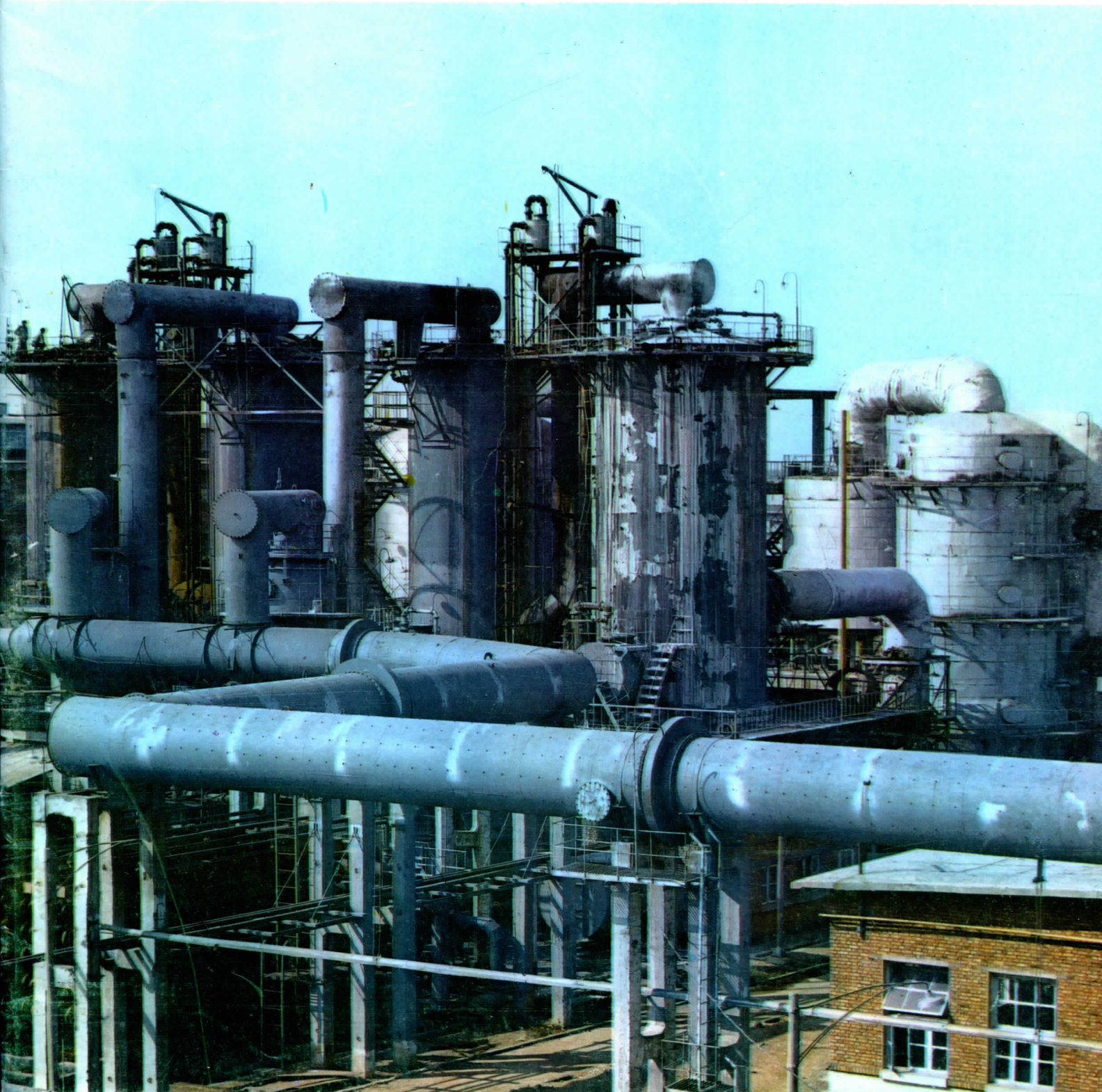


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One of the auditoriums at the «ENVER HOXHA» University of Tirana.





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RAMIZ ALIA

THE STE OF THE PEOPLE THE GOLDEN KEY T

FROM THE SPEECH AT THE GREAT

«WE HAVE GATHERED HERE, IN THE BEAUTIFUL NEW RRËSHEN», SAID COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA IN HIS SPEECH, «ONLY A SHORT TIME AFTER THE WORK OF THE 13TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, ANALYSED THE RESULTS OF THE LAST YEAR AND ASSIGNED IMPORTANT TASKS FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE CURRENT PLAN. EVERYWHERE IN OUR COUNTRY THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND WORKING COLLECTIVES NOW ARE HOLDING MEETINGS TO ANALYSE THE WORK DONE AND DECIDE ON THE MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT WITH SUCCESS OF THE FUTURE TASKS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE OF YOUR DISTRICT, TO WHICH I HAVE BEEN SENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO PARTICIPATE, WILL BE CHARACTERIZED BY A MILITANT SPIRIT AND A HIGH SENSE OF DUTY IN ORDER TO GIVE A NEW IMPULSE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE WORK.

«THE DISTRICT OF MIRDITA HAS ACHIEVED IMPORTANT SUCCESSES IN MANY FIELDS. THE PARTY HAS UNSHAKEABLE CONFIDENCE THAT IN THE FUTURE TOO, YOU WILL ALWAYS ACQUIT YOURSELVES HONOURABLY, ALWAYS WILL HAVE SUCCESS IN THE FULFILMENT OF THE PLANS AND THE ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES WHICH EMERGE FROM THE UNINTERRUPTED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM, ON THE ROAD MAPPED OUT BY OUR UNFORGETTABLE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, ON WHICH HE LED US FOR THE LAST 40 YEARS.»

After speaking about the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the people of Mirdita, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued: «Mirdita which in former times was the typical example of poverty and illiteracy, great suffering and toil in Albania, today is the best testimony of all the all-sided radical transformations which have been made in the life of the Albanian people in the epoch of the Party, of the completely transformed aspect of our Albania. Mirdita, this place which was considered as the curse of Gods and nature formerly, today is a zone blessed with many privileges and favours, which has an invaluable wealth of the surface and subsoil. Mirdita represents one of the most important economic regions of the country. It is enough to mention that the

industrial production turned out by your district accounts for nearly one third of that turned out by all the Northern districts, excluding Shkodra. A considerable part of the mining industry of the country, especially that of copper, is concentrated in Mirdita.

With the development of geology and the extraction of new minerals, with the exploitation of forests and the progress of agriculture and livestock farming, the economy of this district has become more complex and more harmonized and its perspectives are greater.»

«These assets were here all the time. Copper and pyrite, chromium and the forests, the waters and the land, all these things were here. The intelligent and hard-working people, too,

EL UNITY ROUND THE PARTY - O ALL OUR VICTORIES

RALLY AT THE TOWN OF BRËSHEN

were here. But nobody ever took any interest in the exploitation of these assets for the good of the people. They were made available for the Homeland and the people only in the years of the Party, in the years of socialism.

«The working class of the district of Mirdita is the founder of the copper mining and processing industry of our country, it revived an ancient tradition of our forefathers. It had the honour of opening the first mines and foundries of this industry. Today the sons of your district have become distinguished miners and metallurgists who work with passion and skill from Kurbesh to Rubik, from Prelat to Spaç. Mirdita today is in a position to turn out the whole production of the copper industry of 1960 within three days. Special merit and congratulations belong to the Mirdita working class, which from the first years after Liberation until today has produced millions of tons of mineral and tens of thousands of tons of blister copper for our people's economy.

«As you all know, the last year was a year of grievous events and unpredictable situations, which made it incomparably more difficult than any other period of our new life.

«A whole year has passed since then, but nobody, especially, you who had a direct experience of it, can ever forget that severe winter which swept all the Northern zones. The blind elements of nature raged furiously, but our determined and unbreakable people triumphed over them. The new wonderful qualities which they displayed in the struggle with snow drifts and

storms, will never be forgotten. The solidarity of brothers and the brilliant unity of the people emerged with new strength. Never for a moment our mountain dwellers felt themselves isolated and helpless in face of what happened to them.

«The wounds caused by this natural calamity were hardly headed when another loss, the greatest our people have ever suffered in all the years of our new life, struck them: the glorious founder and leader of the Party, the legendary leader of the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, left us. Like all the people, you, too, comrade workers, cooperativists, comrade specialists and cadres, sustained this loss with a clear head, with a high political consciousness, with unshakeable confidence in the Party. You, as the entire people, bore the great loss, responding with greater mobilization at work, raising the spirit of actions still higher, displaying your spirit of attack better in everything.

«In this situation the revolutionary consciousness was raised to a higher level, your mature political judgement became sharper, and the sense of duty to the fates of the Homeland and socialism was further raised, the monolithic Party-people unity was expressed with unprecedented strength. All this was an invaluable encouragement and assistance for the Party and its Central Committee, a direct expression of the loyalty and resolve of the communists and the people to advance on the road of socialism, on the road of Enver.



«The prolonged drought of the last summer caused much damage and raised many obstacles to the fulfilment of the tasks. Its consequences were especially felt in agriculture and the electric power industry. But they were also reflected on other branches of the economy. The positive thing is that, despite the concurrence of the natural difficulties, which were really great, this did not slow down the rates of our advance.

«Dear comrades, the Party observes with satisfaction that this year, too, there is a high revolutionary spirit, that the enthusiasm of the working masses is rising even higher. The working collectives everywhere have taken new, bold and mobilizing pledges to attain the objectives of the revolutionary movement, «Banner-bearers of the implementation of Comrade Enver's teachings». Although the situation in the energy industry has returned to normal and is much improved, many enterprises, plants, mines and combines have decided not to return to the old quotas of consumption of electricity, but to work according to the new experience. More initiatives to make perceptible reductions in production expenditure, the cutting down on quotas of consumption of primary materials and electric power, the better use of working time and the material basis, have been taken by industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives such as the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine and the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, the metal-ware plant at Gjirokastra and the copper wires plant at Shkodra, the textile mill at Berat and the park of goods transport at Laç, the higher-type cooperative of Krutja in Lushnja, and many others. The method of action is gathering new strength. Only on 12 January, 800 thousand workers participated in labour actions organized on the occasion of the day of the Republic. Everywhere work is proceeding at a more and more intensive pace in order to ensure good progress every day, every week, every month, and to guarantee the attainment of work quotas in industry, agriculture and elsewhere. The fulfilment and overfulfilment of the targets of the plan for this year, which is the first year of the new five-year

plan, the year of the 45th anniversary of the founding of our Party and its 9th Congress, has become a matter of great honour for everyone.

«Our Party and people fight not only to carry out the day-to-day tasks, but also to give radical solution to the problems that emerge. This is in the tradition of our Party. It has always thought about the present, but it has given more thought to the future; it has solved the current problems, but has devoted no less care to the solution of the problems of the perspective. A healthy present enables us to look forward to more distant matters of the perspective; a clear perspective allows us to open the road to the new, to give rapid solution to the problems that crop up. The harmony and the combination of the present with the future is one of the fundamental characteristics of our socialist order, one of the greatest guarantees of our non-stop advance.

«The 8th Five-year Plan, which we have just begun, guarantees the continuation of the socialist construction in all fields. During this five-year period the development of our society will take new steps ahead. In the present stage, our country faces the task of the transition, all along the line, from the extensive road to the intensive road of development, as the general road of the increase of the social production, the intensification of scientific and artistic creative activity, and the advance of the life of the country in all fields, without excluding partial extensive development for definite periods in some sectors, work centres and regions.

«Our society is completely prepared for this transition. It has the material basis necessary to support the development of the economy in depth, it has the necessary natural resources, it has capable specialists and cadres, it has a gifted working class and an untiring peasantry, it has a people ready for work, and efficient organizational system. Setting these factors in action constitutes the decisive link which will hasten the carrying out of this objective task.

«In our Albania, every new step ahead on the road of socialism constitutes a new step ahead on the road of the strengthening of our freedom

*Comrade RAMIZ ALIA speaking
at the mass rally at the town of Krëshen
(the district of Mirdita).*

and independence, on the road of the perfecting of democracy and civilization, on the road of raising the well-being of the people and of ensuring greater social emancipation. Success on this field is achieved by fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans, which express the real needs of society for the present and the future, by raising consciousness and culture of work to a higher level, by respecting order and discipline, by developing the spirit of initiative and revolutionary enterprise of the working people on a broader scale.

«During the new five-year planned period, new brilliant perspectives will be opened before the people of the district of Mirdita. The state will continue to invest with priority in the mining industry, including that of copper, for the discovery of new reserves, and for the more effective utilization of the existing resources, especially in the processing of copper. Of course, all our investments, whether they are made in the electric power industry and in mines, or in agriculture and livestock farming, must serve to impart a new impulse to the increase of production, the reduction of costs and the improvement of quality.

«Copper constitutes one of the basic assets of your district. In the present situation copper industry works on the basis of a more complete cycle than that of some other minerals. Copper productions, especially the thin and extra thin wires and coated wires, have become important items of our export and of the economy of the country. The working collective of the copper wires and cables at Shkodra will achieve a great success by cutting rolled products from the export. Nevertheless, the Party considers the road still open to the increase of the values of production in the copper industry.

After speaking of some tasks for the further harmonious development of industry and agriculture in the district of Mirdita Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:



View of the mass rally.



ENVEI-MOXHA
PRON ME
ZEMBAT TONA

«The rapid development of the economy, especially of the mining industry and the perspective opened to it in the northern districts, has raised the imperative task of intensifying the network of circulation and transport in these zones. In the plans for the coming years the Party has thought about increasing and lengthening the motor roads and railway lines that link the towns and the industrial centres of the North. It is a special satisfaction for me to declare that the Central Committee of the Party and the Government have decided that work should begin on the construction of the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway, as one of the important projects of the 8th Five-year Plan. The construction of this railway, this new present of the Party to these zones, will make the life of the people and the economy here more dynamic, will serve as a great factor of economic and social development. As always, as has become our tradition now, the Party will put this action in the hands of our heroic youth. It is up to our younger generation to kindle the flames of an uninterrupted action in order to complete this great project within the shortest time possible. Dear boys and girls of Mirdita, it is an honour for you to distinguish yourselves among all the rest and set an example of inspiration to the whole youth of the country.

«The year 1985 was a year in which Albania has been much talked about in the world. Our friends and well-wishers spoke about us and their words encouraged us to proceed on the glorious road of freedom and national independence, socialism, the road of the uncompromising struggle against imperialism and reaction. The enemies, who dreamed of and expected to see Albania change its road, spoke about us too. But Albania has not been influenced and will be never influenced by insinuations and propaganda noises. Albania has chosen its road long ago, it chose this road with its National Liberation War and the people's revolution. Its road has been the only road defined by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the road on which our people have built their new life and advance towards better and more secure days. There is no force on earth to

swerve us from this brilliant road of the Party and Enver Hoxha.

«The world today is experiencing one of the most turbulent periods after the Second World War. The successive economic, political, moral and ideological crises have created unstable explosive situations, tension and conflicts, new threats to and dangers for the security of the peoples and general peace.

«No country has escaped the consequences of the rivalry between the superpowers and between the other imperialist powers for hegemony and world domination, their aggressiveness, their strategy of interference, dictate and rule.

«What attracts attention most at present is the direct interference by armed force on the part of the superpowers in various other countries, and the building up of military pressure to subjugate them.

«The military presence of the superpowers outside their own territories now has assumed large proportions. Few are the countries in which there are no American or Soviet soldiers. Besides the openly recognized military bases which have extended, entire contingents of armymen, disguised as advisers, instructors, liaison men, etc., have penetrated into many countries. The more the arms traffic grows and the more sophisticated the weapons become, the greater becomes the number of the American and Soviet armed forces which accompany the weapons they sell to others.

«The American-Soviet confrontation has always had a direct influence on the international relations, in general, and between the various countries, in particular. This confrontation sometimes grows tense, sometimes is eased. But as Comrade Enver Hoxha defines, nothing good comes to the world both when the superpowers are in close alliance and when they quarrel. In each case, it is the peoples who pay the cost.

«Now, after the Reagan-Gorbachov summit, there is much talk about a détente in the Soviet-American relations. But the fact is that precisely after this meeting there is a recrudescence of the aggressiveness of the superpowers, an increase of their pressure on and threats to the peoples,

«A grave situation has been created around Libya. The United States of America, under absurd pretexts and placing themselves in the role of the international gendarme, is exerting various pressures on and speaking about a direct military aggression against this country. American imperialism tries to justify these barbarous actions allegedly with the fight to curb terrorism. Terrorism is not approved either by the peoples or by the true revolutionaries. But it cannot be fought by those who have raised terrorism into a system, an institution, who have transformed it into state policy, by those who violate the international law and norms, who apply the most barbarous and repressive methods, either directly or through their tools, against the Palestinian people and the people of Afghanistan, against the blacks of South Africa and the people of Nicaragua, or by those who threaten and use violence to suppress any attempt of the peoples to liberate themselves from the foreign yoke and to decide their own fates themselves.

«The situation created not only is threatening to Libya, but is also fraught with dangers for the other countries of the Mediterranean region. Therefore our people and their government have firmly condemned the aggressive actions of American imperialism against Libya and in the Mediterranean in general, just as they have exposed and condemned the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers in the other regions of the world.

«Around us, in the Balkans, too, the situation which is being created bears the seeds of quarrels and conflicts, the premises which facilitate the interference of the superpowers in this zone.

«Yugoslavia is in a general economic, political and moral crisis which is continuing and growing deeper. Deep in debts and unable to pay them, it is compelled to accept conditions and make concessions which permit the massive pour of foreign capital into the country, and, above all, it is compelled act to the dictate imposed by its creditors. In this situation and as a result of its own political system, in which everyone thinks only of himself, in Yugoslavia

there is a revival of various groups which not only fight for power and are rallying support in order to preserve their privileges, but also are predisposed to link up with and seek the support of the foreign powers in order to realize their hegemonic interests. These developments constitute a potential danger which may affect security and peace in all the Balkan Peninsula and even beyond it.

«As to the situation in Kosova, a further exacerbation is noticed now, which results from the intensified attack of Great-Serb chauvinism on the democratic and national rights of the Albanian population there. More and more Kosova boys and girls are being arrested day by day. Yugoslavia is the only country of Europe in which, according to information from the Yugoslav press, over 3000 people have been imprisoned and sentenced. The Serb politicians are now openly demanding the limitation, even the abolition, of regional autonomy. As never before, their press is offending and denigrating the distinguished personalities of our National Renaissance, the history and the cultural values of the Albanians.

«Matters have reached the point that petitions with ultranationalist content, full of provoking calls for the revival of the genocide of the time of the kings and Rankovic against the Albanians, have been organized and drafted. The worst thing about this is that these voices of the dark find response also in public meetings and in the press, in party and social forums.

«Any honest individual, including the realistic opinion in Yugoslavia, cannot fail to expose this Great-Serb chauvinist hysteria which forebodes new disasters for the Albanians and not only for them. Our people, who are rightly susceptible to any injustice or persecution aimed against our brothers of the same blood in Yugoslavia, raise their voice against this. We have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, just as we have not been and are not for its destabilization. Our interest in what is happening to the Albanians beyond the borders, our defending them against oppression and hatred of the various chauvinists, is a right which

no one can deny us, is an obligation which we have as communists and as Albanians.

«We have continuously said that the policy which is pursued and the stands which are maintained towards Kosova are not open to the perspective. The solution of the problems which have accumulated up there, stability and the future, as well as the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, including the Albanians who live there, demand that an end must be put to the anti-Albanian psychosis and chauvinist adventurism. It demands the respect of the rights which the Yugoslav Constitution recognizes to Kosova and all the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, and the settlement of their legitimate demands on the basis of understanding, equality and justice in the spirit of the Constitution.

«In the present international situation which has been created we must further sharpen our vigilance. Above all, we must ceaselessly consolidate what we have gained with struggle and colossal efforts, what underlies the foundations of all our victories, the golden key to all the successes we have achieved, the steel unity of the people, the unity of the people around the Party — as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it. We must raise the revolutionary spirit which has burst out everywhere and further boost it. We must ceaselessly strengthen the economy of the country, increase production and exploit all the possibilities we have to the maximum. The increase of production is the decisive factor for the strengthening of the economy and the further improvement of the people's well-being.

«Let the great celebrations of this year serve us as a powerful incentive for continuous actions and high results, for an uninterrupted revolutionary drive and spirit. Let the creative initiatives of the masses for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks burst out everywhere. Let us go to the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding stronger and with our objectives attained better than ever before.»



Cordial meeting.





THE MIRDITA PEOPLE GAVE COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AN ENTHUSIASTIC HEARTY WELCOME

From 10-11 February, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, paid a visit to the district of Mirdita. It was a day of rejoicing for the courageous, hard-working people of Mirdita, who had thronged the streets and the main square of the new town of Rrëshen, which has been built almost from nothing in the years of the people's state power.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met and greeted metallurgists, miners, working people, cooperativists, army men, and pioneers of Enver, who shouted: «Party-Enver, we are always ready,» amidst a great joy and enthusiasm.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia proceeded to the main town square, in which the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Mirdita, Gjela Biba, opened the big mass rally.

Amidst the indescribable enthusiasm of those present, the floor was given to Comrade Ramiz Alia. His speech was followed with great attention and was often punctuated by powerful applause and cheers for our glorious Party of Labour.

After the rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the copper refining plant at Rubik, where hundreds of metallurgists, miners, geologists, the students of the metallurgical secondary school and pioneers of Enver gave him a hearty welcome.

«The good news about the building of the new railway line is a source of great joy and enthusiasm for us, Comrade Ramiz Alia,» a group of students of the metallurgical school said to him.

«The Party is confident that you, as always, will carry out this new action honourably,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said to them.

«We give you our word, Comrade Ramiz,» they said as one.

There was a cordial conversation at the rolling workshop. The director of the plant, Ndue Gega, informed Comrade Ramiz Alia about the work and results achieved by this collective, the average age of which is 36 years and mean seniority at work 11 years.

Amidst the applause of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

«It is a special satisfaction for me,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia, «to be among you, among the workers of the copper works of Rubik, who have always distinguished yourselves for your innovative spirit, for the spirit of revolutionary initiative and of the fight for the new. Therefore, by coming to Mirdita, I could not fail to come to meet you, too.»

«Your collective is outstanding today not only for its conscious and disciplined work, but also for its high level of knowledge and education: It is an encouraging fact that, as the specialists and workers said, one third of the working people here have finished secondary school, and 80 per cent of the younger workers have this education level.»

Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, «The enemies and saboteurs have endeavoured to close the perspective to the copper mining and metallurgy at Rubik. They even claimed that this centre of

our industry should be closed down because it had no perspective. But the Party and Comrade Enver combated these enemies with determination. Those who say that Rubik has no perspective, said Comrade Enver in those years, have no perspective themselves. This opinion of Comrade Enver, which represented your advanced ideas, comrade workers, was fully confirmed. The copper works at Rubik has fully accomplished its targets since then, and the future is open and secure before it.»

«We have entered the first year of the 8th Five-year Plan, which is also the year of the 9th Congress of the Party and of its 45th anniversary,» continued Comrade Ramiz Alia. «The 13th plenum of the Central Committee of the Party issued the call that, as is in our tradition, we must go to these great events with high results.»

«I express my conviction that you, the metallurgists, geologists and miners of Rubik will remain in the forefront of the work and efforts for higher results. Your example will inspire the other working collectives of Mirdita and of all the country.

«May you have every success!

«Long live the Party!»

«Long live Comrade Ramiz Alia,» comes the greeting from a metallurgist in the house, which is followed by powerful applause and cheers.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, also, participated in the proceedings of the plenum of the Party Committee of the district of Mirdita. There,

amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, he made an important speech.

In his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the people of Mirdita on the numerous achievements they have made in the copper extraction and smelting industry and stressed the importance and the perspective of the mining industry in the 8th Five-year Plan. The development of the chromium and copper industry alone will take up nearly 20 per cent more funds than those made in the 7th Five-year Plan. In the zone of Northern Albania, during the new five-year plan, it is envisaged to extract about 14 million tons of minerals, that is, nearly 3 million tons a year. **At the same time, he pointed out, the interests of the country and the greater managerial, technical, technological and scientific possibilities which have been created require that the whole complex of copper industry should increase its economic effectiveness and raise the degree of its profitability.**

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued that along with industry it is necessary that agriculture and livestock farming should develop in the most complete manner, through a close and natural combination of these two vital activities in the context of the entire industrial and social-cultural development which is realized from one five-year plan to the other.

In conclusion the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania set a series of important tasks especially for the further improvement of the method and style of work in the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, by all cadres and communists, for the further strengthening of the Party work at all levels. *He expressed the confidence of the Central Committee of the Party that the communists, workers, cooperativists and intelligentsia of the district of Mirdita, in unity of revolutionary thinking and action, with a high sense of duty and a spirit of selflessness, will implement all the tasks of the plan with success, will carry the economy and culture forward and, thus, together with the whole people, go to the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding with many successes.*

Comrade Ramiz Alia had a pleasant dinner among the vanguard cooperativists and metallurgists, cadres and specialists of the district of Mirdita. He greeted those present and wished them successes in their work and happiness in their families.

A MONUMENTAL WORK OF THOUGHT AND ACTION OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

*Socialist industrialization was not only
a mere aspiration of the people, but also a historical necessity
for the defence of the gains
of the revolution and the building of the new life*

AS THE ARCHITECT OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IS ALSO THE MAN WHO WORKED OUT AND DEFINED THE POLICY OF THE PARTY FOR THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY, IN GENERAL, AND THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEAVY EXTRACTING AND PROCESSING INDUSTRY, IN PARTICULAR. IN OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRY THERE IS NO PROJECT WHICH DOES NOT EXPRESS IN ALL ITS STRENGTH THE IRON LOGIC, THE MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT AND SPIRIT OF INITIATIVE OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. «FROM THE REBUILDING OF THE FIRST BRIDGES DESTROYED DURING THE WAR TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE KOMAN HYDRO-POWER STATION, FROM THE FIRST REPAIRING OF HOMES BURNT BY THE OCCUPIERS TO THE METALLURGICAL COMBINE, FROM THE FIRST COMBINATION YOKES OF OXEN TO THE DRAINED PLAINS OF MYZEQE AND THE TERRACES OF THE COAST,» SAID COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, «IN ALL THESE THINGS HIS IDEAS, HIS ENCOURAGEMENT AND INSPIRATION HAVE BEEN PRESENT.»

In the conditions of our country which had inherited a great economic and technical backwardness from the past, which lacked material and financial means and cadres and specialists, Comrade Enver Hoxha saw socialist industrialization as a general and absolutely necessary material factor for the building of the material-technical base of socialism, for the rapid and all-round advance of the whole economy, for the improvement of the material well-being and the uplift of the cultural level of the people, for the strengthening of the

HAJREDIN ÇELIKU — member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, Minister of Industry and Mining

independence of the country. The socialist industrialization of the country, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «has been and remains a decisive factor for the general progress of the country on the road of socialism» and that the setting up and development of a multi-branched industry, both heavy and light, based on our own efforts, on our resources and assets, «is a deed of historic importance both for the present and future generations.»

«In working out and implementing the program for the socialist industrialization of the country, the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, relied on the creative application, in our concrete conditions, of Lenin' and

Stalin's teachings. Every step taken had to be pondered and measured well, otherwise,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «you might break your neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which defined the strategic direction, as well as the tactical stands, for the implementation of these decisions.»

In this totally new field, too, our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, displayed its ability, maturity, adherence to principles, the creative, organizational and leading strength of its revolutionary thought and action. Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha led the Party and mobilized the people so that, relying on their own forces, they could achieve such a degree of industrialization as to enable the economy to cope with the tasks of the socialist construction, to guarantee and strengthen the economic and political independence of the country, to face successfully and in all circumstances up to the hostile bourgeois-revisionist pressure. Any country, big or small, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, must have its national industry developed on the basis of the processing of the local resources and the needs of the market. Likewise, he instructed that the setting up and development of industry must be done

HA

by **HAJREDIN ÇELIKU**

in a complete manner, developing both the heavy extracting and processing industry and the light and food-processing industry, that the development of industry must never be done at the cost or to the detriment of the other branches of the economy, but on the contrary, must support the development of the whole economy and, in the first place, agriculture, so as to create a multi-branched and independent economy capable of contributing to the strengthening of the economic and political independence of the country.

Socialist industrialization was not only a mere aspiration of the people, but also a historical necessity for the defence of the gains of the revolution and the building of the new life. Although Liberation found our country in great poverty, deprived of material and financial means, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha did not gear the industrialization of the country to the development of the light industry which, as known, temporarily creates more rapid accumulation, but which would have kept our country dependent on others, on the contrary, they set out on the road of the priority development of the heavy industry. This was the only correct road which guaranteed the economic and political independence of the country, enabled also the development of the light and food-processing industry, of agriculture and the other branches of the economy. Hence, the heavy industry in our country developed on the basis of the exploitation of the local primary materials. Today, in the conditions of the grave economic and energetic crisis which has the

whole capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, we clearly see the wisdom of this decision.

In accordance with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the mining industry has been and remains the main base for the development of all the other branches of our new industry. This is determined by the fact that our country is rich in all sorts of minerals of which there are considerable reserves, which supply the economy with the necessary primary materials and are the main source of exports. On this basis the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defined the order and degree of development of the different branches of industry. The structure of the extracting and processing branches of the heavy industry has improved from one five-year plan to the other and new branches have been set up, which have supported the further strengthening and development of our economy and opened it ever new prospects. In the coming five-year plan, too, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in his address to the rally of the working people of the city of Korça, «the energy base of the country will be further extended, the range of raw materials will be extended through the opening of new mines and the enrichment of larger quantities of ore,» new prospects of development will be opened to metallurgy and siderurgy, the mechanical engineering, chemical, light and other industries.

An important place in the theoretical thought and revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the socialist industrialization of the coun-

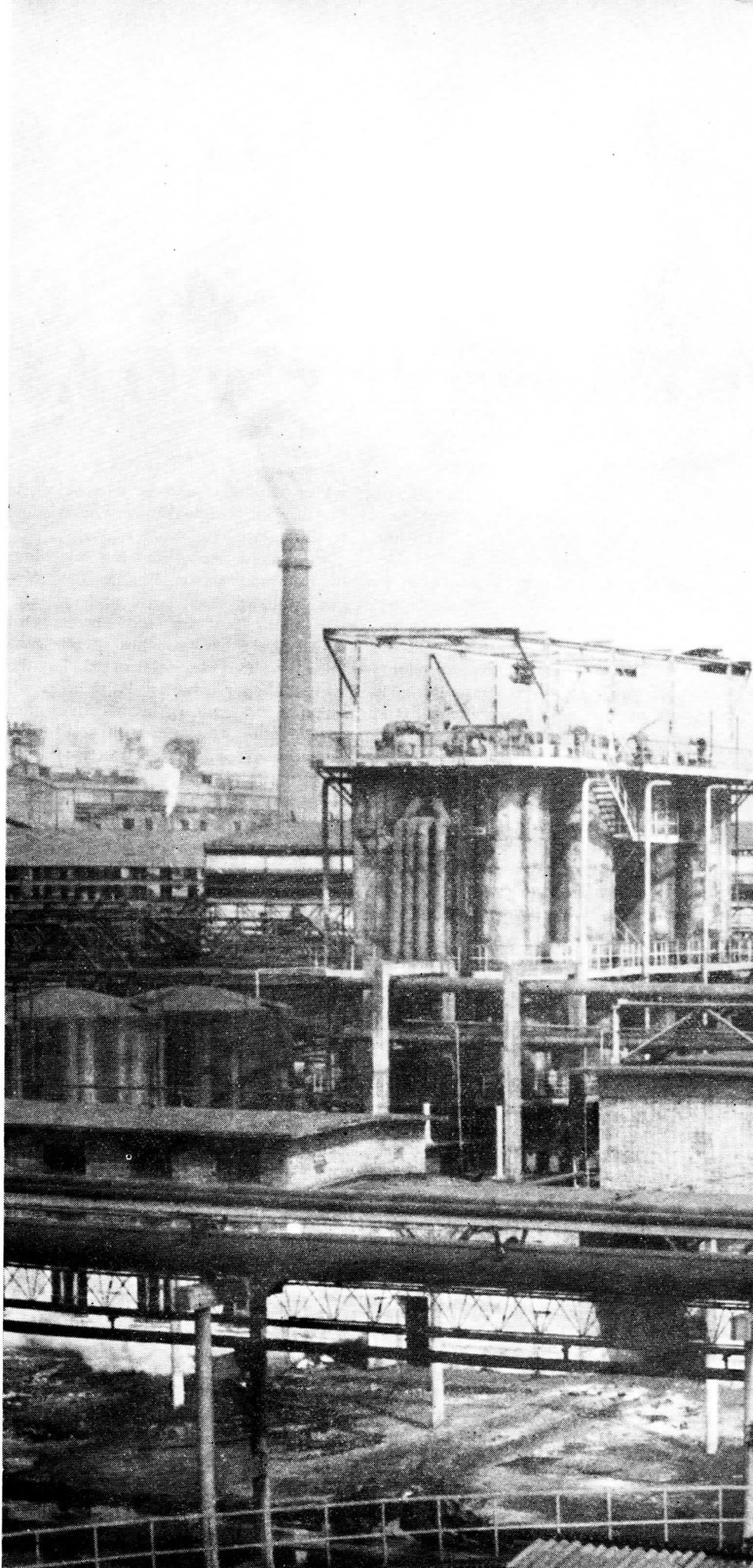
try is occupied by the program worked out and implemented under his leadership for the gradual transformation of Albania, first, into an agrarian-industrial country, then into an industrial-agrarian country and, finally, into an industrial country with an advanced and modern agriculture. Today we see with legitimate pride the colossal transforming strength of these ideas. In 1983 the proportion of industrial production, as against the total social production, was 70 per cent, and the national income realized by industry was 56 per cent. In 1984, while the total industrial production grew 164 times as compared with 1938, the production of the means of production grew 210 times. On this basis, the proportion of the production of the means of production rose to 64.2 per cent, as against 49 per cent it was in 1960.

Today our national industry, proceeding on the road mapped out by Comrade Enver Hoxha, ensures the extraction and processing of more than 40 kinds of primary materials, fuels and useful minerals and, together with agriculture, meets 90 per cent of the needs of the economy for primary materials. For many years now our country has an active energy balance and not only fully meets its needs for fuels and electric power, but also exports oil products, electric power and coal, at a time when the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world is labouring under a grave energetic crisis. On the basis of the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha and in accordance with the needs of the economy, the local extraction and processing of the oil has increased, the extraction of na-

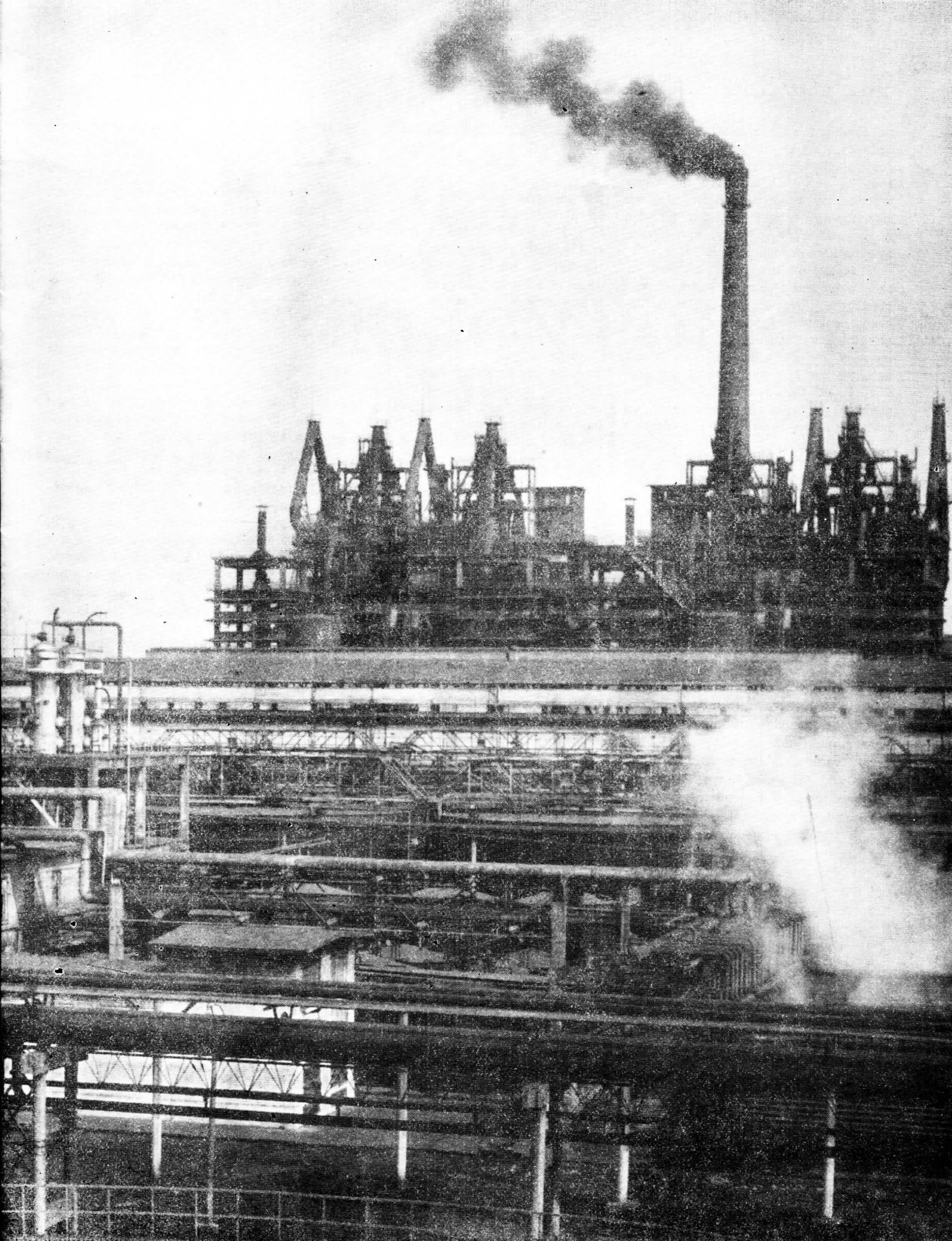
tural gas and coal has developed, the broad utilization of water resources for the production of electric power has grown further, thereby becoming a decisive factor for the development of industry, in general. Our geological work has been placed on scientific bases, working by complex geological-geophysical-geochemical methods which increase the effectiveness of geological prospecting work. In the mines and mineral enrichment factories, the technique and technology of extraction and enrichment have been improved, the quality of minerals has been raised, losses have been reduced and utilization of poor minerals has been increased.

The metallurgical and siderurgical industries, set up and strengthened in the years of the people's state power, have gradually grown from pyrometallurgy to electrometallurgy and hydrometallurgy, and today we have ensured the local processing of copper, chromium and iron-nickel ores. The production of this branch of industry fully covers all the needs of the country for pig iron, coke for ferrous metallurgy, copper and copper products, meets most of the needs of the economy and defence for rolled steel, steel wire, steel of special construction, steel sheets of various marks and profiles for the mechanical engineering industry, for construction and fire-resistant materials, etc. The achievement up to now and the great possibilities created indicate that our metallurgical industry has become a powerful support for the whole economy and the defence of the country. Today what Comrade Enver Hoxha predicted almost 25 years ago about the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex, calling metallurgy the backbone of the heavy industry of our country, has become a reality.

Thanks to the constant care of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the engineering industry not only copes with the maintenance of the parks of machinery and equipment of our country, but has also become the main support for the



Industrial landscape



development of the machine-building industry. Today it produces 95 per cent of the spare parts and has become a powerful base for the construction of production lines, factory sections and whole factories for the heavy and light industry, agriculture, construction, transport, etc.

A result of the great concern of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the development of the multi-branched heavy processing industry is also the level reached in the development of the chemical industry which accounts for 14.8 per cent of the production of the heavy industry. The chemical industry has been set up mainly on the basis of the processing of local primary materials and has developed in those directions which ensure the meeting of the more urgent needs of the economy for chemical products, especially for the intensification of agricultural production, for the development of the industry of oil processing, the enrichment of minerals, for the expansion of the textile, glass and paper industry, as well as for the growth of other branches of industry producing broad consumer goods.

The priority given to the development of the heavy industry in our country has led to the development of all the branches of industry in an harmonious and proportionate manner. According to the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha no illusions about or tendencies to a «superindustrialization», and no copying of industrial models and structures from the capitalist-revisionist world have been allowed in our country. Everything has been studied, weighed up and measured according to the new real needs and possibilities of the country, the tasks the construction of socialism sets for the present and the future.

At the same time, Comrade Enver Hoxha has always struggled for our country to have an independent industry so as not to become an appendage to and dependence on the world capitalist market. That is why in the implementation of the program of the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country the development of industry, in general, and each of its branches, in particular, is equally distributed over the whole territory of the country, ensuring the harmonious development of all the regions of the country so as to meet, in the first place, the internal needs of the economy and the people on the basis of the rational, integral and closed-cycle utilization and processing of the natural resources, taking account of the size of territory, the population, the needs of the economy and our natural assets.

The progress for the socialist industrialization of the country has been carried out in struggle with «theories», views, interferences and pressures of the internal and external enemies. All of them tried to impose, by most diverse forms and methods, on the Party and people anti-socialist and anti-Albanian practices and directions for the industrialization of the country. Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works *The Titoites* (Historical notes), *The Khrushchevites* (Memoirs), *Reflections on China* and many of his speeches and reports to the congresses of the Party, plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, etc., are a vivid reflection of the titanic struggle the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have waged also over this cardinal problem of the socialist construction of the country. The internal and external enemies, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the Party, «strove with might and main to sabotage the development of

industry, concealing geological data with the aim of proving that our country allegedly lacked the raw materials, that it was not worthwhile making investments in the mining industry, that it would be better to spend these funds on sunflowers and oranges.» It is the merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha who, at the head of the Party, exposed and foiled those shameful aims and attempts of the enemies and turned them down as out-and-out anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian, following unwaveringly the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the socialist industrialization of the country.

Today we have a developed economy, a powerful multi-branched industry and an advanced agriculture which rely on the local assets and resources and guarantee the independence of the country and its ceaseless development on the road of socialism. This is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it, «the monumental deed of the Party and our people achieved with work, with sacrifices and unexampled heroism», and on which the socialist present and future of our country are based. This is closely and indissolubly linked with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his theoretical thought and practical revolutionary activity, with his leadership as a leader of the Party and an outstanding statesman.

In the future, too, we will march with determination on this road, deepening and carrying the successes achieved so far further ahead. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out: «Nothing can turn the Party and our people from these teachings, no force can divert them from the principled policy, the policy of Enver Hoxha,» because they are the cornerstone of the political line of our Party in our forward march for the complete construction of the socialist and communist society.

DESIGNER AND IMPLEMENTOR OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

by **SOFOKLI LAZRI**

«The strength of the policy of our People's Republic consists in the fact that it defends its just cause, a sacred cause dear to all peoples. You must know now to seek and find this cause, to make it your own and defend it with all your might. But to defend it with all your might means, first of all, to be prepared to accept any sacrifice. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this course thanks to its glorious leadership, the Party of Labour, and no storm has ever made it, or will ever make it waver from its course»

THE FIGURE OF ENVER HOXHA IS AN ALL-SIDED ONE, HIS THEORETICAL THINKING IS VERY RICH AND HIS SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVITY EXTREMELY VAST. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THE SIMPLE SCHOLAR TO ANALYSE AT THE SAME TIME ALL THE FIELDS OF HIS INTEREST, OR TO SEPARATE THE SPECIFIC FROM THE GENERAL. THIS OCCURS, PERHAPS, BECAUSE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA WAS NEVER A CREATOR IN THE ABSTRACT, HE DID NOT WORK OR WRITE MERELY TO TRANSMIT OTHER PEOPLE'S THOUGHTS TO OTHER PEOPLE. HE WAS A FIGHTER WHO THOUGHT AND ACTED FOR A CONCRETE BATTLE, HE WAS A LEADER WHO ADDRESSED THE MASSES TO AROUSE THEM IN REVOLUTION AND WORK, HE WAS A THINKER WHO FOUGHT WITH THE ENEMIES OVER THE NEW PROBLEMS WHICH AROSE EACH DAY, THE ACUTE PROBLEMS OF THE TIME. THE OTHER DIFFICULTY IS THAT SOCIAL PHENOMENA ARE NOT EASY TO UNDERSTAND OR CALCULATE. THEY HAVE THEIR SOURCE IN OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CAUSES, THEY ARE INFLUENCED BY INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS, PAST AND PRESENT, TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT. HENCE, THEIR CHARACTERIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION CANNOT BE DONE THROUGH STEREOTYPES, CANNOT BE GAUGED BY KNOWN MEASUREMENTS, CANNOT BE CONSTRUCTED WITH BORROWED PREFABRICATES.

Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI — member of
the CC of PLA

I think that the study of such a
rich thinking and broad activity of

Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of the foreign policy of the Party of Labour of Albania and the international relations of our state also belongs to this category of difficulties.

The foreign policy has always been at the centre of the attention of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Suffice it to look at his diaries on the international situation to understand that it occupied an extensive part of his life and activity. However, his diaries are only a minor part of his daily activity on the problems of foreign policy. They do not include his consultations with the other leading comrades on these problems, his instructions for the foreign ministry, his drafts for many of its documents, his directives and orientations for the press

about articles on international themes, his studies on different materials and his many, many other activities. They do not reflect those activities which have to do with the study of the problems of the contemporary revolutionary processes in the world, with the communist and liberation movement, with the vast activity of the Party in its relations with the other communist parties.

This great work was not and could not be the result of a simple passion for international chronicles. This titanic work is the result of the deep understanding of the decisive importance which the knowledge of international problems, especially those which have had to do with their fate, has had for the Albanian people and nation. It is an expression of the fierce struggle which our people and Party have had to wage to face up to the attacks, intrigues, interferences and plots of the many foreign enemies to overthrow our socialist system, to rob us of our freedom and independence, which we have won through the National Liberation War and the people's revolution.

When Enver Hoxha entered the Albanian patriotic and communist movement, our people were still fighting for the recognition of their national identity which the others denied them, for the creation of their own independent state which the foreigners did not want to accept, for their historical and cultural identity which the world at large ignored. From his youth he saw with indignation the Great Powers treating Albania as a token for barter and giving its territories to the neighbouring monarchies for the services they rendered them, he came to know the Zogite regime which put the country up for auction for the foreigners.

When fascist Italy invaded Albania and our nation was threatened with extinction, the Albanian patriots and revolutionaries, all honest and cons-

cious people of the country were faced with the dramatic question: what would happen to Albania?

The peoples who fought against fascism were convinced in the final victory which would lead to the destruction of the fascist occupiers and their liberation. But the problems were not the same, for example, for France and Albania. For example, nobody thought that after the war France would not return to its own borders. But the situation with Albania was very complex. The threat of a new partitioning of Albania by its neighbours was not only of a potential nature. The history of the First World War could easily be repeated. The Anglo-Americans had openly promised the Greek and Yugoslav governments in exile that they would try to satisfy their old territorial claims. Besides these «allies» demanded that the representatives of the old classes, those who had changed so many flags, were by all means to be placed at the head of the future post-war Albanian state, if it was to be created. They knew that, as they had sold out the country to the Yugoslavs, the Italians and others in the past, the representatives of these classes would not hesitate now to hand it over to the British, Americans or whomever else.

This was the situation, these were the conditions in which the National Liberation War had to be waged on two fronts: one, military, to oust the fascist occupiers and to overthrow the traitors, and the other, diplomatic, to deal with the allies so as to secure genuine independence after the War.

Today this may seem simple enough, but only a great man of genius such as Enver Hoxha could realize this formula in the complex situation of the time, to make the people conscious of their rights, to wage the struggle on all these fronts.

The foreign policy which he formulated at that time was not a policy

based on passing circumstances, nor was it a policy made up according to the situation. It was the result of the Marxist summing-up of the historical experience of the Albanian liberation movements and the world revolutionary processes, it was the result of the direct experience of the joyful and painful events of our people, it was a result of profound thinking about the fate of the Homeland, of a great feeling of responsibility towards the country.

Ardent patriotism and proletarian internationalism were merged into one in Enver Hoxha. However, these two pillars of his political and ideological formation were not based on that kind of revolutionary spontaneity which generally characterizes progressive youth during the periods of social upheavals. They were based on a conscious and creative study and conception of the history of the nation and the Albanian patriotic movement, on one hand, and the theoretical assessment of the teachings of the October Revolution, as well as the critical analysis of the European communist movement, on the other.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's original thinking manifested itself in all its strength in those entirely new principles about the political and economic independence of the country, the sovereignty of the people and the nation, the relations with allies and enemy foreign states, which were reflected in the program of the National Liberation War and which have remained at the basis of the foreign policy of our People's Socialist Republic.

Even in the most progressive bourgeois theory and practice the political independence of medium and small states is never conceived as complete. It is accepted that to a certain extent these states are forced to submit to the decisions and agreements of the Great Powers, that to exist they must without fail be under the protection of a foreign power.

In the Marxist theory, too, the problem of the political independence of these states and their relations with the Great Powers is treated in general terms and very little in detail.

Right from its first days, the Communist Party of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, presented the problem that, unlike what could have happened in the past, the liberation of the country should lead to its complete independence, without any political obligation to or any kind of conditions imposed by foreign powers.

Hence, the conflict with the Anglo-American allies in wartime, apart from its practical aspects, also had its ideological aspect which was, perhaps, even more acute. Proceeding from their political concepts and interests, in general, the big allies were interested in the resistance movements only to the extent they served them in the war against Germany. They did not even imagine that smaller states could make themselves heard over their problems and, especially, the international arrangements after the war.

This great conflict between the principle of complete political independence, upheld by the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the right the Great Powers arrogated to themselves to interfere in the affairs of others, or their insistence on others blindly following their foreign policies, or the imposition of their course in the internal policies of other countries, has been one of the main causes for the so-called break with the Anglo-American allies, with Titoite Yugoslavia, Khrushchevite Soviet Union, China of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai.

When the Anti-fascist Coalition was created it was hoped that foreign relations would improve in the future. These hopes arose from the fact that the democratic countries, as Britain, France and the United States of America were called at that time, were supposed to have drawn some

lessons from the not-minor part of responsibility they had in the outbreak of the Second World War, which their peoples were paying with their own blood and vast destructions. The failure of the League of Nations, which had been created as an instrument to prevent war and a means to defend the member countries from foreign aggression, was also supposed to bring about the establishment of more correct relations between nations. These hopes for the future had some sort of justification because the Soviet Union at that time was very active in the international arena as a supporter of the revolution and defender of the freedom and independence of the peoples. The fact that it had denounced the secret treaties of the Great Powers, that it opposed secret diplomacy, was a great promise that the great tragedy of Versailles would no longer be repeated to the detriment of the peoples.

Those were the considerations from which the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha proceeded in joining the Anti-fascist Coalition, adhering to the Charter of the United Nations, endorsing the decisions of the three Great Powers in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, supporting the initiative for the creation of the United Nations Organization, etc.

However, our Party, the leadership of the National Liberation War, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the Albanian state remained vigilant at all times and fought consistently and resolutely along two lines; just as they sincerely and resolutely tried to establish correct relations of equality and mutual respect with the friendly and allied countries, with the same adherence to principle, resolution, courage and conviction they fought against them when they abandoned and violated these principles.

Many a one in foreign countries continue to say to this day that breaking with allies» is a characteristic of the policy of the Albanians,

and especially of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Their ideological limitations, their bourgeois-revisionist concepts and their hostility to socialism play a great role in this absurd claim of theirs. These people are ready to accept any absurdity, to accept any contradiction, to ignore any historical truth, only to negate that a small state can live independently from their blocs, away from the tutelage of the imperialist Great Powers, oppose their hegemonic policy and follow its own independent policy.

Today, seeing the situation of the smaller partners of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and the other military and political blocs, where «limited sovereignty» has now become a sanctioned norm, we even more clearly understand the decisive importance of the principle of defence of complete national sovereignty which, on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has been sanctioned in the Constitution and the other fundamental laws of the Albanian state.

Naturally, it is no easy to live up to this principle, even more so when you are forced to construct socialism in one country alone and in a world where the laws of the imperialist and revisionist jungle predominate in international relations. Its implementation demands not only political and ideological stability but also outstanding courage and resolution.

The bases of the foreign policy of our Party and state were laid since the National Liberation War. They were further developed and perfected in the new situations created around our country and the world after Liberation.

Our Party and people have waged a fierce struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and other enemies to defend the freedom they have won and the socialist system they have built. In this heroic struggle and great polemic which represents one of the most brilliant pages in the history of New Albania and one of the fields

where Comrade Enver Hoxha's brilliant mind has shone more than anywhere else; the principles of the foreign policy of the socialist state on the different problems of our times were clarified and concretized even better. Comrade Enver Hoxha's great contribution can be seen in the formulation of the main ideas of this struggle, in the elaboration of theoretical arguments, and in the assumption of concrete political stands, and in its entire tactics and strategy.

When in the sphere of the political and ideological struggle difficult and complex problems emerged such as peaceful coexistence with countries with a different social system, the stand towards imperialism and the revolutionary and liberation forces, the relations between the communist parties and the socialist countries, etc., Comrade Enver Hoxha distinguished himself as a creative Marxist-Leninist thinker, as a resolute communist militant and a statesman of rare wisdom. Thus, for example, the problem of the definition of the form and content of relations among socialist countries was an entirely new problem posed for solution in post-war international relations. No such relations had existed before, therefore, they had to be built from the start. But on what basis? There were some general principles, elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but they did not deal with the concrete fields of their realization. Before the war the Soviet Union had to do only with federated nations within its state system, but not with independent states outside this system. There were the relations between the communist parties in the framework of the Communist International, but these were of a different nature. Moreover, the Comintern itself had been dissolved and one of the reasons for its dissolution had been that it could no longer cope with the new conditions in the form it had been set up.

Until 1948, state, political, economic, cultural and other relations between

Albania and the Soviet Union were quite limited. These relations were not of such an extent as to require an adjustment and general regulation of the norms on which they were based. Until then the socialist forces did not yet have the power completely in their hands in the countries of people's democracy. The experience of our relations with Yugoslavia was entirely negative. It came into conflict with Albania precisely because it wanted to establish with it the old bourgeois type relations, to carry out with Albania a chauvinist policy of great-power rule and dictate aimed at its eventual annexation.

From 1948 to 1953, until Stalin's death, many fruitful efforts were made for the development of new relations among the countries that then formed the socialist camp. This period, however, was insufficient to give their content a completely socialist character and to find the most suitable forms in all the wide range of party and state relations among the socialist countries.

When the Khrushchevites came to power all these problems awaited solution. But instead of working to solve them, they backed out in counter-revolutionary direction. Indeed, the Khrushchevite betrayal manifested itself, in the first place, in the relations with the socialist countries. Preceding from their great-state chauvinism and the old great-power concepts, they began to interfere brutally in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, to encroach on their national sovereignty and establish total control over the internal and foreign affairs of these countries. Through the organisms set for the common economic development, for collaboration in the field of defence and availing themselves of the agreements concluded up till then, they tried to transform the socialist countries into appendages of the Soviet economy, into instruments of their foreign policy and simple pawns in their diplomatic games.

It is the merit of the Party of Labour of Albania and, in the first place, Comrade Enver Hoxha of being the first to denounce this situation and publicly expose the counter-revolution which had occurred in the Soviet Union. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first to see that the policy conducted by the Soviet leadership after Stalin's death was a great-state chauvinist policy which was assuming openly imperialist features and characteristics. His historic speech at the Meeting of the Communist Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960 is not only an outstanding act of revolutionary courage but is also an important expression of the creative application of Marxism in the broad fields of the revolutionary strategy of the international communist movement and the construction of socialism in those countries where the revolution had triumphed.

As he had done earlier with Yugoslavia and would do later with China, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist principles on the relations among the communist parties and the socialist countries. His formulations of the character of these relations are a fundamental contribution to the enrichment of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. From the beginning he stressed that there cannot and should not be a «mother party» and «daughter party», a «big party» and «small party», a «leading party» and a «party that carries out orders». He pointed out that the parties, adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the situation in which they operate and the experience they have, without any external intervention, formulate the political line for which they have complete responsibility before their people, the world proletariat and the peoples of the world. In their relations with the vanguard detachments of the working class of other countries they are entirely equal and independent. This, naturally, not only

does not exclude, but on the contrary, presupposes and makes indispensable fraternal collaboration, the co-ordination of action, the elaboration of a common strategy and stands on important problems which have to do with the developments in the world today.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was correct when drawing attention to the fact that it is natural that, because of the different conditions in which they operate, different levels of ideo-political maturity, different experience and traditions, etc., misunderstandings and disagreements may arise between communist parties on this or that question. The only correct way to overcome these difficulties, he stressed, is that of constructive criticism in a friendly and communist spirit, the achievement of unity on the basis of consultations far from any dictate or imposition.

Our Party and Albania have adhered to these principles, the correctness of which has been proved by time, in their relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states. Loyalty to these principles, their correct implementation, non-interference in the affairs of others, have resulted in the Party enjoying the respect and admiration of all the genuine Marxist-Leninists, their communist love and internationalist support.

One of the fields in which Enver Hoxha made a major contribution, both from the theoretical and the practical point of view, is his analysis of imperialism and the definition of the stand which should be maintained towards it.

He is the first Marxist who analysed imperialism in a new, Leninist way, in its economic, political, ideological, cultural and other aspects, in the period of development after the Second World War, who clearly defined the characteristics of its strategy, who observed and defined the connection of the latter with the emergence and spread of modern revisionism.

His book *Imperialism and the Revolution* is a capital work in the Marxist-Leninist literature of our time, a work which contains not only an incomparable analysis of the present processes of world development, but also counterposes the strategy of the revolution to the imperialist strategy of world domination for its overthrow and the construction of a new world without oppressors and exploiters.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's fundamental idea on this question is that just as the freedom and independence of the Homeland cannot be won or defended without fighting imperialism, neither can the revolution be carried out in separation from this struggle. He has denounced the modern revisionists like no one else, condemning their claims that socialism can exist without anti-imperialism, that the oppressed peoples can be liberated from internal and foreign domination in peace and friendship with the imperialists and reactionaries. The teachings and views of Comrade Enver Hoxha on imperialism have found complete implementation in the irreconcilable stand and the resolute opposition of our country to the United States of America, the revisionist Soviet Union and the other imperialist powers.

Our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has always clearly defined the demarcation line from the beginning. It has never had illusions and has made no concessions. Precisely because our country has maintained this stand and has waged a resolute struggle against them, has it been able to defend its freedom and independence, secure the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism.

The struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the other imperialists and the entire world reaction represents the only principled internationalist policy which serves the general cause of the revolution and socialism; the cause of the liberation and progress of the peoples. This strug-

gle is not easy. It demands not only resolution and courage, but also sacrifice and selflessness. Only through ardent patriotism, lofty spirit of solidarity with the other peoples and an outstanding revolutionary spirit can the joint attacks of the imperialist powers and international reaction be beaten in the world today.

«...The strength of the policy of our People's Republic,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «consists in the fact that it defends its just cause, a sacred cause dear to all peoples. You must know how to seek and find this cause, to make it your own and defend it with all your might. But to defend it with all your might means, first of all, to be prepared to accept any sacrifice. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this course thanks to its glorious leadership, the Party of Labour, and no storm has ever made it, or will ever make it, waver from its course.»*

Comrade Enver Hoxha has continually taught and educated our people to be vigilant and to be aware that both in the past and today the threat of the policy of imperialism and social-imperialism to our freedom and independence, as well as to the peace and security of the peoples, is real and tangible, therefore, the struggle against the two superpowers and their allies is an imperative task which must be carried out every day, every hour, in every field and by everyone. He stressed that it is an indispensable condition for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland and for the construction of socialism, an internationalist condition and duty in supporting the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

One of Comrade Enver Hoxha's greatest ideas, of which Albania is the unique example of its implementation, is that of self-reliance both for the internal development and for the relations with abroad.

The history of our people's revolution and the construction of socialism

has proved that the policy of self-reliance, which stems from the great Marxist-Leninist principle according to which the internal factor is decisive, whereas the external factor is secondary, has been the only correct policy which could save Albania once and for all from foreign dependence, which could protect it from the negative influences of the changing international circumstances, which could completely secure national freedom and sovereignty, and independent political, economic and cultural development. This was not easy. Old concepts, mentalities and opinions had to be combated, and in the conditions of a very small and poor country, like Albania was in the past, they had a considerable influence.

In old Albania the opinion prevailed, not only among the ordinary people but also among the progressive democrats, that the country could not progress without aid, credits and even without foreign capital. They were for the development of agriculture, the construction of railroads, the opening of mines, etc., but were not able to conceive how these could be achieved relying entirely on internal resources, on the strength of the nation. Their concepts often led to a kind of fatalism and immobility or even to mistakes of a strategical and tactical nature over which the progressive political movements of the past were bound to fail.

The freeing of the conscience of the working masses from old concepts, which in one way or another linked the development and defence of the country with the external factor, is one of the great victories of our Party.

Socialist Albania has three times been in such situations that the enemies thought that by denying it economic aid and breaking off cooperation with it they would force it to capitulate and submit to them. And three times it has shown the world that there is no force that can shake, or means that can destabilize, an

economy which is based on its own internal resources and forces. This happened in 1948 when in one day the Yugoslav revisionists ceased to honour all obligations they had towards our country and stopped all trade exchanges, thinking that the threat of starvation would make us surrender to them. In 1960 Khrushchev, too, brutally cancelled not only the credits which had been officially stipulated and were in conformity with all the rules of international law, but also cut off ordinary trade exchanges and withdrew all the Soviet specialists working in Albania. He thought that our country would not be able to complete the industrial projects which were under construction or exploit the existing ones.

The Chinese revisionists repeated this arbitrary action. They, too, cut off the credits and withdrew the specialists, hoping that this would make Albania go bankrupt. The heroism of our workers, specialists and leaders was immense. But even greater was the heroism of our Party, the historical foresight of Comrade Enver Hoxha who had fought for the creation of the industrial and technical base and the training of those cadres so as to be able to cope with any blockade in order to develop an economy independent from any changing economic or political circumstances in the world.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, economic independence is of vital importance for the development of every country. It is the basis of national sovereignty, freedom and complete independence. Some may say that for a small and poor country economic independence is very difficult to rapidly achieve. Of course, for this country there are many difficulties, but they are not insurmountable. The important thing is that a country, that achieves political independence, should make it its aim to achieve economic independence, too, having confidence in the forces of the people, and working with all its strength for the develop-

ment of the economy, relying on its own forces. Loans, credits, foreign investments are not the only forms of international economic cooperation as the monopoly bourgeoisie and the revisionists present it.

When the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people denounce and fight against the economic and military integrations of imperialism, when they reject the enslaving system of capitalist credits and loans, they do not demand the isolation of the country and autarky. They reject the old bourgeois mentality, according to which no state can advance on its own feet, but not the development of normal trade based on mutual interest and useful cultural relations, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «We did not begin to trade with other countries..., but we have done so since the time we founded our new state. This trade has been based on the principle of mutual benefit, I supply you, you supply me, without credits or debts conditioned with political concessions... We have been and are for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, without any political obligation, without at any moment or in any circumstances putting up for auction the lofty national interests of the country, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.»**

Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas and views on foreign policy, his activity in the field of international relations from start to finish have enjoyed the unanimous approval and support of our people. During his entire life Enver Hoxha said what his people wanted and in their language. He fulfilled the unanimous mandate he got from the people with lofty conscience and honour like nobody else.

At the memorial rally Comrade Ramiz Alia said, «The whole conscious life of Comrade Enver Hoxha has been struggle. Struggle for the freedom of the Homeland, struggle for the

construction of socialism, struggle for the emancipation of the people, struggle against external and internal enemies who sought to return us to the former slavery. Just as he stood in the forefront of the battles and clashes of the National Liberation War, with the same rare political courage and profound ideological maturity he led the Party and the people in the clashes with the many plots, pressures and interference of enemies during these 40 years of our socialist life.»***

«This courage and this dauntless stand of Enver Hoxha», he pointed out, «lie in the foundations of the Albanian fortress, therefore, it has always been strong and impregnable

against any wave or tempest from whatever direction it might come.»****.

Today the Party of Labour and socialist Albania enjoy high authority, great sympathy and respect amongst the revolutionaries and the progressive peoples of the world. This does not occur either for sentimental reasons or for any specific preference.

Albania has not been donated its international position, its authority and respect in the world, its complete freedom of action in the relations with other states, its good name among the civilized and progressive nations.

The Albanian people have won all this through their National Liberation War and the successful construction

of socialism, the Party of communists has won all this through its correct Marxist-Leninist line, its great son, Enver Hoxha, has won all this through his thought and action of genius.

* Enver Hoxha, «Our Policy Is an Open Policy of Proletarian Principles», *Selected Works*, vol. 4, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 871-872, Eng. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, *Two Friendly Peoples*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, pp. 436, Eng. ed.

*** Ramiz Alia, *Enver Hoxha and His Work Live and Will Live For Ever*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 9, Eng. ed.

**** Ibidem, pp. 10-11.

SOCIALIST LAW AND LEGALITY IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by RRAPI MINO, LIRI GJOLIKU

*Being the juridical expression
of the will of the working class and the broad
working masses, the socialist
law was not born on the basis of the
old law, but through
the total destruction of the latter.*

IN THE COURSE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, BY DESTROYING THE OLD FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS STATE FROM ITS FOUNDATIONS AND BUILDING THE NEW DEMOCRATIC STATE ON ITS RUINS, THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA CREATED A NEW TYPE OF LAW, WITH NEW JURIDICAL PRINCIPLES AND INSTITUTIONS.

THE CREATION OF THE NEW LAW OF A STATE ESTABLISHED THROUGH THE REVOLUTION WAS DONE THROUGH THE PROMULGATION OF A NUMBER OF JURIDICAL NORMS EXPRESSED, FIRST, IN THE FORM OF RESOLUTIONS, CIRCULARS AND PROCLAMATIONS AND, LATER, IN THE FORM OF CONSTITUTIONS, REGULATIONS, DECISIONS AND LAWS. ACCORDING TO THEIR CHARACTER, THESE JURIDICAL ACTS ARE DOCUMENTS WHICH REFLECT THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WHICH WAS BASED MAINLY ON THE DIRECTIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA AND THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS IT FACED AT ITS ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND DEMOCRATIC STAGE, WHEN THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE HAD BEEN SECURED AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED.

According to their content, the juridical norms created during the National Liberation War belong to various fields of law. In them we find provisions of a constitutional character,

rules of the administrative, civil, financial and judicial organization of the different sectors of state administration such as public order, commerce, the health service, education, management of the economy, etc.

RRAPI MINO — General prosecutor
LIRI GJOLIKU — member of the
High Court

The 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress which convened on

pation of the masses in the creation of the state organs and their other activities through a democratic electoral system. The democratic rights and freedoms of citizens, such as the freedom of speech, the press and meeting, the equality of all before the law, equal rights for women in the political life and in all social activities of the country and the protection of every person from illegal acts were sanctioned by law. These acts of the revolutionary state were the first of the kind in the history of Albanian law and, in this respect, have a particularly important historical, political and juridical importance.

In our social order, laws and their implementation have a profound political and ideological content.

Our socialist laws are characterized by their class content and aimed at the defence of the interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism. This important feature of our laws permeates all the juridical norms adopted by the organs of our state power.

Being the juridical expression of the will of the working class and the broad working masses, the socialist law was not born on the basis of the old law, but through the total destruction of the latter.

Immediately after the liberation of the country from the occupiers, proceeding from the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis that the revolution creates a new state and a new juridical order, the people's state power which emerged from the National Liberation War adopted a number of laws and regulations.

The Constitution adopted in March 1946 by the Constituent Assembly not only sanctioned what had already been achieved in the political, economic and social field in our country, but also became the only basis for the creation and further development of socialist law. So, on the basis and as a result of the implementation of the Constitution various codes such as the Penal Code, the Civil Code, the Labour Code, the Family Code, etc., were adopted. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The im-

portance of the Constitution lies in it that it legalized the deep-going and radical changes that were made in the life of our society as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution, sanctioned by law the major political, economic and social victories our people had achieved through their heroic struggle and opened clear prospects to other revolutionary transformations in all fields of life along socialist lines.»¹

As a rule, the bourgeois and revisionist countries do not explicitly express the class character and content of their legislation, according to the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie, the law stands above classes and belongs to all. For their part, the Soviet revisionist theoreticians point out that the law of the period of «developed socialism», just as the state of the same period, belongs to all. The aim here is the same — to negate the class character of the law, to present it as a means in the hands of the whole people.

Of course, all this is utter deception. Referring themselves to the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels say: «Your law is nothing other than the will of your class raised to law, a will whose content is determined by the material conditions of the life of your class».² So, the law in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist states is an element of the political superstructure of their societies which is determined by the system of economic relations underlying the whole state order of savage capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Unlike the bourgeois or revisionist law, our socialist law never hides its class character: on the contrary, in the Constitution and in other legislations of the PSR of Albania the nature of our socialist state is openly proclaimed and sanctioned as the dictatorship of the proletariat in power.

The fundamental feature which characterizes our socialist order is that our state apparatus, enterprises, institutions and social organizations are built and carry on their activity according to the rules specified in the provisions of our socialist law and within its limits. This not only is a

May 24, 1944 at Përmet was an important stage in the development of our legislation. The decision of the Congress on «the building of the new people's democratic Albania based on the will of the people» defined the essence of the new state order and juridically sanctioned the new state power of the people's councils as the sole true state power of the Albanian people.

The 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council held on October 20, 1944 at Berat adopted the Constitution of the national liberation councils, which dealt more comprehensively with the major questions of their organization and activity.

The laws issued by the state organs during the National Liberation War also dealt with the juridical status of man, his future position in society, the range of his rights and duties, as well as with the juridical obligations of the state to guarantee their concrete and real implementation. These laws ensured the partici-

sound guarantee for the correct and regular functioning of the state apparatus, all its mechanisms, not only is a powerful protection of the interests of citizens living and working in the conditions of a strong juridical order which ensures them their legitimate rights and freedoms, but also a major factor for the good organization of work, for the ceaseless perfection and revolutionization of the state apparatus itself, of its structure and functioning, of the principles of its building, of the exercise of its competences and the forms and methods of its activity in the government of the state and society.

Basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that even after the disappearance of the exploiting classes the class struggle goes on and the dictatorship of the proletariat does not end its historic mission, our Party says that during the whole stage of transition from capitalism to communism and the existence of the state, laws, as regulators of social life, are indispensable. Hence, the «theories» of the modern revisionists that the dictatorship of the proletariat has completed its mission and that there allegedly exist the conditions for the gradual replacement of juridical norms with moral norms are only intended to pave the road for the restoration of capitalism and the establishment of the bourgeois law.

The Marxist-Leninist theory considers the state and the law as being in close interrelation and under mutual influence. Lenin has stressed that the law has no value without a state apparatus capable of ensuring its enforcement, just as the state apparatus cannot carry out the functions of the state without laws and juridical norms regulating state activities. The bourgeois «theories» claiming that allegedly the state in capitalism is based on the law while the state in socialism stands above the law, that the political power of this state unrelated to the law and other such

«theories», are utterly false and serve only to justify the limitless rule of the bourgeoisie. In the conditions of the crisis of the capitalist order and the upsurge of the revolutionary wave, the rule of the law becomes a hindrance to the rule of the bourgeoisie itself. In these circumstances it rejects the law and goes over to terrorist methods of rule against the working people.

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the construction of socialism in our country and correctly assessing the relationship between the state and the law, our Party has pointed out that socialist law is a means for the application of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So, the law does not stand above or outside the state, it is not neutral to it, but is only a very important weapon of the state power, a component element of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The practice of our socialist construction has confirmed that in the process of revolutionary transformations the socialist law and legality have always been a mobilizing force for the creation and strengthening of the economic base, for the development of socio-economic relations along revolutionary lines, for their perfecting in the field of the organization of work and management, for conducting production, distribution and exchange in an organized and planned manner.

Immediately after the liberation of the country, the Party liquidated the big capitalist property both in the city and in the countryside through laws on nationalization and the land reform. By proclaiming the capitalist factories and enterprises state property and confiscating all property owned by the traitors who had joined forces with the enemy, the Party created the socialist sector of the economy. By carrying out the Land Reform in the countryside, the Party carried out the democratic transformation of the relations of ownership over the land, thereby definitively eliminating the

remnants of feudalism in the economy, liquidating the landowning class and giving the land free to the peasantry according to the principle that the land belongs to him who tills it.

The Party never has considered the law isolated from the economic base, from the socialist relations of production, but always dependent on them and having an influence on the further strengthening of the socialist system of the economy. Hence, the Party has always linked the law and legality with the problems of the economy and considered this as a question of major importance, among other things, also for the concrete realization of economic plans, for the defence of the socialist system of the economy and social property against any damage and misuse, for the mobilization of the working masses for the revolutionary transformation of our national economy.

The norms of our socialist law have a pronounced scientific character. In every stage of the socialist construction of the country, the fundamental feature characterizing our socialist law is that laws and other juridical acts have been adopted only after detailed study and creative generalization of social phenomena on the basis of the objective laws of socialist construction, keeping in mind the concrete historical conditions and the perspective of the development of society. That is why our laws have always responded to the concrete conditions of life and found the appropriate practical applications.

The Party and our state have always had a dynamic conception of legislation which is very important in the implementation of laws, the observance and strengthening of legality. «Every time objective conditions change, every time development creates contradictions and new problems,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «this must be accompanied with the revision and change of our decrees and ordinances».³ If a juridical act does not respond to the demands of the time, the

actual stage of the revolutionary development of society, there is no reason for it to be in force any longer. Such juridical act becomes an obstacle to progress, creates a contradiction between life in development and the juridical norms in force, so it must be abolished, and replaced with a new one. The abrogation of old laws, the adoption of new laws and the changes frequently made in our socialist legislation are based on this principle. For this reason our socialist legislation, from the Constitution, as the fundamental law of the State, to the codes and other juridical norms, is constantly subject to actual verification of its precise and correct application, which entails also its revision when this is called for by the ceaseless development of the socialist relations of production and the revolutionary transformations of society. On a whole, our socialist legislation has met these requirements, and any shortcoming or inadequacy of it at every given stage has immediately been corrected. So, the 5th Congress of the Party put forward the task of reviewing the legislation, of purifying it from shortcomings and inadequacies, of building it in conformity with the demands of the time and the struggle for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country. For the same reasons, the 6th Congress of the Party set the task of drafting a new Constitution. In the creation of a revolutionary legislation and the strict observance and precise application of legality, the Party has always adhered to the principle of the broad participation of the working masses in the drafting of laws and their application, and issued instructions for this purpose. «The participation of the masses in the government of the country,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha on this important problem, «demands that they take part on a broad scale in the drafting of decisions and laws which regulate the activity of state organs and the life of our socialist society.»⁴

Participation of the masses in the drafting of laws is one of the important premises not only for drafting laws with a profound ideological, political and revolutionary content, but also for acquainting the masses with the content of laws and for mobilizing them to put the laws into practice. The broadest possible participation of the masses in all state and social activities and, as a consequence of this, also in the drafting of new laws, is a sound guarantee for the amendment and abolition of inadequate or outdated laws, for the drafting of new, more just and more useful laws in a sounder class spirit and, as a result of all this, for the further activation of the masses in the struggle for the strengthening of legality.

A very important aspect of the precise implementation of laws is their simple, clear and accessible formulation.

This the Party has considered not only as a problem of a narrowly juridical character which interests only the specialists, but moreover, as a problem of a mass character so that laws are formulated in a manner as clear and accessible as possible, which allows no misinterpretation. This is a question of principle, because it is the broad masses of the working people that are primarily interested in the application of laws, that are immediately interested in their defence against any violation. Unclear laws liable of all sorts of interpretations are characteristic of the bourgeois states and the countries in which revisionist cliques are in power. To maintain their arbitrary rule more easily, along with the adoption of such laws as defend the interests of the exploiting minority and violate the interests of the working masses, they also resort to the abstract and ambiguous formulation of laws which is intended to make their meaning as obscure as possible.

Knowledge and precise implementation of laws is an objective necessity for the complete construction of

socialist society, because the whole activity of our state is based on the Constitution and the laws deriving from it in which the line and policy of the Party of Labour of Albania are summed up. The law cannot be implemented if it is not known, if its meaning is not understood by the working masses or those people to whom it applies.

Acquaintance of the working masses with the law is an absolutely necessary condition and a powerful means for the realization of state plans, for the management of the socialist property, for the strengthening of state discipline, for the prevention of law violations and deeds dangerous to society.

The principle of socialist legality presupposes that laws and various juridical acts not only should be known, but also observed and applied.

In our social order, control over the implementation of laws is an important duty of the socialist state, a component part of its whole organizing and leading work. The broader, better organized and more systematical this control, the better and more timely the application of orientations, instructions, and laws.

This control is not the prerogative of only some specialized organs, such as those of justice, but also a responsibility of every worker of our state and economic organs in the centre and at the base.

The experience of the socialist construction of the country has proved that one of the directions of the activity of the enemies of the people, the Homeland and socialism in order to undermine the victories of the revolution and restore the capitalist system has been the violation of socialist legality. This was also characteristic of the plot organized and led by the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his gang. However, the sword of socialist law struck at them with all its strength, as a powerful means for the defence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Illegal activities bear on definite social relations. Hence, they have a clearly pronounced class character and as such must always be seen with a political eye so as to uncover their character and content and perceive the great damage they cause to the interests of society. Therefore, the stepping up of the struggle against them, the detection and condemnation of any manifestation of illegality stands always in the centre of attention of every citizen, is a component and indivisible part of his work.

Administrative measures of compulsion and condemnation bear only on

the consequence, the deed, the act, but not the cause or source of evil. The cause and source of evil of the violation of laws can be combated successfully only through clarifying and education work with people. That is why priority is always given to prevention. In this question we must always proceed from the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha who says: «The Party must do great prophylactical, educational and political work systematically and patiently so as to prevent people from falling into mistakes which from simple errors and transgressions may turn into anti-state

and anti-socialist crimes which are severely punished by the dictatorship of the proletariat.»⁵

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- 1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, p. 124, Alb. ed.
 - 2 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 36.
 - 3 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1970-1971*, p. 114, Alb. ed.
 - 4 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 192, Alb. ed.
 - 5 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 169, Alb. ed.

THE ROLE OF SCANDERBEG FOR HIS NATION AND EPOCH

by **ALEKS BUDA**

*Scanderbeg's contemporaries, and
after them, a series of outstanding personalities
of Europe and the world down to our days, did not fail to admire
and esteem the majesty of the figure
of Scanderbeg*

IN COMMEMORATING OUR NATIONAL HERO, GJERGJ KASTRIOTI-SCANDERBEG, WE COMMEMORATE NOT ONLY A GREAT FIGHTER, BUT A WHOLE EPOCH WHICH BEARS HIS NAME, ONE OF THE MOST DECISIVE EPOCHS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR HOMELAND, DURING WHICH THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE FOUGHT FOR DECADES ON END TO DEFEND THEIR LAND, THEIR FREEDOM AND THEIR INDEPENDENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION.

Undoubtedly, such a period as the 15th century, with the colossal clashes which characterized it, called for mighty figures who would be able to cope with the exceptional situations, the clashes between political and military forces, between cultures; it called for personalities of gigantic stature. Those forces and abilities which were capable of withstanding those gigantic

clashes could be borne on this soil. In these conditions peoples, however small, had to develop special strengths and abilities, to pour out all their intellectual, material and moral energies to defend what was most dear to them, not only in the 15th century: their freedom and independence, their ethnic and cultural identity.

Scanderbeg's contemporaries, and after them, a series of outstanding personalities of Europe and the world down to our days did not fail to admire

and esteem the majesty of the figure of Scanderbeg — a glance at the extremely long series of works about him by historians, military experts, writers and artists is proof enough of this.

However, our modern history has shown us that through this alone we will still not grasp to the full the true significance, role, and objective historical function of this figure — not as an individual, but as one of the active factors who, through this activity, conditions not only the period of his life, and not only a limited area and a given field of activity.

A whole literature could not deny the Albanian hero the most flattering descriptions, but it frequently separated him from the preceding centuries, failing to see him as the embodi-

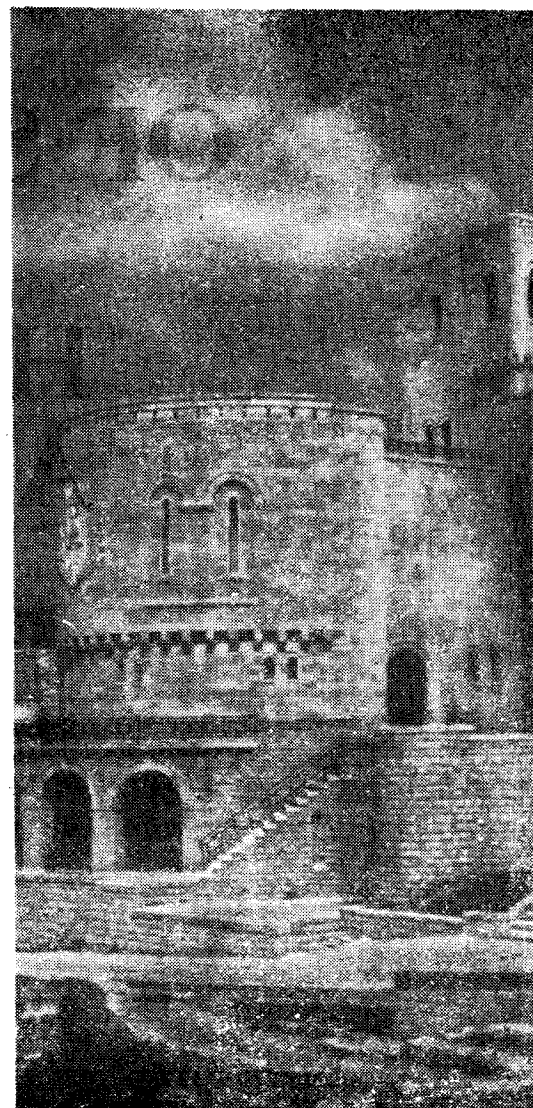
*Prof. ALEKS BUDA — President of
the Academy of Sciences of the PSR
of Albania*

ment of objective tendencies which came from the past and were directed to the future. A correct evaluation of this figure requires that he should be seen in a series of planes, not only in the military field and not only in connection with the Albanian sphere. Such a figure requires an evaluation also from the Albanian and international political and state aspect, linked with the objective tendencies of development, on a general plane, linked not only with the aspirations and political interests of the ruling classes, but first of all, with the aspirations which impelled the masses to action. The activity of the Hero, of this figure who, like every great historical figure, was to play a major role for his nation, could emerge only by proceeding in the direction in which these tendencies were moving.

Viewed from this angle, in which the main role is played not by personal factors but by objective factors — the tendencies of the economic, social and political development, the wars which the Albanians waged under the leadership of Scanderbeg against the Sultans' invasions were not an accidental phenomenon or an expression of personal bravery of one or other feudal leader of the ordinary type.

The 5th century, the epoch of our Hero, was not simply a period of major military events; it was a period that marked a change — the transition from feudal fragmentation and the anarchy which accompanied this to efforts for the creation of a political power which would respond better to the new economic and social needs of the country. This was a new phenomenon, characteristic not only of the Albanians but also of all the Balkan peoples and was part of the general context of European development at the time: the creation of feudal states with populations unified from the standpoint of language and culture.

The Ottoman onslaught was not a local factor which affected only one or the other feudal ruler, it affected a number of Albanian and Balkan territories. The development of cities, their ever-increasing role, had led, as early as in the 14th century, to the strengthening of the economic and political power of the local feudal ruling class, had enhanced their political role on a local and regional plane. A result of these changes in the fundamental structure was the development of international markets and the creation of feudal territorial principalities which more or less coincided with the cases of those countries. A reflection of this new situation was the strengthening of independent Albanian feudal states in the north and south — now they were able to reject the domination of multi-national foreign states and win their independence from the Byzantines, Serbs, and Anjouins, and go to war in defence of these domains which, though to a limited degree, realized the political unity of a number of Albanian regions in the north and south. The first attempt to achieve this was made by the Balshas at the end of the 14th century. Neither the Venetian pressure nor the first Ottoman attacks interrupted those tendencies, although they slowed them down. This is shown by the efforts to form a united front of Albanian rulers, first against Venice and later against the Ottomans, when their occupation began to become a reality. The Kastriotis, and Scanderbeg among them, became the most consistent representatives of this line among the Albanian rulers. Under Scanderbeg's leadership, the League of Lezha became the first effective nucleus for the political and military unification of the forces of the Albanian people against the Ottoman threat. This was not an accidental phenomenon. Scanderbeg more clearly than all his contemporaries understood



The Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg

a major fact — the foreign invasion, the threat coming from abroad, was a factor which he could and did transform into a factor which accelerated the unification of the forces in defence of the country. In much the same conditions in Serbia, Bosnia and Morea a similar phenomenon took place, but there it could not bring the same effective results as those which were manifested in Albania under the leadership of Scanderbeg. Although the



Scanderbeg Museum at Kruja

protection and unification of political, economic and military forces. It was this war which forged that sense of political, ethnic and cultural unity, which even after the subjugation of the country remained an important victory for it. The heroic struggle which the Albanians waged for nearly 100 years has entered the general context of European history in two directions: it barred the road of these invasions to the mountainous hinterland of the Western Balkans and towards the western shores of the peninsula — which had been, from the outset, one of the main aims of the Ottoman strategy. Colossal forces were pinned down in this region of strategic importance — Albania, blocking the Ottomans' road towards the west and the north, to Montenegro, Bosnia and Dalmatia.

In this sense the struggle of the Albanian people reached a new, higher level than the ordinary feudal wars waged in previous centuries. The logic that operated here was not only that of swordsmen fighting in defence of narrow interests characteristic of the period of feudal divisions. A war of local proportions was no longer the issue but a war on a scale to defend the interests of a population united historically on the basis of one territory, one language and culture of a unified origin. Furthermore, this war assumed a special significance as an event which had its influence on the international plane. There was an interconnection and mutual conditioning of the internal and external factors which characterized this period when the Albanian factor intervened as an active factor of international importance.

The most clear-minded of Scanderbeg's contemporaries realized that the Ottoman invasion of Albania and the Balkans was an historical event of international importance; it was clear to them that the Ottoman sultans

were fighting in Albania not only to subdue the resistance of a «rebellious» people, as their chroniclers described them, but to secure in Albania that bridgehead which would give them access to the West — as Matias Corvinus, King of Hungary, said. It was clear to them, also, that the fall of the Albanian factor, the quelling of the Albanian resistance would mean the loss of their hopes to have the Albanians fighting as a factor behind the enemies' flank. Herein lies the reason for those efforts to give the Albanians and their leader, Scanderbeg, an important place in the plans for a general military operation against the Ottomans. Events proved them right and revealed the short-sightedness of those who merely played with words about support of the war in Albania. In 1480, as soon as the Sultans managed to capture the last castle in Albania, they tried to begin their attack on Southern Italy, but because of the Albanian resistance, after a delay of half a century, now they were too late and in new political conditions unfavourable to them.

It was understandable that in these conditions, the threat to the West from the Sultans' invasion became a general theme of an extensive historiographic, and artistic literature from the 15th century onwards. It kept alive the memory of that gigantic, exemplary war which the Albanians and the other peoples of the Balkans and other countries preserve in their literature. Modern historiography, including the most important works of Balkan historiography, have not been able to deny this war a place of honour — indeed sometimes they have not hesitated to appropriate it.

The struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of Scanderbeg became one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Albanian nation and of the world of that epoch.

other states had greater possibilities and means, the Albanian territories were the last to lose their independence, because of these circumstances.

Only a solution like that which Scanderbeg sought and found made him able to face up to this danger, which had European dimensions. The war which was waged in Albania in those conditions as a war not only for the defence of individual regions from foreign occupation but also for the

30 YEARS OF SCIENTIFIC WORK IN THE SERVICE

by AGIM POPA

*The founding of the Institute
was an expression of the enhanced
level of the work
of the Party, as well as of the need for
raising it ever higher on scientific bases.*

THIRTY YEARS AGO, BY DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA AND WITH THE INITIATIVE AND UNDER THE DIRECT CARE OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY, WHICH IN FEBRUARY 1966 WAS TRANSFORMED INTO THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES, WAS FOUNDED.

THE FOUNDING OF THE INSTITUTE WAS AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIFE OF OUR PARTY, AS WELL AS IN THE WHOLE IDEO-SCIENTIFIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY. IT WAS AN EXPRESSION OF THE ENHANCED LEVEL OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY, AS WELL AS OF THE NEED FOR RAISING IT EVER HIGHER ON SCIENTIFIC BASES.

Throughout its life and activity our Party has always had a sound scientific tradition. In studying the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha one sees that right from its founding, at every moment and stage, at every turn of events, there has been nothing spontaneous and accidental in the line and activity of our Party. On the contrary, everything has been worked out, decided and carried out on the basis of a scientific analysis of the actual internal and external situation in the light of the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist science implemented in a vivid and creative manner in the conditions of our country and merged with our revolutionary practice. The credit for

this goes in the first place to the founder and unforgettable leader of our Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The advance of our country on the road of socialism, when the Party, which leads everything in our society, is faced everyday with new problems and tasks which demand successful solutions both for the present and the future, calls as an indispensable necessity for all the ideological, educational, organizational and leading work of the Party in every field and in every link, from the centre to the grassroots, to be based ever better on studies and science. The historical struggle of our Party against the alien pressures and influences of the capitalist-revisionist world poses the same demand. The creation of the Institute

AGIM POPA — professor

WORK OF THE PARTY

of Marxist-Leninist Studies was an important step in this context.

The tasks the Party charged the Institute with were great. Assessing its role, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «the Institute must explain the line of our Party in all its phases and aspects on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. With its studies and scientific analyses the Institute must be one of the main auxiliary apparatuses of our Party». Along with the study of the History of the Party he set the Institute the task of carrying out studies also in the field of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, socio-economic sciences, the international communist movement and the struggle against the different currents of modern revisionism.

With a limited structure and a small number of qualified cadres in the beginning, the Institute was gradually expanded with scientific sectors and nuclei specialized in publications and studies in the fields of history, sociology, economics, party building, the communist movement and the struggle against modern revisionism, etc., and

completed with many cadres, old and young, specialized in the different branches of social sciences, with scientific degrees and titles. Implementing the orientations of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha during these decades of its life and activity, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has made a valuable contribution in many important directions.

One of the basic directions and main contributions of the work of the Institute has been and remains the elaboration and publication of the text of the History of the Party of Labour of Albania and that of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people. This is a valuable service for the whole ideological and educational work of the Party. The History of the PLA constitutes one of the more important documents which has always been at the foundation of the ideo-political preparation and education of whole generations of communists and the broad masses of the working people of our country with the ideas and teachings of our Party, a document which has also had

a wide response in the world Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and communist movement.

Besides, according to the instructions of the Party and in accordance with the problems and demands of the practice of socialist construction and the struggle waged by the Party on the internal and international plane, in cooperation with other scientific institutions of the country, district party committees, organs of state power and organizations of the masses, the scientific workers of the Institute have carried out a number of valuable studies in the field of the socio-political sciences. Such are «the Social Class Structure of Our Country», «the Social Psychology of Ownership and Work», «the Place and Role of the Youth at the Present Stage», «On the Complete Construction of Socialist Society», «the Development of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement», the complex study «On Chinese Revisionism», and many others. They have served a great deal the work of the Party and its levers.

In cooperation with other institutions of scientific research of the country as well as with the ministries and party district committees, through its broad studies and its role in the field of socio-political sciences, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has taken an active part in the organization of many important scientific activities on a national scale. The 1st and 2nd Conferences of Social Studies (in 1969 and 1972), the National Conference of Studies on the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian People (November 1974), the National Conference on the Problems of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania, the Scientific Sessions on the Problems of the Class struggle (July 1976), the Scientific Session on the Problems of Current World Development (October 1978), the Scientific Conference on Soviet Revisionism and the Struggle of the PLA for its Exposure (November 1980), the Scientific Sessions dedicated to Marx and Stalin, the Scientific Conference On the Problems of the Development of Our Socialist Economy in the 7th Five-

year Plan (April 1983), the Scientific Conference on the Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Thought of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha (October 1984), and the National Conference Dedicated to the Immortal Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha (October 1985) — these are some of the activities that have enlivened the ideological and scientific life of the country and served to sum up and spread the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought of the Party in many important aspects. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has made an outstanding contribution to their development.

The Party has entrusted the Institute with a task of incalculable ideological and scientific value — the preparation for publication of the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, this invaluable treasury in which the revolutionary experience of our revolution and socialist construction, the struggle and Marxist-Leninist thought of our Party in all fields, are reflected, elucidated and scientifically summed up. «The experience of our popular revolution and socialist construction, the Marxist-Leninist thought of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha,» Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «constitute our greatest treasury, in the meaning that their correct assimilation and implementation guarantee what we have achieved hitherto and ensure our unstoppable march ahead towards communism».

Thanks to the great and careful work over many years of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies 7 volumes of the Principal Documents of the PLA, the series of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which has reached its 48th volume so far, 10 volumes of the series «Reports and Speeches», as well as a number of thematic publications with selections from the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha have been published. The work for the publication of some of the major theoretical works of Comrade Enver Hoxha such as «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «Yugoslav Self-administration — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», as well as his books of memoirs and reflections such as «With Stalin», «The Khrushchevites», «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «When the Party Was Born», «Laying the Foundations of the New Albania», «Reflections on China», «Reflections on the Middle East», the Political Diaries on International Questions, etc. represents a particular contribution of the Institute. Published by the Institute in the five volumes of the series «Selected Works» and a great number of other publications in foreign languages, Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works have had a wide international response as a valuable contribution to the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism and the world revolutionary practice.

The Institute has also successfully

accomplished the task the Central Committee of the Party has set it for coordinating the work of the central institutions and organizations in the field of socio-political sciences as well as for assisting the study work carried out by the party committees and organizations at the base.

The 30-year long activity of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has scored major successes. During this period it has gained a rich experience of study work. It constitutes a sound basis for honourably fulfilling the tasks that face it in the future, too.

At the present stage of the development of the country, the Party sets the social sciences major tasks for all-round studies which should serve a more profound assimilation of the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha as a guide for action, analyses and interpretations of the social phenomena of our socialist life in a scientific manner, actively contribute to the solution of present and future problems the Party and the country come up against in practice. The Institute is required to carry out studies closely linked with life, our social practice, the militant struggle carried out by our Party against alien ideologies, studies of an ever higher scientific level and quality.

To the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party belongs a place of honour and a primary role in all this work.

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS AND THE PECULIARITIES OF THE ALBANIAN FOLK CULTURE

by **ALFRED UÇI**

The development of folk culture and the scientific study of it did not take place «on a ship lost in a sea swept by contrary winds», but, on the contrary, were subject to a unified strategy. We Albanians know that the foundations of this strategy were laid in accordance with the wise teachings of the leader of the new Albania, Comrade ENVER HOXHA

ALBANIAN FOLK CULTURE, WHICH HAS LIVED IN ALL ITS VIVIDNESS AND RICHNESS ON TO OUR DAYS, CANNOT FAIL TO AROUSE KEEN CURIOSITY BECAUSE OF ITS ANCIENT HISTORICAL ROOTS, ITS ORIGINALITY AND ETHNIC PECULIARITIES, AS WELL AS BECAUSE OF ITS PLACE AND ROLE IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA.

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Under the term «folk culture» or «traditional culture» we mean the culture that has been created and used in the first place, by the masses

Prof. ALFRED UÇI — director of the Institute of Folk Culture

of the people, especially the peasantry and the stratum of the craftsmen of the towns, which in the past were generally deprived of a written culture. Folk culture is a culture with well-defined and original ethnic features,

which are formed through a long gradual evolution in relatively closed social milieus. It exists as a collective impersonal product and is transmitted from one generation to the other in the form of unchanged, though unwritten, traditions. We consider this culture the fruit of the life and history of the people, a voice which brings us the echo of their thousand-year-long history and which testifies to their vitality and creative strength as well as their aspirations to progress, freedom and independence. This culture has deep historical roots, it has been formed, has evolved and survived to our days in the very compli-

cated circumstances of the dramatic history of our people.

Folk culture is a historical category which is formed and changes as the historical expression of the history and ethnical development of the nation from ancient times to our days. In its general development it brings the echo of the past, the key moments of history. The Illyrian-Arbër-Albanian continuity must be taken into account for understanding the historical roots and the originality of our folk culture.

The roots of the Albanian folk culture go deep into the prehistory, especially the epoch of the formation of the Illyrian ethnoses. Recent archaeological studies have brought forth fresh evidence of the existence of a local culture as far back as the Early Stone Age (settlements of Podgori-Vashtëmi, Bluz and Kolsh), the Middle Stone Age (settlements of Sakran and Dunavec) and the Late Stone Age (settlements of Maliq and Kamenik). Interwoven with this culture there are probably many paleo-Indo-European and Mediterranean elements which are attributed to Pelasgian civilization. In the third millennium before our era a new cultural symbiosis takes place as a result of the penetration into the Balkans of a new wave of tribes with a culture of the Indo-European type from which the differentiation of the ancient Balkan ethnoses began. The different ethnoses emerged as a result of the merger of the Pelasgian substratum with the new strata of the Indo-European type. With these processes, which go back to the Late Bronze Age (2000-1800 before our era), the formation of a new ethnoses which was known under the name of the Illyrian ethnoses in later written documents, begins.

The Middle Bronze Age was a period of transition, of the convergence of the material and spiritual culture of the proto-Illyrian population. In the Late Bronze Age and in the early phases of the Iron Age there emerge extensive complexes of Illyrian culture like the southern group (the Vjosa River — the Arta Bay), the western group (the Vjosa River — the Mat River), the eastern group (Korça — Ko-

lonja — Western Macedonia), the central group (the Mat River — Shkodra — Kosova), and the northern group (Bosnia-Herzegovina). Large ethnographic units — the Epirotes, Taulantes, Encheleans, Dardani, Dalmatae and others, were formed on this basis.

From the 5th century before our era, on the existence of an Illyrian population with specific and consolidated ethnic features was a historical fact abundantly proved in written sources. In the 5th-4th centuries the ethnic name of the Illyrians was used to distinguish them from the Thracians, the Greeks, the Dacians, and applied to a population which extended from the Western to the Central zones of the Balkans. The 6th-5th centuries were characterized not only by the consolidation of the cultural traditions of a patriarchal society engaged mainly in farming and livestock-raising, but also by its transition to slave-owning relations and urbanization which, especially in the cities, brought along the influence of the Greek culture which represented the centre of the slave-owning society of the Mediterranean in that time. Foreign influences manifest themselves within the traditional ethnic stratum of Illyrian culture, despite the Illyrian ethnic coloration of many borrowed elements. However, the language, as the main element of the ethnic culture, local personal names, characteristic costumes which differ from those of the Greek type were preserved, while new typically Illyrian ornament patterns emerged. The Illyrian city remained closely linked with its surrounding territories which, according to written sources, continued to exist as compact ethnographic hinterlands with the names of Illyrian tribes (Amantia — Amanthes, Byllis — Byllines, Partha — Parthines, etc.). However, with the development of slave-owning relations, with the new economic and cultural processes taking place within the Illyrian civilization, the urban culture diverged from the rural culture which retained its more archaic ethnographic traditions. Apart from the cities, from the 4th century on, an important role in the consolidation of the features of the Illyrian

culture was also played by the strengthening of the Illyrian state organization which became a factor of major importance in the Balkans. The Illyrian state, which in the 4th-3rd centuries before our era reached from the southernmost extension of the Illyrian tribes to the central and northern parts of the Western Balkans, was a factor of ethnic unity of the material and spiritual culture of the Illyrian population.

The Roman penetration into the Balkan Peninsula did not bring about essential changes in the Illyrian culture until the end of the 1st century before our era, when the decline of the Illyrian cities, which were adversely affected by the Roman rule, began. However, until the 3rd century of our era the decline of Illyrian urban culture did not affect the traditional forms of Illyrian culture, especially in the Illyrian rural settlements. In the period of the Late Antiquity (4th-6th centuries of our era), as a result of the crisis of the Roman Empire, rural settlements with pronounced Illyrian features predominated in the Illyrian territories.

The barbarian invasion, especially the migrations of the Slavs which began in the 6th century caused great damage to the Illyrian urban settlements, but did not bring about a break in the development of the local culture. With elements inherited from the Late Antiquity, the culture of the rural settlements of the Illyrians found its expression in the Arbër culture which is the direct connecting link of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. This is proved by pottery, ornaments, work tools, furniture, costumes, etc. In the 7th-9th centuries contacts with the Byzantine Empire, which were interrupted by the invasions of the Slavs, were resumed. This gave the Arbër culture its Balkan-Byzantine colouring. The preservation of the peculiar ethnic features of the Arbër culture was favoured by the fact that the influence of the central Byzantine state was less felt in the rural and, especially, mountain zones. This is apparent in the so-called Koman culture (regions of Puka and Mirdita in North Albania). Local ethnographic features are

apparent not only in ornaments and costumes, but also in the architecture of fortifications, churches, pottery, etc. Fortified centres like Pogradec, Berat, Kruja, Lezha, Dagnum, Sarda, Ulqin, Tivar, Prizren etc., became typical mediaeval cities and centres of feudal political formations. In the following period (the 11th-14th centuries) the Arbër population is to be found in these centres. This shows that the Arbër culture was crystallized not only in closed and backward milieus, but also in a broader space which included almost the whole territory in which the Illyrian urban culture had previously developed on the basis of a hundred-year-long tradition. This enabled the Illyrian population to survive the destructive invasions and the threat of assimilation during the dark centuries of the Early Middle Ages. In the new ethnic formation of the Arbër population a decisive role was played both by resistance to the threat of extermination and absorption (which strengthened the traditional ethnic elements of its culture) and by the development of feudal relations which created new and broader links among the ethnographic units that survived the barbarian invasions. The period of the 7th-11th centuries prepared the socio-economic and ethnic conditions for the future development of the *Albanian nation*.

The 11th-15th centuries comprise a period of time in which the Albanian nation presents itself as an unquestionable historical reality based on sufficiently consolidated territorial, economic and cultural unity. Territorially, the habitat of the Albanian nation did not coincide with all the territories formerly inhabited by the Illyrians. It was narrower, especially in the northern zones, because of the Slavization of the Albanian autochthonous population in some regions of Dioklea-Zeta, Dardania, Macedonia, etc. The fact that Serbian, Bulgarian and Western historical sources call the Albanians only by the name *Arbën* and their country *Arbënia* is evidence of the consolidation of this ethnic community at a qualitatively higher stage, the stage of nationality. This coincides also

with the formation of the awareness of the ethnic community which expressed itself in the ever more frequent use of the common name *Arbër* and *Arbëria* with the function of an ethnonym and ethnotoponym, which although they were later replaced with the names *shqiptarë* and *Shqipëri*, continued to exist to our days in the North and in the South, as well as among the Albanians of Greece, Italy and Dalmatia, which left their country of origin in the 14th-18th centuries.

On the basis of the unity of this community there emerged forms of national state organization such as the first principates of Arbër which resisted not only to the central power of Byzantium, but also to the states of the southern Slavs. On this basis was strengthened the tendency to the formation of a centralized state on the territory inhabited by the Albanian population of the one language and the one culture. Started with Balsha II, this process was sped up in the face of the Ottoman threat and in the fire of the anti-Ottoman struggle of the 15th century and was crowned with the creation of the centralized Albanian state, headed by Skanderbeg. The overcoming of the feudal fragmentation of the country and the protracted war against the Ottoman invasion exercised a powerful influence on the consolidation of the ethnic unity of the Albanians. Skanderbeg's epoch bequeathed to the centuries of Ottoman rule a rich spiritual legacy and cultural traditions deep-rooted in the national ethnic awareness which the Albanian people preserved and developed further even in the difficult conditions of the Ottoman occupation. On the other hand, the almost five-hundred-long Ottoman rule created a new situation in which the Albanians were faced with the threat of losing their national identity, because of the pressure the oriental Islamic culture exercised on Albanian culture. Nevertheless, the long Ottoman rule did not succeed, in essence, in altering the already crystallized fundamental ethno-cultural structure of the Albanian nation, or interrupting, regardless of the zigzags of history, the road of the unitarian economic, social and cultural

development of the country. Under the Ottoman rule the Albanians were obliged to defend their national existence just as in the Early Middle Ages, but in different historical conditions, with more progressive aims. These aims they expressed in their ceaseless struggles for freedom and independence throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule, in the century of the great Movement for National Revival which began at the outset of the 19th century and was crowned with the Proclamation of National Independence on November 28, 1912.

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Right from the beginning of the Ottoman occupation in the 15th century, the critical situation which put in question the very existence of the Albanian nation could not fail to be reflected in the awareness of the progressive forces which identified themselves with the interests of this nation. Faced with the threat of losing their national identity under the pressure of the foreign occupiers, a major historical problem, the problem of the preservation of the unity of the nation, of its ethnic and cultural continuity, of its ethnic originality, arose. The first ethnographic studies carried out about the historical roots, the originality and the fate of the Albanian folk culture, were connected with this problem. M. Barleti, Gj. Buzuku, P. Budi, P. Bogdani and others (15th-17th centuries) gave rich information not only about the historical roots and the ancient origin of the Albanian nation, the common features of the language, customs and habits of the Albanians, but also, proceeding from them, as a reflection of the resistance of the Albanian people to the Ottoman rule, put forward the political demand that the territories inhabited by the Albanians should be administered according to local customs and traditions, that nothing should be done against these customs



and traditions. In the ethnographic notes of M. Barleti, Gj. Buzuku, P. Budi, P. Bogdani and others we see the beginning of the Albanian ethnography.

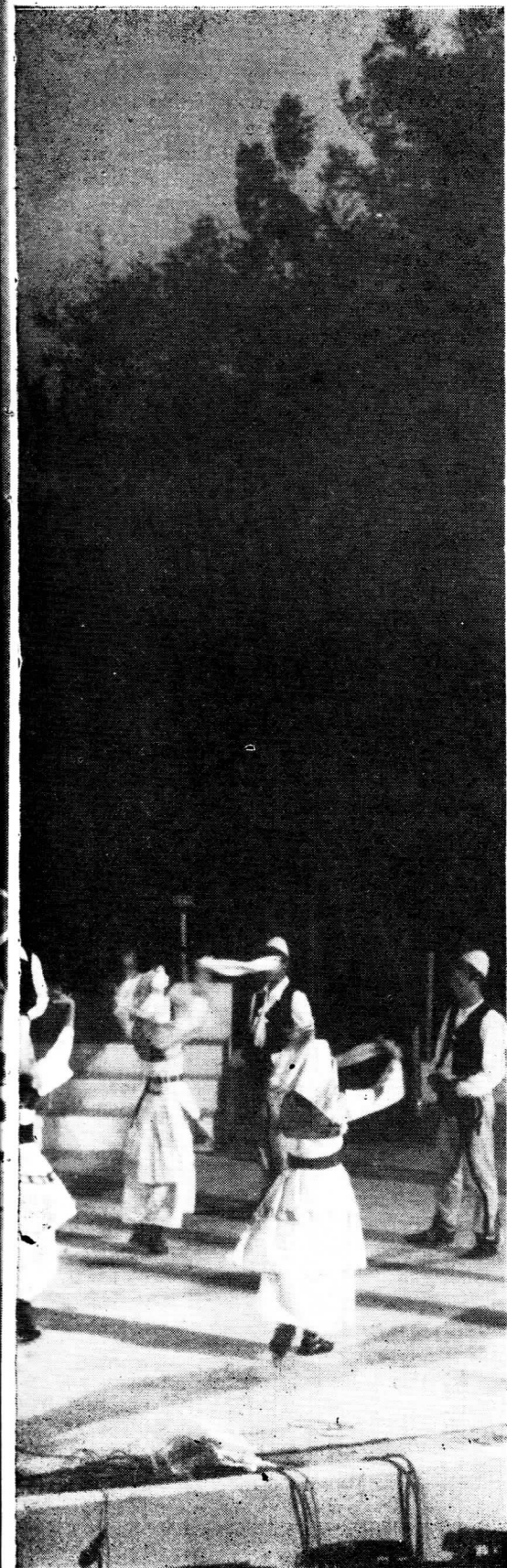
The study of the Albanian folk culture was raised to a higher level in the 19th century, in the luminous epoch of the Albanian National Renaissance, as a result of the ethnographic and folkloristic studies of De Rada, Dorsa, Z. Jubani, P. Vasa, S. Frashëri, J. Vreto, Th. Mitko, S. Dine and others. At this stage, also, the stepped up struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence gave fresh impulse to the development of Albanian studies in the field of folk culture. It is by no means an accident that the Albanian students of folk culture were at the same time the ideologists and political leaders of the liberation movement of the masses. The Albanian studies in the field of folk culture reached a higher stage, among other reasons, also because they were based on a more advanced theoretical and ideological platform which was inspired by democratic and national liberation ideals.

The Albanian students of that epoch not only collected and published a wealth of materials of our folk culture, but also put forward and solved some major problems of the cultural development of the Albanian people which were closely linked with the problems of national liberation. The problem of the origin of the Albanian people, of their ancientness, autochthony and continuity, the problem of the unity of the national culture and regional cultures, the problem of the relationship between the cultural tradition and the new cultural aims, which was directly linked also with the relationship between national culture and world progressive culture, the problem of the determination of the new social forces which were the carriers of the further development of the national and folk culture, all those

problems were at the centre of the attention of the Albanian students of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Although the historical limitations of the time, apparent in the methodological and theoretical basis of these studies, in the still limited degree of acquaintance with the material of facts and documents, etc., did not allow them give consistently scientific answers to all those problems, the Albanian ethnographic and folkloristic studies made achievements so important that even today many problems connected with the development of the Albanian folk culture cannot be studied without taking them into consideration.

The Albanian students of this period supported the hypothesis of the Pelasgic origin of the Albanians, putting the stress on their autochthony and considering them among the most ancient of the Balkan peoples, which had entered the period of the Antiquity with a cultural and historical physiognomy of its own and preserved it through its contacts with the Greeks, Romans and Slavs. Linguistic and mythological parallelisms, historical and ethnographic arguments were employed to back up this thesis. Although the scientific argumentation of this thesis was insufficient, it introduced into the Albanian ethnography the idea of the ancientness, autochthony and cultural continuity of the Albanian people. At times the views of the men of our National Renaissance lacked the proper scientific basis and were founded on illusions and idealistic ideas. Nevertheless, the Albanian science recognizes their outstanding contribution, especially in one important direction: they collected, preserved and published the main part of the treasury of our folk culture, of the language, folklore, customs and traditions of our people, gave information about their way of living, etc. Without their assiduous work Albanian science and culture would face an unbridgeable gap in this field. Among the many merits of the men of our National Renaissance is that they were the first to single out the peasantry and the stratum of the craftsmen of the towns as the main carriers of the traditions of this culture, the «marrow» of the nation.

Amateur dancers — participants in the festival of the working class.



The study of our folk culture by the men of our National Renaissance was an expression of not mere scientific inquisitiveness, but also an attempt at selecting that part of the cultural legacy which could be integrated into the new national democratic culture and represent in a worthy manner our people in their peculiar cultural identity before world culture and science. Some of them idealized certain aspects of our folk culture, although some others were able to see its historical limitations as a consequence of the backwardness in which the foreign Ottoman rule kept our people and country. They also expressed the aspiration to the inclusion of the country in the main stream of the contemporary social and cultural progress.

Seeing the influence of religious divisions also in the sphere of folk culture, the men of our National Renaissance considered religion a negative factor which divided the nation and introduced anti-national diverging tendencies into the political and cultural development. They showed the existence of not only pagan elements in our folk culture, which were concealed under the thin layer of the ideology of monotheistic religions (which never succeeded in striking deep roots in our folk culture), but also other elements which, as Thimi Mitko said as early as 1874, belonged «to the whole Albanian nation regardless of region or religion». They knew that the attainment of independence constituted the fundamental condition both for the preservation of the values of folk culture and for the creation and flourishing of a new, more advanced national culture.

In the 19th-20th centuries, in particular, European ethnological science began to take a keen interest in Albania and its folk culture. This can be explained not only with the importance it attached to the original character of Albanian folk culture but also with the growing echo of the liberation struggles of the Albanian people for freedom and independence and with the exacerbation of international conflicts arising from the crisis over the succession to the dying Ottoman Empire. A number of European

diplomats, militarymen, missionaries and scientists travelled in our country and studied many aspects of the culture, history and life of the Albanian people. Among them students of the 19th century like Leake, Hahn, Dozon, Ippen, and those of the 20th century like Nopcsa, Baldacci, Haberland, Durham, Jokl, Lambertz and others have made a major contribution to the development of Albanological studies. Their merit consists in the collection and publication of a large material of our folk culture, in its inclusion as an important component in comparative, especially Indo-European and Balkan studies, in the determination of the original features of the different elements of the Albanian folk culture, etc., which in many directions completed the scientific picture of the Albanian ethnography. As an illustration, I may mention here Hahn's monumental work *Albanian Studies* (1854, which was not only a fundamental treatment of the nature, history, culture and mode of life of the different regions of Northern and Southern Albania, but also a very valuable source of ethnographic material), or Nopcsa's work on buildings, costumes and furniture of Northern Albania, on the mode of life of two tribes of the Northern Highlands, on their customary law and mythology; his work is rich in interesting information about the material, social and spiritual culture of the Albanians of the Northern Highlands in the end of the 19th century. His views about the ancient historical roots of Albanian folk culture and its originality are of particular interest. Not less interesting and valuable in the field of language is N. Jokl's major work *Linguistic and Cultural-Historical Research in the Field of the Albanian*, which deals with many aspects of the history and peculiarities of the Albanian language.

It goes without saying that behind the Albanian ethnological studies of European students there were not only scientific, but also political aims. This is apparent in the different methodological approach and the knowledge of the local material which at times was more extensive and at times more

limited. Hence, in their studies there are many generalizations, conclusions and observations based on rigorous science which the presentday Albanian ethnography could not fail to take into account but there are also opinions and hypotheses which should be assessed more critically. Of this nature are some formal parallellisms and over-evaluations of natural-geographical-demographical factors as against historical ones, or at times, viewing our folk culture as a fossilized formation, the product of a society cut out of history and the mainstream of world culture, neglect of the original peculiarities of our folk culture and the over-evaluation of alien cultural influences and, in particular cases, attribution of the features of a local cultural formation to the whole culture of the Albanian nation, etc.

After the proclamation of Independence in 1912, there was no essential change in the situation of the studies of the Albanian folk culture in the period between the two world wars. Because of the total lack of interest on the part of the ruling reactionary circles, the study of folk culture was left to the initiative of particular individuals and consisted mainly in some articles with, on a whole, the approach that predominated in the period of our National Renaissance. No specialized institutions were set up and there were no students specialized in the scientific study of folk culture. An exception was, the outstanding Albanian scientist, Eqerem Çabej, who in the thirties made a major contribution to the scientific study of our folk culture. However, the collection and publication of folklore and ethnographic materials, among which the many-volume series *The Treasures of the Nation* deserves particular mention, continued in this period, too.

In the period after Independence there were two different approaches to the study of Albanian folk culture. On the one hand, the approach of the progressive and democratic forces which recognized the positive values of folk culture and struggled for their preservation, especially when on the

eve of the Second World War, national independence was under increasing threat. Democratic opinion in this period was not blind to the cultural backwardness of the masses of the people under the regime of Zog's reactionary monarchy which was an obstacle to the accession of the people to the achievements of the progressive national and world culture. On the other hand, the approach of the reactionary and obscurantist social forces which proceeded from their own egoistic, anti-national and anti-popular interests and despised folk culture and supported cosmopolitan trends in the cultural field, as well as the servile imitation of foreign cultural models which had nothing in common with the Albanian reality of that time and no roots in this reality. Attempts were made at overestimation of the influence of religion on folk culture, which was a step behind against the views of the men of our Renaissance, and at idealizing the patriarchal mode of life and its manifestations, a justification of utter indifference of the regime in power about the backwardness of the country.

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The liberation of Albania in the end of 1944 created a completely new situation for the fate of the country and, at the same time, for the culture of its people. Right from the beginning two major questions had to be answered: what was to be done with the cultural legacy of the people? what would be the place and role in the struggle to eliminate the backwardness inherited from the past, to set out on the road of rapid and allround social progress and to create a new, modern culture? **Second**, what was the role of ethnographic and folkloristic studies, and their scientific orientation?

These two questions had to be answered on the basis of a new social reality and in the context of new prospects of development. The new social reality determined the specific

ways of posing and solving these problems. These questions could not be answered in isolation from one another, because they constituted the two sides of the one task. The development of folk culture and the development of the scientific study of it over these 40 years have been closely linked and have exercised a strong influence on each other.

The development of folk culture and the scientific study of it did not take place «on a ship lost in a sea swept by contrary winds», but, on the contrary, were subject to a unified strategy. We Albanians know that the foundations of this strategy were laid in accordance with the wise teachings of the leader of the new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

One of the main aims of Albanian society in this period was that of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the past and setting the country out on the road of rapid and uninterrupted social progress which would also encourage the creation of a new, modern culture. The progressive traditions of national culture and folk culture would create the premises for building a new culture. However, the traditions of folk culture would not be enlivened to fulfil a certain romantic nostalgia, or keep the people attached to archaic, obsolete and narrow modes of living.

We considered folk culture a living cultural system, not only because it brought along the echo of thousands of years of history of our people, but because in many of its elements and in many directions it could be adapted to the new social conditions and incorporated organically in the general progress of modern life. As our socialist culture has a national character, the values of folk culture, its ethnic functions, in particular, could only strengthen the national physiognomy of our new culture, expressing the cultural originality and the national identity of the culture of our people. The national character is not an external ornamental addition to the socialist culture, a frame for its narrow nationalist isolation, but the essential expression of the specific character of the history and life of the people

that creates and uses it. With its national character, our new culture would not stand aside or outside the processes of development of world progressive culture, but, on the contrary, would be included in these processes as an active factor, not only taking but also giving a creative factor, based not on passive imitation, but on original creation. In the present conditions, a culture which loses its national physiognomy cannot be linked with the roots of the life and history of its people and cannot be an active creative factor in its relationship to the world culture.

Obviously, as it carries along features which express the life of the working masses in former social orders and in conditions of foreign occupations, folk culture comes to our times in the form of a contradictory system of widely diverging cultural traditions. There are in it such elements as superstitions and religious prejudices, archaic and patriarchal mentalities which cannot be adapted to the new reality and the aims of modern progress. Such elements life itself would, as it did, put out of active circulation, would transform into, so to say, museum objects. Only a regressive approach to folk culture would have called for the preservation of such elements of folk culture as ran counter to progress and hampered the utilization of the achievements of modern science, technique, education and culture. Respect for traditional folk culture should not prevent the substitution of the plough for the tractor, or primitive prejudices and superstitions for the light of education and sciences. However, there were also in the folk culture many positive values and traditions that could easily be adapted to the new social conditions, that could be developed and enriched and have a new active life within the new culture. It would have been a step backward if the beautiful and original songs and dances of our people had been allowed to disappear in the name of modern technical and scientific progress. Hence, while maintaining a differentiated stand towards the cultural heritage of our people and

opening up wide vistas for progress in all fields of material and spiritual culture, no value of the traditional folk culture should be allowed to die away. While abandoning many tools and techniques of traditional production with the assimilation of modern techniques, many virtues and positive customs which are characteristic of the national psychology and the mode of life of our people should be preserved and cultivated.

Those were some considerations of principle which made up the platform, the strategy for the development of folk culture, gave it its place and role in the new Albania, and enabled the development of Albanian ethnographic and folkloristic studies.

It was not easy for folk culture to occupy the place it deserved and to play the great role it is playing now in the contemporary culture of our people. Suffice it to say that by the end of the Second World War Albania had no scientific institutions specialized in the study of folk culture and no cultural institutions engaged in the preservation and propagation of its values. For this problem to be solved not only the disparaging stands towards folk culture had to be fought and the awareness of its values created and respect for it cultivated among the masses, but also a whole system of measures of a financial, cultural, scientific and organizational character had to be implemented. The material and moral assistance of our state had decisive importance in the solution of this problem.

As early as 1944, at a time when the wounds of the war were still open, the first institutional nuclei were set up for this purpose. In 1948 the Ethnographic Museum — the first museum devoted to folk culture, was set up. Then, came the first institutions of scientific research in the fields of ethnography and folkloristics, on whose basis the Institute of Folk Culture at the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA was set up in 1979. Different aspects of the Albanian folk culture are also studied in other institutes of the Academy — the Institute of Linguistics and Literature, the Institute of History, the Centre of Archaeologi-

cal Research, as well as the chairs of the University of Tirana and other higher schools.

Our ethnographic and folkloristic sciences were faced with a number of major and complex problems of the history and actual development of folk culture. In the studies made after Liberation many problems were posed and great progress made in their solution, like the historical roots and millennial development of folk culture in the context of Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the ethnogenesis of the Albanian people, the originality of Albanian folk culture and its give-and-take relationship with other cultures, those of the other Balkan peoples in particular, the national unity and regional variety of folk culture, the peculiarities of the rural and urban culture and their relationship, development of ethnodemographic processes, relationship between tradition and innovation in the contemporary development of folk culture, relationship between folk culture and modern culture, etc. The study of those problems is done in close connection with the achievements of other sciences — archaeology, history, linguistics, the history of art, anthropology, which have undergone great development in the last 40 years. On this basis important results have been achieved in the complex study of these problems seen in close connection with the life, history and culture of the people.

Important achievements have been scored also in the study of the particular aspects, the different components of the folk culture. In the field of material culture, the studies have been carried out on dwellings and settlements, the traditional agricultural and livestock-raising economy, rural and urban folk crafts and arts, folk costumes and textiles, etc. In the field of social and spiritual culture, the forms of the social and political organization of the peasantry, family and marriage relations, the customary law, traditions and customs of family life, birth, marriage and death, popular mythology and beliefs, ethno-psychology and modes of living, have been the subject of major studies. In the field of folklore important results have been

achieved in the study of epic legends, ballads and lyrics and the history of the development of Albanian folklore studies. The foundations have been laid for the study of ethno-psychology and folk dances. There has been a further enrichment of funds not only of the Ethnographic Museum and the Museum of National History, but also of local and regional museums, some of which are specialized in the exhibition of folk culture. The Institute of Folk Culture has about 30,000 objects which provide full documentation of folk culture in the last two centuries. The archives of this Institute comprise more than 30,000 music recordings, 600 volumes of reports of folklore expeditions, 20,000 photos, a wealth of recordings of folk songs, dances, tales, proverbs, poetry, etc.

The Albanian ethnographic and folkloristic studies rely on rigorously scientific theoretical and methodological bases, as well as on a thorough knowledge of the local material. Scientific expeditions on the ground are a constant practice for Albanian folklore students. All scientific publications and studies are based on the material collected by these expeditions. The scope of comparative and inter-Balkan studies is becoming ever wider. Our ethnographic and folkloristic studies and publications include material of folk culture not only of Albanians living within the state boundaries of the PSRA, but also of Albanians living in Yugoslavia, in the Arbëreshi diaspora of Italy, Greece and other countries. Of particular importance in this direction are the achievements of the Albanian students in Yugoslavia who are making a valuable contribution to the study of the folk culture, language and history of the Albanians living there. Without considering this contribution and the studies of the Albanian diaspora it is impossible to shed light on the history and other problems of the Albanian folk culture.

The development of the scientific study of folk culture has had a positive influence on the educational institutions of our country. Now a scientific program is carried out to acquaint the young generation with

the values and traditions of folk culture. Original textbooks on Albanian ethnography and folklore have been compiled for the faculties of the University.

An important contribution in this direction is made by the Institute of Folk Culture which is especially engaged in the study, collection and publication of works on Albanian folk culture. Besides scientific periodicals in Albanian and French like *The Albanian Folk Culture* and *The Albanian Ethnography*, the Institute has undertaken the publication of the scientific academic series *The Cultural Legacy of the Albanian People*, a monumental work which is bringing the treasury of this culture to light. In the context of this major work figures the publication of the corpus of the Albanian folklore which comprises the series of folk prose (7 volumes published to date), of legendary and historical epic (5 volumes published to date), of folk

lyric (3 volumes published to date), the series of folk songs about the Antifascist National Liberation War and the period of the socialist construction (7 volumes published to date), etc. The Institute also publishes the series of folklore material of different regions and the series of outstanding folklore collectors. The Institute is preparing for publication the series of folk costumes (4 volumes), folk dwellings (4 volumes), the Ethnographic Atlas, as well as a number of albums on folk art, etc.

An expression of the high esteem folk culture is held by all our people are the National Festival of Folk Songs and Dances and the National Exhibition of Folk Arts and Crafts which are held once in five years. These activities are carried out on the basis of a scientific program which is worked out by scientists and specialists and has as its main aim the preservation of the authenticity of folk

culture and its propagation. Organized in three phases, the National Folklore Festival takes place with the participation of a great number of amateurs of folk songs and dances. In 1973, 40,000 folk singers and dancers participated in it, this number rose to 50 thousand in 1978 and to 70 thousand in 1983. Likewise, the National Exhibition of Folk Crafts and Arts presents the finest works of masters of the 26 administrative districts of the country. These activities are playing a very important role in the preservation of the purity of the finest traditions of folk art and their regeneration, making them the concern of the whole people.

Reporting on some of the more important achievements in the collection and study of Albanian, folk culture, I must, at the same time, point out that Albanian students in this field are aware that much remains to be done in the future.

THE DYNAMIC AND ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN ALBANIA

The general dynamic development of the Albanian agriculture and countryside is neither a national peculiarity nor a gift of nature. This development which has taken place in the years of the people's state power in our country, is the direct result of the socio-economic order, of the self-denying work of the masses of the people led by the Party of Labour of Albania

AS INSEPARABLE PART OF THE CENTURIES-LONG EFFORTS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THEIR IDEALS OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE AT THE SAME TIME STRIVEN FOR MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL PROGRESS, INCLUDING THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE COUNTRYSIDE IN WHICH ABOUT 80 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION LIVED BEFORE LIBERATION. THESE STRIVINGS OF OUR PEOPLE COULD LEAD TO REAL RESULTS ONLY AFTER THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. IN THIS 40-YEAR PERIOD, EPOCH-MAKING REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS WERE MADE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALBANIAN AGRICULTURE AND COUNTRYSIDE WHICH LINGERED IN LAMENTABLE GENERAL BACKWARDNESS IN THE PAST.

From the past we inherited an extensive agriculture with only two poorly developed branches — bread grain production and livestock-raising. Due to the low level of technical equipment, the one-crop agriculture could meet the needs of the country for cereals only for some months of the year. The wooden plough was predominant. Farming machines, chemical fertilizers, selected seed, insecticides, etc., were almost unknown. The more fertile plains had degenerated into swamps and nothing serious was done for land reclamation and irrigation. About 90 per cent of the population was illiterate. Housing conditions were miserable and the health service almost non-existent. Mortality was very high, and the average life expectancy

VLADIMIR MISJA — *Profesor, doctor of economic sciences*

was 38 years for the whole country, and lower still for the peasantry.

In order to liquidate the backwardness inherited from the past and pull the country out of its mediaeval condition onto the road of its all-round socio-economic development, the question of the establishment of new relations of production was on the order of the day after the liberation of the country. The carrying out of the Land Reform right after the liberation of the country marked the first revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside. It was later followed by the collectivization of agriculture which represented a second revolution and a revolutionary change of a radical character in this direction.

The establishment and perfection of the socialist relations of production

in the countryside and the consistent implementation of the principle of the simultaneous development of industry, as the leading branch, and agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, made possible deep-going and all-round transformations to be carried out in the Albanian countryside. The undeveloped, primitive, one-crop agriculture was replaced by an intensive and multi-branched agriculture. While before Liberation bread grain accounted for 84 per cent and industrial crops only 3 per cent of total agricultural production, this ratio today is 50 and 21 per cent respectively. As a result of the perfection of the technology and the application of new techniques along with the increase of the number of people engaged in agriculture, yields have greatly increased.

The growth of agricultural production shows the great transformations undergone by Albanian agriculture. In 1983, compared with 1950, total agricultural production grew 4.4 fold. It is some years now since the achievement of a great victory of an economic and political character — the meeting of the needs of the people with locally produced bread grain.

The principal direction for ensuring the growth of agricultural production

OUND

ANIA *by VLADIMIR MISJA*

has been and remains the extension and systematization of the arable land. The arable land today is about 2.5 times larger than it was before Liberation. This is the result of the huge investments made by the state in the reclamation of the plains and the opening up of new land. The arable land gained through land reclamation schemes in the years 1946-1980 is equal to about 20 per cent of the arable land existing before Liberation (about 50 per cent of the land was improved through drainage schemes). In the years of the people's power particular attention has been paid to the rapid increase of the irrigation capacity which in 1983 has grown 13 fold, as against the pre-war level. Now the irrigable land accounts for 55 per cent of the

total arable area, as against 10 per cent before Liberation.

Another direction for the growth of agricultural production is that of raising the technical level of this important branch of our national economy. During the period of socialist construction, dynamic transformations of a broad range of action have taken place in the raising of the level and the stepping up of the rates of technical-scientific advance. The substitution of the wooden plough with the tractor and of the pine torch with the electric bulb are indicative of a radical change that has taken place in a historically short period of less than 40 years. The data of the table below show the high rates of the technical advance of our agriculture:

Along with the constant expansion of the arable land and the growth of yields of agricultural and livestock products, in the period of socialist construction the structure of the agricultural production and arable land has improved, too. In 1983 fruit-growing accounted for 17 per cent of the arable land, as against 4.3 per cent in 1950. There have also been structural changes in the area sown to field crops, which are expressed in a higher proportion of industrial crops, vegetables and others, and in a lower proportion of bread grain.

In the period of the socialist construction our agriculture has developed both in the plains and in the hilly and mountainous areas, according to the policy of «making the mountain sides as fertile as the plains». The hilly and mountainous economies account for about 52 per cent of the fund of arable land and about 45 per cent of the total agricultural production. The harmonious and proportionate development of agriculture according to the different branches and zones is a determinant factor for the growth of agricultural production, the improvement of the general well-being of the working masses, the vigorous development of the countryside, the prevention of its depopulation, etc.

The development of agriculture has gone parallel with the development of the other branches of the national economy. Such proportions and links have been established between agriculture and the other branches of the national economy as to ensure the vigorous development of the national economy as a whole. Of particular importance is the connection of the proportions of development between agriculture and industry, because agriculture represents the basic branch while industry the leading branch of the economy. A sta-

THE DYNAMICS OF SOME INDICES OF THE RAISING OF THE TECHNICAL LEVEL IN ALBANIAN AGRICULTURE (in times with the year 1950 as a basis)

Indices	measure unit	years		
		1950	1960	1983
1. Number of tractors in 15 HP	times	1.0	13.0	55.0
2. Motor power in HP	times	1.0	16.0	81.0
3. General structure of power, of which	per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
a) motor power	per cent	9.0	67.5	90.0
b) animal power	per cent	91.0	32.5	10.0
4. Percentage of irrigable land	per cent	10.5	29.0	54.7
5. Use of chemical fertilizers expressed in active matter per ha of arable land	kg/ha	2.6	17.0	137.0
6. Percentage of electrified villages	per cent	3.0	9.0	100.0
7. Increase of cadres of higher training (agronomers, veterinarians and zootechnicians)	times	1.0	10.4	115.9
8. Growth of total agricultural production	times	1.0	1.4	4.4
9. Yields of agricultural and livestock products	qu/ha			
— wheat	qu/ha	9.7	7.4	
— maize	qu/ha	8.8	8.3	41.0
— tobacco	qu/ha	3.4	4.0	7.5
— surgar-beet	qu/ha	45.1	126.0	390.2
— milk per cow	kg	340	525	1.372.0

ble economy with a many branched structure calls for relying on the two feet: industry and agriculture. The rational organization of the national economy is based on the solution of the problem of the correct combination of industry and agriculture. The dynamic development of industry and the improvement of the structure of its branches is linked with the vigorous and all-round development of agriculture. The intensive development of agriculture has been made possible as a result of the quick development of mechanical engineering, chemical, power, construction materials and other industries. The development of our chemical, mechanical engineering and other industries is geared to the production of mainly such articles as chemical fertilizers, insecticides, machinery and equipment and spare parts for farming and other machines. Priority is given to the development of those industry branches which represent a powerful support for the rapid development of agriculture. Thus, in 1983 the proportion of the production of the chemical and mechanical engineering industries to the total industrial production rose to 21.1 per cent, as against 3.7 per cent in 1960.

All these results are conditioned on those new social and material factors which, taken in their unity and interaction, have ensured the intensive and all-round development of our agriculture.

The development of agriculture and the other branches of material production has been accompanied with the constant raising of the standard of living of the working masses. In the last 30 years the national income and the consumption fund have increased 2.5 times as rapidly as the growth of the population. All the indices of the cultural and educational level and the health service has undergone perceptible development. Albania is among the European countries with the lowest mortality rate. The rapid improvement of the well-being of the working masses in the countryside, as against those of the city, is the predominant trend in the general process of the uninterrupted raising of the living standards of the working people. This constitutes the basis for the ceaseless narrowing down of differences between city and country. Significant in this direction are the rise of the educational level, the growth of the real income and the improvement of other indices of a social character.

Thus, while in 1960 village students accounted for 57 per cent of all the 8-year student population, this figure has risen to 70 per cent today. Medium education has also developed at high rates.

The progressive changes in the structure of the schooled population of the countryside according to categories of schools are seen in the table below:

Changes in the structure of the schooled population according to categories of schools

	y e a r s	
	1969	1979
schooled population of which	100.0	100.0
— with primary education	69.4	38.1
— with 8-year education	34.1	46.1
— with medium and high education	5.5	115.8

The improvement of the educational structure of the population of the countryside and the narrowing down of differences between city and country in this direction stem from the revolution of a socialist character that

has been carried out in the Albanian countryside.

Major changes have been made in the life of the Albanian village as regards the mode of living and conditions of housing. All the villages of the Republic today are built and de-



velop according to regulating plans and on the basis of sound economic, social and housing criteria. The electrification of all the villages of the country has brought about a radical change in the mode of living and conditions of housing. Almost all the villages are connected with the road and telephone network.

The inhabitants of the countryside are for some years now covered by the



The hills have become as fertile as the plains.

system of state social insurance which is based on unified and centralized criteria. The peasant in the village enjoys the right of pension just as the worker in the city. He and the members of his family profit free from the facilities of the health service which are in constant expansion. This has had a major influence on the improvement of demographic indices, mortality indices, in particular, which,

compared with the pre-Liberation period, have decreased about three times. Here, too, there is a general tendency to the narrowing down of differences between city and country.

Thus while in the period 1958-1960 the mortality rate in the countryside was 75 per cent higher than in the town, this figure fell to 24 per cent in the period 1978-1980, and to 14 per cent in 1983.

The general dynamic development of the Albanian agriculture and countryside is neither a national peculiarity nor a gift of nature. This development which has taken place in the years of the people's state power in the socio-economic order, is the result of the selfdenying work of the masses of the people, led by the Party of Labour of our country is the direct result of Albania.

DYNAMIC GROWTH OF THE OVERALL SOCIAL AND NATIONAL INCOME

*Our Party
has applied the
Marxist-Leninist
principle of self-*

*reliance unwaveringly in the process of the extended socialist revolution
of our country shows that the sphere of operation of this principle
content is not only a law of the construction of socialism but also a
necessity in the struggle to cope with the imperialist aggression*

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA IS BASED ON THE EXTENDED SOCIALIST REPRODUCTION, WHICH DEVELOPS ACCORDING TO PLAN, AT RAPID RATES AND WITH STABILITY. ON THIS BASIS, ALONG WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY, THE GROWTH OF PRODUCTION, THE UNINTERRUPTED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE CONTINUOUS RAISING OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MASSES HAVE BEEN ENSURED.

The continuous rapid growth of the overall social production and national income, which are the most general expression of the economic potential of a country, reflect the Marxist-Leninist economic policy of the Party for the construction of socialism in our country.

The following is a summary presentation of the process of growth of overall social production and the increase in population during the years of the people's state power in Albania.

in times against the year 1938

years	overall social production	population
1950	1.8	1.2
1960	5.5	1.5
1970	12.1	2.1
1980	20.5	2.6
1983	22.9	2.7

The dynamic of the growth of overall social production are characteristic of all branches of material production, especially of the development of industry and agriculture. Speaking at

LLAMBRO STRAKOSHA — economist.

the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The socialist industrialization of the country, which has developed from one five-year plan to the other as a great and ceaseless process, has occupied and continues to occupy the main place in the economic policy of the Party. It has been and is a decisive factor for the general advance of the country on the road of socialism.»¹

As a result of this, the overall industrial production of 1984, against 1938, has increased 164 fold, at an

average annual rate of 11.7 per cent. At present, the industrial production of 1938 is realized within two days. The multi-branched structure of industry has been improved and the balance of energy resources has increased. While special importance is attached to the oil industry, the mineral extraction and processing industries have also developed at high rates. At the same time, there have been considerable improvements in the structure of the means of production and consumer goods. With this, possibilities to give ever more fruitful help to the development and intensification of agriculture have increased. One of the important aims of the development of our industry has been the creation of new branches. The industrial growth of our country in 1984, as against 1938, is reflected in the following table:

Branches of industry	<i>in times</i>				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1984
Coal industry	13	87	205	374	522
Chrome industry	7	39	65	191	256
Copper industry ^{a)}	5	12	188	426	617
Iron-nickel industry ^{b)}	—	4	15	50	75
Electric power industry	2	24	107	401	430
Engineering industry	4	21	142	480	640
Chemical industry ^{c)}	1	10	141	424	533
Building materials industry	4	31	99	268	293
Wood and papermaking industry	6	65	117	179	202
Light industry	1	23	55	88	103
Food-stuffs industry	6	23	42	72	87

TH RATES

SOCIAL PRODUCTION INCOMES

by LLAMBRO STRAKOSHIA

production. The experience of the socialist construction principle becomes ever wider. This great principle of a profound revolutionary but also an imperative socialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement

- a) Against the year 1946.
- b) Against the year 1958.
- c) Against the year 1950.

The rapid steady development of industry is connected directly with the extension of the mineral extraction and processing industry, which, compared with all the other branches of the economy, has had higher rates of development than any other branch of the economy. So, in 1984, as against 1960, extraction industry has increased 5.3 fold and processing industry 6.2 fold. In the last ten years, special importance has been attached to both processing and the extraction of minerals. In 1984, the part of the extraction industry in the extraction and processing industry reached up to 87.5 per cent. The whole amount of copper extracted is now processed within the country through a complete cycle. With the coming into operation of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the ferro-chromium plant at Burrel, etc., the degree of processing of primary minerals within the country has gone up considerably.

One of the basic principles of the development of industry has been the rapid-rate increase of the production of electric power, which has always preceeded the development of all the other branches of industry and all the economy. In 1984, as against 1938, it increased 430 fold, and 17.7 fold compared with the level of 1960.

The process of extended socialist re-production finds its reflection also in the proportions set for the increase of the means of production (first subdivision) and the production of consumer goods (second subdivision), observing the requirements of the law of the priority growth of production of the means of production. As a result of this, the rapid development of heavy industry and agriculture has been accompanied with the improvement of the structure of social pro-

duction according to the two subdivisions, the further increase of the part of production of the means of production.

The main place, both in the production of the means of production and the production of consumer goods, is occupied by industry. The dynamic of increase of the means of production and consumer goods, as well as their part in the total industrial production for the period 1938-1984, is reflected in table no. 1:

Table no. 1

Item	1950	1960	1970	1980	1984
		1938 = 1			
Overall industrial production	4	25	64	138	164
Means of production (group A)	4.3	24.5	73.9	177	210
Consumer goods (group B)	4.0	25.5	53.7	100	118

Part in per cent

Overall industrial production	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Means of production (group A)	51.9	49.1	58.0	64.0	64.2
Consumer goods (group B)	48.1	50.9	42.0	36.0	35.8

The priority development of the means of production has ensured the simultaneous development of the production of consumer goods at rapid rates. So, in 1984, as against 1960, production of the means of production has increased nearly 9 fold, while production of consumer goods has in-

creased nearly 5 fold. Consequently, the part of production of the means of production is more and more predominating in the overall industrial production. This is a clear indication of the degree of the industrialization of the country, of the confident advance of our country on the road of

its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country.

As a result of the inflexible application of the economic policy of the Party, it has been possible to secure not only the priority increase of production of the means of production over the consumer goods, but also the increase of production of the means of production for the production of the means of production, within the first subdivision. Within the branch of industry, for example, in the period 1960-1984, production of the means of production for the production of the means of production within the subdivision has increased 13 fold, while that for production of the consumer goods has increased 4 fold. This road has brought about a raised degree of the exploitation in depth and extent of national assets, the strengthening of the material-technical base for the increase of local production of consumer goods, etc. At the present time, the engineering industry has entered a new phase, that of the production of machines and equipment for mines, agriculture, transport and other branches of the national economy.

The continuous increase in industrial production and the growth of agricultural production have brought about the increase in the amount of consumer goods and the improvement of the structure of people's consumption. In 1984, as against 1938, consumer goods have increased about 118 times, and compared with 1960, over 4 times over. Local production of consumer goods accounts for about 95 per cent of the total production of consumer goods. This is one of the most important achievements of our socialist economy.

The development of industry is accompanied with the rapid development of agriculture. The revolutionary changes and the advance of agriculture stand out as major achievements of the political line of the Party for the construction of socialism. This is clearly seen in the fact that in the four decades since the people's state power was established in Albania, agricultural production has increased over 5 fold. This has ensured a growth rate about twice as fast as the growth of the population.

The increase in the overall agricultural production at the above-mentioned rates has become possible as a result of the extensive and intensive development of agriculture. The draught power of agriculture in 1984, compared with that of the year 1938, has increased 9.5 fold, and motor power today constitutes 89.9 per cent of the total draught power, against 0.8 which it was in 1938. From about 1,000 hectares of arable land which one tractor of 15 HP tilled in 1950, in 1983 this index figure reached 38 hectares. Along with the increase in the use of organic manure, chemical fertilizers have found widespread use. As against 1950 (calculated as active matter per hectare) the use of chemical fertilizers has increased 100 fold. Colossal investments have been made for the draining, systematization and irrigation of the land. Irrigation capacity has increased over 13 fold.

These and other measures have contributed to raising productivity in agriculture.

The increase of yields and sown land have led to the increase of crop production. Alongside the increase of production of bread grain, the production of vegetables, rice, potatoe, industrial crops, etc., has also increased at rapid rates. In this man-

ner the structure of the food of the people has been improved, light and food-stuffs industry has been supplied better with more primary materials, the volume of export of them has also increased.

Fruit-tree production has assumed great development. Instead of scattered fruit-trees, today in our country there are plantations and large blocks of fruit-trees, citruses, olive groves and vineyards. In 1983, as against 1938, fruit production has increased 10.3 times and that of citruses 17.2 times.

With the measures which have been adopted, our agriculture, from a one-sided agriculture with primitive methods which it was in the past, has been transformed into a multi-branched intensive agriculture.

Along with the development and growth of overall social production, national income has also increased at high rates. The national income is realized 100 per cent from the socialist sector of the economy, against 29 per cent which it was in 1950 and 88 per cent in 1960. Deep-going changes have occurred also in the contents of the national income. This can be seen from the data of the following table, according to the branches of the national economy.

in per cent

Item	1938	1960	1970	1980	1983
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Industry	3.8	18.6	28.2	43.6	43.3
Agriculture	93.1	37.6	34.2	32.7	34.1
Constructions	0.8	6.5	7.1	6.7	7.8
Transport, trade, etc.	2.3	37.3	30.5	17.0	14.8

Although national income realized from the sector of agriculture has increased from one year to another, industry and the other non-agricultural branches of material production produce about 66 per cent of the national income, against 6 per cent which they accounted for in the year 1938.

The increase in the overall social production and national income at relatively high rates and with stability, relying on our own forces, is

connected closely with the fact that all the dynamic increase of the active population of our country, the structure of which is characterized by a high percentage of the young age-group, is completely occupied in social useful work, with effectiveness and high productivity. The active population of Albania today constitutes over half of the total population of the country.

Our Party has applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance un-

waveringly in the process of the extended socialist reproduction. The experience of the socialist construction of our country shows that the sphere of operation of this principle becomes ever wider. This great principle of a profound revolutionary content is not only a law of the construction of socialism but also an imperative necessity in the struggle to cope with the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, as the 40-year long experience of the construction of socialism in Albania shows.

The degree of accumulation to be made and the level of well-being to be achieved depend on the size of national income, its structure and volume. Therefore, the correct use of the national income and the maintenance of a correct ratio between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption is an indispensable condition for the raising of the general well-being of the people today and in the future. The policy of the Party regarding the distribution and utilization of national income has always responded correctly to the requirements that emerge for the building of socialism in our country throughout the whole 40-year long period, ensuring the all-round development of all the branches of the economy and culture, as well as the continuous raising of material well-being and cultural level of the masses of working people, and the strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist Homeland.

The distribution of the national income into consumption fund and accumulation fund is characterized, in every five-year plan, by the continuous increase of the part of accumulation fund within the national income distributed. In this manner, whereas in the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955) it accounted for 25.6 per cent, in the 4th — 33.7 per cent, in the 5th — 36.7 per cent, in the 6th — 29.9 per cent, and in the 7th (1981-1985) 33 per cent. The course of the increase of accumulation rates has served as the basis for the extended socialist reproduction, for the uninterrupted development of the produc-

tive forces, and, subsequently, for the continuous improvement of the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. Socialist Albania is the only country of the world which develops its economy and culture, and strengthens its defence capacity without aid and credits from outside. This has been achieved as a result of the Party's economic line and policy. It is the concrete expression of the economic potential which our country has built over these forty years under the people's state power.

The correct distribution and most fruitful utilization of accumulation funds is another important question about which our Party has followed a policy of sound principles based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the extended socialist reproduction. From one five-year plan to another, the structure of utilization of the accumulation fund has improved. Thus, the accumulation fund which was allocated to the increase of main productive funds reached up to 62.1 per cent in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) against 55.4 per cent of the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955). During the years of the 7th Five-year Plan, about 3/4 of this fund have been used for the development of productive forces in town and countryside.

Along with the priority development of the productive sphere, special care has been devoted also to the allocation of necessity funds to the development of the non-productive sphere, to the extension and strengthening of the material-technical base of the various social and cultural sectors, which is connected with the improvement of the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of working people. Likewise, an important place in the use of the accumulation fund is occupied continuously by the increase and strengthening of the various material, financial and consumer goods' reserves.

In all its activity, the Party has always placed in the centre of its attention the question of the uplift and continuous increase of the material well-being and the cultural level of

the people. In this field, it has unwaveringly applied a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary line, the line of ensuring the general well-being of the whole people, by fulfilling the most urgent and massive economic, cultural and social needs of the working people, and continuously narrowing the distinctions in the level of incomes and the mode of living between town and countryside, as well as those among different groups of the population.

«To attain the objectives in the field of well-being,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party, «the work and efforts must be concentrated, in the first place, on fulfilling the targets for increasing production and raising its efficiency in industry, agriculture and all the other branches and sectors.»²

On the basis of the rapid increase of national income it has become possible to secure, at the same time, the continuous increase of the consumption funds, along with the priority increase of the accumulation funds, for the fulfilment of the vital individual and collective needs of the working people. From one five-year plan to another, the consumption fund has increased at rates several times higher than the rate of the population increase, thus leading to the continuous increase of real per capita income of the population.

In these 40 years, as a result of the constant care of the Party of raising the material well-being and cultural level of the working people, major successes have been achieved. The turnover of retail trade goods in 1983 was 17.8 times greater than in 1938, which is about 6.5 per cent higher than the population increase of Albania. Major transformations have been made also in the improvement of the living and housing conditions of the population. Today over 80 per cent of the country's populations lives in new houses built in the years of people's state power.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 18, Eng. ed.

2 *Ibidem*, p. 52.

SOCIALISM-THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL ORDER

IT IS THE CLASS IN POWER WHICH CONTROLS

When we say that in socialist Albania the working class, in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry, are in power and govern the country, we have in mind the recognized fact that they actually have the effective right and all powers to exercise check-up on the state organs about key political, economic and social problems. In our country this right of the workers and peasants stems from all the socio-economic socialist relations, from the very nature of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which embodies and defends their fundamental interests.

The continuous and consistent application of the direct worker and peasant control in our country constitutes a logical and natural materialization of the decisive role of the masses as the creators of the history, the hegemonic role of the working class in the revolution and in the construction of socialism. The exercise of the worker and peasant control has always been an effective form of the revolutionary class education of the working people to acquire and exercise the art of government, and one of the fundamental guarantees to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat, our socialist order, from the danger of the bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. That is why, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have created all the possibilities so that control should be as effective as possible, operate constantly, with full competences and with the participation of the masses.

The right of effective control by the working class is a major success. This has been achieved and realized in practice because it is the class

which is in power in our country. To proclaim this right and to speak about the direct worker and peasant control is only one aspect of the matter. Indeed, it is the formal aspect of the question, which may degenerate into a demagogic slogan as happened in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries. The main thing is how much it is realized as it should, how effective it is and to what extent it is decisive. There are hundreds and hundreds of examples from the practice of the construction of socialism in our country, which speak of the effectiveness of check-up by the working class and the cooperativist peasantry in enterprises, cooperatives, and the organs of the state power.

Our Party has continuously issued important theoretical orientations and has adopted practical measures for the defence, implementation and the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the role of the working class. Resolutely combating the anti-Marxist and anarchic views of the Yugoslav revisionists about «self-administration», the so-called direct leadership by the working class, which are a humbug in practice and sophistry in theory, the Party of Labour of Albania has really placed the working class in the role which belongs to it in our socialist society.

Drawing their lessons from the negative experience of the revisionist countries, only our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha further developed the Leninist ideas on the worker and peasant control in the concrete terrain. In our conditions, special importance has been continuously attached to drawing the opinion of the working masses, the development of

criticism and self-criticism in depth, the rendering of account before the masses, the activity of the groups of worker and peasant control and other forms, through which the direct control of the masses in the governing of the country is ensured. In socialist Albania this control is realized in various forms and ways, from above and from below, under the leadership of the Party, therefore, it is improbable that the direct control by the working class from below should come to confrontation with the check-up organized through the intermediary of the Party and the proletarian state. Both forms of control, from below and from above, are indispensable. They complement one another, have one and the same aim and operate in complete unity, though each in its own way, along the Party line, and under its control and leadership. At the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party it was once again stressed that the strengthening of all forms of control, amongst which the worker and peasant control, is an indispensable condition for putting the mission of the working class ever better into practice. This is the reason why the working class in socialist Albania has become conscious not only of its role as the decisive leading and productive force, but also of its political role as the vanguard class of our society.

In socialism state administration in all its links depends on and is controlled by the elected state organs and can never have that predominant role which it has in the bourgeois state. The socialist state is a state of the new type. As Marx and Engels have pointed out, this state is the «proletariat itself organized as a ruling class». That is why the correct implementation and combination of the state control with the direct worker and peasant control constitutes the powerful instrument which operates

for the improvement of the activity of the state apparatus, for the strengthening of our socialist democracy. Precisely this truth is stressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha when he says that, «It is required that both these controls should operate parallelly.» In our country the voice of the class is heard really, because it is clear to everybody that the class does not exist for the sake of the administration, but the administration exists for the sake of the class. It is the working class which gives the tone to the whole activity and life of the country.

The raising of cadres from the working class to the state apparatus has not been and is not a mechanical adjustment of statistical ratios. It is an expression of the degree of the direct participation of the working class in the management of state affairs, which grows in proportion to the quantitative and qualitative changes in the working class itself. The application of this directive in practice has brought about an ever greater increase in the number of workers in

the organs of the state and the economy, in the organizations of the masses and everywhere else. This fact has further revolutionized and deepened the struggle against bureaucracy, liberalism and other alien manifestations, is strengthening and steeling the dictatorship of the proletariat, the genuine proletarian democracy more and more. Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, «The linking up with the masses and the participation of the masses in the governing of the country have been and remain the fundamental line of the Party for the building and functioning of our people's state.»

The revolutionary experience of our Party in this field is enriched constantly. It is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes that outstanding contribution full of great values, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has made to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the construction and defence of socialism.

jects, without extending and perfecting what already exists. All these achievements could not be made without the correct distribution and utilization of the national income. Therefore, from the outset it decided on a high norm accumulation which ensures the financial funds and valutary means needed for investments. In the beginning, during the 1st Five-year Plan, the norm of accumulation was fixed at 25.6 per cent. It continued to rise, enlarging the size of the means and funds of accumulation more and more each year, so that today only 2-3 per cent of the annual accumulation would exceed all the fund of accumulation of the year 1951 by some millions of leks.

In conformity with the policy of the Party, the overwhelming part of the means and funds of accumulation has been used continuously for investments, and in the first place, for productive investments. At present, the building of new projects and the extension of the existing ones takes more than 50 per cent of the state budget income, whereas the productive sphere accounts for not less than 80-85 per cent of the total fund of investments. What is the significance of all this? In terms of figures it means billions of leks, which increase and revive our national economy and assets every year. In the period 1946-1950, the country began at the investment level of 807 million leks, continued at 2230 million leks in the 1st Five-year Plan, to go up to 20 billion leks in the 7th Five-year Plan, which exceed all the investments made in the period 1955-1970.

All these billions of leks, spent with ever increasing effectiveness, have transformed our socialist country into a permanent construction site, in which every year sees the completion and commissioning for production of large-scale industrial and agricultural

ALBANIA- A PERMANENT CONSTRUCTION SITE

A foreigner who had visited Albania before the War, expressed his surprise during a recent visit to the industrial town of Laç, with these words: «Here there was only one church and three or four small stone houses and timber huts». The same thing has been said in more or less the same words by many other visitors about our towns and villages, which have surprised them with their changes. This fact has struck especially our fellow-countrymen, from whatever place of the

world they come. This is obvious, because they knew the reality of the past. In this development, which is just as broad in proportions as it is deep in transformations, and which have our own man as their protagonist, a first-hand role has been played and continues to be played by the correct policy of investments and constructions.

To our Party it has been as clear as daylight that our economy cannot develop and the great changes cannot be made without building new pro-

projects and socio-cultural buildings, etc. About 1000 such projects were set up in the first three five-year plans, over 200 more came into production during the 4th Five-year Plan, 155 were added to them during the period of the 5th Five-year Plan, whereas those which were built during the 6th and 7th Five-year Plans are majestic not only on account of their number, but more on account of the productive capacities and the level of know-how and equipment.

The construction of some thousands of projects within a relatively short period of time and the profound changes which have taken place in the life of the people, in which improvements in the living conditions in town and countryside occupy an important place, speak of the fact that the policy of centralized use of direct funds by the socialist state is a correct and far-sighted policy which guarantees the stability of the standard of living achieved and the further raising of it. No other state but the Albanian state, which relies on a strictly centralized policy of fundamental investments could undertake the construction of gigantic projects as the «Light of the Party» hydro-power plant at Fierza and the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman, on which other countries, even if developed, would have used credits and «specialists» from creditor countries. All this is explained by the fact that our state, as the direct organizer of the whole socio-economic life of the country, not only is in a position to ensure large funds through accumulation, but also can use them on correct criteria on the basis of strong economic and financial check-up.

The centralization of considerable funds in the hands of the state and

the mapping out of a correct investments and constructions policy by the Party create the possibility for the direction of funds to the key branches of the economy, which not only determine the whole development of the economy but also guarantee the prosperous future on the basis of a strong defence. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «In deciding investments, their structure and the concrete projects we have taken account of the perspective development of the various branches of the economy and culture, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, the guarantee and the gradual raising of the people's well-being.»

In conformity with this far-sighted policy and its correct orientations, over 50 per cent of the investments for each five-year plan has been used for the industry, mainly for the development of the heavy industry, with the objective of ensuring the complex exploitation of the primary materials and, in the first place, the mineral and energy resources of the country. Today there are scores and hundreds of mines, factories, plants and combines which process the great assets of the subsoil and surface of our country.

The road which we have traversed in order to make our socialist Homeland a permanent construction site, as the Party has orientated, has not been a smooth one. The road to the heights we have reached, from which we have a clear and secure view of our future, was full of hardships, which were overcome with toil and sweat, with efforts and sacrifices. This road has been and remains the most majestic and unerring road because it has always been illuminated by the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

example of the survival of the progressive and democratic qualities which can make their way even in the conditions of the heaviest social and national oppression, the most profound spiritual, civil and religious obscurantism.

Nevertheless, the modern times, our century, found our people immersed in a dire situation, politically and spiritually oppressed, in poverty and great ignorance, in virtually complete illiteracy.

But, with his great intuitive power, our poet Naim Frashëri had foreseen better days for Albania. And when those days began to dawn, the questions arose to which to open the door first: to the rapid increase of the material and cultural well-being, to the consolidation of the new people's state power, or to the spiritual emancipation and progress of the new socialist society and the working masses.

An awakened people and nation, who broke the shackles of social and national thralldom, began with all their forces and with the whole potential which the great popular revolution released, to work heroically in order to emerge from the cursed backwardness of the past and to build a new life in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist ideals. But this magnificent work, this gigantic step could not be realized without culture, without ceaselessly raising the cultural level of the new generations and the working masses, without carrying out a profound and all-sided cultural revolution. The great leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, grasped the whole extent of this historical imperative. He launched the significant democratic, socialist militant slogan: More bread and more education and culture for the people! It is a great thing to place bread and culture on the same footing.

As a powerful avalanche, great achievements were made in the building of the foundations of the new socialist culture, beginning with the liquidation of illiteracy, the achievement of obligatory general education for ever higher school cycles, the creation of the new system of people's education, the organization of the permanent qualification courses for specialists and working people. All these

BIG STRIDES AHEAD IN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Until recently, history has treated the Albanians like a step-mother. The tempests of successive political and military foreign invasions and cultural and ideological aggressions have weighed heavy on the life of the Al-

banian nation. But it has displayed a wonderful enduring quality and vitality. Through the centuries of darkness, the light of the traditional culture, the rich popular and cultivated culture, have never failed — a rare

were accompanied with the formation of the new popular, socialist intelligentsia, the creation of a whole system of cultural institutions, the development and flowering of all genres of literature and art of new socialist realism, the setting up of a whole system of scientific-research work from nothing — realizations which took centuries to be brought about even in the most advanced countries.

All this cultural structure has the most human scientific ideology mankind has ever seen — Marxism-Leninism, in its foundations, and integrates in itself the most outstanding progressive qualities of all times, both past and present, national and foreign, from the giants of human thinking to the pearls of popular culture. But, first of all, this culture is more inclined towards the new, towards the present and the future, towards the healthy, life-giving fragrance that emanates from the new socialist order, towards the brilliant perspectives of the march on the road of socialism.

Ours is a culture which is closely connected with the life of the people, with the varied aspects of their constructive work. Its aim is to make the people better able to work, to produce, to create, to learn how to govern their country, to transform the nature, to improve their living, to improve themselves. It is indissolubly linked with the ideological and spiritual changes in the life of our society, serves the socialist character of our life, militates for the formation of the new human consciousness, the social mentality and psychology of the working people, who fight actively for the construction of socialism and strongly need this spirit also in their daily life.

Another fundamental feature of this staggering stride ahead is also the transformation of the cultural values into the real property of the working people of town and countryside, of all the classes and sections of our society. Indeed, it is not only their property, but also their own creation.

Is it possible to see in a different light the broad participation of the working people, and especially the youth, the chain of revolutionary initiatives and ideological and cultural actions, the uncontrollable participation not only of the children, but also of the young and the grown-up, in the different forms of education and qualification, the massive scientific experimentation in all the corners of the country, the broad amateur artistic and cultural activity, the broad physical-culture and sports activities, in short, all those powerful directions and trends in which the abilities and talents of the simple working people are manifested. All this revolutionary outbreak has nothing in common with the trends of the élite cultures, monopolies of the ruling classes, or with the vulgar and bastard, confusing and degenerative manifestations of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist standards of culture, which aims at befuddling the working masses and the youth.

press review

THE THREATS TO LIBYA — ANOTHER PROOF OF THE AMERICAN AGGRESSIVE POLICY

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

As it has been made known, the attention of the entire international opinion is centred on the Mediterranean where a new hotbed of tension, which may be transformed into a dangerous conflict, has been created.

What is more apparent and a greater cause for indignation for the whole democratic opinion in the world is the political and ideological concept by which the American imperialism seeks to justify its aggression against Libya and other countries that do not submit to its dictate. The theory of the «global character» of American interests which, according to the American imperialists, extend all over the globe, on all seas and continents, in the outer space and everywhere, is being cultivated and applied in the United States.

The American imperialists arrogate for themselves the right to consider a violation of American interests any action and any stand of sovereign states in the field of international relations that does not comply with the American dictate and the control Washington tries to establish on others. The other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, does not lag behind, either. In rivalry and competition with American imperialism, it also tries to expand its empire, to extend its zones of influence everywhere it can.

Violation of the sovereign rights of the peoples, tramp-

ling underfoot of the norms of international law, utter contempt for public opinion, unscrupulous aggressiveness and brutality constitute some of the fundamental characteristics of American foreign policy and behaviour in international affairs.

The aggressive actions against Libya represent another case of the practical implementation of this policy. The United States carries out these actions under the pretext of the so-called struggle against terrorism. Actually the United States wants to punish Libya for its refusal to submit to American dictate. It does not like Libya's open and resolute opposition to the barbarous American-Israeli aggression on the Arab peoples, its defence of the rights denied to the Palestinian people, its defence and protection of its national sovereignty.

The noise the United States is making about terrorism is an ugly manoeuvre carried out on a large scale.

Nobody can justify the various terrorist acts that are being committed all over the capitalist and revisionist world today and that are the product of oppressing and exploiting regimes, of the grave political and social conditions in which they have placed their own citizens. Likewise nobody can approve of the terrorist acts that isolated Palestinian individuals have carried out in different countries. They harm and com-

promise the just struggle of the Palestinian people and all the other Arab peoples in the first place. Regardless of the garb they put on and the cause they refer to, terrorist acts have nothing in common with revolutionary and liberation actions. On the contrary, they only damage the genuine revolutionary and liberation struggles and, for this reason, are encouraged by imperialism and reaction which exploit them to discredit the just struggles of peoples.

The road of blind and desperate terrorism is a wrong and dangerous road which the true revolutionaries have always rejected and resolutely condemned. On the other hand, the world cannot shut its eyes before American terrorism which is carried out against the Arab peoples and other peoples in the world, or the genocide of the Palestinian people by Israel.

Is there any greater and more cruel terrorism than that which the Israelis are for many years now exercising against the Palestinian people with the direct support of the American imperialists? Who knows the exact number of the innocent Palestinian children, women and old men who have been killed as a result of the so-called Israeli reprisals?

How can the Tunis bombardment, which was carried out by Israeli planes which had taken off from Ameri-

can aircraft-carriers and in which innocent citizens of a sovereign country were killed, be called? Are those bandits and gangsters whom the United States has assembled and thrown into open struggle against the peace-loving Nicaraguan people not terrorists and worse than terrorists?

The list of the terrorist crimes of the United States is endless. No other state has set up such a monstrous crime organization as the CIA, no other state uses ordinary crime in foreign countries for its own imperialist ends as the United States. Nowhere more than in the United States has the philosophy of crime replaced the philosophy of state policy.

The progressive and sovereign peoples have never reconciled themselves, nor can they ever be reconciled, to the policy of dictate and aggression which the United States seeks to impose on the world. The indignation aroused by the new American threats and blackmail towards Libya, the disapproval they have met with even in countries which are allies of the United States, the revolt of international opinion at the arrogance and cynicism of the Washington leaders towards a sovereign country, are indicative of the great isolation in which the United States has put itself as a result of its aggressive aims and acts.

At these grave moments when their freedom and independence are directly threatened by American military aggression, all the peoples of the Arab and Moslem

countries have stood by the people of Libya. Without any doubt, their support and solidarity constitute a great force restraining the dangerous plans of American imperialism. At the same time, this stand is fresh proof of the great force represented by Arab unity and its absolute need for the defence of the rights of the Arab peoples against the American-Israeli threats and for a just solution of the Palestinian question.

The United States ought to have foreseen and pondered about the great anti-American reaction its aggressive actions against Libya would arouse all over the world. However, political wisdom and the logic of the reality do not guide the foreign policy of Washington. The megalomania of the superpower and the policy of world domination of Reagan and his circle can lead to any adventure.

The fact is that in front of Libya there is a big American naval fleet and some air squadrons have been flown in from the United States to re-inforce it. The American officials continue to say that, apart from the economic sanctions already imposed on Libya, direct military actions will be undertaken as well. They even declare that the objects of attack have already been singled out.

It is clear that this situation does not pose a threat to Libya alone. It is fraught with many dangers for all the countries of the Mediterranean basin. The various complications that may arise

as a result of the irresponsible acts of American imperialism endanger the interests of other countries, apart from Libya.

Therefore, the aggressive plans of the United States of America must be condemned and foiled in the name of the common interests of all the countries of this basin where the most ancient civilization of the world has been born. Neither American imperialism nor Soviet social-imperialism should be allowed to arrogate for themselves the right to trample underfoot the legitimate rights of sovereign peoples as it pleases and when it pleases them. The economic and military potential of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism may be great, but the desire of the peoples to live free, independent and sovereign in their countries is greater still. If there exists the determination to defend these undeniable rights, if there exists the will to unite in the name of these rights, the plans of imperialist dictate and aggression are powerless.

As our minister of Foreign Affairs put it in his declaration at the recent session of the People's Assembly, the Albanian people are in solidarity with the fraternal Arab peoples and all the progressive and peace-loving peoples in the world who demand the cessation of the threats that are being made to Libya and the elimination of the dangerous situation of American imperialism has created with its aggressive actions in the Mediterranean.

**press
review****A CONGRESS OF THE CONTINUED DEEPENING
OF THE REVISIONIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST COURSE**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The 27th Congress of the CPSU was held in the last days of February and the first days of March. This congress constitutes a new escalation in the continued deepening of the revisionist and socialimperialist course. The political report submitted to the congress by Gorbachov and the new program of the party endorsed there are clear testimony to this. In both these documents unequivocal stress is laid on the ideological and political continuity of this line, which has its origin in the 20th and 22nd Congresses which sanctioned and codified the counter-revolutionary revisionist change in the Soviet Union.

If there is any critical allusion in the documents of the present congress of the CPSU and its proceedings addressed to Khrushchev over his mistakes of a subjectivist and voluntarist character, or addressed to Brezhnev over stagnation, immobility and bureaucratic routine, this figures only as remarks in the context of the general revisionist course, as criticism that this course has not been implemented as it should. Moreover, they represent an attempt to use these «mistakes» and «shortcomings» in order to explain and justify the grave failures to which the revisionists course inside the country and in the international arena has led the country in the economic and

political, ideological and social fields, to show that the ugly phenomena about which Gorbachov was compelled to speak out and which cannot be covered up any longer with the tactic of silence, allegedly are only the consequence of «corrigible» mistakes and shortcomings, and not the unavoidable product of the capitalist-revisionist system practised in the Soviet Union.

Discontent and disillusionment are growing more and more acute inside the Soviet Union. From the press, the statements of Soviet leaders and Gorbachov himself, and especially from the documents to the congress, one has a clear picture of the economic and political, ideological and spiritual crisis the Soviet society is experiencing. The Congress did not make, and it was not expected to make, any deepgoing analysis of the causes which have led to this situation. Bureaucracy, outdated methods of work, refractoriness to new methods, slowness in the regeneration of technology, backwardness in the style of work of party and state organs — these are only some of the causes which Gorbachov mentioned in the Congress. Hence, everything is said in order to justify the failures in the line, laying the blame on the subjective mistakes of individuals. This is deliberately done in order to cover up the essential, the cause

of all causes, the counter-revolutionary revisionist policy of the Soviet party.

With the new congress of their party and the basic documents they approved there, the Soviet revisionists want to create the illusive idea about a turn towards a boom in the present-day Soviet society, about this society proceeding towards «a qualitatively new stage». They want to give a more objective and feasible appearance to the economic strategy of their party. In an effort to detach themselves from phantastic and utopian promises, from Khrushchevite extreme voluntarism and Brezhnevite bureaucratic inertia, which have already discredited the Soviet Union with the innumerable failures in all fields, in fact, the congress declared that the same objectives would be postponed until the end of this millenium, thus substituting one bombastic promise for another. The objectives the Soviet leadership wants to attain, including the doubling of industrial production and national income until the year 2000, are not less ambitious than those which Khrushchev proclaimed in the sixties.

The «radical reforms» which have begun to be put into effect and which are envisaged to be implemented under the slogan of «innovations» and the «gradual economic and social development», on the one hand ex-

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press the centralizing tendency to the consolidation of powerful monopoly units through the creation of inter-economic mergers such as those between big industrial-agrarian and industrial-commercial complexes, while on the other hand, show the tendency to the extension of the independence of monopoly unions and enterprises through the increased possibilities for profit-making on the basis of final results. So, we have to do with the co-existence of bureaucratic centralism of the monopoly type with the broadest economic liberalism at the base, which is expressed in the extension of the rights of enterprises to self-administration (which reminds us of the abortive model of Yugoslav self-administration), the extension of their competences in the use of the relations commodity-money, in investments and the planning of production, in the use of material incentives, in the extension of the plots of land for personal use, etc. The declarations about the «encouragement of the interest of the working people in the final result of production», together with the slogans about the «raising of the standard of living of the masses», cannot disguise the essence of the known methods, such as that of Shchekino about stepping up the exploitation of the worker.

This distinctive characteristic of the reforms dictated by the Soviet leadership in the field of the economy is that, regardless of the «socialist» veneer which they try to give it, they lay greater

stress on the economic laws and categories of capitalism, on the aims of social production and the methods of organization and management of production which derive from these laws. Khrushchev's voluntarist subjectivism, his unpredictable actions and his discrediting and strange remarks, and Brezhnev's stiff bureaucracy, are being replaced by a more resilient technocratic and pragmatic line represented by Gorbachov and his team, a line which relies directly on the demands of the capitalist laws of the economy.

The implementation of this line is being accompanied with a great noise about the struggle against many negative phenomena, and with the dismissal of a great number of cadres, even from among the high hierarchy, on account of corruption and bureaucracy, inability to work in the new conditions, or on account of «old age and ill health». Those ugly phenomena are by no means accidental, circumscribed and temporary, they are not a departure from social norms, as the revisionist propaganda tries to make out, but the direct and natural product of the capitalist relation which have imbued the present-day social life of the Soviet Union in all its pores, therefore, they cannot be liquidated by removing some leading cadres or even a whole section of them. Wholesale dismissals and new appointments are also connected with the need for bringing new people to leading posts, people more suitable and more adaptable to the present requirements

of the capitalist modernization in the Soviet Union. But, at the same time, they are a clear expression of the struggle for power among the rival groups, which characterizes the Soviet revisionist bureaucracy.

As was expected, in the field of foreign policy and international relations, the 27th Congress of the CPSU, while playing the favourite demagogical card of anti-imperialism, detente, disarmament, the card of averting the threat of war and defending peace, also marked, in essence, a further escalation and deepening of the expansionist and hegemonic course of Soviet social-imperialism.

The relations of the Soviet Union with American imperialism, its rivalry, competition and agreements with it, were sanctioned in the Congress as one of the fundamental directions of Soviet foreign policy. It is known, however, that both the rivalry and the negotiations and agreements between the two superpowers are constructed and carried out on the imperialist basis of the division of the spheres of influence between them. They are expressions of their aspirations and aims to the broadest possible extension of their respective domination to the detriment of peoples and sovereign states.

The congress indulged in a great deal of demagogy about peace, but it failed to cover up the preparations of Soviet social-imperialism for war and its imperialist, aggressive aims. Gorbachov made a bombastic proposal

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about a so-called worldwide system of collective security, which is a package of old Soviet proposals for collective regional systems. The peoples have direct experience of this demagogy and know that these proposals by no means serve the security, peace and stability on a world scale, but only sanction the right of the Soviet Union, in rivalry and agreement with the other big imperialist powers, the United State of America, in the first place, to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to monopolize world problems and to dictate its own will in international affairs.

The demagogical program for the liquidation of all nuclear weapons within 15 years is not and cannot be aimed at the destruction of nuclear weapons, on the contrary, it is aimed at deceiving international opinion and adjusting the rates and quotas of the armaments race with American imperialism. There are continuous efforts on the part of the new Soviet leadership to create illusions among people about the possibility of achieving complete and general disarmament in the conditions of imperialism and as a result

of the good will of imperialist chiefs. In this way they seek to divert the attention of the peoples from the aggressive and hegemonic character of the foreign policy of imperialism and social-imperialism.

The neo-colonialist policy of Soviet social-imperialism sanctioned in the congress, emerged clearly in the stand towards the countries of the so-called socialist community. The congress of the Soviet revisionists called and set concrete tasks for all the other revisionist parties of Eastern Europe to accelerate the rates of economic, political and military integration of their countries in compliance with the needs and demands of the Kremlin. The basis of this integrating process which spells ruin for the other revisionist countries remains the Warsaw Treaty and the Comecon. In the same tone of the overlord, the congress addressed itself to the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements and forces in various countries of the world. The Soviet Union wants to take them under its wing and exploit them as instruments of its foreign policy, by publicizing the deceptive slo-

gans of the natural ally of the liberation movements.

The situations which have been created inside the Soviet Union, as well as its social-imperialist foreign policy, are the natural result of the bourgeois class essence of the Soviet party and state. Recent developments once again prove the correctness of the analyses, conclusions and forecasts of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the evolution of Khrushchevite revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism. Nothing has altered and will alter in these Marxist-Leninist conclusions about the Soviet revisionists. For the PLA, the stand towards these enemies of the revolution and the peoples is clear-cut: unrelenting, uncompromising struggle until their complete exposure.

«Our country,» Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «has been and remains a staunch opponent of the aggressive and expansionist policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, a dauntless fighter against the reactionary, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. Our stand towards them has been and remains firm.»

**press
review****HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE DEFENDED BY THOSE WHO VIOLATE THEM**

«ZERI I POPULLIT»

There has been great capitalizing on human rights since the hatching up of the infamous Soviet-American conspiracy about European security. At the conferences of Helsinki, Belgrade, Madrid and now Stockholm human rights have been the main commodity peddled by the bourgeois and revisionist diplomacy. They were also among the main subjects of the recent talks between Reagan and Gorbachov in Geneva. However, neither «European security» nor the «Helsinki Charter» have led, nor could they possibly lead, to more respect for human rights in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The secret bipartite top-level meeting between the American and Soviet leaders could not yield more results in this direction. The higher clamour about human rights, the more the aggressive and hegemonist activities of the superpowers and their allies are stepped up, the more the interests and rights, not only of particular individuals, but of whole peoples are disregarded and violated.

In the name of «the defence of human rights» the superpowers and the other imperialist powers try to justify their interference in the internal affairs of sovereign peoples and countries, their attempts at making the law in the life of other countries, wherever and whatever they may be, allies or not, at controlling government and

national legislations, at dictating to them how the rights and duties of their own citizens should be implemented. They pose as tutors and, hence, obliged to take under their «defence» the citizens of other countries, which is a product of their mentality and policy of world rulers and international gendarmes.

In international relations, the campaign in «the defence of human rights» also expresses the desire of the imperialists and social-imperialists to monopolize the solution of world problems, because allegedly it is up to them only to determine where and to what extent these rights are violated and how they should be implemented. They use human rights as a means of direct pressure on sovereign countries in order to change their internal and foreign policy in the direction the United States, the Soviet Union and United Europe want, to force them to link themselves with this or that imperialist country and eventually lose their rights as free and sovereign countries.

Human rights can never be defended by those who violate the rights of the peoples. The self-appointed champions of human rights in the White House, the Kremlin or elsewhere keep silent about the violation of the rights of the masses and peoples to freedom, independence and democracy in their own countries and their zones of influence, they say nothing how

they have suppressed with bloodshed the rights of the peoples of Korea and Vietnam, of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, of Lebanon and Grenada, they make no mention of the endless suffering and misery their hegemony-seeking and aggressive policies bring the peoples of the world. It is not hard to understand the kind of humanism and the sort of human rights that want to ensure those who have filled the globe with nuclear missiles and military bases, who are deploying mass extermination weapons in outer space, who have turned the interests of the peoples into tokens for barter at their secret top-level talks, the greatest usurers of all times who have put a strangle-hold on whole nations and countries with their loans and armaments trade. Peace and international security, which the United States of America and the Soviet Union have brutally violated and gravely endangered, bringing the world to the brink of a new general war, is also a human right.

Those who clamour and shed tears about human rights are not concerned in the least about the rights denied to tens of millions of unemployed in their own countries, to millions of homeless, hungry and starving people, to millions of those who are not sure about their future and at any minute may fall victims to the bullet of the policeman or gangster. They do

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not bother about the national and democratic rights of peoples oppressed by chauvinist ideologies and nationalist bourgeois policies.

The bourgeoisie and imperialism need the demagogy about «the defence of human rights» to conceal the character of their oppressive and fascist policies within their own countries. Those dozens of millions who come out in demonstrations, strikes and protest manifestations against oppression and exploitation, lack of freedom and suppression of democracy in the bourgeois and revisionist countries are dissatisfied precisely with the order that denies them such rights and

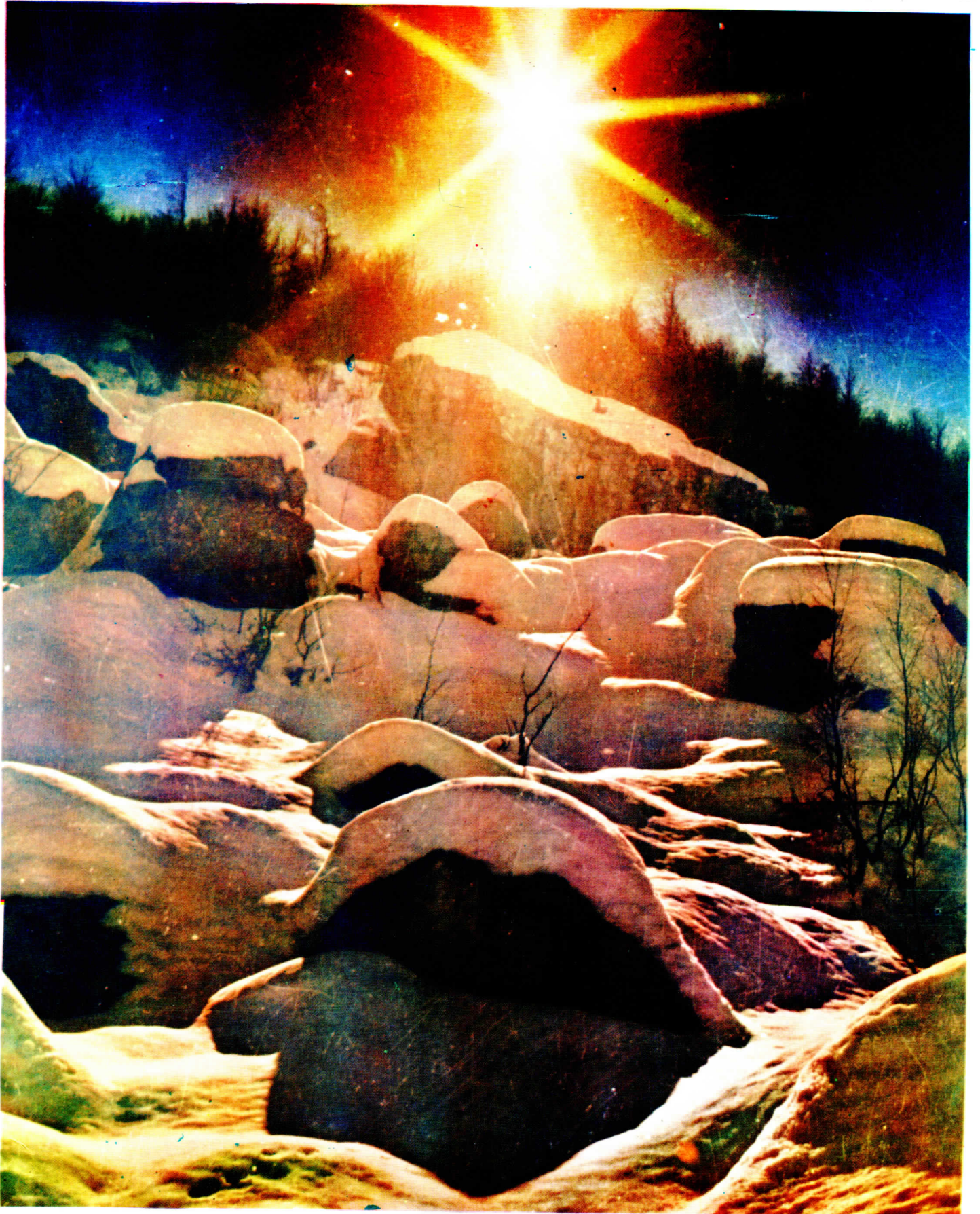
cannot be deceived by the clamour of the bourgeoisie about «human rights».

The bourgeoisie and imperialism try in vain to slander socialism, for which millions of people all over the world fight as the only order which does not divorce words from deeds, as the only order in which the rights and freedom of the individual flourish in the rights and freedom of all the working people. With their attacks and slanders against Stalin, with the grave situation they created first in Hungary, then in Czechoslovakia and recently in Poland, with the restoration of capitalism in their own countries, the revisionists have discredited the ideas of so-

cialism and provided weapons for the imperialist bourgeoisie to attack socialism as a political doctrine and social order.

Socialism guarantees the right to live free and independent, the right to live without social, national or racial oppression, the right of work, food and shelter, the right of national language and speech, the right of national identity, the right of the harmonious development of the individuality and personality of man. This is provided by the reality of socialist Albania and the all-round emancipation of the working people in our country, which is the deed of the Party and socialism.

In the Northern Alps of Albania.



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