

Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

№ 5 (84) / 1985



The thatched-hut at Galigat was one of the bases where Comrade ENVER HOXHA took shelter in the stormy years of the National Liberation War. Inspired from this, the Merited Painter, Fatmir Harhiu, realized the tableau entitled «The Hut at Galigat».



ENVER HOXHA IS AN OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. JUST AS HE WAS AN ARDENT PATRIOT, HE WAS ALSO AN ARDENT INTERNATIONALIST. HIS STRUGGLE AND WORK DEVOTED TO THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, THE DEFENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE SUPPORT OF THE CAUSE OF THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES, CONSTITUTE A BRILLIANT EXAMPLE OF THE LOYAL DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM. THE GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST FIGHTERS HAVE HAD IN ENVER HOXHA A COMRADE AND FRIEND WHO HAS SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED THEM AS A BROTHER.

RAMIZ ALIA

ENVER AN ARDENT INTERNATIONAL FRIEND OF THE N

The stand of Comrade ENVER HOXHA
movement of our time has always been an active
of his theoretical work

IN THE ALL-ROUND REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF OUR TIME ALSO OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT PLACE. AT THE MEMORIAL RALLY ON THE OCCASION OF THE FUNERAL OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA, POINTED OUT, «ENVER HOXHA IS AN OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. JUST AS HE WAS AN ARDENT PATRIOT, HE WAS ALSO AN ARDENT INTERNATIONALIST, HIS STRUGGLE AND WORK DEVOTED TO THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, THE DEFENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE SUPPORT OF THE CAUSE OF THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES, CONSTITUTE A BRILLIANT EXAMPLE OF THE LOYAL DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM. THE GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST FIGHTERS HAVE HAD IN ENVER HOXHA A COMRADE AND FRIEND WHO HAS SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED THEM AS A BROTHER.»

At the time when the counter-revolutionary tide of modern revisionism, a component part of the strategy of world imperialism, was on the rise, when revisionism, disguised behind slogans of the «creative development of Marxism-Lenin-

ism», had assumed predominance in the international communist and workers' movement, causing profound confusion in the ranks of the revolutionary forces and the peoples, it was Enver Hoxha who boldly raised the voice of the truth, who shed light in the darkness created by the revisionists, who gave the signal for the historic struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. Again it was Enver Hoxha who, on the basis of a profound and all-round analysis, proved that the so-called «Mao Zedong thought» has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, but is a disguised variant of modern revisionism, which disorientates, sabotages and leads the revolutionary movement to defeat and disillusionment. The principled struggle of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, his contribution to defining the line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, was one of those significant factors which gave a powerful impetus to the process of the differentiation and division in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement, and the emergence and the development of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and forces.

Opposing the Chinese advocacy of a «common front» with the revisionists and their efforts to hinder the organization of the Marxist-Leninist forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «In the opinion of our Party, it is not unity with the revisionists which is on the agenda today, but the definitive breach with them. Also on the agenda today is the creation of new Marxist-

HOXHA- INTERNATIONALIST AND GREAT MARXIST-LENINISTS

towards the revolutionary and liberation
militant stand, he has devoted a considerable part
and his struggle to it

Leninist parties and the need for the assistance which must be given them.»

The spread of revisionism brought not only the abandonment of the banner of the revolution by the former communist parties of many countries, but also the complete ideological, political and organizational degeneration of those parties into parties of the social-democratic type. The problem which presented itself was to analyze the roots of this degeneration, to defend the Leninist principles and norms of the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class in theory and practice, to help the new Marxist-Leninist parties and forces to free themselves of any negative influence inherited from the old parties, so they would be built on sound foundations, in conformity with the concrete conditions of their activity and struggle, legal and illegal, and the historic tasks that they took upon themselves. On this vital question, Comrade Enver Hoxha was always beside the Marxist-Leninists. With a profound internationalist feeling, in tens of comradesly meetings and conversations with them, and in a large number of his works and articles, he has dealt extensively with the questions of the organization, building, education and tempering of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, has given them fraternal advice and encouraged them in their revolutionary action, placing at their disposal his great knowledge and experience as an outstanding communist leader.

Comrade Enver Hoxha regarded the formation, development, consolidation and tempering of the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties as the decisive condition for carrying forward the cause of the revolution, as an indispensable need to oppose the counter-revolutionary strategy of the revisionists with revolutionary strategy and tactics, without which the revolution cannot be carried out, but, on the contrary, is doomed to fail. «The revisionist betrayal,» he wrote, «has led, as it must, to the formation and strengthening of genuine communist parties everywhere... On them devolves the task of opposing the glorious Leninist strategy of the revolution, the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, to the overall strategy of world imperialism and revisionism. On them devolves the task of making the masses fully conscious of the aims and the correct road of the struggle and the sacrifices required, of uniting them, organizing them, and leading them to victory.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha was an ardent and unwavering supporter of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the progressive forces. The duty of Marxist-Leninists, of genuine revolutionaries, he said, is to call on the proletarians and peoples to rise in struggle for the new world, for their world, the socialist world. He saw the question of the revolution and socialism in our country as closely linked with the development of the revolutionary and liberation movement in the

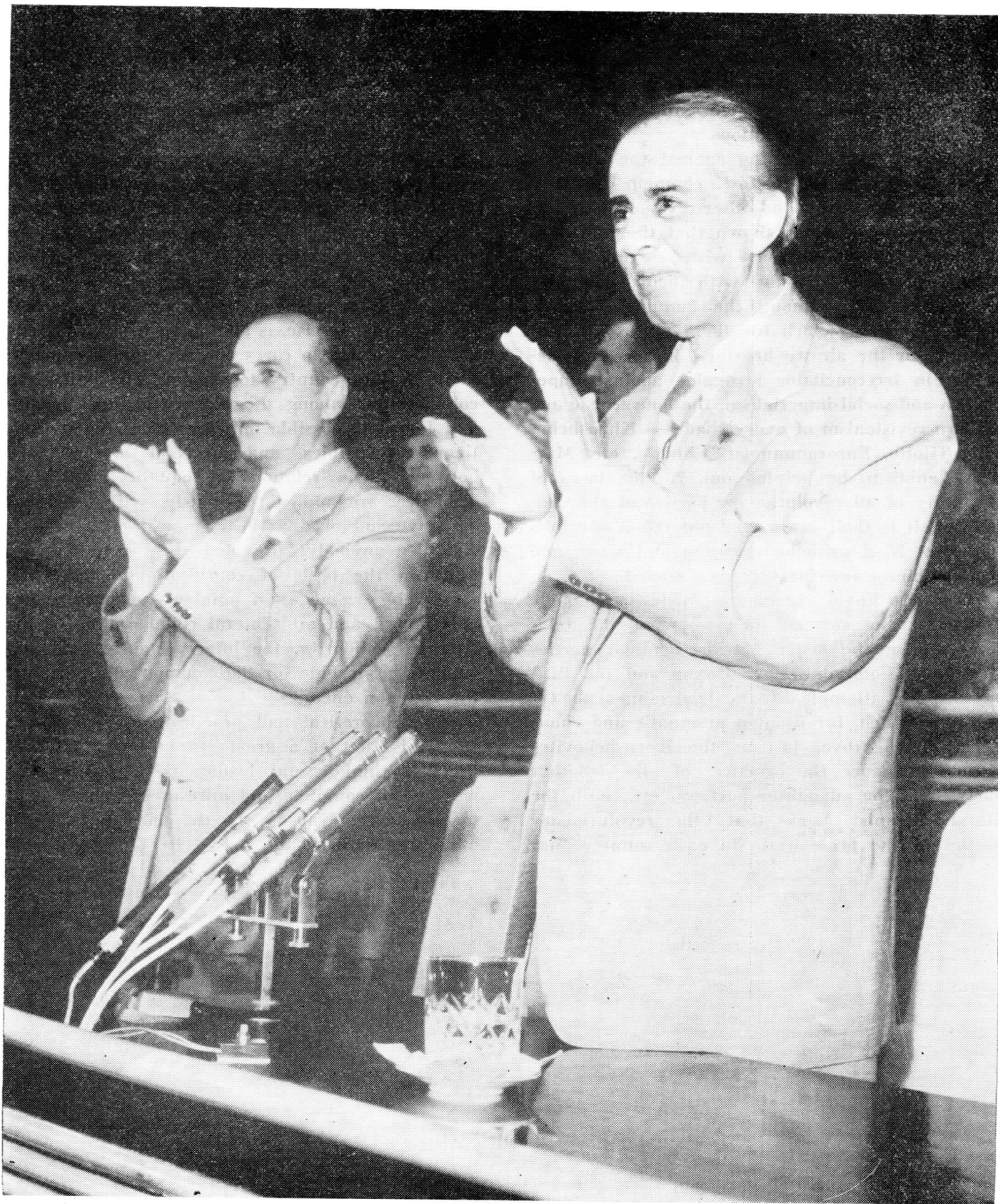
world and as a component part of it. Following the teachings of Enver Hoxha and under his leadership, the PLA, the Albanian people and socialist Albania became a loyal support for all those who fight for national and social liberation, to throw off any kind of bourgeois and imperialist exploitation and oppression, and for social progress, the triumph of the great ideals of socialism.

The stand of Comrade Enver Hoxha towards the revolutionary and liberation movement of our time has always been an active, militant stand, he has devoted a considerable part of his theoretical work and his struggle to it. In such major works as *Imperialism and the Revolution*, *Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, the reports delivered at the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Congresses of the Party, and others, as well as in a great number of articles, meetings and notes, he has given particular attention to the key problems of the principles of the strategy and tactics of the present-day revolutionary and liberation movement, with which the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, the genuine revolutionaries and the peoples are confronted in our time. The theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha in this field is outstanding for the wide range of the problems with which it deals. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of features of the revolutionary process of our time, the relationship between the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, between the motive forces and internal and external enemies of the revolution in the various zones with differing conditions, the work of the Marxist-Leninist parties amongst the working class and its allies and the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies, the question of collaboration, alliances and joint fronts with other forces, the revolutionary activity of Marxist-Leninists in the conditions of illegality and bourgeois legality, their stand towards bourgeois elections and the armed struggle, etc., these are only some of the problems of the strategy and tactics about which Enver Hoxha has expressed his weighty opinion, making a contribution of great theoretical and practical value for the revolutionary movement of our time.

The fundamental distinguished characteristic of the theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is its close connection with revolutionary practice, the drawing of real problems from the living practice of the struggle and in its service. He has shown with scientific arguments that in our time the world is at a stage when the question of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem put forward for solution. But that is not all. He also shows, on the basis of concrete analyses and arguments, the roads that must be followed, and how the fight must be waged in today's conditions, in order to carry the cause of the revolution and the national liberation of the peoples forward to victory. This is why the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries find in the work and theoretical thinking of Enver Hoxha correct answers to many acute problems which they encounter every day in the living practice of their revolutionary activity.

The great value of the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples lies also in the fact that it is directly opposed to the modern revisionists' anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary forms and methods, by means of which they strive to divert the revolutionary movement from the correct road and stamp it out. At the same time, he shows that the strategy and tactics of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties are not and cannot be either that of «leftist» sectarianism and adventurism, incited today in various forms by the bourgeoisie and imperialism in order to discredit, confuse and lead the revolutionary movement to defeat. Comrade Enver Hoxha counterposes the opportunist strategy and tactics, whether rightist or «left» sectarian, with the genuine revolutionary strategy and tactics, firmly based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, enriched and developed in accord with present-day conditions and tested in the heat of practice.

One of the gravest consequences of the spread of modern revisionism is the split that it caused through its betrayal in the ranks of communism and the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. As a consistent internationalist



Comrade ENVER HOXHA and Comrade RAMIZ ALIA

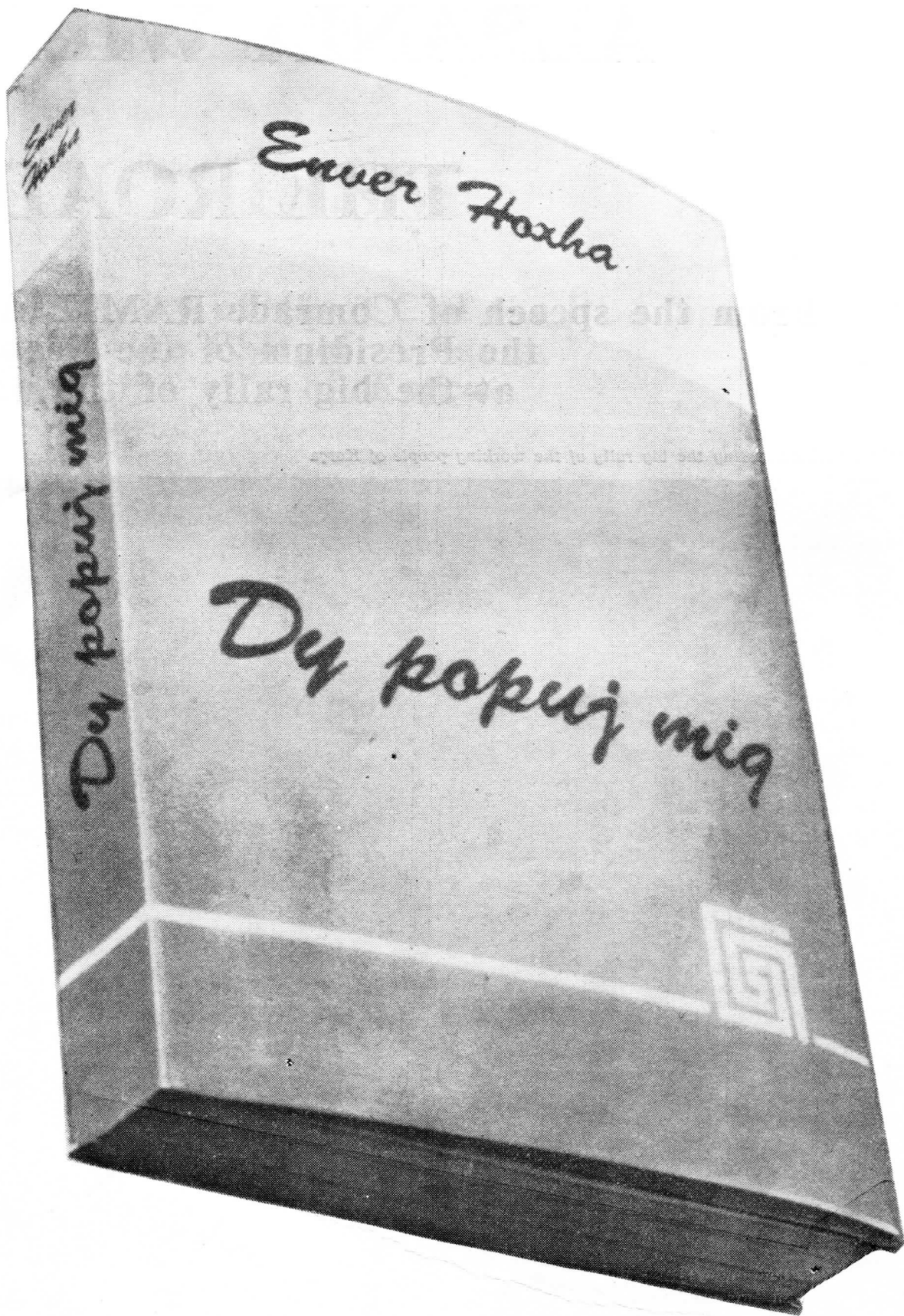
revolutionary, Enver Hoxha devoted great attention and made an outstanding contribution to building and strengthening the unity of Marxist-Leninists on sound foundations.

Opposing and struggling against the pressure of the Chinese leadership for a common front and unity with the Soviet and other revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha has shown that the unity for which we fight is not unity with the revisionists. There will never be unity with them. The unity and collaboration among the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, which for them «is as vital as the light or the air we breathe», is born and develops in irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism of every shade — Khrushchevite, Titoite, Eurocommunist, Chinese, etc. Marxism-Leninism, he pointed out, is the basis of the unity of all revolutionary parties of the proletariat. It is their brain, and not the conductor's baton, as N. Khrushchev thought and acted, and as the Chinese revisionist leaders tried to do.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a valuable contribution to the question of what the relations among the sister Marxist-Leninist parties should be. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA opposed the attempts by the leadership of the CP of China which, for its own pragmatic and chauvinist aims, strove, just as the Khrushchevites did, to introduce the practices of the «mother party» and the «daughter parties», etc., with the Marxist-Leninist view that the revolutionary parties of the proletariat in each country are

equal parties, independent from one another, which are guided by Marxism-Leninism and are answerable to the working class and peoples of their own countries, as well as to international proletariat, for the stands they take. This independence and equality of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the present-day conditions stems from the fact that only the local party, relying on the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and applying them in a creative manner in the conditions of its own country, which it knows better than anyone else, is able to lead with complete competence and to carry the revolutionary movement in that country to victory. The unity and collaboration among the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces is possible only provided the internationalist principles and norms of the relations between them, relations of equality and independence, are applied rigorously, without allowing any kind of dictate or imposition from outside, by anybody; provided these relations are built on the basis of consultations, talks and comradely exchanges of opinions and experience, of bilateral and multilateral collaboration, of the fraternal solidarity, the internationalist aid and support in struggle for the common cause, against the common enemies.

The theoretical and practical work of Enver Hoxha is that of a great revolutionary internationalist thinker and leader, whose whole life was one of complete and unreserved commitment to serve the cause of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism.

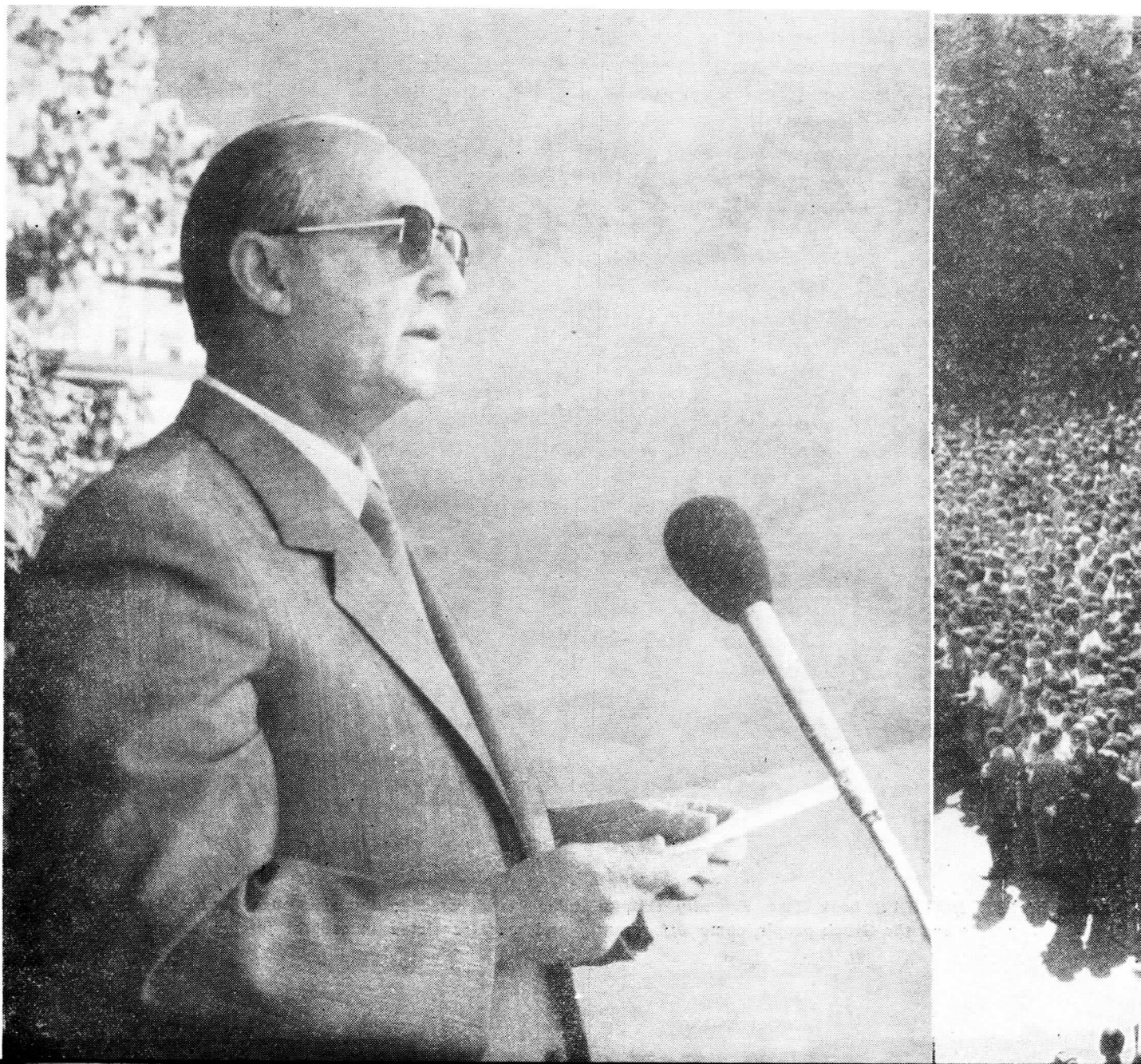


Comrade ENVER HOXHA'S book *Two Friendly Peoples*, which is devoted to the relations between the Albanian people and the Greek people, came off recently and was translated in several foreign languages.

ALBANIA WILL THE ROAD

**From the speech of Comrade RAMIZ ALIA
the Presidium of the People's
at the big rally of the worki**

Comrade RAMIZ ALIA addressing the big rally of the working people of Korça



ALWAYS ADVANCE IN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

**First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and President of
the Assembly of the PSR of Albania,
addressing the people of the city of Korça-**



From 26 to 30 of August this year Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, paid a visit to the district of Korça.

Thousands of residents of Korça, workers of factories and workshops, miners, veterans of the National Liberation War and Enver's young pioneers, had turned up to meet him. He was welcomed by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Dhimitër Petro, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District, People's Council, Fatbardh Harizi, and other comrades. On this visit Comrade Ramiz Alia was accompanied by the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, and the secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava.

After the cordial welcome of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the cemetery of the martyrs of the district and laid a wreath to the Partisan Memorial with this inscription: «To the unforgettable sons and daughters of Korça, Ramiz Alia». Then, at a big popular rally organized at the Bread Demonstration Square of the city Comrade Ramiz Alia held a speech in which, among other things, he said:

ALLOW ME ON THIS OCCASION TO CONVEY TO YOU THE MOST ARDENT GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ON THE GREAT SUCCESSES YOU HAVE ACHIEVED IN ALL FIELDS. IN PARTICULAR, I WANT TO CONGRATULATE THE COOPERATIVISTS, THE MACHINE-OPERATORS, AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF AGRICULTURE ON THEIR FULFILMENT OF THIS YEAR'S PLAN FOR WHEAT AND THE HIGH YIELDS WHICH MANY ECONOMIES, SECTORS AND BRIGADES OF THE PLAINS AND THE HIGHLANDS HAVE ACHIEVED. THE PARTY IS CONVINCED THAT THE DISTRICT OF KORÇA WILL CONTINUE TO FORGE AHEAD AND ACHIEVE STILL HIGHER LEVELS IN ALL FIELDS, IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, CULTURE AND DEFENCE.

● **KORÇA HAS ALWAYS BEEN RENOWNED FOR ITS VALOUR AND ARDENT PATRIOTISM. IN THIS CITY, IN THE SURROUNDING DISTRICTS, OUTSTANDING FIGHTERS WITH THE RIFLE AND KNOWLEDGE HAVE FOUGHT WITH RARE HEROISM...**

● **Korça became one of the most important centres of the Albanian Communist Movement...**

● **Korça is dearly beloved to our people because it became a second birthplace for Enver Hoxha, for him who orientated the communists correctly and united them in their glorious Party, for him who was the great leader of the National Liberation War and our people's revolution, the architect and inspirer of all the revolutionary transformations that have occurred in the new Albania.**

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia dealt with some aspects of the industrial, agricultural, social and cultural development of the district.

In these 40 years of our free life the whole of Albania has changed, just as Korça has changed. This period is a historic testimony of great value. It shows what a people free, independent and sovereign in their own country can do, what

giant strides they can take in quite a short time. It shows also that it was no fault of the people that Albania had remained an example of poverty in Europe, but the fault of past regimes which plundered the toil of the people, and put their assets up for auction. It shows that the Albanians did not lack the abilities and possibilities for advance and civilization, but lacked the political leading force capable of guiding them wisely and with foresight. It shows that the Albanian people had lofty aspirations, ardent desires, had great vitality and energy in their work, but did not have conditions to apply them in practice.

Under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, socialist Albania carried out and consolidated the great idea of Marxism-Leninism, the elimination of any exploitation of man. The Party and our new state power gave the people the possibility to become masters of what belonged to them, masters of their own toil and sweat, masters of themselves and of the fate of the country. They put an end once and for all to exploitation by and dependence on foreigners, gave the people the possibility to ensure the genuine freedom and independence of the Homeland once and for all.

These victories which are fruits of the National Liberation War and the socialist construction, which have been achieved with the blood and sweat of the people, cannot be overshadowed and taken from us by any force in the world. We will always defend them courageously and will work to consolidate them and carry them steadily ahead.

Our socialist Homeland is stronger than ever. We have a developed complex economy, an advanced culture and education, we have a government of the people and an impregnable defence. Our country enjoys a fine reputation and has an honoured and respected international position. Never before in all the thousands of years of its history has Albania been so advanced and prosperous.

A new multi-branched industry which is developing and advancing, relying on the local raw materials, on the products of the soil and

the underground assets of Albania, on the work and the creative abilities of our people, has been built in our country. It ensures fulfilment of the main needs of the people for industrial goods, and to a considerable extent, also ensures the means necessary for its own renewal and extension. It represents a powerful base for the development of all other sectors of the economy and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland.

Our people are proud of the development of our heavy and light industry, proud of such great projects as the metallurgical combine or the giant hydro-power stations, the chemical plants or the textile combines, all those factories and other works, which are the results of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party for the socialist industrialization of our country. In particular, today we can appreciate even more the wisdom and foresight of the policy of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the priority development of the energy industry, whether by investing in the sector of oil and gas and the development of coal mines, or by undertaking the construction of a whole series of hydro-power stations. Without a powerful energy base, independent of others, the policy of self-reliance could not have been put into practice.

A radical transformation is occurring in our country in the agrarian field and in the field of agricultural production. Our land, formerly inundated by swamps, and covered by worthless shrub, impoverished and abandoned, today feeds not just the 1 million people there were before Liberation, but 3 million, and also ensures the raw material for the light and food-stuffs industry.

By wisely applying its agrarian policy, within a short time our Party fulfilled the age-old dream of our patriotic and militant peasant for land, for bread, for knowledge and progress. Our socialist agriculture has been strengthened in every direction, it has set out resolutely on the road of intensification and high yields. This radical change in the result of the collectivization of land and the means of labour, of the large investments which the state has made, especially, for flood

protection and drainage of the plains, for the creation of a complex irrigation system, for mechanization and ensuring chemical fertilizers, is the result of the education and the general uplift of the countryside, of the application of the scientific knowledge, and above all, of the conscientious and persistent work of the working people of agriculture.

The level and strength of our socialist agriculture were brought out very clearly in the campaign for the production of wheat which has just ended. Although conditions were not the best, the highest yields and total production ever achieved in our country were attained.

Today our country has not only a consolidated economy and a culture with sound content, but also an impregnable defence. Our borders are inviolable. Albania has not linked and never will link its defence with the so-called «security» which the superpowers give the vassal countries, nor with international military blocs or treaties. Our Party has based the defence of the socialist Homeland on the strength of the armed people and the people's army, which it has equipped with the means it must have to perform its mission. The enemies will never find our Albania off guard. The vigilance of the people and their armed forces is of a high level.

Everything we have built in our country is the result of the toil and wisdom of our working people. The great economic and social, political and cultural victories are not a gift from anyone, but we have achieved them through sacrifice and self-denial, we have achieved them in struggle with internal and external class enemies, in struggle against many obstacles. With the pick and the shovel we set to work and drained the swamps, with the sledge hammer and the crowbar we began to open up mines, with great efforts we set up the factories and the workshops, with the strength of our arms we built the first hydro-power stations. The difficulties were enormous, but we triumphed. We triumphed because we had a Party tested in war, a Party which has always had a correct political line, which has always remained loyal to Marxism-

Leninism, and which has consistently applied the principle of self-reliance.

We shall continue to advance on this course in the future, too. We have never held out a begging hand to anyone for any thing, and will not do so in the future. We will never accept credits and never enter into debts to anyone. As Comrade Enver Hoxha says, our Party will never place such a chain around the neck of our people. For the development, progress and modernization of our country we shall cut our coat according to our cloth, relying only on the assets of our country, using our great resources to the maximum effectiveness.

Our internal situation is very healthy. The people are united more than ever with the Party. Their mutual trust has been strengthened. The unity of the people has been steeled and tempered in every direction. An expression of this excellent situation, of this great unity, was that high-level of political and ideological maturity which our people displayed during those grave days when we lost our legendary leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is that determination and heroism which the workers and peasants, the cadres and specialists, the women and the youth, are displaying in the south and the north of the country in order to fulfil and overfulfil the targets and earn the right to call themselves banner-bearers in the application of the teachings of Enver.

The present that we have built is fine, but the future will be even better. The Party is completing the draft of the next five-year plan. The whole people took part in drafting it. This is a normal practice amongst us, an expression of our broad democracy in action, it is a necessity in order to draft a realistic and mobilizing plan. No accounting system, no planning organ, no means of programming, can replace the participation of the people.

With our own forces and resources, a bigger program of investments, of capital construction in all sectors will be carried out. With the increase in oil production, the building of other hydro-power stations and the production of coal, the

energy base of the country will be further extended in the coming five-year plan, the range of the raw materials will be extended through the opening of new mines and the enrichment of larger quantities of ore. Metallurgy as a whole, and especially the iron and steel industry, will be given powerful support in order to expand their perspectives. Industry will respond better to the development of the country through the extension of the engineering industry and improvement of the quality of its products, through the strengthening of the chemical industry, and through the construction and reconstruction of many projects of the light and food-stuffs industry. There will be an appreciable increase in mass consumer goods and their quality and range will be further improved.

In the next five-year plan, the development of agriculture in all the zones of the country, in order to increase the production of bread grain and animal products, to increase the yields of industrial crops, and further develop fruit-growing, occupies a very important place.

In recent years the international situation has been characterized by a series of events which have made it grave and complicated. Despite the efforts which the peoples and the progressive forces in the world make to improve the situation, various factors operate contrary to these efforts, to the interests of mankind, which require the strengthening of peace and general security.

Typical of the present international situation is the total mobilization of the political, economic and ideological potentials of the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to establish their complete domination over all countries of all continents. In order to achieve this objective, each of the superpowers is trying to gain superiority over and get ahead of the other in all the fields of their rivalry, especially in the military field.

The intensification of the arms race has led, naturally, to an escalation of the confrontation of the superpowers, creating new tensions over general and particular issues.

A new moment in this confrontation is that bilateral tensions have shifted from peripheries to

the zones where the borders of the military blocs meet. Medium-range missiles have been deployed on both sides of Europe, the events in Poland erupted, interference and pressures on the Balkans were stepped up, Lebanon has been put to the torch, and so on. Likewise, the waters of the Mediterranean continue to be troubled and the winds of war have not died down.

Of course, the international situation is not characterized by the activity of the imperialist and reactionary forces alone. It is characterized also by an obvious mounting of the resistance of the peoples and their progressive forces, by the efforts of many medium-sized and small states to defend their national independence and sovereignty. This resistance and struggle prevent the aggressive forces from accomplishing their plans as and when they desire.

Not only the arms race, but also the aggressive economic policy of the big capitalist powers exacerbates the international situation today and charges it with new dangers. They have rushed like ravening wolves to rob the poor and economically weak countries of their assets. By means of loans and credits, the whole existing international finance and economic system, they have created a monstrous machine for the subjugation and enslavement of peoples. Debts have existed in the past, but the proportion they have assumed in the last 10-15 years constitutes a completely new phenomenon. In fact, they represent a new strategy for the extension of the hegemony and domination of big wealthy countries, not by means of arms as in the past, but by means of dollars and rubles.

Many states are in extreme difficulties or on the verge of bankruptcy: Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and other countries in Latin America, Poland and Yugoslavia in Europe, most of the Asiatic countries, and almost the whole of Africa, are examples of this.

To this complicated international situation we must add that state of affairs created by the efforts of the big capitalist powers to keep in their own hands the technological monopoly of new industries, and scientific research in the priority

fields of material development, in order to usurp the world markets and to dictate monopoly prices, not only for machinery and equipment now, but also for raw materials.

It must be said about Europe that it is becoming an arena of brutal interference by the two superpowers, which behave like real overlords in their respective spheres of influence and are tightening the screws on their allies more and more. Even such a question as that of defence is no longer under the sovereignty of the European countries themselves. The Americans and Soviets talk in Geneva and no one knows what they might decide. But everyone knows that everything that is decided will have to do with Germany or Poland, with Britain or Czechoslovakia, and so on. The allies of the United States and the Soviet Union must do whatever their leaderships decide, and no one calls them to account.

In this complicated situation it is our duty to raise our revolutionary vigilance to a high level, so that we are always on the alert and ready to cope with any eventuality, to strengthen our people's defence even further, and to make the foundations of our socialist system even more solid.

Our country has been and is a resolute opponent of the aggressive and expansionist policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, an irreconcilable opponent of reactionary, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. Our stand towards them has been and will remain clear-cut. Albania has not had and will not have relations of any sort with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This stand of ours is not a consequence of any capriciousness or fear. It is a consequence of our complete incompatibility with the imperialist policy which they pursue, with the aggressive actions which they carry out every day in the four corners of the earth, with their savage plunder of the peoples, with the degeneration of their culture and way of life which they spread in all parts of the globe. We cannot reconcile ourselves to and have relations with those who are to blame for all the sufferings and evils of mankind, we cannot be friends and associates

with those who threaten the world with nuclear extermination.

Our solidarity and sympathy are with the peoples, with those who fight for national freedom and independence, with those who demand social justice and true democracy, who oppose fascism and reaction, who are for progress and the universal emancipation of mankind. All those who suffer from foreign occupation and bondage, all those who are oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie and the capital, who are persecuted for holding revolutionary and liberation ideas, all those who are for peace and against war, have a reliable friend and supporter in our people. Proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the progressive forces will always characterize our foreign policy.

Our country has been and is for good relations with other states, based on equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Evidence of this can be seen in the diplomatic relations which we have established with the overwhelming majority of states in the world, the trade relations which are extending wider and wider, and our increasing cultural contacts with other countries. There are few countries, only two or three in Europe, with which Albania still does not have diplomatic relations. With certain of these states we have some problems to resolve. With Britain, for example, we have the question of the Albanian gold stolen by the German nazis, which fell in the hands of the British at the end of the war. This gold must be returned to Albania because it is the property of the Albanian people. Our government has made continual efforts to this end. Indeed, recently, it has opened discussions with Britain. The British government has claims connected with the so-called Corfu Channel incident, for which Albania has not had and does not accept any responsibility.

The return to Albania of the gold which has been held unjustly in the banks of London for more than 40 years, a thing which has harmed our economy, will open the way both to the settlement of problems in dispute between the two

parties, in conformity with their interests and mutual respect, and to the normalization of relations between the two countries.

The improvement of relations with the countries around us, the establishment of good neighbourliness with them, and the strengthening of friendship with their peoples, has been a continuous concern of our Party and state. In our relations with them we have been guided by the good desire to develop fruitful cooperation, by the conviction that normal exchanges in various fields such as those of trade, communication, culture, technique, science, etc., serve the friendship and rapprochement between nations, understanding between peoples, peace and their common security. The assurance which Albania has given the neighbouring peoples that no evil will come to them from its territory, testifies to our good intentions towards them.

Relations between Albania and Greece are now proceeding on a good course. Obvious progress has been made in the fields of trade and cultural exchanges, communications and tourism. The prospects are good, also, for collaboration in other fields of mutual interest.

Our policy towards Greece has always been a policy of good neighbourliness. We have been and are two friendly peoples. These two peoples, the most ancient in the Balkans, have been brought together and made friends by their common historical fates. They have fought shoulder to shoulder in defence of their freedom, independence, culture and identity. They have been united against Roman legions, Slavonic invasions, the Ottoman Empire, Italian and German fascists, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's book *Two Friendly Peoples* speaks clearly about that spirit of friendship, affection and respect which the Albanian people have had and still have for the Greek people. At the same time, it also clearly reflects the consistently well-intentioned policy of socialist Albania towards neighbouring Greece, and the efforts which our country has made to overcome difficulties and normalize relations through joint understanding. Comrade Enver's book presents vivid evidence of that correct, principled. Marx-

ist-Leninist policy which has been pursued in Albania towards the Greek minority and which has guaranteed it a life of dignity and complete equality with its Albanian brothers in all fields, which has given it the possibilities to use and cultivate its mother tongue, develop its traditions and preserve its national identity. Our Party and state will continue to pursue this policy consistently in the future, too.

The book *Two Friendly Peoples* also shows with what sincere interest our people have followed the developments in Greece, and that they have always rejoiced at the victories of Greece in its struggle for freedom, democracy and progress.

We feel real satisfaction whenever we see that the Greek people and the Greek leadership also respond to us with the same friendly feelings and respect.

Our relations with Turkey have developed harmoniously, in a friendly atmosphere. Relations of good neighbourliness are developing in similarly appropriate and promising conditions with Italy, too. Obvious progress has been made with these two countries in the fields of trade, cultural and technical-scientific exchanges, and other fields in which collaboration of mutual interest could be established, are being studied. All these things have served to bring our peoples closer together and enhance the friendship and trust between them.

We would have liked to have normal friendly relations based on the principles of good neighbourliness with Yugoslavia, also. Regrettably this has not been achieved. And not through the fault of Albania. Despite our efforts, the Yugoslav policy has always been firmly anti-Albanian. Those who have ruled in Yugoslavia, both before and after the war, have swum against the current of the development of world processes and with ominous stubbornness have refused to reconcile themselves to the realities of history which can never be reversed, to the existence of the Albanian nation and its independent state. In their attitudes towards Albania and the Albanians, they have always been guided by nationalist passions, failing to see that the time has changed, that the world

develops not according to their will, but according to universal laws.

In practice this stand has been expressed in Belgrade's efforts to turn the independent Albanian state into a Yugoslav colonial province and to denationalize the Albanians of Yugoslavia. From this chauvinist ideology and from this narrow nationalist policy have emerged those endless cases of interference on the part of the Yugoslav leaders, those efforts to overthrow the people's power in Albania, and to place their men like Koçi Xoxe and Co. at the head of affairs, those acts of diversion, provocation and ever-lasting insinuations, which are made by Yugoslavia even to this day.

From this ideology and policy stems all that chauvinist violence which has erupted in Kosova and other parts inhabited by Albanians, all that savage national oppression of Albanians which is very close to racism, all that poisonous spleen which the Great-Serbs vent against the history and culture of the Albanian nation, against Albanian traditions and customs, and the national identity and personality of the Albanians.

Time has proved that the chauvinist ideology is short-sighted, and that the nationalist policy is without perspective. We hope that in Yugoslavia, too, whose peoples have paid more dearly than anyone else for that chauvinist policy, the time will come when they take a more objective view of their stand towards Albania and the Albanians. The establishment of good neighbourly relations with socialist Albania and the guaranteeing of national and democratic rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia will not only assist to strengthen peace and security in the Balkans, but will also contribute greatly to the strengthening and stability of Yugoslavia, the strengthening of understanding and coexistence between the nations which comprise that country.

If those in Belgrade begin to think differently about Albania and the Albanians, they will always find in us partners ready to collaborate and advance in all those directions which serve the freedom and independence of our countries, their sovereignty and territorial integrity, good neighbourliness and friendship between our peoples.

We have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We do not meddle with its political, economic and national and other problems, which are up to it to solve. But just as no one can prevent us from defending our Homeland and our socialist system when they abuse and attack us from Belgrade or anywhere else, neither can anyone stop us speaking about the fate of our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia, and defending them when they are oppressed, persecuted, humiliated or insulted, simply because they are Albanians.

Our policy towards our neighbours, as towards all the other states, is a consistent, principled policy. Those who dream about and expect changes in our line, who interpret the normal political and diplomatic activity of our independent and sovereign state as the «opening up» of Albania, as a «tendency» to rapprochement with one side or the other, do so in vain. Albania neither «opens up» nor «closes up». It will proceed on the course which it has followed hitherto, a course which has secured its freedom and independence, the defence of socialism, and its good name in the world.

The foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the policy which Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out and applied and which has been proclaimed and endorsed in the Congresses of the Party. This policy responds to the interests of our people and socialism. It has the complete support of the Albanian people, therefore our Party will apply it resolutely and consistently.



THE PEOPLE OF KORÇA AND KOLONJA MEET COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA WITH GREAT AFFECTION AND REJOICING

During his stay in the city of Korça Comrade Ramiz Alia paid many visits and had many meetings and cordial talks with different working people. He met workers, cooperativists, veterans of the National Liberation War, Enver's young pioneers, writers and artists, as well as leading cadres of the party organizations, of the state and economic organs. Comrade Ramiz Alia inquired about people, their life and work, and congratulated them on the successes they have achieved. His warm words, his assessments of their work, his valuable recommendations and instructions enthused and elated them, multiplied their forces and energies to assume even more important tasks for the prosperity of our beloved socialist Homeland and the defence of the victories achieved.

Comrade Ramiz Alia paid a visit to the Museum of the Worker and Communist Movement in which are reflected the more important moments of the worker movement of the district from 1924 to 1941. This museum has great cognitive importance for all the people, the young generation, in particular, said Comrade Ramiz Alia to the veterans. From this museum the young people see that the present-day Albania, so strong and so beautiful, the Albania of the people in power, was not made by itself. A great

deal of work, efforts and struggle was necessary to make it.

Then, he went to the house where Comrade Enver Hoxha lived during his stay in Korça, when, together with the workers and communists of Korça, he fought for the cause of the proletariat. **Never in the history of our people, said Comrade Ramiz Alia to those present, has there been such a man as to embody the common man, the great leader and the militant soldier, the commander and the strategist leading with wisdom and foresight the people for the liberation of the country. He knew to unite and lead all the communists, a whole people on the road of happiness.**

Comrade Ramiz Alia also paid a visit to the home of the veteran communist militant, Miha Lako. **Comrade Enver used to speak about you, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, as a loyal comrade, a comrade who has consistently devoted all his life to the cause of the proletariat, the cause of communism. That is why we love and respect you and wish you a long life.**

«We, the Albanian people, were fortunate enough that the Party elected you, Comrade Ramiz, to its head to lead us on Enver's road,» said Miha.

I have all the comrades, the entire Party to help me, said Comrade Ramiz Alia... The militants of the first hour, like you, the old workers of Korça,

who took part in the associations of the working class and, later, in the communist movement, have great merits. You were the first to set out on the road of the revolution.



On the second day of his visit to the district of Korça Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the agricultural enterprise of Maliq.

«Your coming here, Comrade Ramiz, rejoiced us immeasurably,» said the director of the agricultural enterprise of Maliq, the Hero of Socialist Labour, Ligor Visi. «Under the special care of the Party and Comrade Enver our agricultural enterprise was set up on the former Maliq swamp 35 years ago. At that time we took in 9.2 quintals of wheat per hectare, whereas this year we have achieved wheat yields of 65 quintals per hectare. All the sectors have fulfilled their tasks and all the brigades have succeeded in taking in over 60 quintals of wheat per hectare. There are brigades that



Comrade RAMIZ ALIA participating in the celebration of the new harvest

have taken in 68.1 and even 73.7 quintals of wheat per hectare.»

«Well done, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the vanguard brigadiers.

The director of the «Enver Hoxha» agricultural enterprise of Plasa, the Hero of Socialist Labour, Mihallaq Qirjako, who had come to this meeting, spoke about the scientifically based work that is done at Plasa in the raising of wheat, sugar-beet and potatoes. «In the first year of this five-year period, we took in 52 quintals of wheat per hectare», said he, «while now we take in 66 quintals per hectare. In particular sectors and land plots we have achieved wheat

yields of 70 and over 80 quintals per hectare.»

The experience of Plasa shows the correctness of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver, said Comrade Ramiz Alia. Plasa has become a symbol for our agriculture, it has an advanced collective of workers and a great name, the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Keep high the honour of this name and carry the successes you have achieved forward.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke of the tasks that face the workers of agriculture and gave them valuable advice to improve the work in this sector.

At the «Liberation» agricultural cooperative of Pojan Comrade Ramiz Alia and those accompanying him took part in the celebration of the new harvest, which has already become a tradition. Rising to speak in this warm and festive milieu, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the cooperativists of Pojan on the high wheat yields they have achieved this year by taking an average of 65 quintals of wheat per hectare from the whole acreage and expressed his happiness at being able to take part in this beautiful celebration.

Then, Comrade Rita Marko informed those present that the Presidium

of the People's Assembly has decorated the cooperative of Pojan with the Red Flag Order of the Second Class for its all-round fulfilment of tasks.

Thereafter, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a cordial meeting with the workers of the «Raqi Themeli» truck park. He made a high assessment of the heroic work of the drivers and set a number of important tasks, expressing his conviction that the drivers and all the working people who work and struggle in this sector of vital importance for the economy, such as the transport sector, would fulfil all tasks and achieve new successes so as to make our Homeland stronger and create greater possibilities for the improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the people.



At the mountain village of Withkuq, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with the leading cadres of the party organizations, the state and economic organs of the mountain cooperatives, at which he acquainted himself more closely with their work and achievements in all fields. Thousands of people from all over the mountain region of Withkuq assembled in the centre of the village on this occasion. The applause and ovations did not cease for whole minutes. People forcefully express their ardent love for the Party and the steel unity around the Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head. A warm talk begins in this enthusiastic atmosphere. The secretary of the party bureau of the cooperative of Trebicka of this region, Namik Hajro, spoke about the great transformations that have taken place in the villages of the cooperative in the years of the people's state power. «In the past, the peasants of Trebicka, Grabocka, Treska and other villages had no other way than that of emigration,» said he. «Now the cooperative not only meets its own needs but also hands

65 per cent of its surpluses over to the state. A single brigade today produces as much wheat as the whole cooperative did in 1971.»

After expressing his happiness and satisfaction at being among the inhabitants of the mountainous zone of Withkuq, who are famous in the history of Albania for their bravery and patriotism, and speaking about the tireless work of the people of this area in the building of the new socialist life and the contribution of the people of Withkuq and the other zones of the region in all the phases of the history of our nation, Comrade Ramiz Alia had high words of praise, especially, for their determination and sacrifices in the glorious epic of the National Liberation War.

In your region, as all over Albania, changes have taken place which are incomparable with the past. These are the achievements of socialism, of the self-denying work of the people. The agrarian policy of the Party has been aimed at and enabled the development of agriculture and the maintenance of a sufficient level of population in the highlands, too. This line has been and is in the interest of the peasantry itself, of the progress of the whole country on the road of socialism and of the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland.

Comrade Ramiz Alia paid a short visit to the «Sickle and Hammer» knitwear combine. In a talk with the workers, managers and specialists of this complex he praised the good work that is being done in this big centre of the textile industry for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of planned tasks.

A meeting with the workers of art and culture was organized at the town library.

Rising to speak at this meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that Korça is a district with outstanding cultural and artistic traditions, with a patriotic and industrious people, thirsty for knowledge and eager for progress. He assessed the broad cultural and artistic activity carried out at work centres and villages, the creative work of writers and artists, the role of cultural, artistic and educational institutions and their results.

The achievements in the field of

culture and art are evidence of the correct policy followed by the Party, said he, of Comrade Enver Hoxha's particular concern about these fields. Although our country inherited a great backwardness from the past, Comrade Enver did not turn his eyes towards foreign cultures and did not call for their imitation. As a Marxist-Leninist he called for the development of our culture to be based on the progressive traditions of the country, first of all. At the same time, however, he laid down scientific and ideological criteria to enable us to profit from world progressive art and science.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the characteristics of our art of socialist realism and our artists, about the militant spirit, the revolutionary pathos, party partisanship and stressed that all these qualities should be deepened further and raised to a higher level.



At the town of Bilisht Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm meeting with the people of the Devoll valley. **The people of the Devoll valley are known all over Albania for their industriousness, said Comrade Ramiz Alia in his speech. This outstanding quality of your cooperativists is also apparent in the high results they have achieved this year, especially in wheat production. You have ensured the bread grain for this year; moreover, you have fulfilled and overfulfilled the target of crop yields with some good achievements in the hilly and mountainous regions, too. This has brought happiness not only to your cooperatives, not only to Korça, but also to the whole Albania, because as the agricultural production of the Devoll valley occupies an important place in the total production of the district, so the wheat production of the district of Korça accounts for an important proportion in the total wheat production of the country.**

Comrade Ramiz Alia met with a cordial and enthusiastic reception by the miners of the «May Day» coal-mine of Mborje-Drenova who on that day were celebrating the 40th anniversary of the building of their mine. Here he had a talk with miners and machine-operators, inquired in particular about their conditions of work, the measures for the protection of their health and safety at work.

Only 25 tons of coal were extracted from this coalfield for many decades before Liberation, whereas during the four last decades of the existence of the people's power your collective gave the economy some million tons of coal. Encouraging is the fact that your production plans are rhythmically fulfilled and overfulfilled on all items. On July 31 this year you fulfilled the plan for the whole 7th five-year period and up to October 16 you have pledged to give over 13,000 tons of coal above plan, and as the manager of the mine said here some minutes before, this figure will be raised to 15,000 tons by the end of the year. This is a great success on which I congratulate you from my heart on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

In an enthusiastic atmosphere Comrade Ramiz Alia hands the «May Day» coal-mine of Mborje-Drenova the lofty decoration «Hero of Socialist Labour» of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and tells the miners, «**Enjoy it and keep with honour. I wish success at work.**»

In conclusion of his visit in the district of Korça, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with the cadres of the district, at which, after speaking about the achievements of the district of Korça in industry, agriculture and other fields, he praised the work done and set a number of important tasks whose fulfilment will carry the work in this district further forward.



On August 30, after being seen off with great affection by the people of

Korça, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia arrived for a visit to the district of Kolonja. On this visit he was accompanied by the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava.

Thousands of workers and cooperativists, who had come from all over the district, including the remote mountain zones, had lined up on the two sides of the street from the entrance to the central square of the town of Erseka.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was met by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Hiqmet Çuka, and the chairman of the District Executive Committee, Hysen Faqolli. He had a cordial talk with the residents who voiced their great rejoicing with applause and warm congratulations. As an expression of respect to the sons and daughters of the district, who laid down their lives for the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the cemetery of the martyrs of the district where, at the foot of the Partisan Memorial, he laid a wreath with the inscription, «Eternal glory to the martyrs of Kolonja. Ramiz Alia».

At the meeting organized on this occasion, amid the indescribable enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.

The Party has sent me here to you, said he among other things, to have a talk with you as brothers and comrades, to rejoice together at the successes you have achieved and to talk about the great tasks that await us. Allow me to bring you the cordial greetings and the special congratulations of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers on your fulfilment and overfulfilment of tasks in all fields, especially in the production of bread grain. The Party is convinced that you will score even greater successes in the future,

After pointing out the outstanding contribution of the people of Kolonja to the struggles of our nation for freedom and independence, he said:

The people and the Party remember and will always remember with respect the martyrs of freedom. We remember with deep sorrow the massacre of Borova, one of the most inhuman crimes ever committed during the Second World War. Barmash and Borova are places where our people and their partisan army for the first time faced up to the blackest plague imperialism and international reaction had ever given birth to — nazism.

What happened at Borova 42 years ago cannot easily be erased from the memory of the nation and the history of the country. The massacre at Borova is one of the gravest indictment of the bloody crimes that the dark forces of nazi-fascism committed against our people. The nazis were not able to wipe Borova off the face of the earth, just as they were not able to quell the resistance of the Albanian people. The darkness of oblivion has swallowed them, while Borova and the whole Albania live on and flourish, develop and advance, enjoy a happy and rich life.

Speaking about the incalculable loss our country and people suffered with the death of our beloved Leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

With deep sorrow we commemorate together our glorious and unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver, who led us with wisdom, bravery and foresight in the legendary epic of the National Liberation War and the just as heroic and difficult struggle for the construction of socialism. His name is indivisible from that of the Party, he went on, the Party that he created, organized and led for more than four decades, the most valuable treasury that this people have ever produced. Our working masses have expressed and are expressing their respect for the life and work of this giant of the revolutionary thought and action with the fulfilment and overfulfilment of all tasks.

After mentioning the major revolutionary transformations that have taken place in the district of Kolonja,



Comrade RAMIZ ALIA hands the coal-mine of Mborje-Drenova the lofty decoration «Hero of Socialist Labour»

just as all over Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on the new prospects opened up by the coming five-year plan, as well as on the tasks that emerge in the conditions of the current international situation.

Our Party and people follow with constant attention the current situations not only because they develop near us, but also and in the first place, so as to be able to face them, to be at any moment ready to defend the Homeland. We must never for a moment forget that our imperialist and revisionist enemies threaten our country and want to have

it not only for its important strategic position on the shores of the Mediterranean, but also because it is the only socialist country in the world which, with its example, indomitable stand and struggle, has won the sympathy and affection of all the progressive and revolutionary forces, all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

During his stay in the district of Kolonja, Comrade Ramiz Alia paid a visit to the agricultural cooperative of Selenica and had a cordial talk with its members. He also had a talk with the cadres of the district of Kolonja

and gave a number of important instructions to them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him on this visit left Kolonja amid expressions of affection and enthusiasm of the communists and all the people of the district.

On August 31, on his return from Kolonja to Tirana, Comrade Ramiz Alia made a stop at the town of Pogradec where he had a meeting with the cadres of the Party, the state and the economy, the organizations of the masses of the district, etc.

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY DICTATORSHIP IN SOCIAL

by **ARANIT ÇELA**

Characteristic of our socialist democracy is not so much that it proclaims of citizens as that it guarantees them and finds the means to put them in one of the main distinctions of socialist democracy from bourgeois or re

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IN ALBANIA REPRESENT THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE CATEGORIES, THEY DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES FROM ANY DEMOCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP EXISTING IN THE PAST OR PRESENT WORLD JUST AS THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT DIFFERS FROM ANY OTHER TYPE OF STATE.

SPEAKING ABOUT THE ESSENTIAL DISTINCTION OF PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY FROM ANY OTHER DEMOCRACY EXISTING IN THE PAST, V. I. LENIN SAID THAT «DEMOCRACY FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND SUPPRESSION THROUGH VIOLENCE, THAT IS, EXCLUSION FROM DEMOCRACY, OF THE EXPLOITERS AND THOSE WHO KEPT THE PEOPLE IN BONDAGE — THAT IS, THE CHANGE THAT OCCURS IN DEMOCRACY WITH THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM.»¹

Forty years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, just as the whole history of human development, show that democracy and dictatorship are inter-connected and inter-dependent concepts, that any democracy presupposes dictatorship, too, that democracy and dictatorship are concepts which express definite social relationships, relationships between the state and citizens as well as among the latter. On the character of democracy, on its extension among the people, depend the dimension and degree of coercion in a state. The curtailment of democracy in the capitalist order (democracy for a minority only) brings about the extension of coercion, in general, and state coercion (coercion for the overwhelming majority of the people), in particular.

The problem of democracy and dictatorship is among the more acute problems about which a fierce debate goes on or, better say, a deafening noise is made in the international arena for a long time now, and especially, in the present days.

ARANIT ÇELA — Chief justice

The bourgeois ideologists, and more than these, the bourgeois and revisionist politicians employ these notions as the trump cards of their everyday propaganda in their struggle with each other as well as in the struggle they conduct all together against socialism and its ideology — Marxism-Leninism.

Coming out under the flag of democracy, it has become fashionable for the American imperialists and their partners to call those states which do not conform to their model of democracy, totalitarian and suppressors of human rights, etc. On their part, the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other revisionists have in fact proclaimed anathema the very notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and shout themselves hoarse about «the democracy of the whole people», «the direct democracy of the producers», «socialism with a human face», etc.

In general, the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda in this field distinguishes itself for some common or essentially common characteristics and aims. On the one hand, the bourgeois

and revisionist politicians and ideologists talk today more and more about a certain democracy, in general, about the «natural democracy» which must be the same for all states. Certainly with the aim of deceiving people, the concept of democracy, its content and forms, are taken isolated from the type of socio-economic formation, from the relations of production and the class struggle.

On the other hand, the bourgeois and revisionists have today the tendency of narrowing the concept of democracy, identifying it with the freedom of expression of man, with the freedom of the press, radio and television, with the freedom of information in every state, etc. As is seen, the aim here is to cover up the main problems, the main interests of man in capitalism, to conceal the ulcers of this bankrupt social system by concentrating all the attention on some second-rate or, at times, even entirely formal elements. It is evident that man in capitalism suffers not from the lack of the right to criticize the president or a minister, but from the lack of the right of work, from the impossibility to secure his daily bread, to protect himself from the violence of the policeman or the violence of the gangster, etc. According to a report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the number of the unemployed is 12.4 million in the countries of Western Europe alone, whereas in the end of this year it is expected to rise to 20 million.

The bourgeois-revisionist propagand-

DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST ALBANIA

*the freedoms and rights
in practice. Precisely this fact constitutes
socialist democracy*

Capitalist states often try to justify the open arbitrariness characteristic of the capitalist states with shortcomings of people or groups that stand at the head of the state, with their character, political tendencies, etc. Marxism-Leninism, however, and the millenary history of the development of human society prove that the existence of democracy and dictatorship is not linked mainly with the good or ill will of people, of different individuals or groups who in different circumstances accede to the leadership of this or that state. Of course, the advocates of the capitalist system are not interested in admitting that democracy and dictatorship are notions of a historical character, that they are the product of the emergence of the private ownership of the means of production, of the division of society into classes and, as a consequence, of the creation of the state as a means of coercion in the hands of a particular class.

The bourgeois and revisionist theories of «pure» democracy, «democracy in general», «democracy for the whole people», «direct democracy of the producers», etc. are devoid of all scientific basis. Full democracy for all is only a fiction as long as the division of society exists, as long as the state exists.

The capitalist social relations are relations of exploitation of the majority by the minority. Precisely the content of these relations determines the type of the state as well as the relationship between democracy and dictatorship. In the present-day ca-

pitalist, bourgeois or revisionist state there cannot be democracy for all nor can there be freedom and equal rights for all citizens without distinction at a time when the means of production and state power are in the hands of a capitalist ruling class, when the exploited classes not only live under economic oppression, but are also subject every day and every hour to the ideological, political and psychological oppression of the ruling class which has concentrated in its hands the press, radio and television, including the halls of schools and clubs.

Our socialist democracy is true democracy, the broadest possible democracy in the conditions of the existence and development of the class struggle

The profoundly democratic character of our socialist state is based on the existence and combination of a series of objective and subjective factors which have undergone constant development during the years of socialist construction in Albania.

The socialist relations of production which are built and develop on the basis of the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the working class and working masses have been and remain the main indicators and, at the same time, factors of the democratic character of our socialist state and, in general, of the strengthening, deepening and broadening of socialist democracy.

Our working class, with its Party

at the head, leading the state of the proletarian dictatorship on the basis of our ideology — Marxism-Leninism, and the state being in the service of the working masses, with the aim of building socialism and communism, these have been and remain indicators of the democratic character of our state, fundamental factors for the strengthening and broadening of socialist democracy in our country.

Our experience over many many years shows that the notion of socialist democracy is a broad one, it begins with the elementary rights of the working people (freedom of speech, of meeting, of abode, inviolability of the person, right of work, etc.) and reaches its highest degree with the right of governing exercised by the working masses, the right of their direct participation in and control of the management of the state.

In order to ensure its rule over the working masses the capitalist political system, whether bourgeois or revisionist, proceeds from the principle of keeping the people away from state affairs. «The main cause of all the shortcomings of our political system,» says the well-known French politologist and jurist, Duverger, «is the emargination of the people from it.» The very composition of the parliaments of the states which call themselves products of democracy, clearly shows this emargination of the working masses from state power. Thus, for example, among the 534 representatives of the two chambers of the American parliament there are only 6 workers, 17 negroes and 21

women, the rest being bankers and millionaires. Such a pronounced class division could hardly be found even in the assemblies of ancient Greece and Rome.

The increasing participation of the working class and working masses in the government of the country, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party, is the main direction of the development of democracy in our country. The fact that at present 35,728 people's councillors and 162,000 activists of people's councils take an active part in the government of the country, without mentioning thousands and thousands of specialists members of technical councils of enterprises, assistant-judges, people's prosecutors and voluntary collaborators of the organs of law and order, is a clear indication of how the participation of the working masses is realized in the activity of the Albanian state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of its democracy in action. At the same time, the revolutionary energies of the people, their creative possibilities and abilities, are set in action in the struggle for socialism through the people's councils and hundreds of other organisms.

Our experience over many years has shown that the participation of the working masses in the governing of the country is also a decisive factor for the defence and deepening of the democratic character of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for preventing the bureaucratization of the state, for the preparation of the necessary conditions to go over to a higher state of social development, in which the state will become unnecessary.

The degree of participation of the working masses in state affairs, the forms of this participation have evolved constantly in the years of the people's state power, depending on the strengthening and development of socialist social relations, the strengthening and broadening of state activities, the broadening of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat

and the raising of the social consciousness of the working masses.

The extension of democratic rights and freedoms and the degree of their implementation in practice is another important indicator of socialist democracy in our country.

The triumph of socialism in all fields of social life and, especially, in the economic field led to the liquidation of economic crises, unemployment, poverty and misery. Socialism in our country created the conditions for a cultured, pure and healthy life, it changed the whole spiritual world of our man. Rights of an economic character such as the right of work and remuneration according to its quantity and quality, the right of free health service and education and other rights the proletariat in the capitalist countries only dream of and fight for, constitute the bulk of the rights enjoyed by the working people in the PSR of Albania today.

Equality of rights between man and woman is one of the greater victories of our people's revolution. What the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat did within a few years for ensuring women's rights, the so-called advanced countries of the world have not succeeded in achieving for centuries.

Such political rights as freedom of speech and the press, freedom of meeting, electoral rights and others are sanctioned in our Constitution of the years of socialism, and all of them have influenced the deepening of the democratic character of our socialist state and order.

Characteristic of our socialist democracy is not so much that it proclaims the freedoms and rights of citizens as that it guarantees them and finds the means to put them into practice. Precisely this fact constitutes one of the main distinctions of socialist democracy from bourgeois or revisionist democracy.

In our country the equality of citizens is not only sanctioned in the Constitution but it is also guaranteed

by the fact that any kind of exploitation of man by man is prohibited. In Albania there is no such phenomenon characteristic of the capitalist states. Our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only recognized the right of work for everybody since the first days of its existence, but also guaranteed it with the elimination of economic crises and any kind of unemployment.

The provisions of the Constitution about personal freedoms and other civil rights in our country also give the working people the concrete means for their realization such as the press, radio, meeting halls, etc.

The form and mode of building of our socialist state, its structure, being an important organizational element, is at the same time indicative of the popular character of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important factor for the implementation and broadening of socialist democracy in our country.

All power in our Albania belongs to the working masses which exercise it through the people's councils as well as directly. The people's councils, which were set up in the heat of the war against the occupiers and traitors, constitute the political base of our socialist state today.

Differing radically from the capitalist state, which creates an unsurmountable gap between the state apparatus and the working masses, through its political base, the people's council, the state organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates all the possibilities for the ever broader participation, in the most varied forms, of the masses in its all-round activities.

The direct participation of our working masses in the affairs of their socialist state is varied and broad. 1,500,000 working people took part in the popular discussion of our Constitution and 23,000 groups with 123,000 working people were set up in factories, workshops and brigades, etc. to work out the draft of the 7th Five-year Plan.

A very important form of the direct participation of the working masses in state affairs is the exercise of worker and peasant control which, as everyday practice shows, is playing an ever more important role, among other things, also in the deepening of the democratic character of our state.

An important role in the participation of the people in the whole life of our country is played by the organizations of the masses such as those of the Democratic Front, the trade-unions, the women and the youth, which, as constitutive elements of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party and in implementation of its political line, realize socialist democracy in co-ordination with the state organs.

Realization of a unified state power through the concentration of all legislative and executive functions in the People's Assembly and the people's councils and placing the state administration under the full supervision and control of the representative organs are also important sectors to preserve the popular character of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to implement socialist democracy.

From what we pointed out above we may come to some principal conclusions:

1. Democracy is not given once and for all time, it is constantly broadened and strengthened under the influence of different, objective and subjective, factors.

The further strengthening of the socialist relations of production, the strengthening of socialist consciousness, the raising of the cultural level of the masses and the correct development of the class struggle, lead to the further deepening and broadening of democracy in our country. The task now is to influence the development of these subjective and objective factors and use them correctly for the ceaseless democratization of the life of the country.

2. Keeping inviolated the leading role of the working class, with its party at the head, broad participation of the working masses in the management of state affairs, and their ever more activation in state activities are the main factors for the defence, broadening and deepening of democracy. This remains always an important direction of the development of our society and a constant task of our state organs and social organizations.

3. The further strengthening of the people's councils, the strengthening and broadening of the cooperation of the organs of state power with the organizations of the masses are not only a strong guarantee but also an important factor for the preservation and deepening of the democratic character of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the development of socialist democracy in our country.

4. The juridical order established in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which is based on the economic organization of society and which reflects the policy and ideology of our Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has been and remains a sound guarantee for the defence and development of socialist democracy. Therefore, we must constantly strengthen the juridical relations established and, on their basis, broaden ever more the field of implementation of the principle of socialist legality.

Despite its profoundly democratic character, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat remains at the same time an important weapon which in the name and in the interests of our working class and its allies, the other working masses, is destined to suppress and annihilate any opposition of the internal and external enemies as well as to paralyse any activity which encroaches on the interests of the ruling class and the socialist juridical order.

Elaborating the idea of Engels that the state «is a particular force of coercion», V. I. Lenin says that «the

particular force of the bourgeoisie, a handful of rich people, to suppress the proletariat, millions of working people, must be replaced with a particular force of the proletariat to suppress the bourgeoisie (the dictatorship of the proletariat)».³

Speaking about the need for state coercion for strengthening the socialist order in Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha says that «There can be no state authority and rule of law without courts, without prosecutors and without organs of internal affairs.»⁴

Under state coercion is meant the totality of coercive measures envisaged by law which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat takes for the realization of its functions. In Albania state coercion is exercised in different fields of juridical relations, while the degree, intensity and forms of its realization depend on the importance of juridical relations that come under protection as well as on the extension and intensity of the class struggle.

Both in content and in form state coercion in our country has a character diametrically opposed to the repression which is used in the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist countries. Naturally, the question is posed about what this difference consists in and what it is based on.

The main function of the exploitative state is that of the employment of repression in all its forms. The capitalist state, whether American or Soviet, English or Chinese, in order to realize the suppression of the majority of the people attaches special importance to and cares for the strengthening of the police and courts, for the broadening and improvement of prisons and camps, whereas in order to exercise its external function which is aimed especially at territorial extension, the establishment of hegemony, etc., it uses the army, espionage, state terrorism, the economic potential, armed provocations, economic blockade, etc.

And indeed, as a result of the rising

popular opposition to capitalist rule and exploitation of the galloping rise in crime, which is the offspring of the exploiting system itself, state coercion has reached unprecedented proportions in the history of the capitalist and revisionist countries.

In the conditions of our socialist country the use of coercion is not the only and main function of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Albanian experience is constantly proving true what Lenin says, namely, that the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not consist only in violence, or mainly in violence. Its main content is the organization and disciplining of the more advanced part of the working masses, their vanguard — the working class. Its aim is the construction of socialism, the elimination of class division, the transformation of all the members of society into working people, the elimination of any source of exploitation of man by man. The fact itself that, in the range of tasks of our state, coercion occupies a limited place, shows one of the essential distinctions of our socialist state from the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist state. If we speak in the language of figures and make comparisons based on the number of population, we shall see that in the PSRA in 1983 there were 31 times less penal lawsuits than in the USA and 8 times less than in Japan; in 1981 there were 31 times less penal lawsuits in Albania than in England and 6 times less than in Poland; in 1982 there were 6.2 times less people sentenced for penal activities in our country than in Hungary, and in the first semester of 1984 there were 13 times less citizens sentenced for crimes of an economic character (embezzlement, damages, etc.) in our country than in Yugoslavia, the so-called country of self-administrative socialism. Those figures prove best what Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «When prisons are being filled in all the countries of the world, they are being depleted

in socialist Albania. This shows the political... strength of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.»⁵

The socialist state is kept up and ensures the guidance of the working masses through clarifying and convicting work with them, in the first place. This occurs because, being the state of the working class and other working masses, it uses coercion only against a minority, that is, against the enemy and other evil-doers. Unlike any capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist country, between the working people and our juridical socialist order there are no antagonistic contradictions which are resolved only through coercion. The contradictions that arise between our state apparatus, our juridical order, and the working people are as a rule non-antagonistic and as such are resolved through the method of clarification, conviction, reforms, organizational measures, etc. The unity of interests and aims between the state and the masses of the working people and the unity of the people around the Party result in conviction and clarification being the main methods, whereas, on the other hand, the participation of the working masses in the management of state affairs and social life and their mobilization and influence restrict to a great degree the necessity of the use of state coercion.

State coercion in our socialist state pursues educational aims. This is apparent in the nature and the structure of coercive measures. The tendency in our country is to the broadest possible use of measures which are not related to physical coercion such as social reprimands, criticism and exposure before the working collective, re-education through work, etc. The orientation of the Party has been and remains to limit measures of state coercion to the maximum. Regardless of the attempts of the enemies of our Party and state, ranging from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu and others, to distort the policy of the Party and the teach-

ings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the exercise of the dictatorship in our country, regardless of the fabrications and slanders of the external enemies of our country and their hack writers, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is one of those few countries in the world that do not know of such barbarous sentences as lower the dignity of man, that categorically prohibit any use of violence in the penal process, that very seldom apply capital punishment and that, related to the size of their population, have a minimal percentage of cases of privation of freedom and very low numbers of penal convicts.

Another characteristic of our country is the limited scope of state coercion. Because of the nature of our socialist society and as a result of the broadening of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ceaseless strengthening of the unity among the people and their unity around the Party, the use of state coercion is limited to the sphere of the fight against crime. We emphasize this because the question is totally different in the capitalist states in which state coercion has assumed and is assuming large proportions in the administrative field, in the field of working relations and even in that of civil relations. Thousands and thousands of arrests of working people are made in those countries for opposition to paying taxes and other obligations towards the state, for participation in strikes, demonstrations, for occupation of factories, etc. Thus, in the last days of September of the past year 100 participants of a demonstration were arrested by the police in Frankfurt (West Germany), 100 striking miners were injured in clashes with the police in Northern England, 50 demonstrators were injured in clashes with and 300 others were arrested by the police in Hyderabad (India), etc. According to a report of the Soviet General Prosecutor's Office, in 1983 the police organs of the Soviet Union made about

12 million temporary arrests of citizens for various contraventions.

All this shows ever better with each passing day the broadening of the function of dictatorship of the capitalist state and the further narrowing of that measure of formal democracy that in particular conditions the bourgeois or revisionists are obliged to allow, of course, under the pressure of the masses of the people.

Our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has placed state coercion fully on the basis of the law. The history of our socialist state shows the persistence, consistency and severity with which any arbitrariness in the employment of state coercion by anybody has been condemned. The distinction between state coercion recognized by law and the arbitrariness of the policy and court organs is being blurred more and more with each passing day in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. As the world press is increasingly showing in the recent years, the capitalist state is using in the most varied forms mafia-type organizations and gangs to exercise terror within the state and even outside it. The Soviet intelligence service has long ago been following in the footsteps of the American CIA.

The employment of dictatorship, that is, state coercion in our country is necessary and will be necessary as long as the state exists, as long as the capitalist encirclement and the ideological and political pressure on our country continues, as long as the leftovers of alien ideologies survive in people's consciousness, as long as there exists leftovers from the exploiting classes.

The experience of the PSRA shows that the degree of the employment of dictatorship, that is, state coercion, the place it occupies in this or that time in state activity is not always the same for every phase or stage of development. Thus, the use of state coercion was more pronounced in the first years after Liberation. And this

is obvious. In those years the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat was narrower; the people's state power had to cope with the onslaught of many enemies; the leftovers of the past in people's consciousness were more pronounced, the educational and cultural level of the masses was still very low, while the pressure of the international bourgeoisie and revisionists through their agents, the gangs they sent to our country, and the encouragement and organization of hostile elements was very great. Nevertheless, even in this period the main principle remained unchanged: state coercion was a secondary means, while clarification and conviction of the masses of the people were the main methods of work of the Party and the state.

With the strengthening of our socialist order, the development of the socialist relations of production, the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people, and the raising of the educational and cultural level of the working masses, the sphere of state coercion becomes ever narrower with the concomitant broadening of the sphere of clarification and conviction. The changes in the ratio between conviction and state coercion have gradually found their reflection in our socialist legislation, too. At present state coercion is directed against a very narrow circle of enemies and evil-doers.

All what we said about state coercion in the conditions of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat enables us to conclude that:

1. In our socialist state which relies on the masses of the working people and is led by the Party and its Marxist-Leninist ideology, the basic principle of the functions of the state remains always the principle of conviction and clarification. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «We will never renounce the policy of conviction, of profound and constant political work with people.»⁵

2. State coercion, regardless of the

degree of its employment in this or that time, is a permanent feature of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and ceases to exist along with the dying away of the state. Administrative measures not only are necessary to paralyse and foil the attempts of the internal and external enemy, but are also an important means to guarantee the preservation of democracy in our country.

3. Experience shows also that, taken in their unity, state coercion and clarifying and convincing work complete one another in the broad range of activities of our socialist state.

4. The sphere of application of state coercion and of the method of conviction in our country depends directly on the degree of development and intensity of the class struggle.

As a rule, the more the socialist development of our country advances, the more the moral and political unity of our working masses is strengthened, the narrower the sphere of state coercion and the broader the scope of employment of the method of conviction and clarification.

The establishment and development of a correct relationship between democracy and dictatorship in the PSRA has been and remains in the centre of attention of the Party and state organs. As in the solution of all the problems of socialist construction so in the defence and strengthening of the democratic character of our state of proletarian dictatorship we proceed always from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, developed further by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in new national and international conditions.

1 V.I.Lenin, Works, vol. 25, p. 548-549, Alb. ed.

2 V.I.Lenin, The State and the Revolution, Tirana 1974, p. 24, Alb. ed.

3. Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 6, p. 348, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, For the People's State Power, p. 676, Alb. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p. 293, Alb. ed.

PROBLEMS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WITH THE GREAT POWERS OF THE WORLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

by **SHYQYRI BALLVORA**

The line of sovereignty and full national independence, as a component part of the policy and strategy for the construction of socialist society on the basis of self-reliance, has its deep roots in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people, led by the Communist Party of Albania

THE GREAT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS AND THEIR AGGRESSIVE AND EXPANSIONIST POLICIES BROUGHT ABOUT AN ALL-ROUND ACTIVIZATION OF THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, A NEW REGROUPING OF POLITICAL FORCES, AND MAJOR CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. A WORLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT, IN WHICH MANY STATES AND BROAD ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE COUNTRIES UNDER FASCIST OCCUPATION TOOK PART, WAS FORMED WITH THE COMMON AIM OF DESTROYING FASCISM.

Every people and every country has its own experience in regard to the alliances they have had to enter with other peoples and countries when they had to fight against a common enemy. Our people, too, have their own experience in this field and in the course of history they have tried to join forces with external allies to resist their common enemies. The historical experience of our people shows, however, that in most cases the Albanian people found no understanding of their efforts, so they had to go

SHYQYRI BALLVORA — Doctor of historical sciences

along the road of history relying on their own forces, their resolute struggle for freedom and independence. In recent times the Great Powers have treated Albania as a token for barter. Even those states which posed as its allies frequently trampled underfoot the national interests of the Albanian people by means of secret dealings behind the scenes and conducted bargainings about the national territories and rights of the Albanian people, thereby jeopardizing Albania's freedom and independence.

Therefore, the Communist Party of Albania, the only political force lead-

ing and organizing the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people, could not fail to keep present this historical experience, the disillusionment of the Albanian people about those states which posed as their allies and the guarantors of their freedom and independence.

The Albanian people started their war against the fascist occupiers before the outbreak of the Second World War and a long time prior to the formation of the Anti-fascist Coalition of the Great Powers.

The National Liberation Movement in Albania emerged and developed as a movement without encouragement and interference from abroad. As a consequence, the policy and strategy worked out by the CPA proceeded only from the lofty national interests and aspirations of the broad masses of the people.

Right from the outset the Communist Party of Albania stressed the

TIONS TIONAL LIBERATION PEOPLE S CIST COALITION

absolute necessity of linking the anti-fascist liberation war of the Albanian people with the world anti-fascist war of the peoples and states fighting against fascism.

In its programmatic documents the CPA pointed out that with the outbreak of the Second World War and, especially, with the participation of the Soviet Union in this war, the political and military alliance of the peoples and states aligned in the World Anti-fascist Coalition, the international solidarity and the mutual assistance among the peoples and states that fought against fascism, had become indispensable conditions for the attainment of a complete and speedy victory over the aggressor fascist states. The CPA always considered the world anti-fascist war as a powerful support for the Albanian people and the other peoples languishing under fascist bondage.

In the first steps of its activity the CPA declared that the Albanian people would fight to the end and uncompromisingly against the fascist aggressors to make their contribution to the common struggle for the destruction of fascism. In July 1942, speaking about the great vigour of the National Liberation War, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the National Liberation War, stressed at the same time that «the Albanian people are setting up a joint front to win back their free-

dom, they are joining their forces with those of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the homeland of the workers and peasants, with those of the democratic peoples, the British and the Americans, they are fighting side by side with the other peoples enslaved by fascism; the Albanian people are taking part in the struggle for the liberation of mankind from the fascist barbarians.»¹

In its relations with the Great Allies and the peoples fighting against fascism, the CPA laid at the foundation of its policy the principles of cooperation and mutual assistance in the struggle against the common enemy, of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other and applied these principles with the greatest determination and consistency.

Assessing the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, in general, as a necessary condition for the achievement of a speedy and complete victory over the aggressor fascist states, the CPA, nevertheless, maintained a differentiated stand towards the members of the Anti-fascist Coalition. The members of this Coalition were states with different social and political systems. On one side stood the Soviet Union, a socialist state which unreservedly supported the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of the world. The Soviet Union opposed fascism in order to defend the great

gains of the October Revolution and to help the peoples liberate themselves from fascist bondage.

In the assessments of the alliance embodied in the Great Anti-fascist Coalition, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «...We had to be neither sectarian nor liberal, but while considering it fruitful in the context of the fight against nazism, it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represented for our people, that we never forget their savage nature as capitalists and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our Homeland... We had to fight to win our freedom with sacrifice and bloodshed, and we must never allow foreign enemies to gamble with the fate of our country and our people as in the past.»²

So, by recognizing Britain and the United States as allies in the common struggle against fascism and appreciating the contribution of these two powers in the war against the fascist states, the CPA and the National Liberation Front never forgot their aims at ensuring their hegemony in the world after the end of the war. Britain and the United States wanted the political groups and social forces linked with the Anglo-Americans to emerge on top of the more powerful

national liberation movement in every country so as, after the war, these forces could seize political power and retain their social and economic privileges by hitching their countries to the chariots of the imperialist powers. Churchill told the commander of the allied forces in the Mediterranean, General Alexander, that Albania, too, should be a fertile soil for the British. As the leader of an imperialist power, Churchill tried to maintain and expand the zones of influence of Britain in Europe and the Balkans, in particular. In this direction Albania was under the sight of British diplomacy. The British government thought that the time had come for it to intervene in the political life of Albania so as to have this country of particular strategic importance under its control after the war.

The complete and unreserved involvement of the Albanian people in the war against fascism impressed world opinion. The British and American government, directly interested in the development of events in Albania and anxious not to let it slip outside their control, were forced to recognize the liberation war of the Albanian people, thereby considering Albania not only *de facto* but also *de jure* an active member of the World Anti-fascist Coalition.

In December 1942 the foreign ministers of Britain and the United States of America officially declared that they recognized no claim of Italian imperialism on Albania and that they wanted to see the independence of Albania re-established. The Soviet government made another declaration in which it expressed its sincere desire for the liberation of Albania, the re-establishment of its independence, and sympathy and praise for the war of the Albanian people against the occupiers of their country.

The official declarations of the three main Powers of the World Anti-fascist Coalition which highly appreciated the liberation war of the Albanian people and expressed themselves for the re-establishment of the independence of Albania had a particular historical value because these Powers committed themselves publicly to respecting the independence of Albania and recogni-

zed the insurgent Albanian people as an ally of the nations and states members of the Great Anti-fascist Coalition. Proceeding from the historical reality that had been created in Albania, the British and American governments tried to capitalize on the political circumstances, so their declarations, along the recognition of the anti-fascist war of our people, also had essential reservations. While the declaration of the Soviet Union recognized the independence and territorial integrity of Albania without any reservation and limitation, the declaration of Great Britain and the United States made the position of Albania after the war conditional on any agreement that could be made among the Balkan states in the future; besides, the Western governments saw the question of Albania's borders as a question that would be solved at the Peace Conference after the war.

Their stand towards Albania was, as always, based on the traditional imperialist principle of treating the smaller countries as token for barter.

In the particular case of Albania, their aim was, first, to eliminate the Communist Party from the leadership of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people, second, to impose their policy and strategy on the National Liberation War in Albania, and third, to bring the political groups linked with the Anglo-Americans to the leadership of the struggle of the people so as to prevent the triumph of the people's revolution and manipulate «the independence of Albania», according to their imperialist interests, in the historical conditions that would be created after the victory over the fascist states. The British and American plans for a settlement in the Balkans after the war also provided for meeting the territorial claims of the Serb and Greek monarchies to the detriment of Albania.

One of the reasons for which the British and American diplomacy did not insist on the creation of an «Albanian government» in exile was also the fact that they wanted to have their hands free in their stand towards Albania after the war and, in particular, they wanted, as the fo-

reign minister of Britain admitted, «not to offend the Greek and Yugoslav governments» in exile, because in this manner relations with these governments would be gravely affected, as they had always the partition of Albania among the main points of their programs. Apart from this, the creation of an «Albanian government» in exile with Zog or without him, as the British diplomats themselves foresaw, would arouse strong feelings of indignation towards the British policy in Albania.

In the meantime, beginning from April 1943 the British government sent its military missions to Albania which were to follow the National Liberation War of the Albanian people from close quarters and to encourage and support the pro-Anglo-American political groups through which it intended to further its aims. Only in June 1943 did these missions establish official links with the National Liberation General Council and, with the setting up of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, were they accredited to it. On behalf of the Allied Mediterranean Command the allied missions told the leaders of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people that their task was to bet to know the situation in Albania from close quarters and to assist with weapons and other materials the political forces that fought against the Italian army which was the enemy of both sides.

However, their true aim was to subject the National Liberation movement to the Anglo-American policy and strategy, to support the bourgeois and landowner reactionary forces, to oppose them to the Communist Party which led and guided the National Liberation Front, the liberation war of the Albanian people.

The Central Committee of the CPA, when it saw that the allied missions were more and more interfering with our internal affairs and openly supporting the enemies of the National Liberation War, instructed in the directives of November 3rd 1943:

«In many regions there are British missions which try to poke their noses into our political affairs, and particularly into our internal organiza-

tional and military affairs. They are trying to unite with the reactionaries, to organize them in order to use them in the event of a landing here. The British officers carry out this activity sometimes openly and sometimes secretly... We must behave correctly towards them, at the same time taking a clear-cut stand. They must not be permitted to interfere in our internal affairs, and must in no way be accepted as arbitrators between us and reaction.»³

The main cause of the disagreements between the leadership of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and the Allied Mediterranean Command was the fact that the leadership of the National Liberation War in Albania could by no means accept the demand of this Command that the National Liberation War of the Albanian people should be subject to «allied (Anglo-American) strategy». According to this strategy, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War in Albania should carry out only military, not political, tasks. As for the political future of Albania, according to the British and American politicians, it would be decided at the International Peace Conferences after the war. Besides the Allied Mediterranean Command demanded from the Albanian National Liberation Army that its war should not assume the character of a general uprising but be limited to actions on a tactical scale, with small-scale isolated strikes on the routes of communication of the enemy. The Allied Mediterranean Command also insisted that the approval of the British liaison officers had to be taken for any combat action of the formations of the National Liberation Army and that, in particular, the detachments of the ANLA should not undertake any action against the collaborationist forces of Balli Kombëtar, Legaliteti, etc. because the Anglo-American allies considered these actions as civil war which was against the plans of the allies.

These demands of the Allied Mediterranean Command were considered as interference in the internal affairs of the war of the Albanian people. The General Command of the ANLA made it clear to the Allied Mediterra-

nean Command that the ANLA accepted neither orders, nor control, nor a strategy from outside. The military actions of the ANLA, whether of a strategical, operational or tactical character, were the direct application of the military plans of the General Staff and the General Command of the ANLA. The Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people, based on the forces and human sources of the Albanian people, had its policy and strategy which was worked out by the Communist Party of Albania.

One of the more common means the Anglo-American command employed to exercise pressure on the General Command of the ANLA were its supplies of weapons, food and clothing for the ANLA. It thought that the fate of the National Liberation War in Albania depended on these supplies, so it used them as a means of pressure to force the leadership of the war of the Albanian people to accept the conditions set by the Allied Mediterranean Command, that is, to accept a policy and strategy imposed by the Anglo-Americans.

The Command of the ANLA never accepted the conditions set by the Allied Mediterranean Command. Therefore, the leader of the Communist Party and the National Liberation War made it clear to the partisan commands of the ANLA, «Do not let yourselves to be deceived by the promises of the British. Theirs are only words and they do not keep their promises. We shall wage the war with the weapons we capture from the enemy.»⁴

During the whole period of the National Liberation War the National Liberation Front led by the CPA acted in strict observance of the spirit of the Great Anti-fascist Coalition, implementing with the greatest possible correctness the norms and principles which regulated the relations between the members of the Coalition.

British and American and, more recently, Soviet authors have tried to minimize and even negate the importance and decisive role of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people in the liberation of the country and the winning of na-

tional independence. They declare openly and unequivocally that Albania owes its liberation only to the war of the Great Powers members of the Anti-fascist Coalition, that the only decisive factor for the liberation of Albania was the war of the Great Allies. Albanian historiography has always stressed the decisive contribution of the war of the World Anti-fascist Coalition, especially the war of the peoples of the Soviet Union led by J. V. Stalin in the defeat of fascism. However, the winning of the national independence and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania was first and foremost the result of the titanic struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of the CPA. Relying on their own forces and with the assistance and support of the nations members of the World Anti-fascist Coalition, they succeeded in liberating their country without the need for the foreign armies to come to our country. Neither the Soviet Army, nor other allied armies set foot on our country.

With the decisions of the Congress of Përmet (May 1944) the foreign policy of the CPA fully assumed the character of a state policy. With its historic decisions the Congress of Përmet, the first great National Assembly which had emerged really from the bosom of the people, laid the foundations of the new democratic state. The great changes of historic importance which came about as a result of deep-going revolutionary transformations, conditioned the whole internal and foreign policy of the new sovereign and independent Albania. The acts of the Albanian government which emerged from the Congress of Përmet and its relations with the other states testified publicly to the fact that Albania came out for the first time in the international arena as a truly independent and sovereign state whose foreign policy was based on the principles of complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs, internationalist solidarity and mutual assistance with the peoples that fought for freedom and independence.

The Congress of Përmet expressed its complete trust in the anti-fascist alliance and its readiness to carry the

struggle against fascism through to final victory.

The decisions of the Congress of Përmet to «revise all the agreements with foreign states, to annul all the economic and political connections established by Zog's government to the detriment of the Albanian people and conclude new agreements,»⁷ and not to recognize any international agreement or contact «which might be entered into by the reactionary cliques, either as a political group or government⁸ within or outside Albania, «clearly indicated that the Albanian people would not allow any sort of bargaining to the detriment of their national interests.

The historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet and its creation of the new Albanian state of people's democracy enabled Albania to come out as a sovereign and fully independent state in the system of international relations.

The foreign policy worked out by the CPA during the National Liberation War and affirmed in the decisions of the Congress of Përmet as the official policy of the new Albanian state of people's democracy expressed in the fullest manner possible the determination of the Albanian people not to permit any interference in the internal affairs of Albania and so Albania destroyed once and for all time all the bridges that endangered the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Albanian people.

The sovereignty and independence of the new Albanian state of people's democracy were a real historical fact. Its international recognition was only natural and derived from the obligations and pledges of the members of the Anti-fascist Coalition. Therefore, the stand of the governments of Britain and the United States which did not recognize the decisions of the Congress of Përmet and the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee with the attributes of a provisional government that emerged from this Congress, was utterly arbitrary. The stand of these governments was in complete opposition both to the declarations of 1942

which recognized the struggle of the Albanian people and made public pledges to recognise the independence of Albania according to the rules and norms regulating the relations among the members of the World Anti-fascist Coalition.

The Anglo-Americans not only did not recognise the decisions of the Congress of Përmet and the government that emerged from it, but even hatched up intrigues and plots against Albania's national integrity, for its partition. Before the Congress of Përmet the Western allies had pinned all their hopes to put Albania under their control on the traitor organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti as well as the bairaktars of the northern regions. This is proved, among other things, by the insistent demand of the Allied Mediterranean Command that the 1st Division of the ANLA should not be allowed to pass over to North Albania and attack the treacherous reactionary forces that operated in that zone. However, this demand of the Allied Mediterranean Command was rejected by the General Command of the ANLA. Later, when these traitor organizations were definitively exposed and on the verge of their complete destruction, the Anglo-Americans sought for a pretext to land their troops in Albania. The Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee, which carried out the functions of a provisional government, maintained a clear-cut and intransigent stand, allowing no interference of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command and allied military missions in the internal affairs of the National Liberation War. Nor did the Anti-fascist Committee accept the landing of parachute troops in Albania. When on the eve of the liberation of Albania the allied troops landed on the southwestern coast of Albania, the General Command of the ANLA forced them to withdraw from the Albanian shores.

The Anglo-Americans did not want to recognise the people's government which had emerged from the National Liberation War even when, at the

2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council (October 1944), it was transformed into the Democratic Government of Albania.

With their National Liberation War the Albanian people, united in the National Liberation Front under the leadership of the CPA, put an end not only to the rule of the fascist occupiers, but also to the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and any dependence on the imperialist Great Powers.

In the historical conditions and circumstances created with the liberation of the country, the road of transition to socialism was opened for Albania, the only road for it to preserve and development the historical victory achieved in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, to strengthen and consolidate its full sovereignty and national independence, to guarantee democracy for the broad masses of the people, to do away with backwardness and ensure the all-round and rapid development of the economy and culture of the country.

The line of sovereignty and full national independence, as a component part of the policy and strategy for the construction of socialist society on the basis of self-reliance, has its deep roots in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people led by the Communist Party of Albania.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1983, p. 97, 2nd Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, Tirana 1982, p. 19, Eng. ed.

3 *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 232, Alb. ed.

4 *Documents of the General Staff and General Command of the ANLA*, Tirana 1965, vol. 1, pp. 37, 176, 180, Alb. ed.

5 *Documents of the Supreme Organs of the Revolutionary National Liberation State Power (1942-1944)*, Tirana 1962 p. 157, Alb. ed.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 140.

7 *Ibidem*, p. 145.

8 *Ibidem*.

ASPECTS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

by **HEKURAN MARA**

Our constant aim has been to ensure the most suitable material and spiritual conditions possible for the strengthening and the defence of the socialist order, for the all-round development of working people, for the raising of the level and quality of their life in all its aspects

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY TO THE KEY MOMENT WHEN THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION TRIUMPHED IN NOVEMBER 1944, ALBANIA FACED CARDINAL PROBLEMS THAT HAD REMAINED UNSOLVED, SUCH AS ENSURING A TRUE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE CREATION OF PREMISES NECESSARY FOR ACCELERATED SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT.

AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1912, EFFORTS WERE MADE TO MAKE UP FOR THE TIME LOST, BUT UNDER THE RULE OF THE LANDOWNERS AND BOURGEOISIE IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO CREATE EVEN THE ELEMENTARY SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND THE MATERIAL MEANS NECESSARY FOR THIS.

The only historical possibility for starting the process of building a truly independent national life and the socio-economic development of the country in new political and ideo-

logical conditions, presented itself and was realized with the triumph of the people's revolution and the setting out of the country on the road of socialism, under the leadership of the PLA. Therefore, all the economic, social and cultural achievements which Albania has made in the course of

development after the Second World War should be considered as a special attribute of socialism.

* * *

Albania is the smallest country of the Balkans with a territory of 28 thousand square kilometres and a population which, at present, has reached to 2,841,000 inhabitants. Because of the «zigzags of history and its viles», as Marx says, after the establishment of the people's state, the country entered the phase of transition from the situation of semi-feudal backwardness directly to the phase of the construction of socialism, without going

Prof. HEKURAN MARA — Vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA

through the phase of developed capitalism. But immediately after setting out on the road of socialist development, new Albania was compelled to cope with all-round, systematic, hostile pressures which Anglo-American imperialism and other states began to bring to bear upon it.

The weight of these internal and external conditions was felt with all its impact and varying intensity in all those difficulties and obstacles which have accompanied the work for the construction of socialism and which have been overcome step by step with success.

On the new socialist road of socio-economic development, Albania had to ensure the parallel and gradual solution of two fundamental tasks, connected closely with one another: it must carry out deep revolutionary transformations in town and countryside, which were required by the construction of socialism, and must overcome the extremely great backwardness inherited in the economy and culture.

This would be the basis on which the task of ensuring the economic independence of the country, as an indispensable factor of the protection and strengthening of the political independence of the country, would be solved.

The most radical transformation which would open up the road to the attainment of the strategic objectives was, without doubt, the creation of the economic and social basis of socialism, the creation of the socialist relations of production in the whole country, without waiting until the productive forces of the country, which lagged behind, developed to a high degree. And the fact is that these relations were established in the beginning in the town, through the nationalization of the main means of production, and later, in the countryside, through the collectivization of small producers, even before the adequate material-technical base of socialism was built completely. At the same time, special care was devoted to constantly perfecting the socialist relations of production along with developing the forces of production, without allowing the creation of gaps between them. In this manner, the

socialist character of our social order was strengthened, safeguarding it from the danger of capitalist degeneration, and the relations of production have always served as a strong impulse for the development of the forces of production at rapid rates. Many economic and social facts and indices prove this.

Within a relatively short time (up till the end of the '50s) the Albanian economy, formerly a one-sided, agrarian economy, developed to a many-sided economy with a multi-branched industry and agriculture, with constructions and transport sectors, and their respective infrastructures. Another important characteristic which predominated in the planned and centralized development of the Albanian economy was the continuous, uninterrupted increase, in relative and absolute figures, of the overall social product and national income. In 1982, as against 1950, total social product increased 12.7 fold, or 5.5 times per capita of population, whereas national income is about 5 times as great as in the period before the establishment of the people's power.

The population of the country has doubled within 30 years whereas the social product and national income have doubled every 10 years. This proportion has created the material and financial possibilities needed for the correct harmonization and solution of such vital problems of the socio-economic development of great impact as the problem of the increase of the population at rapid rates (approximately 24 per thousand during the last 25 years), the problem of the maintenance of a high norm of accumulation (25-30 per cent), the problem of opening up new work fronts and the systematic raising of the well-being of the working masses. In the last 33 years (1951-1983) the state sector of the economy has created 615 thousand new jobs. The establishment of socialist relations of production has brought about a marked social orientation in the development of the Albanian economy. Therefore, our constant aim has been to ensure the most suitable material and spiritual conditions possible for the strengthening and the defence of the socialist order, for the all-round development

of working people, for the raising of the level and quality of their life in all its aspects. By putting into practice a correct concept of genuine socialism, the society which has been built in Albania is a society in which private ownership of the means of production, exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, have been liquidated; a society in which there are no rich and poor, in which there are no marked differentials between the incomes of the workers, cooperativist peasants and the intelligentsia (the greatest differential is 1:2); a society in which distinctions in the standard of living and way of life between town and countryside are narrowed continuously; a society in which everyone has a secure job and his means and sources of livelihood, and the raising of the material and cultural level is guaranteed. Today about 80 per cent of the population lives in new houses built in the epoch of socialism. The whole system of health service, including prophylaxy, in town and countryside, is free of charge. The system of social insurances and pensions, paid holidays, assistance for mother and child, etc., is entirely maintained and modernized by state subsidies.

The long-standing aspiration of the Albanian for education, culture and science has become a reality only in the conditions of the development of the country on the road of socialism. The development of the economy and culture are connected so closely with one another that they, like two communicating vessels, condition the level of one another. Compulsory 8-year education, general and technical-vocational secondary education are widespread in all the country; the country has a system of higher schooling, which trains cadres for the main branches of science and culture, and the system of cultural, art, musical, and other institutions. In the period of the socialist development, our school system has trained 55 thousand specialists with higher training. In the school year 1983-1984, there were 59 pupils and students for every 100 people employed in the economy.

Even these few significant figures and facts which we mentioned, illustrate sufficiently the fact that the

reality of the epoch of socialism in Albania is a reality in which new motives and criteria, which have brought about a radical transformation of the portrait and spiritual world of Albania, have been placed in the centre of the economic, cultural and social activities of the country.

When it set out on the road of socialist construction, Albania possessed many potential natural assets. The Albanian was known since ancient times as a man with a creative spirit, as a tireless, hardworking man. Hence, in Albania all the possibilities existed to begin work for a long-term dynamic development of industry. In conformity with these conditions, and with the geological prospecting and discoveries which were made, beginning from the year 1948 (the time when the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania was held) and gradually thereafter, an entirely new concept and the program of socialist industrialization of the country were worked out and implemented. The essential aim with this concept is to achieve a high degree of industrialization on the basis of the creation and development of complex heavy and light industries with which the economic and political independence and the defence of the country would be guaranteed and strengthened, the anti-socialist hostile pressure from outside would be coped with in any circumstances on the basis of self-reliance. Integral part of this concept is also the working out and solution of such problems as the gradual transformation of Albania, first, into an agrarian-industrial country, and later, into an industrial-agrarian country, and finally, into an industrial country with modern intensive agriculture, ensuring the financial means and training of skilled labour and engineering-technical cadres needed for the building up and management of the industry of the country.

In conformity with this concept, the aim has been to ensure that the branches and enterprises which would be set up in the course of industrialization should be such as could fulfil, in the first place, the internal needs of the economy, relying on the natural resources of the country and achieve their manipulation and up-

grading. This has not permitted the creation of industrial enterprises depending exclusively on the foreign market, both for their supplies with primary materials and for the sale of the finished product, has not permitted the Albanian industry to be transformed into an appendage of the world capitalist market. Throughout the whole process of socialist industrialization no illusion or tendency has been encouraged towards overreaching the possibilities of the country as to the size of industries, a thing which might have resulted from imitating models and structures of any other industrial power of the world, but on the contrary, the local possibilities have been kept into account, in conformity with the tasks raised by the construction and defence of socialism.

During the process of industrialization interferences and pressures from outside had to be overcome, the «arguments» which aimed at imposing on Albania anti-socialist views and practices as to the character and directions of the industrialization of the country, were rejected. Efforts have been made to induce Albania to desist from creating and developing its own national industry, and thus, remain an agricultural country engaged only in the production of agriculture and mineral primary materials, which would be exported and processed abroad.

Documents and facts show that pressures, «arguments» and «advice» from outside did not change in the least the concept and policy of industrialization, elaborated by the PLA and its leader, which have been implemented continuously and without interruption. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Every country which relies on its own forces, in the first place, should build up a developed economy, with a powerful industry and advanced agriculture based on the internal assets and resources, which must be in a position to guarantee the independence of the country and its uninterrupted development on the road of socialism.»¹

The first phase of industrialization was predominated by the extensive development of industry, without overstraining the possibilities of the country, which might impair the develop-

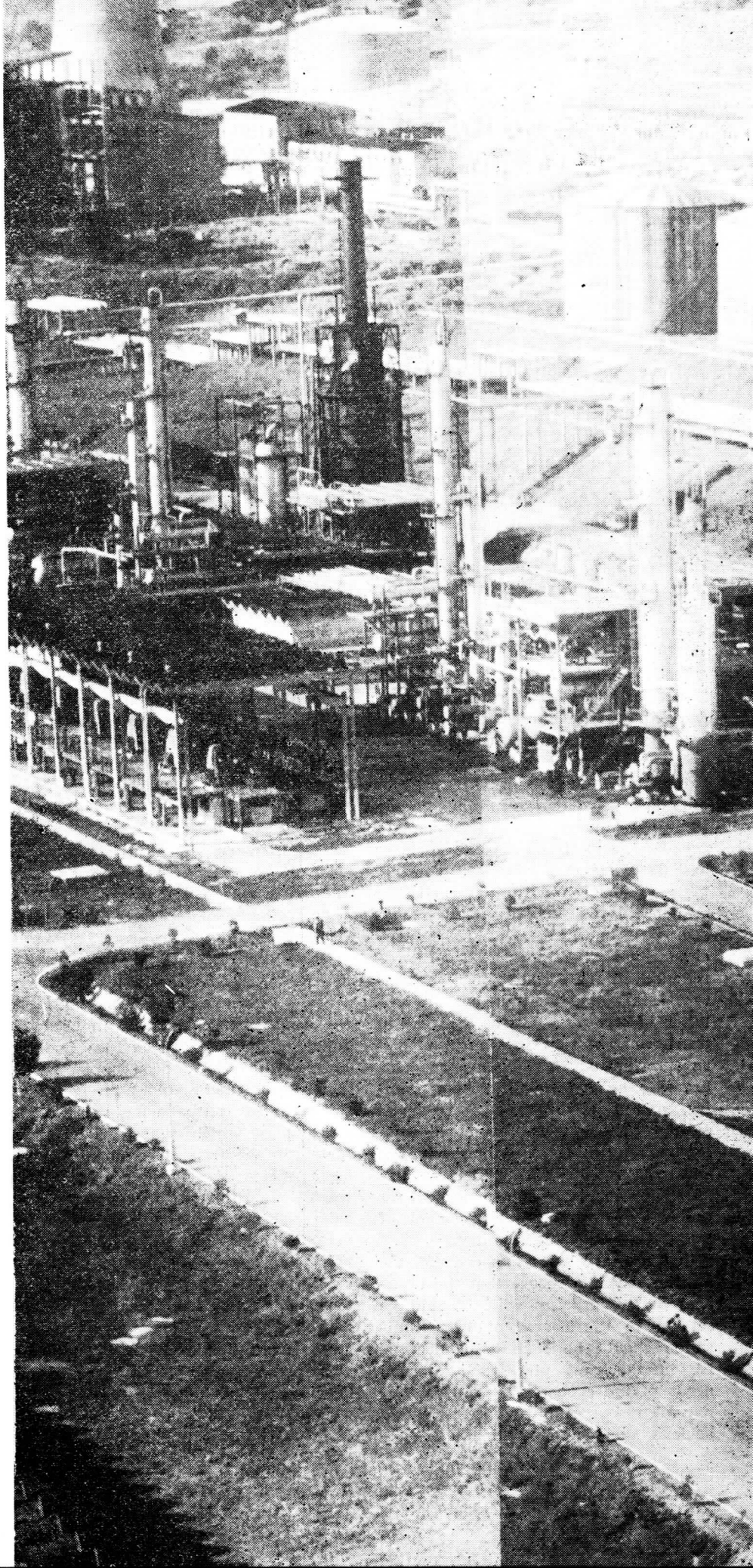
ment of agriculture or restrict the consumption of the people and the efforts to raise the well-being, within «an iron circle». This stage saw the development of such branches as the extracting, electric power, light and food-processing and other industries, with the aim of producing locally things that were imported. The transition to the next phase was marked by the setting up of more complicated branches, which ensure a more effective development and create possibilities for the export of finished products, such as the metallurgical, the machine building, chemical, electronic, and other industries.

The setting up and development of heavy industry has had priority throughout the process of industrialization. Simultaneously, light industry, also, developed at rapid rates. Therefore, production in general has not developed independently of consumption, but these two elements have always been harmonized in such a manner as to attain the objectives set for the construction and defence of socialism, the uplift of the standard of living of the population.

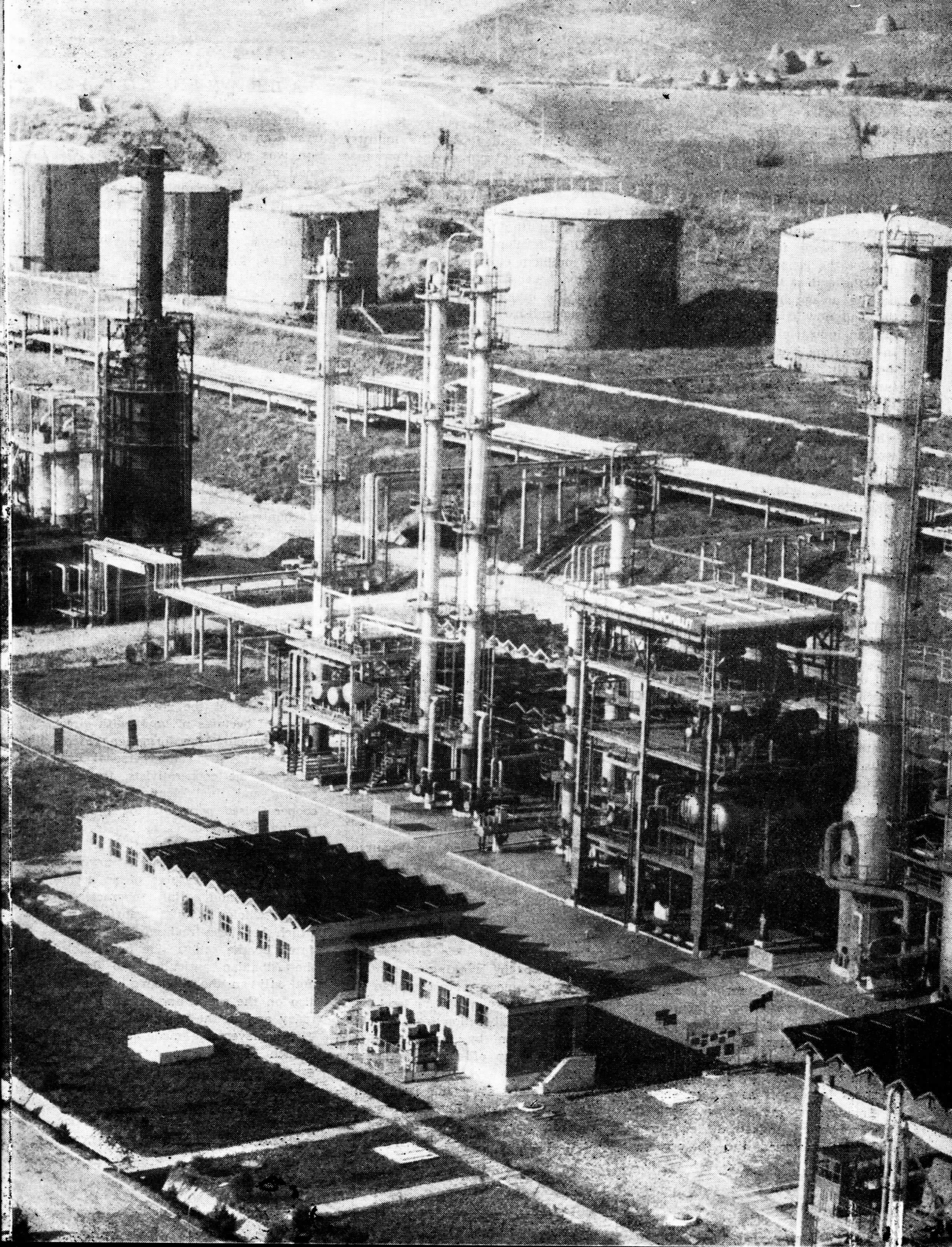
The question is raised: Why should Albania necessarily have its own strategy for and give priority to the development of heavy industry?

It must be stressed that the material-technical base of socialism cannot be built up by developing the light industry only, even when its development is connected and harmonized correctly with the development of agriculture and other branches of the economy because contemporary socialist society needs not only staple goods of everyday use. Besides this, the development of light industry, intensive agriculture and other branches of the economy cannot be achieved without creating such branches of local heavy industry as the electric power industry and the industry of fuels, the machine building, construction materials and other industries.

Through the creation and development of the heavy industry Albania was in a position to create an effective and rational structure of the branches of social production, through which the appropriation of the natural assets and the upgrading of their



*View
of the oil-refinery at Ballsh*



values was extended on a broad front. Otherwise, its natural assets would remain a lifeless mass of no value for the construction of socialism.

Without developing its heavy industry Albania could not solve the problem of guaranteeing work for all the existing work force of the country and for the generations.

In the end of the year 1955 Albania became an agricultural-industrial country, and now it is being transformed into an industrial-agricultural country. In 1983, the part of industrial production in the total industrial-agricultural production was 70 per cent. In the same year, industry realized about 56 per cent of the national income whereas the number of industrial workers was 32 per cent against the total number of the working people engaged in industry and agriculture taken together.

Our national industry today extracts and processes more than 40 kinds of main primary materials, liquid fuels and useful minerals, and, together with agriculture, fulfils 90 per cent of the needs of the economy for primary materials. On this basis, it supplies the needs of the economy for pig-iron, steel iron, profiles, nickel, cobalt, copper, chromium and other useful minerals, as well as various metallic alloys of high properties, oil and its by-products refined through chathalitic processes, cement, mineral salts, nitrogenous fertilizers, sulphuric acid, monomers and polymers of vinyl, etc.

The increase of the amount of oil extracted and its local processing have strengthened the independence of our economy for this vital source of energy for the intensive development of the economy. Besides this, in the question of ensuring the energy basis we have not «put all our eggs in one basket». With this wise policy, the extraction of coal and gas has developed simultaneously with the utilization of water power sources for the production of electric power. By continuously pursuing this strategy, all the needs of the economy for electric power and the production of an amount for export have been ensured.

Engineering industry ensures the production of industrial equipment, complete factories and 95 per cent

of the needs of the country for spare parts. Light and food-stuffs industry provides 85 per cent of the consumer goods supplies for the population.

The solution of the agrarian problem has required special care throughout the whole period of the socialist development of the country. This problem emerged in all its complexity because the peasantry constituted the majority of the population, and agriculture which represented the basic branch of the economy, was at a very low level of development. In these circumstances, the perspective of a correct and rapid solution of the agrarian problem would condition, to a great degree, the fate of the construction of socialism, not only in the countryside, but also on a national scale, and this in turn, would condition the whole socio-economic and cultural development of the country.

For the attainment of this perspective, apart from other political and economic factors, the fact that the Albanian peasantry was revolutionary by tradition, both in the sense of the national liberation and in the sense of social emancipation, had primary importance for the transformation of the social order. Relying on this factor, the PLA gradually worked out and implemented a revolutionary program for the solution of the agrarian problem, which included not only the transformation of the relations of ownership of the land, but also radical transformations in the field of social relations, economy, culture and technique, and all the aspects of life in the countryside.

The first vital and most urgent question, which was the centuries-old aspiration of the Albanian peasantry and which was solved in the framework of the agrarian problem, was the carrying out of a revolutionary land reform (1945-1946). The political freedom, which the working peasant had gained, was made more complete with the free possession of the land, with the peasant's liberation from any kind of exploitation by landowners, and the opening up of a new perspective in life.

Immediately after the implementation of the Land Reform, the need arose for the radical solution of the social question of the transformation

of the economic relations in the countryside on a socialist basis. This question was solved by collectivizing the small producers of the village, a process which was completed in 1960, in general, and definitively in 1967. The collectivization of the countryside was an historical necessity for drawing the working peasantry on to the road of socialization, which derives from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the building of socialism in the countryside. At the present phase, in the context of the agrarian problem and in order to carry it through to the end, two fundamental questions must be solved: the conditions must be prepared, first, to change the cooperativist property (group property) into state property (the property of the whole people) and, second, to liquidate any social, economic and cultural distinction among the working people of countryside and town. In this direction, continuous revolutionary work is done in Albania and a new, original experience has been accumulated. Part of this experience is the creation of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives, which represent a greater degree of socialization of the cooperativist property and its integration into state property, the priority intensification of agriculture in the cooperatives of the coastal zone (100 thousand hectares of land) with direct state financing, the formation of collective herds from the personal livestock of the cooperativists, the narrowing and final elimination of the cooperativists' personal plot, the narrowing of differences in the level of incomes between cooperativists and the working people of the town, as well as other measures of an economic, social and cultural character.

The whole socialist transformation which has been realized and consolidated in the countryside has enabled the Albanian agriculture to develop not only on the economic plane, but also on the social and cultural plane, today and in the more distant future. The achievements made in this vital branch of the economy to date are great.

Instead of the primitive agriculture of the past, today we have created a multi-branched agriculture, producing bread grain, industrial crops, rais-

ing livestock on the basis of an extensive forage crop cultivation, with vegetables, fruits, etc., etc. With the long persevering work of the peasantry and great state investments, the whole agricultural surface of the country has been put under exploitation in compliance with the criteria required by modern intensive agricultural production. Within 35 years, the surface of arable land has increased 2.5 fold through the dynamic work for opening up new lands all over the territory of the country (in the plain, on the hills and mountains). The tracts of improved, systematized and irrigable land represent 55 per cent of the whole arable surface. The most difficult and massive operations of agricultural work, such as ploughing of the fields, harvesting and threshing, have been mechanized and an average of 145 kg of chemical fertilizers, expressed in terms of active matter, are used for each hectare of arable land.

Statistical data show that in 1982, total agricultural production per head of population was 2.5 times greater than in 1950, at a time when population increased 2.2 times during the same period. On this basis, it was possible to fulfil all the needs of the population for bread grain and other important alimentary products of agricultural and livestock origin. This is one of the important achievements of the country and protects it from the external pressure caused by the food crisis.

Industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and the entire socialist development of the country have been accompanied, as is expected, with the movement of the population from countryside to town. As a result, the part of the working people occupied with work in agriculture has decreased, whereas that of the working people employed in the other branches of the economy has increased. The movement of the able-bodied population from agriculture to the other branches of the economy has been a controlled, directed and planned process, regulated according to the needs raised by

the construction of socialism, without permitting the creation of difficulties of a political, economic and social character. In general, this process has been conditioned by the higher degree of mechanization of work processes in agriculture and higher productivity, the increase of agricultural and livestock production, etc., and has been carried to proportion which do not run counter to the strategy of ensuring the country's self-sufficiency in food and guarantee the defence of the Homeland.

This is the reason why the Albanian agriculture continues even now to absorb a large part of the active work force of the country. This tendency will continue to be valid for the future, too. Abandonment of agriculture, the draining of the countryside and the overpopulation of the city are not necessarily always and for every country a universal indication of the «economic and social over-development», as some authors claim. A more penetrating analysis of the causes of the depopulation of the countryside brings out the truth that, in the first place, this is the consequence of the impoverishment and ruination of the working peasantry and its capitalist exploitation.

In the solution of all the problems which the development of the socialist economy and culture raise, Albania has relied on its own forces, by mobilizing and making a planned utilization of the internal material, financial and human resources. The continuous implementation of this principle as a constant strategy which cover all fields of life, and not as a policy that changes with the circumstances, has enabled socialist Albania to defend and strengthen its genuine political and economic independence, to protect its economy from the attacks and penetration of outside destabilizing factors and ward off the influence of degenerating foreign influences on its culture, to maintain social and individual consumption within the limits determined by national production.

Reliance on one's own forces has not impeded the Albanian economy from profiting from the development of world science and technique and from commercial exchanges with other countries. The fact is that the PSRA today develops trade with about 50 various countries of the world on the recognized principle of equality and mutual advantage. Apart from this, ever since Albania was transformed into an agricultural-industrial country, the structure of its foreign trade has changed radically. Finished and semi-finished industrial articles constitute, at the present phase, the bulk of the Albanian exports, whereas prior to the establishment of the people's state power, Albania exported only agricultural products.

The implementation of the principle of self-reliance has not caused the country to develop in an autarchic manner or to become politically «self-isolated». Through this policy the imports have been covered by export incomes, thus avoiding the integration of the Albanian economy into the capitalist system of world economy as an appendage, with all the anti-socialist consequences which result from it. Therefore, the opinion expressed by some foreign authors, that allegedly the principle of self-reliance, as an economic and social concept, its conservatism or extreme anachronism, is totally devoid of any foundation.

*
* *

The period of socio-economic development which has been attained in the period of the construction of socialism represents, for Albania, an entire historical period. The achievements made show the extent of the progress of socialist Albania in the 40 years of its political, economic, social and spiritual maturity achieved on this road.

1 *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 1, p. 92, Alb. ed.

ON THE NEW ROADS OF THE ALBANIAN SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY

by **HAMIT BEQJA**

The new pedagogy is interested in all the aspects of the life of the school and the educational process

DESPITE THE PROHIBITION TO WRITE AND CULTIVATE THEIR OWN LANGUAGE AND TO REVIVE THEIR NATIONAL SCHOOL, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, THEIR MOST RENOWNED SPIRITUAL REPRESENTATIVES, SUCCEEDED IN CREATING THE STRONG NATIONAL PATRIOTIC LAY AND DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS OF THE ALBANIAN PEDAGOGY THROUGH A GREAT DEAL OF VICISSITUDES IN THE CENTURIES. THESE CHARACTERISTICS ALONG WITH THE PROGRESSIVE HUMANITARIAN VALUES OF WORLD PEDAGOGICAL THINKING, ARE INTEGRATED INTO OUR POPULAR EDUCATION, OUR SOCIALIST SCHOOL, INTO THE WHOLE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PEDAGOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR SCHOOL.

BUT IN THESE FOUR DECADES THE ALBANIAN SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY HAS WRITTEN A NEW AND RICH PAGE. THIS PERIOD HAS BEEN ONE OF INTRANSIGENT STRUGGLE FOR THE CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSISTENT DEFENCE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PEDAGOGY.

The foundation stone of this struggle is the educational and cultural policy of a profound democratic and socialist character and with a Marxist-Leninist militant content, worked out by the Party of Labour of Albania. The Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of the Party, the original treatment and solution of cardinal problems of socialist pedagogy have been worked out and cultivated in this context. In this field, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally has made an outstanding direct contribution.

In the efforts to seek a correct Marxist-Leninist solution to and to make a correct treatment of the fun-

damental problems of pedagogy, always within the framework of a Marxist-Leninist educational policy, Comrade Enver Hoxha has made an all-sided analysis of the idea that the stage of development of education, school, pedagogy, is adequate reflection of the general development of the country, its political, social and economic, cultural and ideological development, its social structure and superstructure. This universal law is extensively embodied in life in socialist society.

At the same time, the whole struggle for the development of the new Albanian socialist pedagogy is waged around some fundamental concepts connected closely with education and school, in particular. Connected with this is our persistent effort to over-

throw old and new, alien, bourgeois and revisionist reactionary concepts about education, school and pedagogy, and to affirm the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary new concepts in stead of them.

These fundamental ideas served as a guide to working out the program of the Party for the further revolutionarization of the school. This program, in itself, is an expression in a nutshell of the original contribution of our socialist pedagogy.

On these fundamental questions of principle, which, in the first place, have to do with the educational policy, are based the solutions and new contribution to the problems of a purely pedagogical character. The thing that especially attracts attention here is the consistent defence and creative implementation and development of the ideas on the all-round development of the personality of the new man in the socialist society, on the all-round communist education of the man, which constitutes one of the roads of this development, on the essence of this educative process and the fundamental principles and aspects of this process which are important for today.

Our teachers and pedagogical experts, the people engaged in the compilation of school programs and text-books and those charged with the organization of educative activities, have carried out extensive work for the embodiment of these life-giving ideas in the new teaching and educative structures of the school, have worked out the fundamental and orientating documents for the teaching-educative process and, in the first place, of the new programs and text-books for schools. These new documents, which continue to be worked over and over and renewed, have further helped all categories of teachers who work directly in schools, to integrate Marxist-Leninist ideas still more completely into the day-to-day teaching-educative process. This is a long process of work which can be realized step by step and is continuously deepened and enriched.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has dwelt extensively on the thesis that the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, the revolutionary and scientific philosophy of the dialectical and historical materialism, remains at the centre of the whole process of teaching and education in our school, serves as the basis of the basic components of our school. This is a fundamental and most essential feature which characterizes the entire teaching-educational activity of our socialist school, the fast pivot of the school, which is embodied in the lessons and education, in struggle against idealist and metaphysical, irrationalist, mystical and religious influences, against various bourgeois and revisionist treatments of the problem. Comrade Enver Hoxha has shown the way and manner for the embodiment of this axis in the living, teaching educative process, capitalizing on the definition of a complete cycle of Marxist-Leninist subjects for all categories of schools — from 8-year schools to the higher schools; on pervading all subjects and school procedure by the Marxist-Leninist spirit; on the embodiment of this spirit in all out-of-school educative activities. The outlining and concretization of these roads is seen and treated in unity.

Along with the problem of the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, our socialist pedagogy, also, treats the problem of the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education from all aspects. In struggle against bourgeois and revisionist views about the apolitical and non-ideological character of education, combating so-called pluralist treatments and solutions, our Party has underlined their partisanship, their class tendentiousness. On this basis, our pedagogy has refuted the deformations and distortions of a bourgeois-revisionist character which regard ideological and political education as an appendage and supplement to mental and moral education, as something which is realized and carried out in extramural educational activities. In this struggle, which is waged both in theory and in practice, we have affirmed the concept that the ideological and political education is one of the fundamental components of a whole process of communist education, indeed, one which has priority over all other components in the educative process, that, in close connection with these components, it breathes life into them, has a powerful influence on them, pervades them

through and through. The classes of moral and political education in school, the emphasis on key ideological and political factors in all our school programs and text-books, not only in social subjects but also in those of natural sciences, the broad educative activity of an ideological and political character with the pupils and students in school and outside the school, are important steps which our pedagogy and school have taken in order to put them into practice.

Our pedagogy, in struggle especially against bourgeois and revisionist misrepresentations which are being made today, against the abortive theories and reforms, experiments and tests, is making a valuable contribution to the efforts to explore practical and original roads for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking lessons with work in production. Avoiding revisionist distortions connected with the minimization of the role of education through work, which reduces work to a simple aspect of polytechnical and moral education, avoiding the spirit of narrow practicalness and utility of working lessons which the bourgeois pedagogy advocates and recommends, estimating the value of education through work as a fundamental component of the whole process of the communist education, re-emphasizing especially the great educative values of this component for today, the teachers and specialists in teaching methods, in collaboration with the specialists of production of our country, have mapped out the roads for putting this ideas into practice, beginning from working classes in school shops and engineering shops, participation in labour actions at big construction sites, down to work in extended production, in the midst of the working class and the peasantry.

Obviously, here we cannot fail to mention the spirit of militantism which our pedagogical thinking has introduced in the field of physical, moral and aesthetic education. The merging of physical education with military training responds both to the

Marxist-Leninist conception on the all-round communist education, and to the needs of our country for the organization of popular defence, seeing school youth as an organized detachment of the entire soldier-people. As for the field involving moral and aesthetic education, especially in the fight against all alien internal and external ideological influences against the cultural aggression and the ideological diversion of the bourgeois and revisionist world, old and new, as well as against the old blemishes in the consciousness of people, in a country which has emerged from the pronounced backwardness and with feudal-bourgeois development, and has had a marked petty-bourgeois composition, the experience and practice of our educative work has led to the accumulation of a valuable pedagogical experience.

Our pedagogical thinking could not fail to direct its attention to ceaselessly raising the level and quality of the teaching-educative process, the reflection of the achievements of scien-

ce and modern know-how, seeing them in the dynamic of their development in the conditions of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, which is carried out vigorously in our country, too, as an inseparable part of our socialist revolution. The problem of the scientific-pedagogical modernization of the school, the lessons, has become more and more acute. In recent years, especially, work has been going on for laying down correct and modern scientific and pedagogical criteria for the determination of the didactic equivalents of teaching disciplines which are studied at different levels of education, for organizing them as compact structures of a universal character, placing solid concepts at their bases, for analysing the teaching material seeing it as a single and unified whole, in struggle against anachronistic and traditionalist standards, against so-called new solutions which are over-hasty and premature, against ill-sorted grafts, against mechanical borrowings and transplantations, etc.

The new pedagogy is interested in all the aspects of the life of school and educational process. Our Marxist-Leninist thinking has displayed, in general, in theory and in practice, its revolutionary spirit of novelty, has trodden and is treading new unexplored paths. Perhaps the very advanced ideological and political stage of problems, put forward for solution which our Party has worked out, have not always found the necessary support in studies and professional work in practice. Obviously, this is one of the difficulties of growth or our new pedagogical science. By proceeding further on the road the Party has opened up, relying on the achievements made hitherto, by gradually surmounting the difficulties of growth and subjective shortcomings in work, it will make a greater contribution to an all-round concretization of the Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of the Party, backing it up with arguments, and to its further enrichment.

SOME ETHNIC PROBLEMS OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF ALBANIA

by MUZAFER KORKUTI

Our archaeology has successfully coped with the problems of the ancient history of Albania bringing to light ever more proofs of the ancient Illyrian-Arbër culture from the inexhaustible archives of the subsoil of the Homeland and studying them in the light of the scientific principles of our Marxist-Leninist Party and Comrade ENVER HOXHA.

AS ONE OF THE OLDEST PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA, THE ILLYRIANS HAVE LONG SINCE ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF SCIENTIFIC OPINION. SO, THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ILLYRIANS AND THEIR ANCESTORS AND DESCENDENTS, THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE GREEKS, THRACIANS, AND LATER, ROMANS, HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO REMAIN AT THE CENTRE OF THE ATTENTION OF HISTORIANS, ARCHAEOLOGISTS, LINGUISTS, ANTROPOLOGISTS, AND OTHERS.

The thesis of the autochthony according to which the cradle of the Illyrians lies in the Western part of the Balkan Peninsula, in the territory which is historically known as Illyria, through a gradual and uninterrupted process during the Bronze and Iron Age, in the last 30-40 years has been substantiated by a new and

MUZAFER KORKUTI — Director of the Centre of Archaeological Research

broad series of facts provided by intense archaeological excavations and has won a clear edge on the thesis of the northern origin of the Illyrians. With its investigations into the Illyrian territory proper, the new Albanian archaeology has made a particular contribution to the argumentation of the autochthony of the Albanians. Among other things it has the merit of basing the problem of

the origin of the Illyrians, apart from a broad range and variety of new facts, on a sound methodological basis, thus enriching the treatment of this problem with a new content.

In these conditions, the supporters of the former thesis, that of the northern origin of the Illyrians, being unable to openly oppose the thesis of the autochthony, have come out with the thesis of the polygenesis. According to this thesis, only some Illyrian tribes are of autochthonous origin and with this they mean only the Illyrian central group which is identified with «Illyri proprie dicti» (the Illyrians proper), while the other Illyrian tribes, and they are not few, are of various origin. Apart from disregarding some northern Illyrian

tribes like the Iapodes, Liburni and Dalmatae, the supporters of this thesis do not consider the Paeones and Dardani Illyrian, either. But there are such extremists who push the point so far as to exclude even southern and southeastern Albania from Illyrian territory.

The supporters of this view claim that the zone of Devoll and South Albania can hardly be attributed to the Illyrian ethnos.

During the last quarter of a century extensive research has been carried out for the pre-historic Illyrian cultures in the territory of southeastern Albania. In terms of length of existence (from the Late New Stone Age to the end of the Bronze Age — a period of about 2000 years), as well as in terms of development of the cultures it represents, the many-layer Maliq settlement in the region of Korça remains one of the more important pre-historic settlements in the Balkans. The process of the emergence and autochthonous development of the Illyrian ethnos is followed best at Maliq. Proceeding from a clear cultural stratigraphy and rich archaeological material a new light was shed on the local process of the emergence and development of the Illyrian ethnos during the Bronze Age. This process was made clearer from the discovery of the Tren settlements as well as the mounds of Pazhok, Patos, Vajza, Dukat, Piskova, Vodhina, Bajkaj, etc., settlements which cover the whole southeastern, southwestern and southern Albania.

During the Iron Age (11th-5th centuries before our era) the culture of the Illyrian ethnos underwent its greatest development throughout the territory of Southern Illyria. The Illyrian settlements in the regions of Korça, Mat and Shkodra lie on hills with a dominant position and are surrounded with walls of rough-hewn stones like Trajan, Tren, Vendtrok, etc. (Korça district) Gajtan, Marrshej,

Ganjoll, etc. (Shkodra district). Burial rites, one of the fundamental indices of the character of an ethnos, are the same for the whole Southern Illyria.

But let us mention the scanty and stale arguments of A. Benac who tries to prove that the cultural group of Devoll differs ethnically from the Illyrian group of Mat. He refers to the mode of burial in mounds or graves of the casket type which, according to him, are met with only in the southern regions of Albania. In reality these burial rites, as emerges from the recent excavations in the Shtoj Plain of Shkodra, were known to the Illyrian group of Mat from the Early Bronze Age. The ring of stones, an element of the sun cult in the structure of Illyrian mounds, is present not only in the northern regions, but more so in the southern regions, as is seen at Barç of Korça, Fzhok of Elbasan, Piskova of Përmet, and other places. So, regardless of some minor and unimportant differences in the mode of burial, which may occur even within the same cultural group, all the fundamental indices such as the structure of the mound, its architecture, the mode of burial through inhumation or cremation, etc., are clear evidence of concepts which may stem only from the one ethnic character.

The regional characteristics of the pottery of the Mat and Devoll cultural variants prove this unity, too. Vessel shapes are the same for the two groups, different being only the colour, which is darker, and the ornamental motifs, which are carved in the north, while lighter tones and painted ornaments predominate in the south. Proceeding from these peculiarities of style attempts are made to consider the painted pottery of Devoll as non-Illyrian and, going further ahead, to deny the Illyrian character of the whole Devoll culture. This pottery emerged and developed in the basin of the Devoll River during the

Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age and from there spread to southern Albania and Epirus, with some of its specimens recently being found as far away as southern Italy (Otranto) and the Italian archaeologists correctly considering them of unmistakable Illyrian extraction. This pottery continues to be produced in the whole Devoll basin until the 5th century before our era, when written sources consider the ancient inhabitants of this zone clearly as Illyrians.

The new theory of polygenesis, which in essence means the restriction of the Illyrian territory, could not fail to revise the approach to the problem of the ethnic belonging of the Dardani who were a great Illyrian tribe inhabiting the present territories of Kosova, Kukës and Tropoja and, with the other great Illyrian tribes, constituted the Illyrian ethnos of the antiquity. Many years ago M. Garahanin, one of the best students of the pre-historic cultures of Dardania, wrote; «In Dardania, in the southern and western reaches of the Morava River, there lived the Dardan who were doubtlessly Illyrian.» For utterly unscientific motives attempts are now being made to deny the Illyrian character of the Dardani. So, it is alleged that the territory of the Dukagjin Plateau was inhabited by the Illyrian tribe of the Autariates, while the Kosova Plain was inhabited by a non-Illyrian population. The Autariates are supposed to have extended their territories and spread to the Kosova Plain, which, as a result, was Illyrianized.

In support of this thesis reference is made to some differences in the inventory of the mounds of Romaja (near Prizren), of the 6th-5th centuries before our era, or the mounds of Shiroka and Suhareka of the 8th-7th centuries before our era. However, with its surrounding ring of stones and its central wall, the Illyrian mound of Llashtica of Gjilan, the

easternmost part of the Kosova Plain, which has been unearthed recently, is entirely similar to the Illyrian mounds of Romaja, Kukës and Mat. Moreover, the pottery found in the mound of Llashtica is the same in form, colour and ornamentation as that of the Mat-Glasinac culture. This is clear proof of the cultural unity and the Illyrian character of Dardania in the pre-historic period.

In order to negate the Illyrian character of the Dardanians attempts have been made to trace their origin as far away as Asia Minor through the interpretation of three local names. However, it is precisely in the field of local names that there is incontrovertible proof to the contrary. From the Dardanian language there exist three plant names and about 200 personal and place names which squarely prove that the Dardanians and their language belonged to the southeastern Illyrians. In the case of Dardania, archaeological evidence coincides with the reports of historical sources. Herodotus, the «father of history», calls the Dardani Illyrians. In sources of Late Antiquity Dardania was considered a political unit organized into an Illyrian kingdom, which, as the Kosovar historian Zef Mirdita says, lay between the southern reaches of the Morava River and the Ibri Valley in the north and the southern reaches of the Vardar River in the south.

It is true that there are some minor differences, particularly in metallic objects which are known to change more rapidly from one century to another, whereas pottery remains of the same shape and with the same ornaments as those found in the two necropolises, which means that there are intimate ethnic-cultural links between the carriers of those cultures. The similarity in culture of the mounds of Romaja to those of Shiroka and Suhareka becomes especially obvious if the modes of burial are compared. All this M. Garahanin consi-

ders strong evidence of the Illyrian ethnos, in which, according to him, the Dardanians, too, must be included. The architecture of the mounds in the Dukagjin Plateau, with rings of stones, etc., as well as the building of the graves are the same as those in the Kosova Plain.

* * *

When the cemetery of Koman near the Dalmaca Castle (district of Puka) was discovered about a century ago, it was only understandable that opinions differed about the ethnic belonging, the origin and time of this culture. After the intensive research and the discoveries of the Albanian archaeology over the last 40 years, the fact that some foreign students raise this problem on the same plane and from the same positions means only a tendentious treatment of the question of the reconstruction of a precise historical picture of the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages in Albania.

As is known, important qualitative changes occurred in the economic structure at that time. The old slave-owning relations were gradually replaced with the new feudal relations, and together with the new economic base there emerged and developed a new culture which initially was known under the name of the Koman Culture and later the Arbër Culture.

The research and studies carried out about the major problem of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians and, in general, about that Albanian Early Mediaeval culture, today have entered a new phase, that of deep-going complex studies. An integral analysis of the phenomena and elements which formed the Arbër Culture has traced its three main archaeological components: the Illyrian component, the Late Antiquity component and the Byzantine component.

The Illyrian component is clearly apparent in the sphere of spiritual culture and, in the first place, in the mode of burial. The early inhabitants of Arbëria continued to use the Illyrian mounds for their burials (Pazhok, Patos, Piskova, Pordan, etc.), to build graves of the same caske type with the same orientation and with the same typically Illyrian ornaments. Only the direct descendants of the Illyrians could preserve so many elements of their spiritual world over so long a time.

The other and more important element in the formation of the Albanian Early Mediaeval culture is the culture of the Late Antiquity, of the 4th-6th centuries of our era. It is seen in architectonic elements such as the types of the early Arbër fortifications at Shurdhah, Pogradec, Butrint, etc., in the mode of building of the entry towers which is very similar to that of the Late Antiquity. However, the preservation of the tradition is more evident in the handicrafts production. The same pottery with the same ornaments continues to be used. Work implements and weapons also have forms which clearly show that they derive from the earlier ones. The ornaments typical of the Koman culture, such as fibulae, bracelets, earrings, etc., develop mostly on the basis of models of the Late Antiquity.

The Albanian archaeology studies the component of the Late Antiquity also for the fact that the culture of this period develops in the peculiar conditions of the military-administrative and socio-economic decline of the Roman Empire as a result of which many cities disappear or turn into simple military-administrative centres, with the enlivenment and prevalence of the settlements of an agrarian character. In these new circumstances there emerges the primary role of the peasant culture which, preserving many elements of tradition,

not only developed further but also resisted Romanization. Evidence of this are the many reliefs of this period which are worked according to a clearly indigenous tradition and present figures with Illyrian traditional costumes. In the field of culture, too, there is an apparent strengthening of older beliefs, especially, those linked with the earth, water, livestock, etc.

The third element is that connected with borrowings from the contemporary Byzantine culture. It occupies a relatively small place in the general picture of the Albanian Early Mediaeval culture and is limited to high quality ornaments such as golden and silver earrings, broches, clasps, etc.

The transition from the Illyrians to the Arbër, the beginning of the formation of the Albanian nationality, was done mainly on the basis of the traditional Illyrian and Late Antiquity components, which, just as the

preceding Illyrian component, serve as indicators of the continuity from the Illyrians to the Albanians in the new historical and socio-economic conditions of the Early Middle Ages. This historical interpretation of the archaeological material which coincides fully with the linguistic and anthropological data, proves that the Arbër are the direct descendants of the Illyrians. Hence the baselessness of the old theses which, disregarding the Illyrian origin of the Albanian early culture, tried to link it with the Avarians, the Slavs or with the contemporary Byzantine culture; or of the new variants of the old theses to the effect that the Early Mediaeval culture is the result of a Slav-Albanian symbiosis and that it was the Albanians that evicted the Slavs from their territories and Albanianized part of them.

Today after discoveries of the Albanian Early Mediaeval culture in

more than 30 centres, its territorial extension, which coincides with the extension of Southern Illyria in Antiquity, has become clearer. The recent finds of the Arbër culture in Southern Albania, at Piskova and Prodan in Northern Albania, on the shores of the Shkodra Lake, in the region of Kukës, as well as in the East (in the periphery of Ohri), are clear evidence that both the territory of Dardania and Western Macedonia was inhabited by the Arbër and had the same cultural development as the other Arbër regions.

Our archaeology has successfully coped with the problems of the ancient history of Albania, bringing to light ever more proofs of the ancient Illyrian-Arbër culture from the inexhaustible archives of the subsoil of the Homeland and studying them in the light of the scientific principles of our Marxist-Leninist Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

THE EXACERBATION OF THE CRISIS IN THE INTER-IMPERIALIST «ALLIANCE» BETWEEN THE USA AND WESTERN EUROPE

by **GENC MLLOJA**

The situation in the world today and the conditions of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshall Plan. Today, the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe.

AS THE GREAT THINKER, LEADER AND POLITICIAN HE WAS, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS LEFT US AN INVALUABLE TREASURY OF STUDIES AND ANALYSES OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY. HIS WORK IS, FIRST OF ALL, AN EXAMPLE OF MARXIST-LENINIST OBJECTIVITY IN THE EXAMINATION OF EVENTS, OF FARSIGHTEDNESS IN THE FORESEEING OF THEIR FURTHER EVOLUTION, OF LOGICAL THINKING THAT ARRIVES AT EVER VALID CONCLUSIONS. THIS IS APPARENT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IN HIS DEEP-GOING AND COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND HIS WEST-EUROPEAN «ALLIES» IN THE PAST AND PRESENT AND THEIR FUTURE PROSPECTS.

His conclusions that the inter-imperialist relations between the USA and the European members of the

GENC MLLOJA — journalist

NATO alliance are ridden by increasing contradictions and tensions, that the American leadership is declining and that the West-European opposition

to American dictate is increasing, are particularly valid nowadays. In the last analysis, as the Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us, these inter-imperialist contradictions mark a deepening of the crisis of capitalism. They are the result of the irreconcilable struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

At present the opposed interests and stands between the two sides of the Atlantic make themselves felt in all the fields of West-European-American relations. There are fierce contradictions in the political, economic,

monetary and military fields, in the approach to East-West relations and even over problems which have to do with the activities of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty. Inter-imperialist contradictions have a constant tendency to increase, but in time of crisis the discussion between Washington and its West-European «allies» gets so heated as to cast doubt on the very survival of the alliance. Struggling through its deep-going and all-sided contradictions with the United States, Western Europe is already drifting towards a capitalist grouping which, for its part, is eroded by other contradictions, this time among its own members.

In his report to the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha observes that «the leadership of American imperialism has been greatly weakened and is accepted reluctantly.»¹ From the sixties on, the influence of the United States on its West-European allies and on world affairs, in general, has gone through a perceptible decline because of the increasing centrifugal forces which are active in Western Europe. The United States is losing control, especially, in the economic and diplomatic fields. Washington is running against increasing opposition to its attempts at imposing its dictate or international events on «united Europe». In economic growth the United States is lagging behind Japan and Western Europe and, as a result, its absolute domination over the western economy is on the wane. In the military fields, the establishment of parity in the strategic nuclear weapons between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has greatly affected the credibility of the protective nuclear umbrella of the United States in the eyes of the West-Europeans. The image of an «invincible» American imperialism has been badly shaken, too. Events like the US defeat in Vietnam, the overthrow of the Pahlavi dictatorship in Iran and later developments in different regions of the world have terrible blows at the aggressive policy of the United States.

Faced with this situation, the militarist spirit had the upper hand in

American strategy. It is many years now that the United States is giving an ever more important place to the military aspect of its foreign policy, which is apparent in the unprecedented increase of military expenditure (the Program for the Re-arming of America) and in greater US arrogance.

The economy remains one of the more important and, to a certain degree, determining fields in the whole complex of relations between the United States and Western Europe. The organization of the West-European countries in this field, the European Common Market, is showing an increasing tendency to operate without taking into account the desires of American capital which wants to control this bloc. Hence, there is a great deal of friction between the two sides, the United States and the Common Market. The latter tries to counter the American interference in the economy of Europe, to stem US expansion into the EEC markets, to compete with the USA on the American market and to expand EEC markets and zones of influence as a community or as individual states.

Economic factors have always had a major influence on the political stands of the West-European NATO members and their mutual relations, in general. In the first years of the alliance, things were to a great extent, if not totally, in favour of the United States. Now the situation has changed and the relationship has become more balanced. The relative weakening of the American positions in the world economy is very great if the main economic indices of 1950 are compared with those of 1980. In 1950 the United States accounted for about 34 per cent of total world production and 60 per cent of industrial production and controlled 50 per cent of world monetary reserves. In 1980 these figures declined respectively to 23, 30 and 6 per cent. Although the United States is still the greatest economic power in the world, its total national

production is already smaller than that of the countries of Western Europe taken together.

This gradual change in the ratio of economic forces has brought about a relative weakening of the erstwhile indisputable American domination and an exacerbation of competition between American capital and the West-European monopolies. As a result, the West-European economy is no longer an «extension» of the economy of the United States, as Wall Street looked upon it only some years ago, while the bourgeoisie of Western Europe, for its part, has become more determined to protect its interests and to resist American pressure. Hence, differences in the economic fields have become chronic and fundamental, regardless of their degree of exacerbation which depends on the changing circumstances.

In general, the countries of Western Europe resent economic pressure on the part of American capital which, proceeding from its own interests and availing itself of its economic might, does not hesitate to take measures which damage the economy of its «allies», tries to saddle them with the consequences of the crisis. Thus, in the eighties the main contradiction between Western Europe and the United States was over the lopsided American monetary policy, with high interest rates as its main element. In the end of 1982 American interest rates reached their highest point ever — 21.5 per cent. High interest rates enabled the Americans to attract large financial means from different parts of the world, including Western Europe, to the United States. The drain on the financial resources of the countries of Western Europe caused a decline in investments, while the opposite occurred in the United States: long- and medium-term investments increased, which brought about a temporary enlivenment of the American economy. These funds were employed to show down the growth of the budget deficit of the United States which, nevertheless, has already reached the figure of 200 billion dollars, and to cope with increasing military expenditure. Bank interests continue to be very high in the United States.

Acute contradictions exist for many years now in the field of trade, too. These express themselves in the conflicts over steel and agricultural products. The West-European bourgeoisie is more and more dissatisfied at the drastic cuts the United States has imposed on imports from Western Europe. These cuts affect the import of European technology, too. The West-Europeans demand the lifting of American protectionist measures. For its part, American capital accuses its West-European «allies» of trying to keep their economies closed and taking new protectionist measures. At the high-level meeting of the 7 major capitalist countries, which was held in May this year in Bonn, the President of the United States, Reagan, resorted to open pressure in order to impose on America's West-European partners a new round of trade talks which would lead to a lowering of trade barriers to American products in Europe. But he met with strong opposition on the part of the West-Europeans, France in particular, which see here a new threat from the American big monopoly capital.

Despite the growing strength of the economy of Western Europe and the existence of the European Common Market as an organized capitalist grouping capable of competing, to a certain degree, with the American economy, the dependence of Western Europe on the United States is still very great and, at times, determinant. The penetration of American capital into Western Europe is such as to link it very closely with Wall Street interests. Up to 1977, the integration of production in the world was such that one fourth of the foreign filials of the big industrial companies was American owned. On the other hand, the integration of capital markets is expressed in the figure of 2,000 billion dollars in «Euromoney». American capital investments in all the branches of the economy of Western Europe are so large as to ensure the American capitalists about 50 per cent of all the profit they make from direct foreign investments. Powerful factors of the dependence are also the multinational companies that are controlled mainly by American capital and operate in

accordance with its interests, which not infrequently are in contradiction with the interests of the West-European countries.

The different stands of the United States and Western Europe towards relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe, in general, shows that the economic contradictions between the USA and Western Europe are affecting the policy of the Atlantic Alliance. Having assumed a completely political colour, the debate now revolves about the different assessments by the Americans and West-Europeans of the results of «détente» in the seventies.

Among the American bourgeoisie predominates the opinion that «détente» did not yield the results sought for or, on the contrary, yielded such results as were not to the advantage of Western strategy. The American politicians are very explicit in declaring their disillusionment about the advantages they hoped to achieve through «détente». This brought about the further worsening of Soviet-American relations and the stepping up of the armaments race which extended to the outer space, too. In this period the two superpowers gave priority to the use of force as a means of their international policy. The Soviet social-imperialists sent their armies to occupy Afghanistan, which they did with utter ruthlessness, stepped their interference in different African countries, etc. During the same years the American imperialists intervened by force of arms in Grenada and put this sovereign country under their occupation, sent their troops to Lebanon where they were directly involved in fighting, are engaged in an undeclared aggressive war against Nicaragua, etc.

The decline of the spirit of «détente» and the ensuing developments which brought about an increase in the rivalry and aggressive activities of the two superpowers are seen with great concern in Western Europe. There are clear signs that its bourgeoisie is not disposed to follow Wa-

shington in all its steps leading to the worsening of relations with the Eastern bloc. In particular, it is not interested in breaking economic relations with the countries of the East, as the American politicians want them to. This causes uneasiness in the American administration and the first years of this decade have been characterized by the exacerbation of differences not only between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, but also between the United States and its allies. These differences emerged in all their fierceness after the decision of some West-European countries to finance the construction of the Trans-Siberian gas line. Tension reached a high point when, exploiting the events in Poland, the American government imposed sanctions on the American firms that supplied equipment for the construction of the gas line. These sanctions were extended also to the American filials operating in Western Europe, as well as to European firms working on American licences. Here American pressure met with strong opposition on the part of Western Europe. The European «allies» of the United States were not particularly eager to have sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union, because many of them are greatly interested in promoting their exports to the East, as well as in ensuring raw materials, fuels, in particular, from there. For example, of the total value of West-German exports, 40 per cent of mining equipment, 20 per cent of footwear, 25 per cent of metal-cutting machines, 10 per cent of textile machines go to Eastern Europe.

Besides the economic field, the failure of the Soviet-American «détente» and its replacement with a more aggressive and belligerent course by American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism made itself felt also in the differences among the NATO member countries in the military field. Above all, the West-Europeans are seeing with concern Washington's ever greater pressure on them to have them increase their military expen-

diture and accept the building-up of its nuclear potential on the European continent for the sake of the hegemonic interests of the United States. That their concern was well-founded, this was proved by the statements of the American President, Reagan, about «a limited war on the European continent». «So the 'allies' are now coming to understand that in the eventuality of a conflict between the two superpowers their countries are destined to become battle-fields of a thermo-nuclear war,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha in his analysis of these relations.

The frequent visits of the heads of governments of the NATO member countries to Washington are also, among other things, attempts at «seeking explanations» about the arrogant dictate and pressure the United States exercise on their countries. The concern of the West-European politicians goes so far that many of them question the credibility of the declaration of the White House officials about a «suicide action of the United States» in defence of its «allies» in the event of a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union. According to the English newspaper *The Economist*, «the Euro-missiles will enable the United States to stop fighting before it reaches the American cities».

The distribution of military expenditure within the alliance remains a source of permanent disagreements between the United States and its individual NATO partners. In 1977, under the pressure of the Pentagon, the NATO alliance pledged to maintain a 3-per-cent annual growth-rate for military expenditure. However, the greater part of the West-European allies of the United States have not lived up to their pledge, because in the conditions of the grave economic crisis they will not and cannot allow themselves to be saddled with so heavy a burden of military expenditure. The West-Europeans reply to American demands that while they kept constantly increasing their military expenditure through the seventies, the Americans did the armament of NATO with the funds of their «allies» and employed their funds in other military fields. As

well as that, they object to the Pentagon's juggling with figures in order to be able to pretend that the United States spend 5 per cent of its total national product on armaments, while its West-European allies, only an average of 3.5 per cent. They argue that these figures do not reflect all military expenditure. This debate is liable to go on for a long time with no satisfactory solution for the United States which calls on its NATO partners to increase their military expenditure further. In the meantime American pressure on the other NATO member countries has caused open opposition which has obliged the big boss to clamp down on its recalcitrant vassals. Washington had to resort to sundry political and diplomatic manoeuvres in order to break the resistance of its West-European «allies» to the deployment of the Euro-missiles in their countries. Nevertheless, the governments of some West-European countries still hesitate about accepting the deployment of American nuclear missiles on the territory of their countries.

The independence the West-Europeans aspire to achieve in the military field is a source of great differences between the USA and its NATO partners. Doubtlessly, it is in the interest of the USA to have a strong and united NATO and keep its «allies» under its political and military control. There is frequent talk today in Western Europe about more independent participation and involvement of the West-European countries in the military affairs of the alliance and limitation of American influence. This is apparent in the opposition of France and West Germany and, in general, in the hesitation of Western Europe to submit to American dictate as expressed in the «star war» program of President Reagan. That is why the foreign ministers of the NATO member countries discussed «European joint defence» as a fundamental problem at a recent meeting.

Officially the Americans accept the idea of a «European joint defence» but only as a function of American strategy and under the dependence of NATO. In general, Washington does

not take kindly to the attempts of the West-Europeans to achieve greater independence in the military field, particularly, in the field of nuclear weapons.

In Western Europe there exists a tendency to expand European military collaboration, and there is a great deal of discussion about «Europeanizing» European defence.

In particular, the Americans see with great suspicion the efforts of the French and British to strengthen their nuclear potential. The United States is worried because this development would create a new strategic situation on a global scale and, as a consequence, the nuclear arsenal of the Atlantic alliance and the definition of its military strategy would not depend only on the United States. In short, a greater affirmation of France and Britain as independent nuclear powers would gradually lead to changes in NATO structures. A clear indication of this is, among other things, the opposition of the European nuclear powers, France in particular, to have their nuclear arsenals included in the Soviet-American talks, although Washington has asked them to accept this inclusion.

The debate about the Europeanization of European defence and the attempts, no matter how symbolic, in this direction not only reflect the differences in the long-term military objectives between the United States and Western Europe, but also indicate that these differences are liable to increase and bring about the gradual evolution of Western Europe into an independent political and, eventually, military entity.

Major contradictions within NATO exist also over the questions of its military involvement outside Europe. The different American and West-European views on these questions have made NATO involvement outside Europe one of the main differences between the two sides of the Atlantic. As a result, there is no consensus over a plan of joint actions outside Europe and the determination of an «extraordinary contingent» which might be used as an intervening force in other regions of the world.

The contradictions and differences

over these problems have to do with the fact that, in the first place, Washington and the West-Europeans have diverging interests in the countries of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and other regions of the world in which the West-Europeans have opposing interests among themselves, as well; second, the dependence of Western Europe on supplies of primary materials, oil in particular, from these regions makes them very wary in taking risky diplomatic or military measures; third, there is a great difference in the military capability of the United States and the Western Europe to send military contingents outside their territories. At present the Pentagon strategists exercise constant pressure on their NATO partners so as to ensure their direct activation in conflicts outside the Europe, or bring them to engage themselves more thoroughly on the continent to compensate for American deficiencies. Also, the Americans demand more flexibility in the employment of their forces in Europe so as to be able to cope with situations outside Europe, use of the bases and other military facilities of the European countries outside Europe, participation of the West-Europeans in military exercises also outside their traditional zones or special West-European forces to be deployed in zones of conflicts outside Europe, etc. Although the West-Europeans have many reservations in this field, greater activation on their part has been noticed in the recent years.

* * *

Growing differences within the alliance between the United States and Western Europe, as well as, although in a more latent manner, between the West-European countries themselves, ever more frequent recurrence of crises as well as their intensity have posed with ever greater acuteness the problem of the prospects of the NATO

alliance. This problem emerges whenever the United States and the Western Europe are locked in a conflict as, for example, over the problem of the Trans-Siberian gas line or the deployment of Euro-missiles. Here three stands are distinguishable.

The first stand is for the abolition of the alliance which, in its present state, is considered as useless by those who take this stand, which is based on these facts: the strategic situation in the world has changed as against the time when the alliance was first formed; the Soviet Union has achieved nuclear parity, which has undermined the American guarantee of nuclear protection of Europe; the keen interest the United States takes in other continents apart from Europe, and its rivalry with the Soviet Union there put in question the traditional American policy which sees Europe as the main front. Hence, the full engagement of the United States in the defence of the European continent is questioned. On the other hand, its economic revival has placed Western Europe in positions of equality with the United States and, as a consequence, it no longer tolerates American tutelage.

The second stand is for the strengthening of the alliance. This stand is represented mainly by American strategists. The United States has always given absolute priority to the military aspect of NATO. Washington has been constantly raising the aggressive overtones in its talks with European diplomacy. In this context the Americans seek the further nuclear strengthening of NATO, a greater role for its conventional forces, as well as broader involvement of their West-Europeans partners. As well as that, it wants Western Europe to be military involved in the NATO context outside Europe, too.

The third stand calls for the maintenance of the statusquo in the alliance. According to this stand, the alliance constitutes a complex of political interests which justify its pre-

servation without any change. Although reliance on the American nuclear umbrella is not so certain, the West-Europeans have no alternative for the time being. Those who take this stand think that Western Europe has many limitations. Among other things, Western Europe is lagging badly behind even in its modest contribution to the production of armaments of the NATO alliance. The production of armaments calls for such expenditure as the West-Europeans are unable to cope with for the time being.

Those contradictory views about the future of the Atlantic alliance, even discounting their propaganda character, are clear expressions of the growing determination of Western Europe to achieve greater independence not only in the economic and political, but also in the military field.

From this picture of the state and prospects of the relations between the United States and its West-European «allies» emerges with ever greater force the validity of Comrade Enver Hoxha's analysis of the Euro-American relations, at the 8th Congress of the PLA; American imperialism «is trying to dictate to its NATO allies that they increase their military budgets and accept the stationing of the new American «Pershing» and «Cruise» missiles on their territories, that they do not emerge with a policy of their own and do not flirt with the Soviet Union or the Arabs. However, the situation in the world today and the condition of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshal Plan.

«Today the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe.»²

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 182, Eng. ed.

2. *Ibidem*.

SOCIALISM- THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL ORDER

A PEOPLE THAT REJUVENATES ITSELF

In the beginning of September 1984 the population of our country was 2,914,009. Compared with 1938 it has increased 2.8 fold. This means, among other things, that more than three fourths of the population is made up of people born, grown and educated in the years of the people's power. Our population continues to grow at high rates: on an average of 170 inhabitants per day or of one new inhabitant every 9 minutes. Going by such rates, which are among the highest in Europe the population of our country will be about 3 million in September 1986 and over four million in the year 2000.

These figures clearly indicate the correct development of the demographic processes in our country during these 40 years, they show the vitality of our socialist society. They also show the trend of development in the future, because all the socio-economic factors which have enabled the high growth-rate of the population are linked with and conditioned by the development and strengthening of the socialist ownership of the means of production and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the major factors, apart from the high birth-rate, which has enabled the high-rate growth of the population of our country is the ever declining death-rate. From 17.8 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1938, the death-rate has declined to 6 recently, the lowest in Europe and among the lowest in the world. Certainly this is among the greatest achievements of the policy of our Party.

During the years of the socialist construction of the country the decrease of the death-rate has been a general trend apparent in all age-groups of the population. However, it has been more pronounced in the younger age groups in which it has been 6 and more times lower than the general death-rate over the last 30 years. At the same time discrepancies of this index between the population of the town and countryside, between males and females have been greatly reduced. All this shows that the policy of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head for the high-rate development of the forces of production, the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production, major socio-economic transformations, etc., have always served the improvement of the well-being of the masses of the people, which is reflected in the extension of their life-expectancy.

Unlike other countries, characteristic of our country is not only a falling death-rate, but the tendency towards stability or even reduction of the absolute number of deaths, although our population has almost trebled. Immediately after the liberation of the country our people's power took measures for the liquidation of such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis and other infectious diseases which wrought havoc among all ages of the population in the past. Within few years, socialism demonstrated what it was able to do for man, for his living. In 1984, compared with 1950, state expenditure for socio-cultural measures has increased about 23 fold. Thanks to

the all-round concern of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat about the health of the people, the death-rate is constantly decreasing in our country. Apart from the fact that the health service in our country is free, we must recall that in the thirties every inhabitant of our country went to the doctor once in seven years, while today he consults the doctor on an average of three times a year. The increase in the number of doctors (from one doctor for 8,527 inhabitants in 1938 to one doctor and dentist for 573 inhabitants today), the large-scale construction of new hospitals, kindergartens, crèches, etc., along with the increase of the consumption fund of the population, its peace of mind and its joy at work and in the family, etc., are among the factors which have made the life of our people ever longer, ever more healthful and ever more beautiful.

«Man is the most precious capital». This is the motto of our socialist life which finds its expression in every aspect and direction of the economic line of the Party. Care for man everywhere and at any time, in the city and in the countryside, in the plains and in the mountains, this is the essence and, at the same time, the aim of all economic and social transformations in socialist Albania. Herein lies one of the fundamental superiorities of our socialist social order over the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, social order. Only in this order could the death-rate in our country be brought down to a level three times lower than that of the pre-Liberation period, about two times lower than that of Britain, Austria, the FR of Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, or 1.5 times lower than that of Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, etc.

GROWING ACCUMULATION OF AN ECONOMY IN CONTINUOUS EXPANSION

In the years of the people's power Albania climbed the steps of socialism very quickly. What emerges from a comparison with the first years after Liberation seems almost incredible. The same can be said also of the achievements in the field of socialist accumulation. The total of the accumulation of the state budget from all the economic enterprises of the country in 1950 was equal to its yearly accumulation from the «Gogo Nushi» factory of ammonium nitrate and the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine.

Accumulation, which Marx calls a process of the reproduction on an enlarged scale, is not a specific phenomenon of socialism, however, the difference between what is accumulated by the capitalists and capitalism and what is set apart by the socialist society in the process of the distribution and redistribution of the national income is as great and essential as the nature and aims of the production from which it stems.

Being a planned and calculated process, accumulation in our country has been in continuous expansion alongside the development and advance of the economy. It has known neither stagnation nor involution, even in those periods in which the capitalist blockade and encirclement and the openly hostile activities of the revisionists reached their peak. During the 4th five-year period (1965-1970) our economy achieved an average accumulation rate of 41.2 per cent higher than in the years of the 3rd five-year period, at a time when, despite the so much advertised economic reform, the revisionist Soviet Union went backwards. The growth-rates of our socialist accumulation in the years 1979 and 1980 were among the highest of this forty-year period, at a time when the revisionists of all hues held out their hands for credits to imperialism.

The growth-rate and the proportions of this index in these four years of the 7th Five-year Plan are just as high.

These accumulation rates, as the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA pointed out, were not achieved by chance or without difficulty. At their foundations lies always the work of our new man who, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in his mind and heart, has forged ahead surmounting innumerable obstacles created by the imperialist and revisionist enemies. This work as well as the correct and far-sighted policy of our Party will ensure a higher accumulation and a broader and more rapid development for our country in the future, too.

The problem bearing on the securing of the necessary sources of accumulation through an ever more rational distribution and redistribution of the national income have never been treated as merely financial questions but also as major problems, of a whole economic policy at the centre of which has always been man and his requirements. A relatively high rate of accumulation, as the Party has made it clear to us, has been and remains not only a correct policy, but also an objective necessity for the present and the future of our country. Otherwise, the great principle of self-reliance cannot be understood and implemented along with the major tasks of the five-year plans.

Major successes and achievements have been scored also in the correct and highly effective use of the accumulated means. In accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha, more than 60 per cent of the accumulation fund is used for capital investments and other needs of production. These means and funds, in which new in-

vestments and reconstructions account for 85 per cent, are channelled to the key branches of production, those producing means of production, in the first place. More than 45 per cent of the investment funds today go to the new or existing projects of the heavy industry, while agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, takes no less than 19 per cent of all investments.

Time, which is the best judge, proved how right was our Party which as early as the 1st Five-year Plan worked out and implemented a whole program of measures, giving always priority to the mining and power industry. Certainly, while giving priority to the development of the heavy industry, it never for a moment neglected the development of the light industry or the other branches of the economy. The local production of about 90 per cent of consumer goods proves this best. Therefore, the growth of the absolute proportions of accumulation and its scientific and planned utilization has ensured, in the first place, a rapid, dynamic and proportionate development of the enlarged reproduction throughout the country. Today our multi-branched economy is in a position to reproduce itself totally, while at the same time securing a new increase in production and accumulation. This is a great guarantee for a sure

and rapid advance in the future, too.

On this new development and these new sources of accumulation we have based the gradual improvement of the well-being for all, meeting the more essential needs, in the first place, and allowing no privileges for anybody. In this sense, accumulation will continue to be used in the future, too, for the creation of new jobs which enable our citizen to really exercise his right of work, which is sanctioned in the Constitution. While accumulation continues to grow prices of retails trade will remain unchanged or, if possible, will even be reduced, as has been constantly the case. The growing accumulation will also cope with expenditure for the free education and health service as well as ensure the ever broader meeting of the needs of the population from the fund of social consumption.

THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE ALBANIAN WOMAN

In a report about Tirana published in the press of the thirties there is this statement: «Tirana is a male city...» Even those who have not lived in those times, from these few words can have an idea of the dreary life of a city in the middle of Europe, a capital at that, in whose streets half of life, half of its drive and rhythm was no where to be seen. When the capital itself was described as «a male city» what could be the life of the women and girls in the other cities, or in the villages of the country?

There is no need today to collect facts only from the life of the capital for a report, among other things, about the unimaginable transformations that have taken place in the life of the Albanian women during these forty years. Now we have our women farmers, mechanics, electricians, turners, engineers, teachers, doctors, scientists who earn their living with their own hands and minds. Our women and girls operate machines, lead brigades, sections and enterprises; they make up the majority of the workers of the educational, artistic and health institutions.

The participation of women in the various spheres of material and social production now is the same as that of men. If 25 years ago women accounted

for only one fourth of the total number of working people, in 1970 this figure rose to 39 per cent and today it is 46.5 per cent. (And this at a time when in the bourgeois and revisionist countries unemployment among women has increased several times more rapidly than among men. In the United States of America unemployment among women is twice, in the RF of Germany eight, in Canada three times as high as among men, etc.) This broad participation of our women in the material production and in cultural activities has exercised a powerful influence on the development of the productive forces, on all the economic and social achievements of socialist Albania in the last forty years, as well on the economic emancipation of the women themselves, on the creation of their economic independence. No husband can now tell his wife: «I feed you, I keep you alive.» Socialism has given our women all their rights and their freedom, the light of knowledge and education. By ensuring their economic independence it has liberated them from the mediaeval shackles and from her all-round dependence in society. By giving women the place they deserve in the economy, art and culture, the socialist society has at the same time created real

conditions for them to occupy their place as equals in the family, too.

Nobody is astonished now at seeing our women and girls hurrying to their places of work, or going about the streets of our towns and villages. A new mentality about the women has emerged. This mentality is a component part of the all-round revolution that has been made in the life of the Albanian woman. Our men are used to these everyday facts, just as they are used to the law of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work done, a law which has no limitation in our socialist country; women are paid equal pay for equal work. (In the more industrialized countries of the world in which allegedly there exist laws for the defence of the rights of women, such as the countries of the European Common Market, women are paid for equal work only 58 per cent of men's pay, in the United States 59 per cent, in the revisionist Soviet Union 38 per cent, etc.) The equality of woman to man in socialist Albania is not only sanctioned in the Constitution, but is a real fact in the whole social and economic life of the country. «The laws of our people's and democratic state did away with everything that impeded the full exercise of the rights of the woman,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «made her equal to man in all fields, made her the honoured and free citizen of the Republic.»

THE NEW MISSION OF MUSEUMS IN SOCIALISM

The history of what happened at the archaeological museum in Vlora a few days after the fascist occupation of the country is already well known. After those few objects on display there had been stolen, it suddenly

caught fire, while the valuable objects which were thought to have burnt, were, in fact, transported secretly to the great museums overseas. During all the years of occupation this distressing scene in our Homeland be-

came steadily worse, while the fascists loudly proclaimed that they had come here to bring civilization. And had that era continued, had the CPA, founded and wisely led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, had not entered the arena of the war, Albania would simply have sunk deeper and deeper into the darkness of ignorance and the evidence of its cultural history would have continued to fill the large halls of famous museums of the capitals of Europe.

Today, that Albania, which was in

such plight on the eve of November 29, 1944, has 2,098 museums, 319 of them in towns and 1, 779 in villages. But figures are of little help to form a better idea of the complete overthrow that has been made in this field. It should be dealt with at length and analyzed in detail in order to understand its content. The more than two thousand museums are a living picture of all the aspects of the ancient and modern history of our people. Proceeding from the truth of Comrade Enver Hoxha's words that «The Albanian people have blazed the trail of history sword in hand,» the museums set up all over Albania in the years of socialism, under the direct solicitude of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, shed light on and provide argument, based on the authentic objects and documents, on the antiquity of our people on these territories, high-light the images of outstanding leaders of relentless popular uprisings for freedom and independence, the glorious patriots who spared nothing for the affirmation of the rights of our nation, for the development of education and national culture.

The realistic reflection and dialectical analysis of history are the distinguishing features of our museums, which make them different from museums of other countries. This feature stems from the new mission of these institutions in socialism. Apart from their traditional function, as the place

where museum objects are preserved and restored, first of all, they play a direct educative role. They are an auxiliary means in the process of educative work which is done under the leadership of the Party, on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, for imbuing the younger generation with the glorious traditions of our people, with the best features of the character of the Albanian, engrained in the centuries.

This positive feature, which also stems from the new mission the museums play in socialism, in connected closely with their deeply national character. Apart from reflecting the history of our nation, museums in our country are closely connected with the sound, progressive part of the history and culture of other nations, because these represent the mutual contacts and exchanges of our people with them. Hence, they sum up the contribution of our people to the cultural treasury and the history of mankind. Their national character is one of the features which make our museums superior to those of the other countries, which are characterized by a marked cosmopolitan spirit... It is enough to bring just one example: «The Metropolitan Museum of Art» of New York has devoted to ancient Egypt one whole pavillion of 6,700 square metres, with about 40,000 objects. Likewise, the tragic fate of tens of masterpieces of Ancient Greece, which fill today the halls of the renowned

museums of the capitals of metropolises, such as the «British Museum», etc., is well known.

The answer to the question how these valuable objects have been obtained, also, explains how these museums have been enriched, and clearly points out another aspect of the superiority of our museums. It is known that all those objects have been stolen, or taken by violence, or with cunning. Whereas the main source of supply for our museums has been and will always be the people. The people have preserved the cultural and historical values up to day because they themselves created them, and now, seeing that all the conditions have been ensured, they themselves hand them over to the museums. This feature of our museums is linked with their character as educative institutions and not profit-making enterprises. Profit urges museums in capitalist countries not only to plunder the objects from small countries, but also to deal in museum objects, and especially, to bargain with private collectionists, on the art market or curiosity shops, where these objects are sold and bought at fabulous prices, which is at the same time a powerful urge for modern pirates to rob other peoples of their culture. It should be pointed out that the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have always been the victims of the neo-colonialist cultural plunder by the metropolises.

A FLOWERING NURSERY OF ART

In a genuine socialist society, as the Albanian practice shows, the uninterrupted flow of new talents characterizes, our literature and arts. The army of creators has the age of the youth, not more than 30 years old as an average. This figure is very significant: from 1969 until 1984, the mem-

bership of the League of the Writers and Artists of Albania has tripled. Besides, state organs and other organisms take a special interest in the activities of the new talents. In the secondary school system of the country there are 10 art schools (which during the school year 1984-1985 were

attended by about 1,200 students) and 17 eight-year schools specialized in music. In addition to them, there are scores of forms for music, hundreds of circles for young creators at the pioneers' houses and schools all over the country. From all this we can fully assert that in Albania today every effort is made to help the new creators to develop their talents, as the personalities of art and science have dreamed for centuries.

This organized assistance is in opposition to what is commonly said

that «talent can work its way on its own». This saying, written in capitals by the apologists of the imperialist law of the jungle, is confirmed as something valid only in very special cases in the literary and artistic life. If the Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, to take him as an example, became a great man, this he owes to his talent, in the first place, and to the possibility to see his books in print with the help of his own money. Other great personalities in literature owe their success to their parents' savings with which they were able to go to school, or to friendly hand or some philanthropic help. The question is asked: How many more did not have these possibilities? How many talents have gone down the drain because «they had not learned the art of boot licking», as Brecht put it? In the bour-

geois society millions of talents are born and die unknown, Maxim Gorky wrote. Socialism not only does not suffer talents to die, but traces them, finds them, helps them to grow and develop, and puts them in the service of the emancipation of mankind. Only in the last 12 months, for example, 15 new poets of our country had their first books of poems published. More examples and figures can be cited, but the affirmation of talents cannot be explained fully only through such figures. In our country there are more than 7,000 permanent amateur groups, which constitute the great source of people's artists. Eighty per cent of the participants in the Folklore Festival of Gjirokastra were young talents.

By orientating the new creators towards the ideological socialist art, our society, with its institutions, works

continuously for the professional qualification of the new talents, encourages the new innovatory spirit, the search for artistic skill and for the reflection of the socialist reality in an all-round manner. Our established artists and writers, critics and aesthetes, painters and musicians, attentively follow the dynamic of the literary and artistic developments in the younger generations, point out their values and make pronouncements about the most outstanding talents. Assistance and support for them is further stepped up by giving the new talents, who have just made their debut with their first publication or exhibition, spare time for their activities.

Socialism, which gives birth to and encourages our new talents ceaselessly, is the clear perspective, the great guarantee for our literature and arts.

MASS CHARACTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY

The socialist order has an indisputable superiority in the field of its educational policy, in general, and in each separate link of the educational system. For a country like Albania, in which in the first days after Liberation 80 per cent of its population was illiterate, the progressive rates at which higher education is made accessible for the broad masses, is outstanding.

In this link of the educational system, the country had no tradition at all, no higher schools, except some teachers trained abroad. Therefore, in the first days of freedom, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «More bread and more culture for the people.» Only two years after this, in the heat of the work for healing the grave wounds of the past, as illiteracy, the first seeds of the future University were sown. In

1946, the Two-year Teacher Training Institute was opened, and only one year later the Institute of Sciences began work.

On 16 September 1957 the University of Tirana, the great scientific research centre of the country, was created, thus realizing the dream of the men of the Albanian Renaissance. Our educational system has in the University a new, highest, link on a national scale and of an original character. This stems from the mass character of our system of education. Some figures will suffice to create an idea about the extremely rapid rates at which higher education has developed since then.

Besides the «Enver Hoxha» University, Albania today has seven more higher schools, with an attendance of approximately 21,000 students. Only in

the last three years, 8,200 students have graduated from them. When it was opened in 1951, the Higher Agricultural Institute had only 43 students, against 3,600 today. The total number of cadres with higher training now is 56,000. Another figure, which has no parallel in the other countries of the world, shows that in the school year 1983-1984 female students made up 46.6 per cent of the total number of students, and 32.4 per cent of specialists with higher training.

The progressive development of higher education contains in essence the profoundly popular policy which the Party has constantly pursued for its spread among the masses, both through the attendance of school in the full-time system and through the system of correspondence courses, which the working people have the possibilities to attend, because they work reduced hours, enjoy the right of paid leave while preparing for and sitting examinations, etc.

In the system of higher schools of our country are admitted those students who attain the best results in the middle school, in the first place, from

among the families of workers, peasants and the people's intelligentsia.

The system of school fees does not exist in Albania, indeed, the state guarantees school bursaries for thousands of sons and daughters of the working people and peasants. The price for food and lodging for higher school students is minimal, whereas textbooks are sold at prices very much below the real cost of their publication. All this has a direct influence on the development of higher education and expresses the great gap which divides it from education in the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

In the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, the Marxist-Leninist principles and concepts of the educational structure and system, in general, and the higher education, in particular, have become a dead letter.

Their schools are growing more and more like the bourgeois schools. The different links of the educational system there are artificially connected. The students from families of ordinary working people have to overcome many obstacles in order to obtain admission to higher school. Schools for «talented» students have been set up, especially, for the sons of the new bourgeoisie. From these schools access to the higher schools is much easier. In these countries there is no talk about the all-round communist education of the personality of the student, their only concern is to attain the «harmonious development of the personality of the student, in general.»

The educational situation in the bourgeois and revisionist countries is in flagrant contrast with the general uplift

of our educational system and the higher school, in which both the quantitative aspect — the mass character — and the qualitative aspect, are always rising and in complete harmony with the other aspects of the socialist construction.

In general, our educational system is permeated by the conception that progressive, revolutionary development can be attained only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. At the present stage, our school, in all its forms of organization, represents and embodies this philosophy. Only on this sound theoretical basis can and will the higher school serve as the means for the socialist transformation of our society, play an important active role in the development of the socialist base and superstructure in the future, too.

press review

A DECADE OF EUROPEAN INSECURITY

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

In the last few months in Washington and Moscow a great noise has been raised about the future of the European continent, the re-establishment of «détente» and «real security» in Europe. The noise reached its highest now when the chiefs of European diplomacy, together with those of the USA and Canada, have met again in Helsinki in order to draw the so-called balance of achievements of the last 10 years. But the fact is that today, ten years after the Helsinki Conference, Europe has been made «secure» by the addition of hundreds of American and Soviet nuclear missiles.

By the end of the 60's and the beginning of the 70's, in the imperialist and revisionist parlours there was talk about a so-called «European security», about holding a conference in order to materialize this very pleasant (sounding phrase), which was couched in concrete words in 1969 by the Soviet social-imperialists through their tool of aggression, the Warsaw Treaty. This marked the beginning of the odyssey of the «European security», which appeared to reach its end on August 1, 1975, when 35 states of Europe, together with the United States of America

and Canada, signed a document, the so-called «Helsinki Charter». Only one decade after the signing of this document, the beautiful illusion has disappeared altogether. It has been replaced by the bitter reality which prevails today in the scene of international relations, and is characterized by insecurity and the drowning duo of the superpowers on most of the international events.

Socialist Albania, the Albanian people led by their glorious Party of Labour, have always correctly considered the justified preoccupation of the European peoples who are sincerely interested in security and peace in Europe, in the search for suitable solutions to the normalization of the situation on this continent, in order to extricate it from the dominating positions of the imperialist powers and to escape from the spheres of influence, to liquidate the aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which are led by these powers. However, the draft the heads of the Kremlin and Washington presented, and the idea which emerged from the bargainings between them had nothing to do with the aspirations of the peoples and the countries of Europe, had nothing to do with real

security on our continent and with the preservation of peace.

Our Party has made known in the appropriate time its view about this conference, which it called «the conference of European insecurity». It condemned this conference right from the outset and refused to participate in its work. And this not for the sake of originality or in order to dissociate itself, but proceeding from a realistic view of the development of international relations, from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of events. In its memorandum addressed to the Republic of Finland, the Government of the PSR of Albania put forwards its reasons for its refusal to participate in the conference of so-called security and exposed the objectives which the imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, sought to achieve by means of this sensational initiative. At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «In what consists the security of the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the world? In the declared and undeclared trips of a certain Kissinger, a certain Gromyko, or in the bargainings of a certain Brezhnev who is bleeding the Soviet peoples and other peoples, in the trips

of a certain Nixon who has turned the world into a bloodbath and led the American Mafia into the most disgraceful Watergate scandal which shook the whole of America? Is it left to them to secure the future of the world? It will be a 'fine' future.

«Of course, those who believe in tragic illusionists are free to go to the meetings of Vienna and Helsinki and wherever they like. They are free to engage in palavers with one another, but we, too, are free not to go there and we shall not go. In those meetings it is not only we who are absent, but also the peoples. This is important for us.»

The time proved the predictions of our Party to be correct. It proved that the meeting of Helsinki was nothing but a comedy in which the Soviet Union and the United States of America had the leading parts and the whole scenario was arranged to suit their play. In fact, in the last ten years, the situation has not changed, on the contrary, the international situation now is grave and peace is threatened in Europe and the world over more than ever before. This cannot be denied. Some time ago, the French news agency, AFP, wrote, «The ten years of the existence of the final act of Helsinki, the real code of good relationships in Europe, approved on August 1, 1975

by 35 countries participating in the Conference of Security and Collaboration in Europe, have been years of a long chaos which led from great expectations to great disillusionment.»

Those who organized the Helsinki Conference for «European security», i. e. the USA and the Soviet Union, do not have the slightest illusion about its security. However, the chiefs of the American and Soviet diplomacy had to make beautiful speeches in order to create more illusions amidst their listeners. Speaking of the results obtained in these ten years, Schultz declared at the present meeting that no one can deny the existence of the gulf between expectations and the reality. The Soviet foreign minister, Shevardnadze, employed a similar language in order to revive the shattered illusions of the peoples of the European countries. In his reply to Schultz, he pointed out that no one could expect the «golden epoch» of unclouded relations to come immediately after the Helsinki Conference.

Before long it was seen that the application of this document, which did not have the value of a treaty and which «depended exclusively on the goodwill of the signatory parties», was meant for ulterior purposes. Since then, a number of endless conferences and meetings have been held (in Belgrade in 1977-1978, which lasted four months and

ended up without even bringing its participants to an accord about a final document; in Madrid, which was characterized by a polemics which lasted three years, from 1980 to 1983). Once again they have put on the agenda those same questions that were approved in Helsinki. In fact, these conferences and meetings became arenas of imperialist-revisionist bargainings and demagogical debate. All the so-called forums of peace and security have virtually brought no tangible result. The time proves the correctness of the view of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state on the issue of European security that peace and security on this continent cannot be the result of bargainings between the two superpowers and the aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which they maintain afoot.

Today, more than ever before, we are witnesses of the fact that the road which was and is still being followed by the superpowers leads to a militarist, political course and the militarization of the economy and the life, is the road of the unrestrained arms race, including both nuclear weapons and sophisticated conventional weapons, both the invention and production of new types of missiles and the intensive extension of armaments on land, in the sea, in the air and even in the outer space, it leads to the

**press
review**

preparations for the «star war». This dangerous course, which by no means presages of a «reduction of tension», increases the danger of throwing mankind into the flames of an imperialist world war. The consequences of this dangerous course today are felt, especially, in the tense situation in Europe. The situation which has been created in Europe after Helsinki, places the governments and countries of the old continent in a still more difficult position, which even the Stockholm Conference cannot overcome. In the European public opinion, as well as in some European political circles, the conviction is growing stronger that the imperialist superpowers, as rivals which excite local conflicts in the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, are only too ready to sacrifice Europe, to kindle the flames of a

localized war there, in order to escape total nuclear destruction of themselves. Those governments, which have tied themselves to the charriot of Moscow and Washington and are not in a position to oppose the policy of the superpowers, willy-nilly make their «contribution» to this dangerous game.

In the political circumstances created by the present policy of the superpowers in Europe, the Balkans is just as much confronted with dangers as the countries of Northern Europe, where the Norse fishermen find that their nets are meddled with by Soviet submarines.

Besides, the «spirit of Helsinki» failed to create an atmosphere of understanding and mutual confidence amidst the Europeans. On the contrary, the articles of the Charter about «European understanding» were the source

of quarrels, interferences in the internal affairs of other countries, the flaring up of chauvinist sentiments and the spread of a liberal spirit which permits the big powers to play with the fate of the European peoples and to carry out their tactic of destabilization. Further more, this spirit failed to help to create prosperity for the peoples of the world, as the champions of non-alignment are still trumpeting today.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out that «Albania is a European country, and as such is keenly interested in everything which occurs on this continent. Our stands toward Europe and European problems are well-known. Divisions and splits in Europe, tension and frequent confrontation between various countries of this continent, have their source in the military blocs of the superpowers.»

■

THE «EUREKA» PLAN — AN ASPECT OF INTER - IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In April of this year France proposed the idea for the drafting of the «Eureka» plan. The proposal led to a meeting of seventeen West-European countries, held in Paris. The Paris Meeting, which was the

first step towards the implementation of the plan of the French, and the «Eureka» plan have the one general aim of building up the potential and effectiveness of West-European capital in all

fields, both civilian and military, in order to cope with the pressure the USA and Japan bring to bear on West-European countries.

The «Eureka» plan was timed at the moment when

**press
review**

Washington had put before Europe the discussion of the American plan of strategic defence, SDI. On this occasion, the USA demanded from West-European countries total economic, financial and military support for and commitment to the «star war» program. This was another act of pressure on and a further limitation of the political and economic activity of the countries of West Europe. But, in the framework of inter-imperialist contradictions, these countries refuse to be subjected to such discrimination in all fields, on the part of Washington. Therefore, with their aims of emerging in the world as an independent superpower in the political, economic and military aspects, these countries have begun to show signs of support for the «Eureka» plan, which, in their opinion, «is the responsibility of the European community alone». At the toplevel meeting held in Bonn, referring to the «Eureka» plan, Mitterrand said that if there ceases to be political and economic unity, Europe will inevitably remain much behind the USA, Japan and some other countries.

The «Eureka» plan, as it is presented so far and has been discussed also at the last toplevel meeting of the EEC in Milan, is a civil project with

military elements included. The objective of this plan is to achieve a still greater collaboration among the West-European countries and their biggest private firms, in order to reach high technological levels, so that West Europe can openly compete with the United States in all aspects of the economic and military policy. In this manner, the West-Europeans hope that their «Eureka» plan could serve to counter, to some extent, the American program of the «star wars». This is a deliberate move of the West-European countries. In the first place, they want to eliminate the difficulties arising from the fact that their big investments in this field are often exploited by American capital in its own interests. Next, in the present stage the West-European countries see that they are behind the USA and Japan in technology. Hence, they are making efforts in order to become more competitive in this field by strengthening the economic and technological military potential, in order to be able to emerge in the role of the superpower in the fierce inter-imperialist struggle. And lastly, the need of the countries of West Europe for a higher level of technology is dictated by the hope that by so doing they could induce the USA to give up its

demands for the material and financial commitment of West Europe in the American program of the «star wars».

With the «Eureka» plan, the West-Europeans strive to ensure their strategic shield by means of the «Arian» military satellites. This solution will certainly lead to a tentative independence from the American military dictate, but, on the other hand, it involves the West-European countries in the arms race and, in this case, in the programs of war in the outer space. This makes the situation still more tense and the threat of a war still more imminent. The emergence of the «Eureka» plan should not create the slightest illusion that the opposition to the American policy from the positions of West-European capital is made in the defence of the interests of the peoples, the defence of security of the European continent. The «Eureka» plan makes the inter-imperialist contradictions still worse. It is part of the struggle for superiority in the world, for gaining dominant positions both on the political plane and on the economic and military planes. The peoples will not gain anything from such plans which beget only oppression and exploitation and increase the threat of war.

**press
review****THE «NEW» EEC—COMECON RELATIONS EXPRESS
THE CAPITALIST INTERESTS OF CAPITALIST GROUPINGS**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

There have been increased contacts and negotiations between the two economic groups of Europe, EEC and the Comecon. They have been of such a level and extent as to give rise to speculation on the part of the officials and propaganda of these two economic blocs about «new» relations between them. This situation was created, especially after the official message which the top-level meeting of the Comecon, held during the last week of June 1985 in Warsaw, addressed to EEC for holding top-level talks of the two blocs about giving a new impulse to the relations between them. The top-level meeting of EEC, held in Milan the same week, showed its interest in the proposal and positively replied to the message, charging the European Commission, which acts as a «government» of the community in the period between the top-level meetings, with studying and defining the practical steps for the realization of the relations between EEC and Comecon.

It is a fact that the relations between EEC and Comecon at bloc level have practically been less dynamic than the bilateral relations between the revisionist coun-

tries of the East and the capitalist countries of the West. This is due to some reasons, rather political than economic ones. West-European monopoly capital wants the penetration into the countries of the East to be free from the control or terms of Moscow, which leads the «socialist community». It must be said that, regardless of this, relations have continued to develop in one way or the other without interruption. During the last ten years, trade between EEC and Comecon has grown 3.9 fold. Trade with the European Economic Community accounts for 50 per cent of all trade relations of Comecon with the capitalist world. The question is put: Why this talk about «new relations» between these two economic blocs? The first answer that comes from the study of the present international circumstances and the economic, political, strategic and other interests of each side, reveals that this is rather a question of political aims, both on the part of big European monopoly capital and on the part of the Soviet Union as the ruler of the revisionist community grouped in Comecon. Appeals for contacts between the two blocs

come at a time when, in the international arena, the two superpowers and their respective allies are making a great noise about a return to «détente», about European and international security, and other notorious slogans of capitalist-revisionist pacifism. In this climate, there is some misrepresentation also of the economic relations between EEC and Comecon, in particular, and the capitalist and revisionist countries, in general. The Soviet scholar, Kireyev, wrote in this year's June issue of the Soviet review *Memo* that these relations «are the material basis of peaceful coexistence and reduction of tension».

As can be clearly seen, the European monopoly bourgeoisie and the Soviet bourgeoisie try to make political gain from the economic links between the two blocs. All this speculation is not opposed by the United States of America, on the contrary, it finds the illusions about «easing of tension» on the European continent to its taste. However, the analysis of the relations between these two economic organizations and of their policies and strategies towards Europe clearly reveals that they pursue their definite ca-

**press
review**

pitalist aims in all this. The Common Market and Comecon are two organizations of an exploitative economic character, which serve both the interests of big monopoly capital of Europe and the interests of Soviet social-imperialism. These forces have no interest in a real reduction of tension or true European security. Experience of the European continent has so many proofs of this that it is useless to repeat them. The economic, political and organizational relations and bonds between EEC and Comecon, likewise, cannot bring about either peaceful coexistence or an easing of tension. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «Our Party cannot admit that Comecon is bad and the Common Market is good as long as these two organizations have a capitalist exploiting character and defend the interests of big monopolies for the exploitation of their peoples, who are our allies.»

The intensification and development of relations between these two reactionary economic groupings is made from capitalist, political and strategic considerations and calculations of each party, as well as from identical economic interests. The Soviet Union has been and is more interested in this, because it has always tried to have the economic, trade and financial relations of the revisionist countries of Comecon with the

western capitalist countries conducted under its direction and with its permission, to the extent and with the countries that it wants, with the firms and in the directions that suit its interests. In this way, it preserves its control of the foreign economic policy of its allies and, at the same time, gains more economic and political profit. On the political plane, the Soviet Union wants to use Comecon as a channel for the intensification of its penetration into Western Europe.

It is by no means an accident that Moscow made «self-criticism» before the EEC, in the interview given to the newspaper *La Repubblica*, by A. Yakovlev, director of the Soviet Institute of World Economy and International Relations, in which he declared that if until now our publications have described EEC as the «club of the monopolies», this, in fact, is a simplification. The recent proposals of Comecon to the Common Market were made at a time when EEC faces a grave situation, is split and in a crisis, full of internal contradictions, locked in a difficult competition with other countries, especially the United States and Japan. The Soviet Union wants to profit from this situation in order to get deeper into the European Economic Community and to get it as far away from American influence as it can. This

grave situation compels the Common Market to display greater interests in the relations with Comecon than in the past. On the economic plane, it wants to preserve and expand its markets for the sale of goods blocked because of the American and Japanese competition. On the political plane, it wants to gain some capital and emerge as a force with which the superpowers must reckon.

The European monopoly bourgeoisie and the Soviet Union, in the relations between EEC and Comecon, are motivated by capitalist, reactionary ambitions. These relations, which are by no means «merely trade» relations, are a tangle of capitalist-revisionist links and interests. As for the free and normal development of trade relations between separate countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, without using them to the detriment of either party, or a third party, this is something different. In his address delivered to the commemorative meeting on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «We have been and are for the development of trade with different countries. But we stick to the principle that trade should be mutually profitable and is not used as a means of economic pressure and political dictate.»

**press
review****MOSCOW'S AMBITIONS FOR HEGEMONY IN ASIA**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Recently Mikhail Gorbachev repeated the refrain of an old motive about the «collective security of Asia». From this he had the opportunity to lay stress on the role to be played by the Soviet Union in the «collective security in Asia», on «peace and friendship» among the peoples of this continent.

Collective security in Asia, as a counterpart of «European security», is a time-worn idea, propagated long ago by the Soviet revisionists. It was picked up again and made an issue of their propaganda at a time when the hegemonic policy of Moscow, as the world superpower it is which fights to extend its spheres of influence in Asia and in the Pacific, as well as in other regions of the world, has been intensified to new proportions. Worth mentioning here is the fact that in the period June-October every year in the last five years, the Soviet news agency, Tass, broadcasts with clock-work punctuality, Moscow's communications-dictates which warn against any flight over an extensive region from 30 to 40 thousand square kilometres in the in-

ternational waters of the Pacific Ocean.

If carefully viewed, the areas indicated for Soviet missile tests show a progressive movement, mainly from North to South of the said zone, moving dangerously close to Japan down to Australia. The geographic latitude of the test zones coincides with important sea routes and straits of the Pacific. Displace the delimited area along geographical latitudes and longitudes a little and the important sea routes, the strategic islands and countries are found within the range of the said zones. Parallel with the continued missile tests, in order to increase their control over this important part of the world, in the last five years (including the current year), the Soviet naval fleet has grown by one third of what it was. Soviet warships are present virtually in all the important straits of this ocean, such as at Tsushima, at the Straits of Malay, or even in the extreme south, on the shores of Antarktida. Foreign news agencies report that the number of naval units sailing out of Petropavlovsk and Vla-

divostok towards the warm seas is continuously increasing. If this number is added to the 30 Soviet ships of permanent presence in the Indian Ocean, which is so close to the Pacific, then it is not difficult to understand that the permanent Soviet naval force in the Pacific is really formidable.

The continuous sea tests of Soviet missiles, as well as the imposing number of Soviet naval ships which Moscow maintains permanently in the Pacific, speak clearly of the fact that this ocean occupies an important position in the global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism. This because precisely in the Pacific there are important sea routes. The waters of this ocean wash the countries in which almost half of the world population lives and is fighting to throw off the neo-colonialist yoke. This is an additional reason for the continuous presence of the Soviet naval fleet in these waters. These things show that the Soviet Union has fully adopted the old imperialist thesis that «control of the seas and oceans is the key to the establishment of world domination».

The first day of school



Albania today

«ALBANIA TODAY», a bimonthly political and informative review, appears in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian.

«ALBANIA TODAY» helps you to become acquainted with the Albanian reality and the Albanian view about the most important international problems.

Read the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

Subscribe to the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

Subscriptions are made with the «Ndërmarrja e Librit» Tiranë, Albania.

Price for subscription for a year 3.60 dollars USA
or the respective value in other currency.

