and activity. Two original documents show the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Albanian Democratic Government and the Soviet Union. They are signed by Fan Noli and the people's commissar for foreign affairs of the Soviet Union.

Other exhibits testify to the low economic development of the country in the cities and the miserable condition of the Albanian peasantry, their backwardness, but also their struggle and efforts for a better life. An important place is occupied by the struggle of the Albanian people against the existing regime and the ruthless exploitation of the big landowners who were supported by Zog, by the activities of the anti-Zog organizations within and without the country, as well as the worker and strike movement, the communist movement and the first communist groups in Albania.

Three halls are devoted to the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people which is the most glorious epic in their history. This period of Albanian history occupies a central place in the Museum of National History. In this hall the visitor is acquainted with the resistance of the Albanian people against the fascist occupation through exhibits such as weapons, pictures, objects belonging to the partisan fighters and documents.

Then comes the formation of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), which was founded by Comrade Enver Hoxha on November 8, 1941 and which became the leader and organizer of the Albanian people in their struggle against Italian

fascism and German nazism. Here the visitor sees the machine-gun of the People's Hero Mujo Ulqinaku who put up a heroic resistance to the fascists in Durrës on April 7, 1939, the first leaflet of the Communist Party of Albania addressed to the Albanian people, the first issue of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» on August 25, 1942, a map of the network of underground bases, the pictures of the first partisan detachments, as well as documents and photos of the more important events of the National Liberation War. There are pictures about the resistance of the Albanian communists and patriots in fascist concentration camps and prisons. With their struggle and resistance the Albanian people made their contribution to the capitulation of fascist Italy. After the capitulation of Italian fascism and the invasion of the German nazis, the Albanian partisans fight new battles, capture more war trophies until they drive the German nazis out of their country. There are many exhibits related to the final battles for the liberation of Tirana on November 17, 1944, Shkodra and the whole of Albania on November 29, 1944, the assistance the divisions of the Albanian National Liberation Army gave the peoples of Yugoslavia in taking part in the liberation of their Albanian brothers in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro and pursuing the nazi hordes. Fighting side by side with the Yugoslav people, they also shed their blood for the liberation of Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia. During the National Liberation War the Albanian people, who at that time did not exceed one million, nailed down 15 Italian and German divisions, put out of action 70,000 enemy troops, li-

berated their country, won their freedom and made a valuable contribution to the victory over nazi-fascism.

The next three halls of the Museum deal with the history of the construction of socialism. There you see pictures and documents of the devastations of the war and the heroic efforts of the Albanian people for the reconstruction of their war-ravaged country and the building of a new life. There are documents related to the measures taken by the newly created people's power for the expropriation of the capitalists, the annulment of concessions to the foreign states, etc. Albania was proclaimed a People's Republic. External and internal reaction tried to impede the building of the new life in Albania, but they met with defeat as demonstrated by the weapons, radio-sets and other equipment captured from foreign agents and diversionists, as well as pictures of enemies rendering account for their crimes in people's courts.

In a prominent place figure materials of the 1st Congress of the Party which worked out a scientific program for the construction of the economic base of socialism, which continued till the year 1961, when the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania announced its completion. After this congress comes the stage of the complete construction of socialist society as seen from the materials exhibited in the second hall. Here one is acquainted with the great projects built in our country — bridges, hydro-power stations, factories and combines, as well as such developments as the

complete collectivization of agriculture and the broad diffusion of culture and education. All these successes were achieved through the heroic work of our people in fierce struggle with the internal enemies and the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and other external enemies. The third hall exhibits materials related to the different aspects of the socialist life of our country.

The Museum of National history shows not only the struggle of our forbears in defence of their territories, but also their material culture and, particularly, their artistic creativeness, proving that ours was both a brave and freedom-loving people and a people of an ancient culture. In the hall of the Antiquity, the visitor sees, among other things, the mosaic of the Belle of Durrës, belonging to the 4th-5th century of our era, among the oldest in the Balkans, and the mosaic of Mesaplik, which dates back to the 5th-6th century of our era. In the hall of the Middle Ages, he admires the fine mural paintings of Onufri, David Selenica and Kostandin Shpataraku, as well as the epitaph of Glavenica, a rare specimen of gold-embroidered silk fabric which dates back to 1373 and is very well preserved.

The Museum exhibits personal objects of outstanding men of our nation, which the people have preserved with great love. Among them are the pen and inkstand of De Rada, manuscripts of Sami and Naim Frashëri, Pashko Vasa and Asdren, the pipe and hammer of Kostandin Kristoforidhi, the watch of Çajupi, the sword and watch of Isa Boletini, the rifle of

Shtjefën Gjeçovi, the waistcoat of Mic Sokoli, red flags with the double-headed eagle under which the men of our Renaissance fought in the great people's uprisings for independence and in defence of national identity, as well as weapons and personal objects of the heroes and martyrs of the National Liberation War.

The Museum is embellished with many works of art such as sculptures, paintings and frescoes by our artists of socialist realism. They are closely related to the content of the exhibits and make events and personalities more accessible to the public. However, they are used with great sense of measure and do not affect the historical character of the Museum.

Before the Liberation of Albania many patriots and people of culture had expressed their ardent desire to «see the word 'National Museum'» on the front of a beautiful building. Their desire has become a reality in the years of the people's power.

Together with the many other museums in our country, the Museum of National History is a powerful school for the patriotic and revolutionary education of our working masses, the youth in particular. In the two and a half years of its existence it has been visited by more than 800,000 people including many foreigners. The foreign visitors have highly valued the scientific methodical bases of its organization and the appropriate exhibition of its rich materials. It provides a general view of the history of Albania in the past and in the period of socialist construction.

THE REACTIONARY ESSENCE OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISM OF «SOCIALIST ORIENTATION»

The Soviet revisionists' advertisement of Soviet «assistance» as the main factor in the so-called «socialist orientation» is intended to support the local bourgeoisie and to demobilize and divert the proletariat from the class struggle and the revolution, to pave the way for their hegemonic and neo-colonialist interference and actions, even armed intervention, when their interests call for it, as they did in Afghanistan.

IN HIS MAJOR WORK «IMPERIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION», COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, EXPOSING THE STRATEGY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS AS THE STRATEGY OF A PREDATORY STATE BENT ON EXTENDING ITS HEGEMONY AND RULE TO THE WHOLE WORLD, STRESSES, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT «THE REVISIONIST SOVIET UNION TRIES TO OPEN THE WAY TO REALIZING ITS EXPANSIONIST, NEO-COLONIALIST PLANS BY PRESENTING ITSELF AS A COUNTRY WHICH IS PURSUING A LENINIST AND INTERNATIONALIST POLICY, AS AN ALLY, FRIEND AND DEFENDER OF THE NEW NATIONAL STATES, THE UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, ETC. THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS PREACH THAT, BY LINKING UP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SO-CALLED SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, WHICH THEY PROCLAIM AS THE 'MAIN MOTIVE FORCE OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT TODAY', THESE COUNTRIES CAN ADVANCE SUCCESSFULLY ON THE ROAD OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE EVEN OF SOCIALISM. THIS IS WHY THEY HAVE ALSO CONCOCTED THE THEORIES OF 'NON-CAPITALIST ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT, COUNTRIES OF «SOCIALIST ORIENTATION', ETC.»¹

Many facts throw light on the reactionary, anti-Marxist, opportunist and counter-revolutionary essence of these theories which, summed up in the principal documents of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and in the materials of its congresses, in particular, occupy a special place in the revisionist philosophical publications and in the whole propaganda arsenal of the Soviet social-revisionists today. They are based on a number of theses which aim at the perpetuation of the capitalist socio-economic and political order in a number of former colonial and undeveloped countries by embellishing this order with such labels as «the non-capitalist road of development», or «the road of socialist orientation», on which

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some of these countries are supposed to have set out and advance, and towards which others, too, have a tendency to go. They call for class conciliation and advocate the road of transition to socialism through reforms which are carried out by the capitalist state itself in the framework of the existing structures and superstructures without revolution, without destroying the old bourgeois state machine and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the assessment of the motive forces, they negate the historic mission and the leading role of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party and even go to such absurdities as to recog-

nize this role of the bourgeoisie and its political parties. On the other hand, they consider these countries' reliance on the experience and so-called «aid» of the revisionist and social-imperialist Soviet Union and «the socialist community», as well as the subjection of their policy to that of the Soviet Union, as an absolute necessity and a touchstone which shows that these countries have really set out «on the non-capitalist road of development» or «the road of socialist orientation».

PRETTIFIERS AND DEFENDERS OF THE EXPLOITING ORDER

The Marxist-Leninist theory demonstrates and it has been proved in practice that the socialist revolutionary transformations in the economic base, that is, in the relations of production, as well as in many fields of the superstructure begin to be carried out only after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a conscious and organized way, under the leadership of the true Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and based on the objective laws of social development, the dictatorship of the proletariat carries out deep-going and all-round revolutionary measures for the liquidation of the whole old oppressive and exploitative

CE IST THEORY ION» *by NESTI KARAGUNI*

socio-economic order and the construction of the socialist society without exploiting classes, as the first stage of the construction of the classless society — communism.

Contrary to these teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the indispensable first act of the socialist revolution and on its decisive role for the realization of the socialist transformations in the economic base and superstructure, with their theories on «the non-capitalist road of development» and «the road of socialist orientation», the Soviet revisionists put the stress mainly on economic reforms.

Thus, by alleging that «the struggle of the peoples for true social liberation now is more and more shifting to the sphere of the economy», the Soviet revisionists try to create the impression that the transition to socialism must begin not with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but with transformations in the field of the economy which are allegedly realized by the existing state gradually, through a number of measures or several transitory stages. This state, which they call democratic and revolutionary and in which power is supposed to be in the hands of the working people, is inclined and capable, according to them, to carry out deep-going transformations in all fields of life and, thus, create all the necessary premises for «the transition to socialism».

This treatment on the part of the Soviet revisionists of the problem of the state is utterly anti-Marxist and from the position of the bourgeoisie both in theory and politics. Many facts indicate that, regardless of some reform of a general democratic character realized in the former colonial and undeveloped countries, in them

still exists the private ownership of the means of production both in the form of individual capitalists or group of capitalists and in the form of state monopoly capitalism. Political power in these countries is in the hands of the rich bourgeois and feudal classes which oppress and exploit the proletariat and the other working masses. In general, the ruling classes there are closely linked up with American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or other kinds of imperialism, whose capital, as many facts show, still occupies important positions in the economy of these countries and, in one way or the other, shapes their policies. It is but natural that this state and its whole superstructure resting on such an economic base and reflecting it, regardless of the diverse labels that may be stuck to it, stands in defence of the private ownership of the means of production and the economic relations that underlie it and is in the complete service of the ruling classes of society.

It is known that the state, as long as it exists, has always a pronounced class character. Certainly, among the new national states of the former colonial and undeveloped countries there are such as more progressive and more democratic than in the time of colonial rule. But this does not mean that these states stand above or outside classes. As all other states, they are states of one class and not states of the «working people» in general, as the Soviet revisionists make out.

Also, the Khrushchevite revisionists claim that in these countries, along with the realization of reforms in the economic field, the nature of the state itself will change; it will be transformed from a revolutionary de-

mocratic dictatorship into a state of the socialist type through reforms which are supposed to be carried out within the framework of the existing socio-political and economic order through the creation of «new democratic-revolutionary institutions of power», the adoption of «legislation expressing the interests of the masses», the development of the struggle against «bureaucracy in the state administrative apparatus» («Nauchnyj kommunizm», no. 3, 1980, p. 104), «the gradual strengthening of the state apparatus with national cadres loyal to the people» («Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU», «Pravda», February 24, 1981), the deepening of the democratic character of the state organs and the army («Voprosy filosofii», no. 2, 1983, p. 73), etc. And according to them, this reformed state will enable, allegedly in a conscious manner, the transition to socialism!

Bernstein, Kautsky and other opportunists have in the past expressed views similar to those of the Soviet revisionists today, when they advocated the reforming of the old oppressive and exploitative state. However, it is known that Lenin, when he exposed and smashed them, indicated that all the reforms that may be carried out in the oppressive and exploitative bourgeois state are never such as «to express the interests of the masses», but only such as not to infringe the class nature, the socio-economic order and the rule of the exploiting classes. «Changes» are constantly made in the old state apparatus of the bourgeoisie so as to adapt the state better to the changing situation, and especially to prevent the revolutionary movements and struggles of the proletariat and the peoples against their rulers. Hence, «changes» of this order in the state

apparatus are intended not to create the premises for the former colonial countries and other capitalist countries to go over to socialism, as the Soviet revisionists claim, but to strengthen the bourgeois or feudal-bourgeois dictatorship further, to protect the class interests and positions of the affluent classes in society better.

In continuation of their anti-Marxist theses on the state of «socialist orientation» in the former colonial countries, which is supposedly capable of carrying out deep-going economic reforms and leading these countries gradually to socialism with the result that this state will be reformed and transformed into a «state of the socialist type»; the Soviet revisionists come to another political and theoretical conclusion: they imply that for the transition to socialism these countries need neither carry out the proletarian revolution nor destroy the old bourgeois state, but on the contrary, must only preserve and strengthen the existing state. This conclusion is in flagrant contradiction with what has been demonstrated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and fully proved in revolutionary practice, namely, that the revolution and, as its first step, the total destruction of the old oppressive and exploitative state, are absolutely necessary for the transition to socialism.

Engels has demonstrated that the bourgeois state is a particular means for the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Hence, for the transition to the classless society it must necessarily be replaced with another particular means, the socialist state, as a weapon of the proletariat and its ally to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes. However, such a replacement, says Lenin further, can by no means be carried out through «regulating» or «reorganizing» the old state apparatus. It can be done only by destroying this apparatus from its foundations, which can be achieved only by means of the proletarian revolution through violence. «The dictatorship of the proletariat», Stalin explains, «cannot emerge as a result of the peaceful evolution of bourgeois society and bourgeois democracy, it can emerge only as a

result of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois state administrative apparatus, the bourgeois police.»²

By arbitrarily and tendentiously attributing to the bourgeois state in the countries of so-called «socialist orientation» socialist features which they can have neither in theory nor in practice, the Soviet revisionists also expect from it measures of a consistently socialist nature. Thus, they say that this state, after «liquidating poverty» and «overcoming the socioeconomic backwardness» of the country, takes such measures as to «consciously impede the development of capitalism» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 10, 1978, p. 100), by gradually liquidating «the positions of imperialist monopolies, the local bourgeoisie and big feudal lords», by «circumscribing the activity of foreign capital» («Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU», «Pravda», February 24, 1981), and by creating and strengthening the state economic sector. According to them, in the so-called countries of «socialist orientation» is followed the course of the planned creation of the material-technical premises of socialist development» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 3, 1983, p. 102).

An analysis of these official statements of the Soviet revisionist politicians and theoreticians is enough to reveal their anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian, pro-bourgeois and reactionary position.

First, the creation of the state economic sector in the new national states, which the Soviet revisionists consider the principal factor for «the consistent liquidation of capitalist relations and the emergence of socialist relations of production», as has been proved by many facts and in practice, does not and cannot bring any element of a socialist character to the field of the relations of production. Engels stresses that the transformation of property into state property in the capitalist countries does not alter the capitalist character of the production forces, the capitalist relations not only do not disappear but, on the contrary, reach their highest point. Lenin also exposes the opportunists and revisionists who, in order to avert the revolution, try to prettify capi-

talism by presenting state monopoly capitalism as a non-capitalist order. The creation of the state sector through nationalizations carried out by the bourgeoisie in the conditions of its political power and dictatorship is only a particular form of bourgeois ownership, collective capitalism. This state capitalism does not alter in the least the nature of the existing exploiting order, does not eliminate exploitation of man by man, nor does it bring about the disappearance of poverty and unemployment. The position and condition of the workers in state capitalist enterprises is the same as, if not worse than, that of the workers of private capitalist enterprises. «As a very lengthy experience has already proved,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «state capitalism is supported and developed by the bourgeoisie not to create the foundations of socialist society, as the revisionists think but to strengthen the foundations of capitalist society, of its bourgeois state, in order to exploit and oppress the working people more.»⁴

Second, the Soviet revisionists talk about the alleged liquidation of «the positions of imperialist monopolies, the bourgeoisie and the local big landlords», but say nothing about the middle and the petty bourgeoisie, the city petty bourgeoisie in particular. They also talk about «circumscribing the activity of foreign capital» but not about liquidating it. Apparently, according to them, both the local petty and middle bourgeoisie, although to a somewhat «limited» extent, will always be present in the future «socialist» order. Thus, according to them, the so-called countries of «socialist orientation» will gradually go to «socialism» along with state capitalist property, private, middle and small capitalist property and even by means of its capital, that is to say, actually without a radical change in the field of the relations of ownership, with everything capitalist and nothing socialist.

Third, with their allegations that from the moment of the triumph of the anti-imperialist liberation revolution and the proclamation of national independence to the actual maturing of the premises for the beginning of the socialist transformations in the

former colonial countries a very long time is needed, the Soviet revisionists actually negate the necessity of the socialist revolution and the preparations for it, thus putting socialism on Greek Calends. They claim that the so-called conscious gradual course of socialist orientation «defines the process of non-capitalist evolution as a prolongation in time of the revolutionary process» («Leninskaya teoriya socialisticheskoy revolyucii i sovremennostj», Moscow 1980, p. 474). And according to them, the prolongation in time of this process is indispensable for the «onward movement» to take place gradually, going through several transitory stages so as to avoid «the artificial enforcing of social transformations» («Mezhdunarodnaya zhiznj», no. 3, 1981, p. 39), with «the forces of production developing gradually (ibidem, p. 38) until a level suitable for the transition to socialism is reached and the proletariat grows and develops to such an extent as to constitute the majority of the population.

It is not difficult to see that these views resemble like two drops of water the opportunist theory of the «production forces» of Kautsky and the other opportunists of the past who were exposed by Lenin. They are also similar to the anti-Marxist theorizations and distortions of the Yugoslav revisionists in connection with the stages of the revolution, the time and roads of transition from one stage to the other, which they tried to compel our Party to carry out in Albania. In order allegedly not to mix up the stages of the revolution they «advised» that the transition from the first, democratic, stage of the revolution to the second, socialist, stage should be retarded; they held the anti-Marxist idea that, as long as we were a people's democracy, we should not touch the bourgeoisie, otherwise, according to the Titoites, we would be skipping over stages; they advocated the road of reforms as the only road of transition from the first revolution to the second and drew the conclusion that the transition from the one stage to the other should be prolonged in time. It is known how Lenin exposed and refuted the theory of the

«production forces». By discovering the objective law of the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist countries in the epoch of imperialism, he came to the conclusion and demonstrated that the revolution might also break out and triumph in several countries, even in one country, where the link in the capitalist chain was weakest, although this country might not be among the more advanced from the stand-point of the development of the production forces. And such a weak link in the capitalist chain would be the country with sharper social class contradictions and a more mature revolutionary situation, the country whose proletariat had created its Marxist-Leninist party and was ready for major revolutionary battles. Lenin also demonstrated that the triumph of the liberation democratic revolution could and should serve as a preliminary stage for going over to socialism, because in imperialism such conditions are created as to enable the revolution, with the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party in the lead, to develop and go over as quickly as possible from the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the stage of the socialist revolution, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism and communism.

These teachings of the great Lenin were confirmed by the practice of the October Revolution in Russia and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in Lenin and Stalin's time. They are also vindicated by the successful revolution and construction of socialism in Albania. It is known that before its liberation Albania was a backward country from the socio-economic and cultural stand-point. It was a mainly agrarian country with almost no industry and with a low level of development of the production forces. The working class was small in number, dispersed and unformed as an industrial proletariat and had not yet reached a high organizational and political maturity. This situation, however, did not prevent the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) from preparing the conditions for organizing and leading, along with the

struggle for national liberation, also the struggle for social emancipation, its first act being the establishment of the people's power as a dictatorship of the democratic revolutionary forces, which carried out also the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and which immediately set the country on the road of the construction of socialism.

NEGATION OF THE HISTORIC ROLE AND MISSION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

Marx and Lenin have demonstrated that of all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, only the proletariat, as the class best prepared and revolutionary to the end, can and must unwaveringly play its hegemonic role in all the current revolutionary processes leading to the smashing of the old oppressive and exploitative order and to the transition of society to socialism.

Contrary to Marxism-Leninism and to the rich experience of the actual development of the revolution, the Soviet revisionists, on one hand, distort the reality by claiming that in many countries which have just proclaimed their national independence, «a national working class has not yet been created» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 3, 1983, p. 94), which is not at all true, whereas, on the other hand, capitalizing on the fact that in other such countries the proletariat exists but is small in number and unorganized, come out with the anti-Leninist conclusion that this proletariat cannot «assume the mission of the leader in the national democratic revolution» («Mezhdunarodnaya zhiznj», no. 3, 1981, p. 39). At the same time, they try «to prove» that preparation of the conditions for the «gradual transition to socialism» of the countries of the so-called «socialist orientation» will be done neither by the proletariat, nor under its leadership, but under the leadership of those forces which led the struggle for national liberation and independence, the forces actually in power, without a new align-

ment of the class forces being necessary without setting an edge to the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, because, according to the Soviet revisionists, a considerable part of the bourgeoisie of these countries has socialist inclinations, has set out on «the road of socialist development» and, as a consequence, has the possibility to play the role of the leader in this important process of development and advance. Besides, the Soviet revisionists emphasize in their propaganda that the so-called «socialist orientation» is realized only in those countries which accept and avail themselves of the assistance and experience of the socialist (read revisionist) countries» («Voprosy filozofii», no. 10, 1981, p. 100). Hence, if they do not accede to this «assistance» and experience», these countries cannot go to «socialism». Therefore, the primary and fundamental condition for these countries to go to socialism, according to the Soviet revisionists, is the external factor.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and practice has fully proved it that the bourgeoisie, being linked with capitalist exploitation and playing the main role in it, not only cannot have and has not any socialist inclination, hence, cannot be treated as a motive, and even less so as the leading force of the process of transition to socialism, but objectively stands in the forefront of the camp of the enemies of the revolution and socialism. Even in the process of the development of the anti-imperialist liberation democratic revolution, because of its very economic and class position, it is characterized by waverings and tends to compromise with imperialism and inner reaction, and so is not in a position to carry it through to the end. For their part, the petty-bourgeois strata cannot play the leading role in the revolution, either, for their demands are limited and are under the influence of an unscientific ideology, wavering from right to «left» and sliding either into opportunism or adventurism. Nor can the stratum of the intelligentsia be an independent force, for it originates from different classes and, by its very nature, tends to waver politically and ideologically.

hence, it cannot play the leading role in the revolution.

The leading role of the proletariat in the revolution is irreplaceable because it is revolutionary to the end and the most progressive of all classes, strata and social groups in capitalism. And it is such because it owns nothing apart from its work force which it is compelled to sell to the capitalist owners of the means of production and submit itself to their savage exploitation to avoid starvation. With the material production it realizes, it carries the heaviest burden of the existence and development of society and still does not enjoy the fruit of its labour. Hence, its material and political condition and the place it occupies in bourgeois society force it to organize itself and rise in resolute revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the old order and the construction of socialist society. The proletariat works and is linked with the most advanced sector of the economy, large-scale industrial production and, being concentrated in hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands, not only is the most progressive class aspiring to and struggling for the establishment of the most advanced mode of production, the socialist mode, but also has better possibilities of organization for revolutionary activities. And its scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, makes it conscious of the need for organizing such actions and shows it the conditions of struggle and victory. It sets up its own leading staff, its fighting Marxist-Leninist party which inspires it, organizes it and leads it in fulfilment of its great historic mission.

Because of all these circumstances taken as a whole, it appertains only to the proletariat to play the leading role in the revolution, and not only in the socialist revolution, but also in the liberation democratic revolution. Speaking about the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in 1905-1907, Lenin stressed that proceeding from the bourgeois context of this revolution, one need not come out with «the conclusion that the bourgeoisie is the motive force of the revolution» and that «the revolution cannot be led by the proletariat.»⁵ He demonstrated that the proletariat

can and must be in the lead of the people's democratic revolution of a general anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character, too, because it is more than any other class force interested in and capable of carrying it through to the end, to its complete victory, and creating the possibilities for its transformation into a socialist revolution within a relatively short time. The strength and possibility of the proletariat to play the leading role in the revolution and carry out its historic mission do not depend on its number. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «The working class plays its leading role through its Party which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be created and emerge in the lead of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in number and unorganized.»⁶

The sole and undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party in the fierce class struggle against the bourgeoisie and reaction, and in the revolution for the construction of socialism, is an objective necessity which no country can be excluded of, whether developed or not from the economic and cultural stand-point. This demand assumes particular importance in our days when revolutionary situations have been or are being created in different countries of the world. The Marxist-Leninist party is indispensable to the proletariat because it makes the proletariat conscious of its historic mission, makes the objectives of the struggle and the ways to attain them clear to it. The revolution and the construction of socialism are conscious processes which are carried out on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology. And only the proletarian party works out, promotes and carries this ideology amongst the working class and the other working masses. In fierce class struggle and in revolution the proletariat clashes with numerous and powerful enemies, the bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes, reaction and opportunists and revisionists, who are organized into states and parties and, beside, have an experience of governing and suppressing revolutionary movements. The proletariat cannot oppose them, conquer them and emerge victorious over them if it does

not face it as a compact class with a party of its own, in strong unity of thought and action. The struggle of the proletariat against its enemies is a complex and many-sided one. In this struggle it enters into alliance with other social forces and attracts them to itself. However, for the success of the revolution it is necessary that all the threads of revolutionary movements should be assembled in one and indivisible leading and co-ordinating centre. And only the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class can be such a centre, because, as Stalin has indicated, only this party is the vanguard and organized detachment of the working class, the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat and the most powerful weapon in the hands of the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its constant strengthening and perfecting, expresses the unity of purpose which does not tolerate the existence of factions and which is strengthened through the purge of opportunist, revisionist and deviationist elements.

The Soviet revisionists, in order to sabotage the organization and development of the revolution, negate the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and attribute its role to other non-proletarian political forces such as the parties of the national bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie which are in power in the countries of the so-called «socialist orientation». With their usual sophistry, calling these parties «vanguard parties of the new type», «parties with a Marxist-Leninist platform» («Leninskaya teoriya socialisticheskoy revolyucii i sovremennostj», p. 476, Moscow 1980), «Marxist-Leninist vanguard» («Mezhdunarodjya zhiznj», no. 3, 1981, p. 37), parties of «scientific socialism» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 2, 1983, p. 73) which «express the interest of the broad working masses» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 4, 1981, p. 116), the Soviet revisionists not only put these parties in the leadership of the democratic revolution, but also entrust them with the mission to lead this revolution through to the end in the process of the so-called gradual transition to socialism.

But are these parties true Marxist-

Leninist parties and do they express the interests of the broad working masses? Actually they are not and cannot be such. It is known that political parties express and defend the interests of certain classes and are set up to lead their struggle. They are conscious unions of people most loyal to these classes. There can be no political party above or outside classes. There cannot occur, either, that the party of a certain class represents the interests of the opposing class at the same time.

How is, then, possible for the political parties of the national bourgeoisie which are in power in many new national states to be at the same time «the vanguard of the working people» and express «the interests of the broad working masses»? Besides, how is it possible for political organizations or parties which represent non-proletarian social forces, such as the national bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, to be armed with the «ideas of scientific socialism», to have «a Marxist-Leninist platform»? All these are vain attempts of the Soviet revisionists to cover up the class allegiance of the ruling parties in the so-called countries of «socialist orientation». Lenin has made it clear that political parties should not be judged by the names and labels they put themselves, but by their deeds, by the class interests they represent and defend.

On the other hand, some political parties of «socialist orientation» have been formed as a result of the internal re-organization of anti-imperialist fronts, while others are the product of collaboration and agreements between revolutionary democrats and the so-called communists. Hence, these parties have been formed as a result of the transformation of anti-imperialist fronts into political parties, or as a result of the coalition of different trends. So it is clear that none of them has been formed, built and functions on Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational bases. As in the former anti-imperialist fronts in these parties militate people of different ideologies who represent different political and social forces.

Political parties cannot be created initially as non-proletarian parties

and then be transformed into Marxist-Leninist parties. Lenin has said, and experience has proved it, that a true proletarian party is created as such right at the beginning. If it is not created right at the beginning as a true Marxist-Leninist party and does not stand consistently in the positions of Marxism-Leninism, it cannot be a party of the working class. And true, the political parties in power in the countries of the so-called «socialist orientation» represent other social classes and strata than the proletariat. As such they are not Marxist-Leninist parties.

UNDEREVALUATION OF INTERNAL FACTORS AND OVEREVALUATION OF EXTERNAL FACTORS

With their allegation that the «socialist orientation» is realized only with the «assistance» of the Soviet Union and the other formerly socialist countries, the Soviet revisionists want to say that the external factor plays the decisive role in the process of the transition to socialism. This, too, is an idealistic and subjectivistic view which absolutizes the external factors and underevaluates the role of the objective and internal factors in the revolution and construction of socialism. Marx and Lenin, however, have demonstrated that the internal factors are always been determinative and decisive for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism, because the internal contradictions are always the cause and source of the self-movement and self-development of social phenomena. They play the decisive role in the process of social development. The correct solution of the problems of social development is the result of the operation of internal progressive social factors, of the revolutionary struggle and the creative activity of the working class and the other working masses of each country. Certainly, in this direction a role is played also by external progressive social factors. However, this role is not and cannot be the determinative and main one. As a rule external factors play an auxiliary role and

exercise their influence not directly but only through internal factors. Hence, no matter how favourable the external international conditions and no matter how large the assistance of the true revolutionary forces of other countries, if the objective internal conditions have not matured and if the internal revolutionary forces are lacking or not prepared to the due extent, then the tasks posed by the socialist development cannot be realized. On the other hand, even in a complicated international development, if the subjective revolutionary factors are mature and operate properly within each country, relying firmly on their own forces, positive results can and must be achieved in the solution of the tasks of objective social development.

Now it is fully proved that socialism in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries has utterly degenerated. The capitalist order has been restored in all directions and fields there. The Soviet revisionists' advertisement of Soviet «assistance» as the main factor in the so-called «socialist orientation» is intended to support the local bourgeoisie and to demobilize and divert the proletariat from the class struggle and the revolution, to pave the way for their hegemonic and neo-colonialist interference and actions, even armed intervention when their interests call for it, as they did in Afghanistan, Angola and other countries.

The Soviet revisionists talk so much about their so-called aid to the back-

ward countries that they go even beyond the bounds of modesty. In their literature, and here the question is not about some articles, but about whole books, there is much talk about trade exchanges carried with these countries, credits granted to them and students coming from them to study in the Soviet Union. All this, of course, is done in order to present the Soviet Union as the friend and ally of the backward countries, as a country which allegedly follows an internationalist policy, and in this manner, entice others, too, into the Soviet orbit.

In reality the so-called «aid» and credits the Soviet Union grants some former colonial countries are only forms of export of capital which ensure the Soviet Union substantial economic but also political and propaganda gains. By means of «aid» and credits as well as in other forms, the Soviet neo-colonialists try to evict the monopolies of the other imperialist states from these countries and occupy their place, to conquer markets and seize strategic positions, to gobble up the wealth of these countries and to impose their policy on them. The Soviet revisionists are lavish of praise to those rulers of new national states who have linked themselves up in one way or the other with the policy of the Soviet Union. They even call these rulers «outstanding revolutionaries» who «try to assimilate the theory of scientific socialism» («Soviet policy» it would be more appropriate to say) and «to bring about the integration of their countries into the world socialist

system» («Voprosy filosofii», no. 2, 1983, p. 73).

Life has proved that pressure, bribes, plots, interference and other activities of this type of the Soviet social-imperialists, as everywhere, also in the countries of the so-called «socialist orientation» are only means for the achievement of their neo-colonialist hegemonic and counter-revolutionary aims. They pose as friends and allies of the peoples, while constantly plotting behind their backs. And when their plots are uncovered and their tutelage rejected, as has occurred in some African countries, they accuse these countries of deviating from the road of «socialist orientation» and their leaders of hasty actions of a subjective character. And this is a fact which shows that the theory of the «non-capitalist road of development» and of «socialist orientation» has been invented and is adverstized by the Soviet revisionists only to further their neo-colonialist and hegemonist ends.

1 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 38, Eng. ed.

2 J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 119, Alb. ed.

3 Marx-Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, pp. 137-138, Tirana, 1958, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 145, Eng. ed.

5 V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 1, pp. 692-693, Tirana 1975, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Problems of the Revolution and Socialist Construction», vol. 3, p. 22, Tirana 1977, Alb. ed.

View of the turbine section of the «LIGHT OF THE PARTY» hydro-power station at Fierza.



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