

Albania today

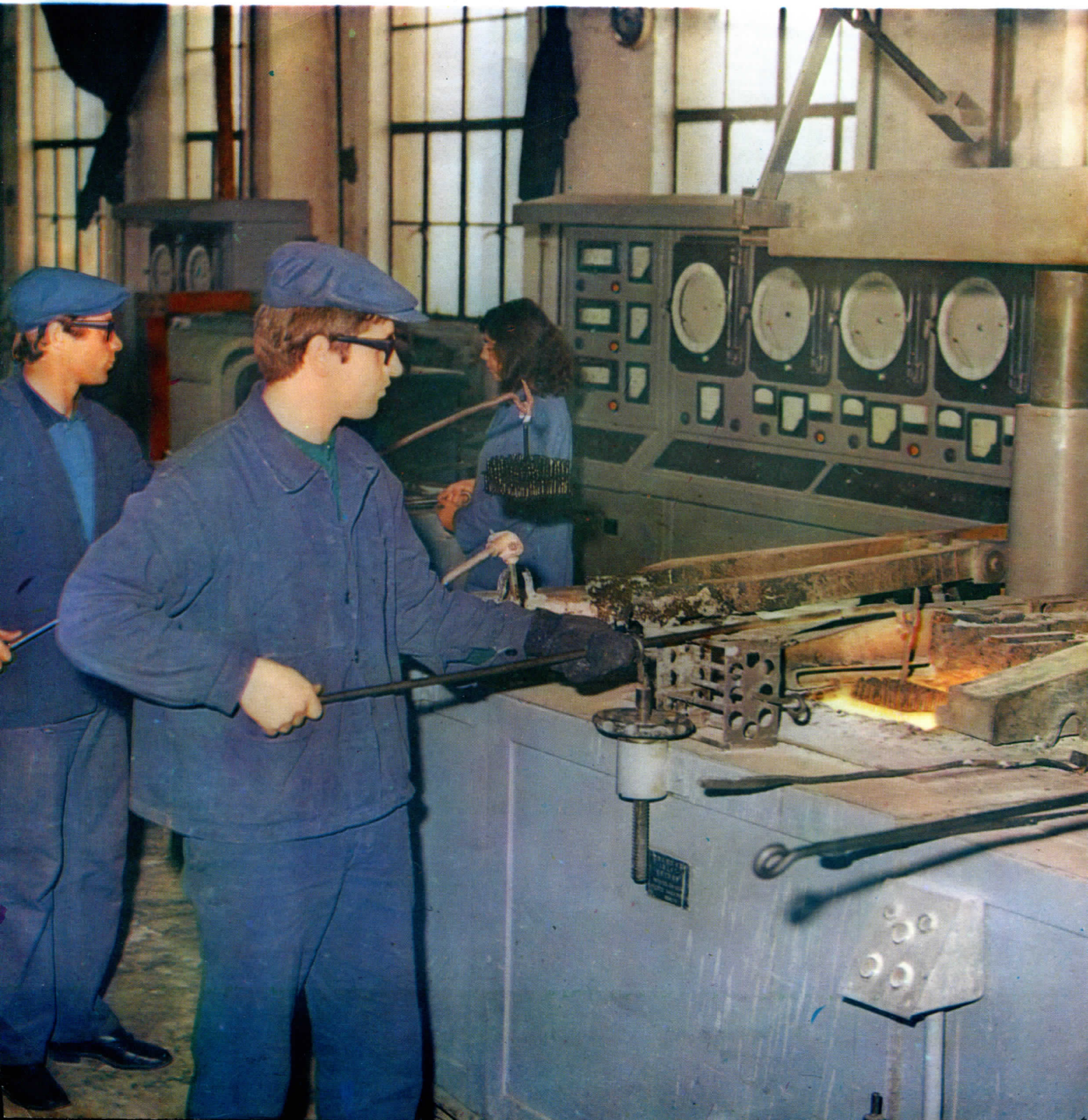
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FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, OUR UNFORGETTABLE LEADER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. AT THE HEAD OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNISTS, FOUNDED THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA. THIS WAS A DEED WHICH, AS COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA HAS SAID, «GAVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE THE LIGHT THEY WERE LACKING, GAVE THEM THE MIND TO SEE THE FUTURE, GAVE THEM THE STAFF WHICH WOULD LEAD THEM IN THE TITANIC LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE».

THE WORKING CLASS, THE VANGUARD CLASS OF OUR SOCIETY, GIVES THE TONE TO THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.



Albania today



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45 YEARS UN OF MARXISM-L

The creation of the CPA marked a radical change of decisive importance for the history of the country. From this event stemmed the roots of the great liberation war which brought the country and the people from fascist thralldom into freedom, from the feudal-bourgeois oppression and exploitation to complete liberation from them, from obscurity into light, from hunger and poverty into prosperity. From this event stemmed the roots of the war which transformed Albania from a dependent country and a coin of exchange in the hands of the imperialist big powers into a country with complete political and economic independence, in which the people are real masters of their own destinies, and have sovereign power.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (TODAY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA) WAS CREATED ON NOVEMBER 8, 1941, FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE FASCIST OCCUPATION OF THE COUNTRY. IT UNDERTOOK THE ONEROUS BURDEN OF HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY TO ORGANIZE AND LEAD THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA.

THE CREATION OF THE CPA MARKED A RADICAL CHANGE OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY. FROM THIS EVENT STEMMED THE ROOTS OF THE GREAT LIBERATION WAR WHICH BROUGHT THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE FROM FASCIST THRALLDOM INTO FREEDOM, FROM THE FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION TO COMPLETE LIBERATION FROM THEM, FROM OBSCURITY INTO LIGHT, FROM HUNGER AND POVERTY INTO PROSPERITY.

From this event stemmed the roots of the war which transformed Albania from a dependent country and a coin of exchange in the hands of the imperialist big powers into a country with complete political and economic independence, in which the people are real masters of their own destinies, and have sovereign power. From this historic turn stemmed also the struggle which led to the establishment of the people's state power and which opened the road for the socialist construction of the country, the struggle of the people, who, relying on their own forces, without stretching their hand to anyone, have surmounted great obstacles and hardships, coping with the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, have constantly carried forward the socialist construction of the country, and ensure the rapid development of socialist industry and agriculture, which successfully meet the ever growing needs of the country and the demands for the strengthening and modernization of the defence of the Homeland.

In this historic change, in the founding of the CPA, begins the great ideal of communism, which in socialist Albania is not just a fine dream,

DER THE BANNER

NINISM

but also a real perspective, in the service of which the whole economic and social development of today and of the future takes place.

The Party of Labour of Albania, as a party of great ideals, as a party of the future, of the uncontainable progress and of the creation of the new, happy life for the people, has committed itself to and marches resolutely on this road — the road of the construction of communism.

The founding of the CPA is, first of all, a radical change in the Albanian communist movement, which was thus raised to a new and higher qualitative level.

The communist movement in Albania was a comparatively new one. It emerged as the inevitable result of the historical development of the country, the struggles for freedom, for national independence and for democracy, and, especially, as a result of the non-stop development and growth of the Albanian workers' movement. The emergence and development of the communist movement speak clearly of the strength and vitality of the Albanian working class, which, though small in numbers, scattered and still unorganized on a national scale, was orientated towards and reached the highest stage, that of the communist movement.

The emergence and development of the Albanian communist movement was, likewise, the result of the powerful, ever growing influence of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Albanian communist movement grew rapidly and in the '30s it was virtually spread over the entire territory of the country. But the growth of this movement did not take place without pain, without hardships and difficulties. As a new, as yet unconsolidated movement, it had both its positive and its negative aspects, had its weaknesses and shortcomings, because it emerged not as a united and homogenous movement, but emerged in the form of diverse groups which held differing views, frequently diametrically opposed to and often at war with one another.

Bourgeois elements, casual fellow-travellers,

petty-bourgeois elements, arrivists, ambitious individuals who became advocates of and spread Trotskyite, anarchic, social-democratic, ideas and who strove to use the communist movement for their personal advantage, for counter-revolutionary aims, also penetrated into the Albanian communist movement. These Trotskyite and opportunist elements created ideological unclarity and confusion in the ranks of the Albanian communist movement, and worked hard and by all manner of means in order to lead it up a blind alley, to cause it to degenerate and finally to liquidate it.

The anti-Marxist ideas of these opportunists came up against the resolute opposition of the sound part of communists who refused to accept the existing division and confusion. Thanks to their struggle, the idea of uniting the different groups of communists and of creating a single political party of the working class became very popular. Despite this, however, the communists of different groups were far from finding the common road and language, because they were hampered by splits and strifes among them, were hampered by the spirit of group discipline and especially by the intrigues carried on by the opportunist, Trotskyite and quarrelsome chiefs of the groups such as Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte, Zef Malaj, Niko Xoxe, Koço Tashko and others.

The struggle of the communists for unification entered the right road and was put on new and sound bases, on a completely principled Marxist-Leninist basis, only after the creation of the Tirana branch of the Communist Group of Korça which was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Under his guidance, this branch became, in fact, the actual centre of the Albanian communist movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha is the inspirer and organizer of the struggle for the creation of the Party. He has the merit of working out the ideological platform which became the pivot round which the communists of the different groups rallied and united. The ground for the creation of the Communist Party of Albania was prepared completely and in an all-round manner in the course of the struggle for the implementation of this platform. The moment had arrived when there was no force capable of stopping this from taking place, when whoever came out in open op-

position to the idea of the creation of the party found himself isolated and was thrown out of the communist movement. Therefore, it is not an accident, but the direct outcome of this all-round preparation that the meeting of the representatives of the sitting on November 8, 1941 adopted the historic decision for the merger of the groups and the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. This event marked the crowning with complete success of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas and efforts of Enver Hoxha and all the communists of the different groups who worked and fought together with him and under his direction. To Enver Hoxha goes the great merit of the achievement of this historic victory. He is the founder of the CPA.

The founding of the CPA was a radical change in the Albanian communist movement, a qualitative step which marked the defeat of the ideological and political views of the Trotskyites, the anarchists and other opportunists, and the complete triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the Albanian worker and communist movement, which put an end to ideological, organizational and political division and confusion, and established Marxist-Leninist sound unity of thinking and action in the Albanian communist movement.

The Albanian communists, inspired and led by Enver Hoxha, conceived and constructed their Party as a consistent, revolutionary, proletarian party of the new, Marxist-Leninist type, as a party that would play the leading and hegemonic role in the Albanian worker movement and in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Therefore, after condemning the social-democratic views on the party of the working class and the views and activities of the Trotskyites, the Founding Meeting proclaimed without ambiguity that «the Party should not be a party of the old type, a party similar to those of the Second Social-Democrat International infested with decay, inactivity, nepotism, factionalism and betrayal of the interests of the working class. We want a party capable of leading the working class in battle to victory.»¹

The Founding Meeting discussed and decided that the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which, as the vanguard theory, as an infallible guide, would point the way at each step, should be placed at the foundation of the entire activity of the CPA. In this connection, the Founding Meeting set the task: «...we should strive energetically to uplift the cadres ideologically, theoretically and politically through the study of Marxism-Leninism.»²

The Founding Meeting charged the Provisional Central Committee with the task of purging all the literature of the communist groups of anti-Marxist, Trotskyite, and anarchist material and

of organizing the publication in Albanian, the distribution and study of a number of works by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V.I. Lenin, and J.V. Stalin, and the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course.

Thus, right from the start, the Communist Party of Albania raised to a higher level the importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the communist awareness of its members as a source of inexhaustible strength, which gives life and vigour to the party, opens up prospects and points the way to victory to the worker movement, the liberation movement of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The organization of the CPA would be based on the principle of democratic centralism which is the fundamental organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party. The Founding Meeting issued directives to replace, as soon as possible, the old narrow cells to two or three persons with new cells. Besides the cells, regional party committees would be set up, which would guide the work of the party organizations in the regions and would maintain contacts with the leadership of the Party.

The Founding Meeting set the task of strengthening the Party with new blood, of increasing its ranks with new members, with resolute fighters from among the workers and poor peasants, doing away with sectarian fears about the new admissions. For admission to membership, the Meeting approved the Leninist formula of membership in the party: «Anyone can become a member of the party if he accepts the program of the party, takes part in a party organization (cell), and pays his dues.»³

The Founding Meeting devoted special care to the unity and discipline of the Party. It called on the communists to safeguard and ceaselessly strengthen unity and discipline of the Party, not to tolerate the infiltration into the Party ranks of careerist, trouble-making elements of a pronounced petty-bourgeois spirit, who cannot accept discipline and who create favourable ground for anti-Party activity. At the same time, the Party organizations were charged with the task of expelling from their ranks without hesitation anyone manifesting anti-Marxist, opportunist and liquidatory trends. Nepotism, groupism, factionalism and breach of discipline were totally incompatible with membership in the Party.

A question of extreme importance which the Founding Meeting took up for discussion and which constitutes one of the fundamental organizational features of the Marxist-Leninist party, was that of the linking of the Party with the masses. The Meeting charged the Party with the task of overcoming the weaknesses of the groups about this question, of liquidating sluggishness,

sectarianism and other blunders, and of carrying out an intensive and systematic propaganda in order to link itself with the broad masses of the working class and the peasantry, of carrying out militant propaganda and agitation work among all the strata of the people, of carrying out political activity with the participation of the broad masses of the people.

The Founding Meeting devoted an important part of its work to the discussion and definition of the political line, the program of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that «the Meeting armed the Party with a clear militant, Marxist-Leninist program which responded, in general lines, to the immediate tasks that faced us.»⁴

The strategic aim of the Party, as defined at the Meeting, was: «To fight for the national independence of the Albanian people and for a people's democratic government in an Albania free from fascism.»⁵ This task was connected closely with the main contradictions which existed at that time in Albania: the contradiction between the fascist occupiers, who had enslaved the country, and the Albanian people who wanted to live free and independent, and the contradiction between the exploiting ruling classes and the masses of the people which demanded the establishment of their freedoms and democratic rights.

In the concrete historical conditions of Albania, the contradiction between the fascist occupiers and the enslaved people had emerged on the first plane, while the internal social contradiction had receded to the second plane. However, since the feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie had become the social support of the occupiers, these contradictions were interconnected. Therefore, the CPA did not divorce the fight against the fascist invaders from the fight against the traitors and the collaborators with fascism, from the struggle for a free, independent and people's democratic Albania.

In order to achieve this strategic aim, the program set as one of its main tasks the uniting and the militant organization of the people in one single national liberation front, without distinction of class, religion, region and political ideas. In this front, the Founding Meeting stressed, would be included «all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces of the country». The backbone of this union would consist of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

The program defined the armed uprising as the main form of the struggle and as the only road to attaining the fundamental aim. The Founding Meeting set the task «of disseminating the idea of a general liberation uprising of the people.»⁶

The Founding Meeting considered the National Liberation War of the Albanian people as a constituent part of the great anti-fascist world war. It laid particular stress on the need for allying with the Soviet Union, and for the popularization of its vanguard role in the liberation war against fascism. It also stressed the need for collaboration with the peoples of the Balkans, especially with the Serb, Greek and Montenegrin peoples.

In the successful conclusion of the work of the Founding Meeting, Enver Hoxha played the main role. He made a decisive contribution to the working out and clear definition of the Marxist-Leninist ideological, organizational, tactical and programmatic bases of the CPA. «The great act which Enver Hoxha accomplished in that dark and troubled November of 1941 by founding the Communist Party gave the Albanian people the light they were lacking, gave them the mind to see the future, gave them the staff which would lead them in the titanic life-and-death struggle.»⁷

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The CPA, led by the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, threw itself immediately, without reserves and unhesitatingly, into the war for the implementation of the decisions of the Founding Meeting. The Albanian communists carried out, first of all, a still more intensive, all-round and many-formed activity in order to link themselves with the broad masses of the people, and in the first place, with the working class, with the centres of work and production, in which there were concentrations of workers. The communists worked and fought unsparingly in order to form close organizational links with the working class, in order to ensure that the workers occupied the place they deserved in the Party and in all the links of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement. In the course of the war, the working class rallied as one around the Party. It gave all-out unreserved support to its vanguard, the Communist Party of Albania. The working class, as the Albanian communists wanted and had decided at the Founding Meeting, became the backbone of the Party and marched together with it in the vanguard of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War.

Besides this, the Albanian communists made a radical change in their work in the countryside, in forging sound close links with the labouring peasantry. Sectarianism and hesitation that were observed before about this question were overcome and an intensive uninterrupted practical

activity began for the clarification and mobilization of the peasant masses in the war. The Albanian communists worked and fought with determination and patience in order to include broad sections of the peasantry in all the links of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement. Practice thoroughly confirmed the Party's assessment that the peasantry is the progressive force of the revolution, is the ally of the working class in the liberation war and in the revolution, and exposed the Trotskyite and other opportunist views which negated the progressive and patriotic role of the Albanian peasantry. The labouring peasantry, as the Albanian communists had decided and foreseen at the Founding Meeting, became the reliable ally and support of the Party and of the working class. Convinced that only its aspirations and desires would be realized under the leadership of the Party, the peasantry put the shoulder to the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and bore the main brunt in it.

The Albanian communists did not neglect the work to link themselves with the other masses of the people, especially with the youth and women, who constituted a great force of the movement, as well as with the patriotic intellectuals, with honest nationalists, with all Albanians without distinction of class, religion, region and political views, with all those who wanted to fight fascism. Through work and struggle the communists forged in practice that militant anti-fascist unity of the Albanian people which found its embodiment in and assumed an organized form with the creation of the National Liberation Front in September 1942.

In this way, the Albanian communists succeeded in gaining the confidence and unshakeable support of the people, and this did not come about by change but because they showed themselves to be firm and unyielding fighters who were always to be found on the first line of the war, where the danger was greatest, and because the program they had worked out and implemented expressed the demands and the aspirations of the people's masses, responded well to the fundamental interests of the working class, the labouring peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia and all Albanian patriots. Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, «The people followed the communists and accepted their leadership not only on account of their valour, their courage, their sacrifice and self-abnegation. Of course, their example had importance, indeed very great importance, but it was not decisive. The decisive thing was the fact that the call which the Party made to the people to fight for the expulsion of the foreign occupiers and the establishment of the People's Power expressed their true desires, their age-long dreams.»⁸

The communists' intensive and systematic work to link themselves with the masses proceeded hand in hand and was accompanied with efforts to find and use suitable organizational forms to facilitate and encourage the mobilization of the masses and impart ever greater impetus and strength to the anti-fascist war (through such organizations as the Communist Youth of Albania, the National Liberation Front, the national liberation councils, the guerrilla units, the çetas and the other partisan units, etc.).

The fact that the CPA ensured the undivided leadership in the liberation movement within a very short time is of paramount importance. The undivided leadership of the Party gave the Anti-fascist National Liberation War an unprecedented breadth, proportions and severity, gave it the new revolutionary pace and contents, deepened it and transformed it into a great popular revolution which brought about national liberation and social emancipation, the liberation of the workers, peasantry and other working people from feudal and bourgeois oppression and exploitation.

«That, perhaps unique, phenomenon which occurred in Albania, where the struggle for national liberation was combined with a broad popular revolution, was no accident. Without a profound ideological conviction and great political clarity this could not have been achieved. It was Comrade Enver Hoxha who placed this great creative revolutionary idea at the basis of the line of the Party and the platform of the National Liberation War, it was Comrade Enver Hoxha who, being in the leadership of the Party, at the head of the National Liberation Front and in command of the partisan army, made its achievement possible.»⁹

The undivided leadership of the Party hastened the whole course of the popular revolution and brought something new, unknown before in the theory and practice of the revolution: the National Liberation War and its crowning with success resulted in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The transformation of the popular revolution into the socialist revolution was prepared gradually and objectively in the process of uninterrupted development and deepening of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and was crowned with its victory.

So, with the liberation of the country, the fundamental question of the revolution — the question of the state power — was solved completely in favour of all working people, led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Albania. The people's state power in Albania, the foundations of which had been gradually laid during the National Liberation War, was nothing but a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Immediately after Liberation, it exerted the func-

tions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, served as a weapon in the hands of the working class and its Party for the final liquidation of the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, for the demolition of their economic power, for the organization and direction of the struggle for the building of socialism, for influencing the large masses of small private producers and drawing them onto the road of socialism, for the ceaseless strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, for the building and strengthening of the new socialist order.

* * *

Until the end of the Second World War Albania was an extremely backward country, with predominating agrarian relations, with marked feudal leftovers, with a very low level of the capitalist development. Agriculture in its state of great backwardness provided 90.2 per cent of the total production of the country, most of the active population, or 87 per cent of it, was engaged in agriculture; agriculture had an extensive and one-sided character, and yields of field crops were very low. Industry, likewise, was in a state of extreme backwardness, giving only 9.8 per cent of the total production of the country, and of this scarce industrial production 3/4 were accounted for by the food-stuffs and light industry; the branches of heavy industry such as the energy industry, the engineering and other industries, were owned by foreign capital.

To this profound backwardness were added the ravages caused during the Second World War, which made the bad situation of the country and its economy still worse. Albania suffered very great damage in human lives and material and cultural values which, if calculated per capita of the population, rank among the highest in the world.

This is the poor patrimony of the past. From this the CPA and the new people's state power began their work for healing the wounds of the war, for the revival of the economy and for the socialist development of the country.

Enemies within the country and abroad forecast and awaited the complete and inevitable failure of Albania, but they waited in vain. The leading, organizing and mobilizing force of the Party, which had by now gained great experience in overcoming such complicated and grave situations, the rapid revolutionizing measures and acts of the people's state power, accompanied with the unrivalled enthusiasm and uncontainable impetus at work of the broad masses of town and country-

side, account for the accomplishment with success of the revival of the economy within a short period of time. The whole of Albania had at that time become a great construction site, in which volunteers worked day and night, and at the end of 1946, about two years after Liberation, the destructions of the war had been liquidated, in general, and the production level of 1938, the pre-war year, was reached again. That was a major victory.

In these two years, at the same time as the work and the struggle for the reconstruction of the economy was going on, the Party and the people's state power consistently applied the line of the development of the revolution on the road of socialism. This line found its concrete expression in the elaboration and implementation of a broad program of democratic and socialist measures. It realized in practice the aspirations for which the workers, peasants and other working people had fought, and brought about a major revolutionary overthrow in the Albanian economy and society. Beginning from the liberation of the country until the end of 1946, revolutionary acts were adopted for the institution of the state control of production, which was actually workers' control; for the expropriation of property owned by the occupation powers and their subjects in Albania; for the nationalization of the main means of production in the possession of local bourgeoisie; for the nationalization of the National Bank and the liquidation of other banks; for reforms in the field of currency and credit; for the extraordinary progressive taxation on war profits which the bourgeoisie had made during the war; for the establishment of state monopoly of the foreign trade and of hard currency; for the implementation of the Land Reform according to the principle «the land belongs to the tiller,» etc.

These measures brought about qualitative changes in the economic and social structure of the country. The economic domination of foreign capital was liquidated; the big bourgeoisie and landowners lost their economic power, were divested of ownership of the means of production; a new economic base was created which enabled the people's state power to proceed with success on the road of the building of socialism; with the establishment of the state socialist ownership the premises were created for the establishment of the socialist relations of production and the economic laws of socialism began to operate, with which the organization and development in a planned and proportionate manner of social production was becoming a possibility.

The demolition of the economic power of the overthrown classes and the establishment of the socialist ownership of the means of production

marked the first decisive step on the road of socialist construction. However, the Party was fully aware that this was only the beginning, and that in order to pull the country out of the profound backwardness and to build socialism it was necessary, first, to secure the rapid development of the productive forces, and on this basis, to build the material-technical base of socialism. The decisive link for the attainment of this objective was the socialist industrialization. «The transition of our country from the state of technical-economic and semi-feudal backwardness directly to the construction of socialism, by-passing the phase of developed industrial capitalism,» Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «faced our Party with one of the most vital and urgent tasks — the creation of industry through the socialist industrialization and the electrification of the country.»¹⁰

Eloquent proof of the brilliant results in the socialist industrialization of the country is the fact that the whole industrial production of the pre-war year, 1938, was turned out by the socialist industry in only two days of the year 1984. In 1938 the part of industrial production in the total production of the country was 9.8 per cent, whereas in 1983 it increased to 69.8 per cent. In the three last decades industrial production increased at an annual average rate of about 12.5 per cent.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development, is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.»¹¹

The socialist industry in Albania developed in the conditions of a stern class struggle against internal and external enemies who opposed the policy of industrialization, the development of the heavy industry, especially the energy industry. The modern revisionists, beginning with the Yugoslav revisionists and the Soviet and the Chinese revisionists later, resorted to all means and found all imaginable pretexts to sabotage our industrialization, with the aim of reducing Albania to dependence on them. But all their efforts failed in the face of the staunch and consistent stand of the Party to continue unswervingly on the road of socialist industrialization.

Simultaneously with the socialist industrialization, the Party worked out and implemented the policy of the collectivization, which had vital and decisive importance. The collectivization of agriculture is a universal law of the construction of the socialist society and the only road for the correct and final solution of the complicated agrarian

question, for the socialist transformation of the countryside and for the intensification and modernization of agricultural production.

The socialist nationalization of the main means and implements of production and their further development did not provide the complete answer to the solution of the problem of the creation of the economic base of socialism. The economic base of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is incomplete as long as the socialist cooperation of small producers of town and countryside is not completed, too.

The successful accomplishment of the socialist cooperation of the small urban and rural producers of Albania completed the framework of the socio-economic transformations in the field of ownership of the means of production. In 1960, only 16 years after Liberation and the establishment of the people's state power, in Albania the multi-formed economy was replaced by a single system of the economy. In the socialist economy, the socialist ownership in its two forms, state and cooperativist, had been established on the whole system of the national economy, and the economic base of socialism in town and countryside had been built, in general.

Once the construction of the economic base of socialism was completed, Albania was prepared to enter a new historical stage, the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The complete construction of the socialist society has been always seen by the Party as a complex and all-sided process of development, which affects both the base and the superstructure, the productive forces and the relations of production, the material and cultural development of the society, etc. For over a quarter of a century our Party has resolutely entered this road, and has been fighting with success, concentrating its attention on the main tasks of this stage, and especially on the continuation of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism at rapid rates. The decisive factor in the achievement of this goal is, as always, the socialist industry and, first of all, the heavy industry. The draft-directives of the 8th Five-year Plan (1985-1990) represent a new important step on the road of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The building of socialism is connected closely also with deep-going revolutionary changes in the field of education and culture. In the conditions of the existence of the people's state power and of the socialist construction, the cultural backwardness and illiteracy were gradually liquidated, the educational and cultural level of the people was raised ceaselessly. Albania has been transformed gradually into a vast hearth of culture, into a

school. One in every three persons today attends school regularly. Secondary schooling has become a phenomenon of a mass character. Higher education has assumed an extensive development and a large army of the people's intelligentsia has been created, which loyally serves the people and socialism. In 1983, as against 1960, Albania had 13.2 times as many working people with higher education, while the number of people with vocational secondary schooling was 63 times as great as in 1950 and 16 times as great as in 1960. The number of professional institutions of culture and art has continuously increased.

The example of socialist Albania proves clearly that the triumph of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism is non-interrupted and guaranteed when it is the people who forge it. All victories, from the creation of the Party onward have been achieved without stretching our hand to anyone for help, they are the result of the work, the struggle and toil of the Albanian people themselves, and not of foreigners' aid, which not only has been quite insignificant, but has had a predatory imperialist character. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «Not only has the aid of foreigners been very restricted, but as experience has proved, although provided under the disguise of proletarian internationalism, in essence it had an enslaving imperialist character... But when we saw that with the aid that they provided the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists and those of the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mao Zedong's China had ulterior, hostile, enslaving aims, or intended to turn Albania into an appendage dependent on them, so that it would lose its freedom and independence, we tore the mask from them and told them bluntly and clearly that socialist Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the Albanian people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handout of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.»¹²

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The long revolutionary road socialist Albania has traversed has not been an easy one. The Party and the Albanian people have had to confront and surmount many obstacles and difficulties, to cope with numerous enemies, internal and external, to tread on explored and unexplored paths.

The difficulties became immeasurably greater, the situation was complicated and became especially tense and threatening a quarter of a cen-

tury ago, when the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists occurred. Khrushchevite revisionism, which had the CPSU by the throat and caused it to degenerate, brought about catastrophic consequences for the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the international worker and communist movement. The Khrushchevite revisionist renegades and their minions were the cause of the destruction of socialism in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, of the split in the international worker and communist movement, of the spread of modern revisionism in the communist parties of Europe and other countries of the world. The betrayal by the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, is the greatest betrayal the history of mankind has ever known and the greatest service these traitors have rendered to world capitalism. The revisionist peaceful counter-revolution did what the imperialists and international reaction wanted and dreamed of but could not realize, what the intervention, the Hitlerite fascist aggression, the cold war, failed to achieve.

The Party of Labour of Albania and its glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, had the courage to stand up unhesitatingly in face of the many and powerful revisionist enemies, stood up with firm confidence in victory because they were fighting for a just cause, for the defence of the revolution, socialism and Marxism-Leninism, which had been made the target of attacks by the modern revisionists and the entire world reaction.

The irreducible resistance and the staunch and uncompromising struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism has only one source and only one explanation: its unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of the struggle of the PLA against modern revisionism is reflected in the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, among which a special place is occupied by *Imperialism and the Revolution, Yugoslav «Self-administration» — a Capitalist Theory and Practice, The Khrushchevites, Reflections on China, Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism, With Stalin, When the Party Was Born, The Titoites, etc.* In these works we find thorough and all-sided analyses of the causes of the emergence and spread of modern revisionism, of its ideological roots and bourgeois contents, of its counter-revolutionary role as a splitter; in them we find a sharp and biting criticism of modern revisionism as a whole and of each separate current, Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese, Eurocommunist, etc., in particular.

Of great interest are also the vital lessons the PLA has drawn from the betrayal and the bitter

experience of the modern revisionists and the complexity of wide-ranging measures which nowadays are known under the name of the further revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country. These revolutionizing measures have closed all paths to the invasion of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and constitute a complete guarantee that the tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries should never occur in Albania, that socialist Albania should remain always the bastion and basis of the revolution and socialism.

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On the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian

communists and people have the right to take pride in the glorious revolutionary road they have traversed, in the great class battles and in the splendid victories they have achieved. Seeing the future with unshakeable confidence and revolutionary optimism they have mobilized themselves and are fighting with all their might in order to go to the celebrations of the anniversary of the Party of Labour of Albania and its 9th Congress with complete success, as they have always done on such occasions. They, both the communists and the people, are ready to undertake new tasks and to march, rallied as one around the CC of the PLA with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, with confidence and at a more rapid pace on the road of the building of socialism and communism in Albania.

1 History of the Party of Labour of Albania, «Naim Frashëri» Publishing House, Tirana 1971, p. 88, Eng.ed.

2 Idem.

3 Ibidem, p. 90.

4 Enver Hoxha, When the Party Was Born, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1981, p. 220, Alb. ed.

5 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 26, Alb. ed.

6 Idem.

7 Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha and His Work Live and Will Live For Ever, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House,

Tirana 1985, p. 6, Eng. ed.

8 Ibidem, pp. 7-8.

9 Ibidem, p. 7.

10 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 121, Alb. ed.

11 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1981, p. 18, Eng. ed.

12 Enver Hoxha, Message of Greetings Addressed to the Albanian People, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 16, Eng. ed.

DOCUMENTS

ON THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PLA

THE FOUNDING¹⁾

(EXTRACTS)

(From the book
by Comrade **ENVER HOXHA**
«When the Party Was Born» - Memoirs)

In the night of November 8, 1941, our Party was born, which would lead the Albanian people in the greatest battles of all their history. It was born from the bosom of the people, in their revolutionary fire and ardour, which never died in the centuries, it emerged as a shining sun in the sinister darkness of slavery and fascist terror which had riven the country and the people

THE NIGHT BEFORE NOVEMBER 8 WE WENT TO THE SMALL HOUSE WHERE WE WERE EXPECTED. IN THESE REMINISCENCES I WILL NOT DESCRIBE IT, BECAUSE THE HOUSE WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA WAS FOUNDED HAS NOW BECOME A DISTINGUISHED MONUMENT OF OUR COUNTRY, WHICH IS KNOWN BY OLD AND YOUNG IN ALBANIA, BY THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF FOREIGN FRIENDS, COMRADES AND VISITORS. THE BY-STREETS ALL AROUND WERE MADE SAFE WITH ARMED COMRADES, RESOLUTE AND CALM. CAREFUL INVESTIGATIONS HAD BEEN MADE PREVIOUSLY ABOUT THE FAMILIES IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD. THEY WERE FAMILIES OF THE POOR WORKERS, APPRENTICES AND PATRIOTS.

In the dark of night we went into the small house one by one, in order and in silence. All windows were sealed with blankets. No light could be seen. No sound escaped. Complete illegality. We entered the small house with great hopes, with indescribable joy and confidence, but, to tell the truth, as we felt then, all this was shrouded in a veil of anxiety. Each

one of us, who came here with the great desire to create the Party, said to himself: «How will things go? Will we achieve our sacred goal?»

On November 8, 1941, we began the first meeting of the representatives of the three communist groups.

The Group of Korça, as the senior and biggest group in the Communist Movement of Albania until then had

the honour to open the Founding Meeting. As I have noted elsewhere before, the group had charged me to make the speech. I stood up.

«Comrades», I began, «it is a great joy and honour for our Group of Korça and for me personally to be given the floor first.»

I was very stirred by emotions, but by and by «the machine» began to «gear up».

«In the beginning,» said I, «I invite the Meeting to honour the memory of all the communist comrades and other valiant fighters, Albanians and foreigners, who have fallen and are falling in the field of honour fighting against fascism for the freedom of the peoples; to honour the memory of Ali Kelmendi, Mujo Ulqinaku and other simple sons of our people who turned their rifles to the fascist in-

vadors; to honour the memory of the heroes of the Spanish War, the heroes of the great Soviet Union who are laying down their lives in the war for liberation from the nazi beast; to honour our brothers, the Yugoslav communist heroes, who have fallen in the field of battle.»

We stood up and observed one minute's silence.

After these preliminaries, I put forward the proposal of the Group of Korça for the founding of the Party on the first day of the Meeting, as we had previously established in our group.

«Comrades,» I said in the beginning of my speech, «on behalf of the Group of Korça I want to greet the first joint Meeting of the representatives of the three communist groups and the comrades here present. We wish this Meeting complete success in its work. We, for our part, are convinced that the discussions that will be held at this Meeting will be fruitful. It depends on all of us to make them fruitful. We of the Group of Korça are confident that you, also, have come to this meeting not in order to quarrel with us as enemies, but to discuss, sternly if need be, but as communists. In our opinion, the principles by which our work will be guided have and must have priority, and these principles should be pure, always in accord with the lessons of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These principles should promote and guide, in the first place, the political, ideological, organizational and military thinking and actions of all of us and of all the Albanian communists. Is this what has happened until today? We of the Group of Korça say now, in the beginning of the Meeting, that in our opinion these principles have been understood and applied in a different manner by the different communist groups. Sometimes they have been applied correctly, sometimes they have been applied incompletely, but there are also many cases in which they have been badly distorted. We have gathered here precisely in order to put the Marxist-Leninist principles correctly into practice, and for this we must

discard, fight and reject the rest, whatever is Trotskyite, anarchic and fascist under any cover. We shall discuss all these things and we think we must keep nothing hidden in the recesses of our conscience, but lay honestly on the table everything there is in our hearts and minds, because only in this way shall we manage to understand one another and serve our great cause which has to do with the present and the future of the people and the Homeland. We communists, in particular, should place the cause of the liberation of the people and the Homeland above everything. There is only one aim in our life, it is and will be the fight for the happiness of the people. Therefore, comrades, let us first turn our attention to the present and then analyse the past, and reach a common conclusion about how we should organize and direct the war in the future.

«It is clear to everyone of us that the Homeland is in great distress. For more than two years our people are languishing under the hateful jackboot of Italian fascism and suffering in the hands of traitor quislings. This heavy thralldom that was put on our people was perpetrated by the despot Ahmet Zog, the local feudal lords and the bourgeoisie. Our people have never bent their backs before foreigners or local tyrants. They have always taken up arms, have fought in the centuries for freedom and have won, have been overrun again and again they have stood up and shed their blood, demonstrating that the Albanians cannot live without freedom.

«With the occupation of the country we suffered a great shock. The idea of the liberation of the Homeland was nested in our hearts and stirred our energies, but the occupier found us communists divided and in strife, at a time when the moments demanded that we ought to have been more united than ever. The country was smouldering like a volcano. Powerful demonstrations of the people burst forth all over the country.

«It is true that on us, the communists of various groups, fell the great task and the honour to organize these

demonstrations and to stand in the foremost ranks of them, but we did not carry out our task as we should. We, too, shouted together with the people: «Weapons, weapons, we want weapons!» But who were we asking for weapons? Ahmet Zog, the arch-bandit and traitor, who had sold the Homeland and who, in order to escape the hatred of the people, fled taking away bags full of gold? Or were we asking them of the Zogite employees and the senior officers and other traitors who were preparing to receive the occupiers with flowers?

«Here we, communists, made a mistake. We ought not to have asked for the weapons, because those who kept them, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, were our enemies, the enemies of the people. These enemies could not give us weapons, because they needed them to use them in order to drawn in blood the resistance of the people and to support the occupier. What we ought to have done was to attack the depots, to take the weapons by force, to arm the people, to organize them in guerrilla units and *çetas* and to attack the enemy from all quarters. From the beginning we failed to organize this kind of resistance. Why? Because we, in the first place, the communists, were unorganized and divided, because not all of us conceived the war against the occupier in the same manner.

«The situation in which we were greatly favoured the archeo-Marxists, the Trotskyites and the agents of the bourgeoisie and fascism, who profited from it and easily spread their hostile, anti-communist, anti-Albanian theories with which they wanted to keep us divided, as they had succeeded in doing during the Zogite regime. For more than two years now the Italian occupiers, the quislings and the pseudo-democrat traitors have been working with might and main to suppress the people's resistance which is mounting. We, communists, entered into the war against the occupiers, but this war was rather a «bloodless» war: to stop people from joining the Albanian Fascist Party, to abandon the «Dopolavoro»² and the «Dante Alighieri»,³ to refuse to give the Roman salute, and such

other things. Of course, we did some propaganda against the occupiers, carried out small-scale sabotage and issued the odd leaflet. But I must add without entering into detail that the three groups did not wage this kind of war in the same manner and as we should. There were groups who did this under the influence of the views of their archeo-Marxist and Trotskyite chiefs such as Niko Xoxi, Aristidh Qendro, Andrea Zisi, Dhimitër Fallo, Zef Mala and others, who were and are agents provocateur of fascism under cover.

«Consequently, our communist groups did not think more about how to organize and start the war as they should, but tried only to come into a social-democrat accord with one another.

«Of course, unity had to be created first and factionalism liquidated, but this could not be achieved through such a compromise which had nothing constructive in itself, because it left the field open to the spread of defeatist ideas: «We cannot begin the war», «we have no proletariat», «we still cannot form a communist party», «we must first train our cadres», and other Trotskyite slogans like these which stank and had their origin in the workshops of the fascist occupiers.

«The past of the communist groups should become a lesson for us. Today our hopes are great. The knife of oppression and poverty has cut the people to the bone. The people are ready to fight with arms. The youth is aflame. We communists are convinced that the victory will be with the people, will be with us. Hitlerite Germany attacked the glorious Soviet Union, but there is no doubt that it will be defeated by the Soviet peoples and by the Red Army, organized and tempered in the revolution by Lenin and Stalin. We must organize the armed struggle as soon as possible without delay. It is up to us, communists, to prepare, organize and lead the general uprising. But the question is how to organize and lead it? Divided as we are in groups, split as we are by all sorts of ideas, each one pulling it in his own way?

«Shall we, comrades, continue, at

this meeting held in illegality, under the threat of a savage occupier who has captured our country, to quarrel and fail to find the common language as communists, now before the storm? We of the Group of Korça think that we must not continue any longer in this way. Does Marx teach us this? Do Lenin and Stalin teach us this? No, they teach us the opposite. We must be united as one against the enemy, we must be organized and fight mercilessly until our complete victory.

«We must fight as our people have always fought, throughout their history from the time of Skanderbeg and before. Like our people, who have never sat with folded arms, we, too, must fight for a free democratic Albania without occupiers, without traitors, without oppression and exploitation. And to achieve this we must unite like communist brothers, linked together by one aim. No advance can be made if we proceed as we have done until now, we cannot and must not continue with compromises, as we did before. Everything must be done in an organized manner, we must judge and act in everything on the road pointed out by our Marxist-Leninist ideology, according to the example of the Bolshevik Party. This ideology must guide our Meeting which, I think, will not achieve the result we want if it is guided by the morbid group spirit.

«For this spirit of groups to be liquidated we must, in the first place, decide to merge the groups and form the Communist Party of Albania. Are we Albanian communists or not? Do we want to create and to have our Communist Party which should lead the people in the war, should realize the minimum and maximum program we will have, or not? Let us answer these main questions first and then, if we are communists, let us discuss them as communists, with a sense of responsibility, with a clear mind and open heart.» I was silent for a moment, drew a deep breath to overcome the emotion and, with a slightly higher voice, I said:

«Comrades, the proposal of the Group of Korça is this:

«We must form the Communist Party of Albania on the basis of the mandates the comrades of our groups gave us before we came to this Meeting, and after solemnly and unanimously deciding to found the Communist Party of Albania, we can go on with debates and discussions.

«Our foremost aim is the formation of the Party. This is required by the objective necessity, is required by the working class, is required by the communists, is required by the historic moments which our country is going through, is required by the people who call on us to hurl ourselves into the war together with them. Comrades, we cannot avoid this main objective any longer. The time and the situation demand that we form without delay our Communist Party of the Lenin-Stalin type, as a vanguard of the National Liberation Movement and of the war for a people's democratic Albania.

«The Party that we will found will give us the correct solution to all problems and questions we will discuss. This time we, communists, will think, discuss, decide and act with a new spirit, with a different style and method, because from the moment the Party is founded we and all our comrades will have our Communist Party.

«Comrades, this is all I have to say as a beginning,» said I and sat down.

Qemal Stafa took the floor. The rest, like me, followed him attentively. I remember roughly the main ideas of his discussion. He made a correct introduction about the war we, as communists, must wage against fascism, then he spoke about the essence of fascism and its danger, bringing theoretical arguments and practical examples from life. He said that fascism is the sworn enemy of the peoples, the communists and the revolution. He quoted some passages from the famous report of Dimitrov.

«But we, some more, some others less,» Qemal continued, «did not understand and apply the instruction, advice and directives of the Comintern and Dimitrov as we should. This is a big mistake on our part, and we of the Group of Shkodra make self-criti-



cism about this. I have criticisms to make regarding the Group of Korça but I will not dwell on this question now, because I agree with Enver that we must return to these questions later.»

I liked this very much and felt more confident, because I understood that Qemal and his comrades agreed with our proposal for the formation of the Communist Party of Albania.

Qemal continued his speech linking the problem with the world war and with the occupation of our country, with the absolute necessity of organizing the armed struggle. So, he too, reached the same conclusion as we, and winding up, he expressed himself firmly:

«We endorse the proposal of the Group of Korça, which Comrade Enver Hoxha made: we must found the Communist Party of Albania without delay. Any further negotiation and later conclusion will be done with our Party formed.»

An indescribable joy filled my heart. It seemed to me that Qemal was my life-long friend, from my childhood till that moment when we were discussing, in that small room, one of the greatest issues of the centuries-long history of our people. I wanted to hold him and his comrades close to my bosom. It seemed to me that all obstacles were lifted, the Party would be formed without fail.

I waited impatiently till the break. Once we were out, I went up to Qemal, gave him my hand, pulled him towards myself and embraced him strongly. We even kissed and said to each other: «Glory in the centuries to our Communist Party!»

The time of the break passed quickly and we went down again to the room of negotiations. Now it was dim inside, because, as is known, in November the night draws on rapidly, the night grows longer and the day becomes shorter.

Shortly after we returned to our

V. Kılıca:
«IN THE DAWN OF NOVEMBER 8»
(painting).

seats. The meeting started again. The small oil lamp on the table cast a pale light on our faces. To this light was added the flicker from the wood burning in the fireplace, which Vasil and a comrade next to him attended from time to time. Set on a tripod there was a pot of white beans boiling for supper, and the simmer of it accompanied the discussion of the sinister Anastas Lula.⁴

From what he said I remember that he, unlike us, began his discussion with a twist:

«We have gathered in this meeting,» said Anastas, «to discuss the work which the different communist groups have done and to judge the line each one of them has followed, which group has had a correct line and which a wrong line. Our group has much to say in this direction, of course, and especially against the Group of Korça and against the man who is at its head, Koço Tashko, in particular, who is one of the main causes of the division. But we of the «Youth» group observed for some time that he has not been alone in his activity. He, with a number of other comrades of his group, have harmed the cause, have always passed themselves off as legislators of communism, have claimed that their group only was the party and they only had connections with the Comintern.»

Anastas had begun with attacks, in the manner of a saboteur. It was obvious that nothing, be it formal, had changed in him and his ways. His stand was really revolting, but we had to keep our aplomb, because we knew well that he was a dirty provocateur. Koço was red with anger and kept shifting on his seat. Anastas continued:

«Whenever a comrade came from political emigration, the leadership of the Group of Korça would say at once that directives from the Comintern had come (obviously he was hinting at the directives which reached the Albanian communist movement in 1937). But we knew that there were other comrades, besides those of the Group of Korça, who came and who brought directives (he meant Andrea Zisi, the archeo-Marxist, who came

from Greece with a seal made in Athens, in which there was something like this written: «CPA, section of the Comintern»). Which one should we trust? We trusted those which our communist conscience told us that they were correct, and that is why we gradually began to depart from the Group of Korça until in 1940 we emerged as a group on our own. The Group of Korça has accused and continues to accuse us as splitters, factionalists, Trotskyites, archeo-Marxists and what not.

«But you, Qemal,» continued Qorri,⁵ «what made you of the Group of Shkodra change your opinion now. Our two groups have had unity of thinking and action. We were convinced that our political and ideological stands were communist and correct. We, of the «Youth» Group, continue to think as before.»

That was a base provocation of Qorri, this time in the direction of the Group of Shkodra, a provocation made with the aim of offending them and of threatening them if they drifted away from his group.

Qemal replied immediately, in a firm tone:

«Our two groups have had ideas which coincided about many things, but they have also had ideas which did not coincide. What united us was the spirit of group work, which had blinded us and prevented us from seeing the contradictions between our two groups, because we had directed the fight against the Group of Korça. But the communists are people who reflect, and can see the new horizons which are being opened before us and will help us judge more profoundly about the situation and the great events which are developing. Precisely this change in our ideas is not the change of a bourgeois, as you think, Anastas Lula,» Qemal concluded, «but a change of a communist.»

«You put it very correctly, Comrade Qemal,» I said, «and that is what we, the communists of the Group of Korça, think, too.»

Anastas was driven to the wall. He deserved a firm reply, but we had to be careful not to exacerbate things to the extreme before the Party was

founded. This had to be born in mind, not for the sake of these two incorrigible Trotskyites, but for the sake of the members of the grass-roots of the «Youth» group, who had been misled and would certainly become good members of the Party which we were to form presently. Chafing them at that moment might drive them to abandon the meeting, a thing which would give their group an argument to say: «We did not commit ourselves». On the contrary, we had to be very careful towards them and to succeed in the formation of the Party, which was the unshakeable will of all the communists of this group, regardless of the ideas and desires of their chiefs. After the formation of the Party, we could discuss and carry debates to the extreme, because debates would be then held within the Party, within its Marxist-Leninist norms.

Therefore, without allowing Anastas to go further with his work of sabotage, I intervened and said to him:

«Comrade Anastas, there is nothing wrong with the proposal made by the Group of Korça. It is a Leninist proposal, which has nothing contrary to the theory and the norms which guide the activity of the Bolshevik Party that Lenin founded. If Lenin were alive, or if we could consult Stalin, they would certainly have advised us: «Form the Communist Party as soon as possible, because you are very late, then make bolshevik self-criticism, set new tasks and, as the vanguard of the working class, forge ahead in battles towards victory.»

«Therefore, we shall not make the formation of the Party conditional on the solution of the disagreements we have had until today, but shall condition it on the supreme task which the situation imposes on us. Our disagreements should be solved, ironed out, through discussion and debates, but not about the question: «Should we form the Party or not?» The situation is ripe for the formation of the Party with such unity that it should be to the level of the task for the liberation of the Homeland.»

And still standing I continued:

«Comrades, we, the groups, have al-

so scored some successes but we have made mistakes, too. Mistakes have been made, not only by you, Anastas, but also by us of the Group of Korça and by those of the Group of Shkodra, some more some less. We shall not hide them, on the contrary, we shall criticize them regardless of who has committed them. This meeting, which I consider a historic one, should not be predominated by the will of any group, this meeting should be predominated by the sound will of the Marxist-Leninists, the iron will of the Albanian communists who have resolved the form of the Party and to fight with valour, with a lofty feeling of supreme sacrifice for their people, until they free themselves definitively from the yoke of the occupiers, the landowners and the bourgeoisie of the country, by the will of those communists who have resolved to make the revolution and to bring the working class to power for the building of socialism.

«Comrades, we all know what party we want, what party we should form and with what features we must temper it. I said in the beginning and I will stress again that we will create a party of the Lenin-Stalin type in which there will be no factions and group work, as there has been until now in our movement. This situation must be ended! In our new Party which we will found, we must establish unity of thinking and action and not accept the will of one or another individual. Our Party will be guided by one theory, the theory of Marx and Lenin; any deviation from it and the carriers of this deviation will be mercilessly dealt with. In our Party there will be democracy in the expression of opinions, but there will be discipline and centralism, too. We will discuss and make decision on these questions one by one, will decide also about how the Party will be built, what forms will its cells and committees have.»

After the next break, Ramadan Çitaku took the floor. That was the first time I saw him. At this meeting I had a good impression of him and I instantly came to like him. He was sparing of words and calm in gestures

and in conversation. When he smoked he drew deeply at the cigarette as if to send the smoke to the bottom of his lungs. He was young, but looked old because he wore a moustache, for which they called him Baca (dad).

Baca with his deep bass voice spoke briefly. In essence he said:

«We have gathered here to solve our problems, because we cannot go on as we have done until now. I want that we form the Party and agree with what Comrade Enver expounded. I am of the same group as Anastas and Sadik, and I still cannot understand Anastas' reasoning. I am convinced that many comrades of our group will have the same opinion about it. There's nothing wrong and everything is good in founding the Party as soon as possible. We have also criticism and self-criticism to make, but from today onward I want the Party and not the group, therefore I am for the founding of the Party.»

That was all Baca said and he sat down. His words were another blow at Qorri and Xhepi, but this time it came from one of their own group, which they did not expect.

After Baca, Miladin spoke and Dušan translated. Baca made an occasional correction. Miladin spoke for nearly one hour. In the beginning he thanked us for having rescued him from the internment camp and for the great confidence we all had in him. He said this confidence belonged to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

«I am a member of that Party and I have orders that, with the proposal of the Albanian communists,» he continued, «I should give my modest help and whatever experience I have, little as it may be, placing it, as an internationalist, in the service of the Communist Party of Albania which you will form. In all the Albanian communist comrades I found a love and sincerity of communists towards me. You opened your hearts to me and so did I. It is a short time since we know one another, but it seems as if we know one another for a long time. This situation has been created because we are communists, internationalists.»

After speaking about his love for

the Albanian people, about the respect he had for them, about their valour, courage, loyalty and intelligence, «which I know too well», he said, «because I have lived among Albanians in Kosova and Montenegro,» Miladin continued:

«You told me about the Albanian Communist Movement, about the resistance of the groups, about the different views which clash with one another, about their good results, about the shortcomings and mistakes which have been observed in their work. We have discussed things together, openly and as comrades, as communists, and I have expressed some ideas of mine, which may not be correct, because I do not pretend to know the situation in your country and your work as you do. You are in a position to know better the situation of the country, the people, the communist groups, not only in general, as I do, but in depth and in an analytical manner. It is up to you to analyse things and to decide. I am convinced that you will decide correctly. When you find it opportune, I would like to be given the floor, to be allowed to state my opinion about a series of problems of principle, which you will certainly raise, to give the experience of my party, how it has solved some analogous problems. You will judge for yourselves whether or not what I will say is right. It is up to you and nobody else to take decisions.»

We listened attentively to this very good comrade and very sincere communist.

Miladin drew a brief but clear picture of the international situation. He spoke about the decisive role of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, he spoke about the partisan war in Yugoslavia, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After speaking about the importance that the formation of the Party would have in our country, concluded:

«I fully approve the proposal of Comrade Enver Hoxha that, first and foremost, the Communist Party of Albania should be formed without delay. Such a great historic action is correct politically, ideologically and organiza-

tionally. It is demanded by the situation which is ripe.»

Our faces shone with joy. Our comrade, the Yugoslav internationalist communist, was of the same opinion as we.

Upon this I stood up, deeply stirred, and said:

«Comrades, on the basis of the proposal of the Communist Group of Korça and the opinions expressed by all those present, I put to the vote the draft-decision: *«Today, on November 8, 1941, the representatives of the three Communist Groups, of Korça, Shkodra and «Youth», who met in a plenary*

session, after constructive discussions in a communist spirit, on the basis of the mandates they were given by the comrades of their groups, founded the Communist Party of Albania». Those in favour raise their hands.»

All raised their hands. No one was against, no one abstained. We were all filled with indescribable joy. The main step, the decisive task which we had undertaken when we set out for this historic meeting, had been crowned with success!

Then, I declared:

«The Communist Party of Albania

is founded with complete unanimity. Long live the Communist Party of Albania!»

Thus, in the night of November 8, 1941, our Party was born, which would lead the Albanian people in the greatest battles of all their history. It was born from the bosom of the people, in their revolutionary fire and ardour, which never died in the centuries, it emerged as a shining sun in the sinister darkness of slavery and fascist terror which had riven the country and the people.

1 These reminiscences refer to the Founding Meeting of the Party, reproduced from the book *When the Party Was Born (Memoirs)*, written by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the years 1975-1976 and published on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

2 Italian — «after work», fascist organization to mislead the working people and the youth.

3 Association for the dissemination of the Italian language and fascist culture in Albania.

4 Anastas Lula — ex-chief of the «Youth» group. At the meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, together with the former vice-chairman of the group, Sadik Premte (Xhepi); he endeavoured to hinder the formation of the Communist Party of Albania. Following the founding of the Party, they fought by every manner of means against the political line of the Party and its Central Committee. At the 1st Consultative Meeting of Activists, the CPA admonished them for the last time to give up

their anti-Marxist activity and carry out the directives of the Party. In June 1942, the Extraordinary Conference of the Party liquidated this dangerous Trotskyite faction they had organized in the bosom of the Party with the aim of destroying it, and expelled its chiefs from the Party. As they kept up their treacherous activity, the 1st National Conference of the CPA branded them as enemies of the Party and people.

5 Qorri (the Blind) — pseudonym of Anastas Lula (ed.).

FROM THE DISCUSSION

OF THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES OF THE 8th FIVE-YEAR PLAN

EVERY FIGURE EMBODIES THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

by **NIKO GJYZARI**

Our Party has always clearly understood and has fought so that the whole economic and social development of the country should, in the final analysis, go hand in hand with the fulfilment of the needs of the people, with the raising of their material and cultural well-being. This essential feature of our socialist planning permeates through and through the draft-directives of the 8th Five-year Plan for all branches, sectors and aspects of the development of the economy and culture

THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES OF THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IN THE 8TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1986-1990), WHICH WERE APPROVED BY THE 15TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PARTY, ARE A MAJESTIC PROGRAM OF OUR PARTY AND STATE FOR THE RAPID SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

THE MAJESTIC TASKS WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN FOR THIS FIVE-YEAR PLAN EMERGE STILL MORE CLEARLY IF WE BEAR IN MIND THAT OUR COUNTRY DEVELOPS AND ADVANCES AT A RAPID PACE AT A TIME WHEN THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST WORLD IS PLUNGED IN A DEEP AND ALL-ROUND CRISIS CHARACTERIZED BY STAGNATION, THE CONTINUOUS FALL OF PRODUCTION, INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, DETERIORATING STANDARDS OF LIVING OF THE WORKING MASSES.

The forecasts made in the draft-directives of the 8th Five-year Plan testify to the great strength of the **NIKO GJYZARI** — Chairman of the State Planning Commission

ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to the correctness of the general line and the economic policy of the Party, to the vitality and superiorities of our socialist order, to the stability and

uninterrupted development of the economy, and to the healthy revolutionary situation of our country.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, new steps forward were made in the uninterrupted, all-sided development of the country. Industrial production increased 26 per cent against the last five-year period. The country produced 267 thousand tons more bread grain. Likewise, during this period, 300 important projects were built and commissioned for production, 80 thousand apartments and new houses were built in towns and in the countryside. Education, culture, health services, science, etc. made new progress.

The rapid, stable, uninterrupted development of the economy, the opening of jobs for the new active work

forces and the increase in the real income of the population, these are the basic criteria which are used to measure the results achieved in the fulfilment of the tasks set in each five-year plan. This applies also to the 7th Five-year Plan, despite the great internal difficulties caused by the very bad weather conditions, especially in the two last years (1984-1985), despite the natural calamities, and the influence of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist encirclement and blockade on our country.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, against the 6th Five-year Plan, the social production increased by over 18 per cent, national income over 16 per cent, the fund of consumption nearly 15 per cent, and nearly 200 thousand new forces were occupied with work. During this five-year plan the state succeeded in keeping national consumption strictly within the real limits allowed by the increase in the national income produced inside the country, in maintaining the balance between the financial expenditure of the state and the income created by the economy, in coping with the whole volume of import by means of the incomes realized by export. All this contributed to the further deepening and enrichment of the complex principle of complete reliance on our own forces.

All these achievements, the rich experience gained and the valuable lessons drawn each day and each year during the drafting of the plans, during their application and in the course of the struggle with the difficulties of the struggle for the successful construction of socialism, confirm the correctness of the economic line and policy which the Party has followed in conformity with Comrade Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist teachings on the utilization of the material, financial and human resources of our country.

Figures, however concrete they be, fail to reproduce the whole mobilization of the working people and their achievements in all fields. However, all these things serve as a basis and as experience for the future. And as the draft-directives of the 9th Congress of the PLA put it, the permanent task for the future remains the struggle «to open ever broader prospects to the exploitation of the great possibilities and reserves which our socialist economy creates for the more rapid advance of the country in the years of the 8th Five-year Plan.»

Our Party and people are proud of the objectives which they undertake for the 8th Five-year Plan. They open up new, wonderful prospects to the development of the economy at high rates, to the raising of the material well-being and the cultural level of the working masses, to the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, relying on the human, material, financial and valutory resources which our country has created on its own, without aid and credits from outside.

The 8th Five-year Plan has been drafted on the basis of the orientations of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. It is the result of the creative scientific work done over several years by the broad working masses and the state and economic organs.

The tasks envisaged to be achieved in this five-year plan, in all branches of the material production and the other social activities have been based on profound all-sided scientific studies and have been guaranteed by the material-technical base which exists and which will be further strengthened, on the natural assets of the country, on the great technical-scientific creative capacity of our working people, on the great patriotism of the people, on the love and unshakeable confidence in the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The whole Albanian people are convinced that, in the conditions that have been created, it depends only on us, on our hearts, minds and work, to reach those heights that have been pointed out in the draft-directives.

As emerges from the draft-directives, only the increase in social production which is envisaged for the 8th Five-year Plan against the figures of the 7th Five-year Plan, for five years taken together, will be equal to the social production realized by the country during the entire 2nd Five-year Plan. To do this requires the maximum mobilization of the possibilities and reserves of our economy and the strengthening as never before and everywhere of the saving regime, which should be placed on the order of the day throughout the whole five-year plan.

The tasks assigned to each separate branch and sub-branch of the economy are an expression of the economic policy of the Party, point out the needs which the people and

the economy have for different products. Their realization in amount, assortment and quality will condition the fulfilment of the plan in all indices.

The general characteristic of our economy in the 8th Five-year Plan will be its deepening and intensive development. This is evident in all branches and sectors of the economy. About 74 per cent of the increase in industrial production will be ensured from the better and more thorough exploitation of the productive capacities in use and the reconstruction, extension and modernization of the existing enterprises. The greatest part of the increase in agricultural production will result from the raising of crop yields and the increase of productivity of livestock. A synthesis of this intensification is the increase in the productivity of social labour, from which will be secured 43 per cent of the increase of social production and the lowering of costs, from which must be secured 61 per cent of the increase in the net income of enterprises.

Within the branches of industry priority will be given to the development of the energy industry, the mineral extraction and processing industry and the light and food-stuffs industry, so that they precede and support the socio-economic development of the country.

The rates and proportions of economic development are never an aim in themselves, but an essential need for the fulfilment within a given time of the tasks set for the building of socialism, for meeting the demands for the well-being of the people and for the defence of the Homeland. To this end, now in our country we have a complex system of economy with a many-branched structure, which should provide greater production, realize more national income and foreign currency. In this context, during the 8th Five-year Plan it is envisaged that the pace and proportions of development of the economy should be such as to ensure the completion, strengthening and modernization of the existing structure of social production and to put it more rapidly and with greater effectiveness into the phase of economic profitability. As a result, in 1990, as against 1985, the total social production will increase 30-32 per cent, income 34-36 per cent, total financial income 37-39 per cent, and export 43-45 per cent. These rhythms and proportions of development are

indispensable; they are a reflection of the inter-dependence and connection which exist objectively in terms of value and in kind between the different branches of social production.

In this historical period of the construction of socialism, the Party has assessed the industrialization of the country as the most dynamic component and the decisive factor of the rapid and proportional development of the whole national economy. This unalterable line is envisaged to continue even in the 8th Five-year Plan. Hence, the task has been set for the total industrial production of the year 1990, against 1985, to increase by 29-32 per cent. The aim of this increase is to widen the gamut of natural assets which will be introduced into economic circulation and to increase the degree of the complete and complex exploitation of these assets, relying on the energy resources of the country. The task is assigned that the funds allotted to the achievement of this objective, which represent 41-42 per cent of the total volume of investments to be made during the 8th Five-year Plan, should be used with a view to ensuring the more rapid increase of production, the raising of the productivity of labour, the improvement of the quality of products, and the achievement of higher indices of effectivity which, in turn, strengthen the accumulative and reproductive capacity of the economy.

The economic policy of the Party for the development of agriculture in the 8th Five-year Plan will aim at the consolidation of the achievements made so far and at the more rapid advance towards the increase of the production of bread grain and livestock products. In order to ensure that these objectives for agriculture are achieved, the Party will continue to pursue the road of the intensive development combined in harmony with that of extensive development.

Judging from the place, importance and role which agriculture has in the many-branched structure of our economy, the Party has always seen its

development as an indispensable, vital factor for the construction of socialism and for ensuring the food for the people, both in quantity and in quality. The pursuance of this political line, which has become a tradition, has also conditioned the circumstances under which a great leap forward will be made on the basis of the rhythms and proportions of the development of agriculture. To this end, it is envisaged that the production of bread grain will increase at an annual average of 20-22 per cent, making bread grain «a locomotive culture» which must pull ahead more rapidly, especially the intensive and extensive development of livestock-farming, and help it overcome the relative backwardness that has been created in this important branch which supplied food products for the population. The great and arduous tasks set for agriculture in the new five-year plan completely justify the increase of development funds which amount to 31-32 per cent of the total volume of investments, thus creating a higher degree of material guarantee for their realization.

In conformity with the line of strengthening the complex structure of our economy, the Party has also envisaged the rates and proportions of the development of other branches. Hence, the objective is to further extend and improve the system of industrial and civil constructions, of transport, of trade and of vital services for the working people of town and countryside.

The draft-directives envisage great tasks which are completely realizable for the increase of the productivity of labour, the lowering of cost and the improvement of the quality of products. On this basis, they also envisage the necessary ratio between the product for oneself and the product for the society, the increase of the funds of consumption for the raising of the well-being of the masses of working people, the creation of funds necessary for the increase of the extended socialist reproduction and for financing the development of the non-

productive spheres such as education, culture, health services, etc.

The 15th Plenum of the CC of the Party pointed out that the work done until now for the drafting of the 8th Five-year Plan must be carried further on the basis of the great popular discussion of the draft-directives of the 9th Congress of the Party.

For several months now the whole people is working and fighting for the fulfilment of the tasks set under the 8th Five-year Plan. From the beginning of his year, responding to the instructions Comrade Ramiz Alia gave during his visits in some districts of the country and on the occasion of the handing of the message of the youth of labour actions, there is great mobilization of the working people everywhere in the country. The decision of the 14th Plenum of the CC of the PLA was a new encouragement and fresh impulse to the greater mobilization of the people. Plans are being fulfilled and overfulfilled in many branches, districts and enterprises; many working collectives have advanced the pledges they took at the beginning of the year and are fighting to live up to them, working with the method of revolutionary actions.

Our Party has always clearly understood and has fought so that the whole economic and social development of the country should, in the final analysis, go hand in hand with the fulfilment of the needs of the people, with the raising of their material and cultural well-being. This essential feature of our socialist planning permeates through and through the draft-directives of the 8th Five-year Plan for all branches, sectors and aspects of the development of the economy and culture.

The discussion of the draft-directives of the 8th Five-year Plan is a great school in which our working masses, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will arm themselves still better for the struggle to carry forward the cause of the revolution and socialist construction in our country.

THE IDEOLOGICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PARTY *by*

Within more than 40 years a new socialist civilization has been created in our country, which is expressed as an entity of material, spiritual and cultural values, as a cultural creativity and as a movement, as a progress of culture itself. The socialist culture has become a direct expression of the all-round economic, social and cultural emancipation of the working masses and an important means for the uninterrupted raising of the level of their all-round emancipation

IN THE RICH AND ALL-SIDED THEORETICAL HERITAGE WHICH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS LEFT US, A SPECIAL PLACE IS OCCUPIED BY HIS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ALL-ROUND SPIRITUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AND HIS DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTION TO ALL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS FIELD. THEY FORM AN ENTIRE THEORETICAL SYSTEM WHICH PULSES WITH HIS VIVID REVOLUTIONARY THINKING IN CONSISTENT DEFENCE OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, AND IS OUTSTANDING FOR ITS CREATIVE SPIRIT, THE ENRICHMENT OF THESE TEACHINGS WITH NEW CONCLUSIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS IN WHICH THE HISTORICAL SOCIAL EXPERIENCE OF HALF A CENTURY IS SUMMED UP.

When one delves into the essence of Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical thinking on the spiritual, ideological and cultural emancipation of the masses one finds in it lessons drawn from the summing up of all the events of our national history, from the Illyrian Antiquity to the recent events of the National Renaissance; one finds the causes underlying the dilemmas and

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the difficult situation of the period of Independence, the tragic consequences of foreign occupations, which were repeated during the Second World War and which bore the inherent danger of the denationalization of our culture, which even put in question the very existence of our nation; one finds the age-old aspirations of the people for freedom, independence and social justice, for education, culture, science and art. The theoretical thin-

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A MAGNIFICENT WORK

of. **ALFRED UÇI**

king of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the ideological, cultural and spiritual emancipation of the masses cannot be separated from the concern of the entire people; from the questions that gnawed at the heart and mind of the Albanians and which our poet has expressed like this: «Will we create that epic in which with our lahutas we'll sing to the new life? Or will the centuries again mock at us?»

The creation of the Communist Party of Albania, the theoretical thinking and the clarity of vision of Comrade Enver Hoxha were needed to provide to these troubles, dilemmas and aspirations that arose from our national history not only the desired answer, but one that was scientifically accurate, and moreover, not just theoretical, but that applied in practice.

From the founding of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head of it, formulated the program of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people. At the time when the people's armed uprising was mounting like the ocean waves this program contained the main trajectories of that emancipating movement which we call the ideological-cultural revolution. The people's revolution was a profound process of emancipation which gave the people the new ideal, it was the first major ideological overthrow that took place in the minds of the working people, led by the Party. During this process they made their departure from the ideologies of the reactionary ruling classes and the

shoots of a new culture began to appear. However delicate these shoots were, they had a great significance, because they were imbued with a new ideology, with the revolutionary ideas of the Party. Without taking into account the ideological overthrow which the people's revolution brought about in our country, the development of the ideological and cultural revolution, which was a continuation and deepening of the people's revolution, in the years of freedom, cannot be understood.

Immediately after Liberation our people faced the acute problem of the perspective, the future of Albania. For our Party, guided by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, there were no dilemmas, there was only one alternative which it had chosen from its founding — the deepening of the revolution, the construction of socialism, which was the basis of the economic, political, ideological and cultural emancipation of the working people.

The construction of socialism was a complicated problem: first of all, the poverty and the wartime destruction had to be eliminated, the economy had to be reconstructed, transformed and developed, independence had to be defended and the defence strengthened. In this situation Comrade Enver Hoxha defined with wisdom and foresight that the country also needed to come out of the cultural backwardness, to develop on the road of rapid and all-round cultural progress. Comrade Ramiz Alia said, «No

one else has been so strongly aware of the great thirst for education and culture which has accompanied our people through the centuries as Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had emerged from the ranks of the common people, who had been educated with the great sentiments of the men of our Renaissance, and who has mastered the Marxist teachings about the emancipation of mankind.»¹ Since March 1946, in the Program of the first Government of our People's Republic, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared: «Our people need more bread, but they also need more culture and education.»²

In conformity with the strategy of the Party for the construction of socialism, the struggle would be waged not for any kind of culture, but for a **national socialist culture.**

What was the road on which to proceed to overcome the backwardness and create the new socialist culture?

At that time there were people who, under the influence of the ideology of the reactionary exploiting classes, disparaged the entire heritage of our national culture, and in the spirit of cosmopolitanism sang the old tune of imitating the so-called great foreign cultures. At that time there were even people who sincerely wanted the elimination of the cultural backwardness, but failed to see in the progressive national culture those values on which they could base themselves to set out on the road of progress; they believed that this culture left

the people in backwardness and turned it back to the past.

That is why from the first years after Liberation it was very urgent to make a great choice, which would leave indelible marks on the entire future development. It is one of Comrade Enver Hoxha's main merits that at the right time, when the cultural revolution was taking its first initiatives, he knew how to correctly determine the place our cultural heritage should occupy in all the future ideological and cultural transformations. No progress could be made by abandoning the national cultural heritage. This great choice was neither accidental nor temporary. It was made with complete, unwavering confidence, which we now know, and assumed the form of an unchanged, long-term fundamental orientation for the cultural policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, because Comrade Enver Hoxha, who formulated this orientation, was guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, because, like no one else before, he expressed with it an aspiration of the entire people, because he introduced a dialectical meaning in the interpretation of progress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's personality was distinguished by an all-round erudition and a broad cultural vision. He was acquainted with the most important spiritual and cultural movements of the world history, never for a moment has he separated himself from the Motherland, from his people, from their aspirations, traditions and culture. The orientation which Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated was a manifestation not only of the foresight and wisdom of a Marxist-Leninist thinker, but also of a man who throughout his life was nourished with the life-giving sap of the Albanian culture, with the folk songs and dances, with the noble customs and virtues of the Albanians which he praised greatly and considered immortal monuments of culture. In many of his Works and speeches, Comrade Enver Hoxha has expressed the great

test respect and has highly evaluated the names of the great masters of world philosophy, literature, art, music, architecture, science, but this did not hinder him from praising and evaluating the treasury of our national culture.

From the first steps of the cultural revolution, regarding the cultural heritage of our people as a starting-point, as an indispensable condition for the creation of the new socialist culture, Comrade Enver Hoxha, based this general orientation on important reasons of principle. This orientation was not the fruit of any nostalgia for or romantic glorification of the past, but derived from the materialist understanding which considers the masses of the people as the decisive factor in history, which accepts their creative force in the field of culture, too. Without underrating the positive, democratic and progressive components of the reflexive culture, Comrade Enver Hoxha particularly evaluated the treasury of folk culture as the part which has more directly embodied the ideals and aspirations of the working masses and with which they have expressed and fulfilled their class interests. Progressive culture has been a factor which has helped the people to survive in the midst of the waves and storms of history; it has been an expression of their identity, and features of their life and history; it has been one of the most powerful means to resist the denationalizing pressures of the cultures of foreign occupiers and chauvinist forces. That is why Comrade Enver Hoxha said that, «The Homeland is defended with weapons, but it is also defended with knowledge and culture.»³

Comrade Enver Hoxha saw our cultural heritage not only from the dimension of its historical past, but also in its present and future dimensions. According to this concept, this culture had not turned its face to the past alone, it was not simply a collection of objects of museum values, a relic or idol of the past. Being culture, it was

directed ahead, acted as a force of progress. Because of its inestimable values, because of its democratic character, it was able to adapt itself especially to the new conditions of socialism, the new social demands; it was able to discard everything old and conservative, to modify itself, to evolve and revive as an integral part of the new socialist culture. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Our socialist literature, art, culture have not been born from nothing, but from a long historical development of our society, its spiritual life, the best and most distinguished cultural and artistic traditions of our people.»⁴ The orientation formulated by Comrade Enver Hoxha to rely on the cultural heritage not only was important for the first phase of the cultural revolution, but remains a constant guiding pattern for the present and the future.

However great and rich the values of the cultural heritage were, in socialism the people cannot satisfy all their increasing demands with them alone; they also need an advanced socialist culture, based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, made up of modern education and science, the new mode of living, the modern technique, the cultivated art and all other components which would characterize it as the culture of a flourishing socialist nation. It would secure a higher level of the material and spiritual emancipation of the people. The road of the socialist development of the country contained great possibilities and perspectives to achieve such goals.

Comrade Enver Hoxha maintained that the new socialist culture could not be created as a result of artificial experiments, it could not be imported from abroad, it would grow and develop with its roots deep in this soil. Genuine culture cannot be truly so if it is not part of the blood and flesh of the people who create it and use it, if it is not conceived in their history, life, struggle and interests. The decisive role in the creation of the new socialist culture fell on our peo-

ple, led by the Party, the liberated people engaged in the work of the socialist construction, whose physical and intellectual energies erupted with unprecedented creative force in the conditions of the socialist order. On this road all the new achievements of the world progressive culture had to be assimilated. «The Party does not disclaim the world progressive culture,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «on the contrary, it highly evaluates it and has always expressed its positive stand towards the creative thinking of the peoples and the great progressive thinkers and creators, but this evaluation must always be seen in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The underestimation of progressive world culture would be a minus in the cultural and technical development of the country, in the cultural and technical training of our intelligentsia.»⁵

Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical thinking is distinguished not only for its scientific character, creative Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, but also for the force of its application in practice. Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha has illuminated every step of the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution and is materialized in the invincible strength of the flourishing socialist Albania. Characterizing the achievements of our ideological and cultural revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «It would be hard to find any other country in which an ideological and cultural revolution has been carried out as profound in content and as widespread in extent as in Albania.»⁶

Comrade Enver Hoxha was the inspirer and strategist of this revolution which eliminated cultural backwardness and set the country on the road of a rapid, uninterrupted, all-round progress, which created a new developed contemporary material and spiritual culture. He set down the tasks of each stage and led their realization step by step. While the people, inspired by his teachings, began the

struggle to eliminate illiteracy, Comrade Enver Hoxha designed the program of ideological and cultural transformations for the distant future. Like no one else before, from the first initiatives of the cultural revolution, he paid special attention not only to drawing and activating the small number of sound forces of the old intelligentsia through their re-education in the practice of the socialist construction, but also showed the urgent need to create the new intelligentsia from the sons and daughters of workers and peasants who were bound like flesh to bone with the interests of the revolution and were imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Without this intelligentsia it would have been impossible to create that complete, developed educational system of a socialist, popular and national character which we have today and which is capable of educating the entire people, of training qualified working people and cadres for the most varied specialities and profiles for the needs of all sectors of the economy and culture. The ideas and projects designed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great and continuous attention which he paid, inspired all the efforts for the creation of an entire network of cultural institutions, from professional artistic ensembles to the national theatre and film making, from the centres of Radio and Television to the national Opera and Ballet Theatre, from modern architecture to the new literature of socialist realism which, as a whole, play a great role in the communist education of the masses, have made their spiritual life prosperous and rich, support their creative activity in every field of the struggle for socialism. The creation and the progress of the new Albanian science, which is based on a broad network of specialized institutions and a real army of qualified collaborators capable of carrying forward studies in various fields of social, natural and technical sciences, of preparing and executing magnificent designs which could not be dreamt of in the past, who, relying

on their own forces, solve complex tasks to the benefit of the development of the socialist economy and culture, cannot be conceived without the direct solicitude of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The development of the ideological and cultural revolution brought about a real overthrow in the mentality, psychology and world outlook of the broad masses of the working people. Our people, engaged in the practice of the socialist construction, educated with the new socialist ideology, gradually discarded the old patriarchal, conservative customs and traditions, resolutely rejected the entire burden of the remnants of the past which left them in backwardness, freed themselves from the shackles of the patriarchal canons, prejudices, religious beliefs and divisions, freed themselves from all the decay of the past. The decisive blow dealt to religion in our country was a great act of the spiritual emancipation of the people. The liberation from the chains of religious beliefs opened broad vistas to the people to master a new advanced culture imbued with a scientific world outlook, to adopt a new way of life and new customs. In the process of the development of the ideological and cultural revolution the sources of popular inspiration were clarified and became purer, the folk culture was regenerated, liberated itself from everything old and assumed new values and content.

Another magnificent achievement of socialism, of the ideological and cultural revolution is the all-round emancipation of the Albanian women who were freed from the manifold oppression and enslavement, from inequality and misery, from the shackles of the inhuman canons and prejudices, from ignorance and humiliation; it released the great physical and intellectual energies of the mass of the women, drew them out of their houses and encouraged them to become an active creative force at work and in the governing of the country, in culture, education and science, raised

their dignity and personality, making them conscious of their irreplaceable role in the construction of the socialist life. Without the theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha which illuminated the entire long, difficult and complicated struggle for the emancipation of the women, without the continuous solicitude and insistence, without the pathos and noble feelings which he demonstrated for the liberation of the women, no moment of however little importance of the realizations in this field can be understood, the high level of the emancipation of the Albanian women and the well-deserved rights which they enjoy in our society, cannot be understood.

The ideological, cultural and spiritual emancipation of the masses in our country has been accomplished while overcoming numerous difficulties which were linked with very important international external factors with which our ideological and cultural revolution was inevitably confronted. And here we come to another dimension of special importance which helps to grasp the content and historic significance of Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas on the ideological and cultural revolution.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always seen and appreciated the people's revolution and the socialist construction of our country as inseparable parts of the world revolutionary process. This fact has left its indelible imprint on the whole platform of the Party elaborated by Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the ideological and cultural revolution. In order to analyse and grasp the whole extent and depth of the revolutionary creativeness of Comrade Enver Hoxha's thinking, it is indispensable that it should be compared with the stands adopted towards the ideological and cultural problems in the international communist and workers' movement, with the stern ideological battles which have always accompanied the development of culture on an international

scale in the past half of this century.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's criticism of the opportunist platform of Sejfulla Malëshova on problems of culture and ideology was, at the same time, opposition to the aims of Anglo-American reaction which, immediately after the Second World War, strove to divert the countries of people's democracy from the course of the revolution and socialist construction, to set them on a «middle course», and, in the long run, to lure them on to the course of capitalist development, and make them dependent on Western imperialism. The clear-cut, determined stand of the Party of Labour of Albania against Titoite revisionism, which was condemned by the entire international communist and workers' movement in its time, was based, among other things, also on the experience of the ideological struggle it had waged during the Second World War and after Liberation against the Titoite renegades. Therefore, from the beginning, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha did not reconcile themselves with the Khrushchevite revisionists' efforts to rehabilitate Titoism and to stop the polemics and ideological struggle against it. After Stalin's death our Party followed with concern the concessions over principle made to the enemy ideology, the degenerated Western culture and art in the countries of the former people's democracy and the Soviet Union. It forewarned of the great threat they posed as support for the counter-revolutionary forces.

Meanwhile, our Party, inspired by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, stepped up its struggle against any manifestation of alien ideologies and step by step consolidated the socialist character of our culture, and deepened the ideological and cultural revolution under the hegemony of the working class. This experience helped our Party to avoid being taken by surprise by the Khrushchevite betrayal and the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, to oppose this course and to emerge in the front-line

of the struggle against modern revisionism on a world scale. The firm stand and resolute struggle of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, their profound analyses and valuable theoretical generalizations, further enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory on the ideological and cultural revolution, especially with the conclusions on the ways to avert the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and to further consolidate the socialist character of our ideology and culture, in which the degenerate bourgeois-revisionist culture never struck root.

The greatness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha stood out also in the principled stand of our Party towards Mao Zedong's course of the so-called cultural revolution, which was inspired by Trotskyite, chauvinist and pseudo-revolutionary ideas and which assumed the proportions of a real anti-cultural vandalism. As early as the first steps of the «cultural revolution» in China, Comrade Enver Hoxha warned that it was on a course that had nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the ideological and cultural revolution. Likewise, the stand of our Party was equally principled and resolute towards that «turn» that the successors of Mao Zedong made after his death, by reviving and applying the slogan of «let one hundred flowers blossom», which meant giving up the class struggle in ideology and culture, and opened all the doors of China to the penetration of the degenerate bourgeois ideology, art and culture.

Summing up the world experience of the contemporary ideological and cultural development, Comrade Enver Hoxha regarded the struggle for the spiritual, ideological and cultural emancipation of the masses as **one of the universal laws of the socialist construction**. He maintained that there is no country in which the proletarian revolution triumphs, which does not face the great problem of

carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution. The universal importance and content of this revolution would not be fully understood if it were considered as a factor that operates only in order to overcome the cultural backwardness which some country inherits from the past. Socialism, of course, implies a social order higher than any exploiting order, therefore, it cannot be built without emerging from the cultural backwardness. However, the ideological and cultural revolution is an indispensable task which cannot but lie ahead even for countries most advanced from the cultural viewpoint.

In criticizing the revisionist views that minimize the universal importance of the ideological and cultural revolution, that consider it a problem only for the backward countries, or limit it only to the stage of the creation of the economic base of socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized the close and inseparable connection between the cultural revolution and the ideological revolution. The ideological revolution and the cultural revolution are two inseparable parts of the same process. This process contains tasks which cannot be solved at one stroke, only by eliminating illiteracy or by some other reforms, but extends over and covers all the space of the transitional period from capitalism to communism, which is, apart from other things, the period of the ceaseless and irreconcilable struggle between the socialist ideology and culture and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and culture.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stigmatized the revisionist views which propound that, after the liquidation of exploiting classes, the sphere of ideology and culture loses its class character and embodies the general social interests, the so-called all-embracing humanitarian ideal. In fact, the ideology and culture, in general, and the spiritual culture, in particular, depend on the social class relationships and have a direct class character. In the conditions when internal and ex-

ternal, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions exist, the Party of Labour of Albania has followed the course of the class struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and culture and the alien manifestations in the consciousness of the people. Summing up the new historical experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated the thesis that without ensuring the complete triumph of the socialist ideology, without consolidating the socialist character of the new culture, the socialist victories in the other fields cannot be secure or guaranteed.

The ideological class struggle has become especially fierce in the conditions of the further deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system and the bourgeois degeneration of the former socialist countries. In this situation, exposure of the efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to cover up and hide the class struggle through the slogans of «removing culture from ideological influences», «ideological and cultural pluralism», «convergence» of opposing ideologies and cultures, has always had great importance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has shown with facts the danger which the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism and modern revisionism presents for socialism and the independence of the peoples. Through their degenerate culture, their decadent art and literature, through their idealist sociological and philosophical, political and religious, aesthetic and moral concepts which express the spiritual crisis of the exploiting order, the bourgeoisie and revisionism try to influence people in order to alienate them from the battles of the class struggle, to spread disillusionment and ideological confusion within their ranks, to introduce the seed of degeneration to our country, which is marching unwaveringly on the road of the revolution and socialism. By exposing the danger of the cultural aggression of the superpowers, our Party

has contributed not only to the defence of the purity of our socialist ideology and culture, but has also made its contribution to the defence of the progressive culture of all other peoples.

The positions of the socialist ideology and the socialist character of our culture are strengthened through the consolidation of the hegemony of the working class in all fields of life and the leading role of the Party. The Marxist-Leninist party is the only revolutionary force capable of playing the role of a leading staff for revolutionary socialist transformations in every field of social life, including its ideological and cultural development. It is able to guide the ideological and cultural development of the society, closely linked with the development of the revolution and the practice of the socialist construction, is able to carry the Marxist-Leninist ideology to all spheres of culture and direct the cultural and ideological formation not just of the communists but of all masses of the people.

The complete construction of socialist and communist society is a dynamic process, to which the ideological and cultural revolution is subjected. Comrade Enver Hoxha has summed up the experience of this dynamic process, which is an inseparable part of the development of the class struggle, as the **ceaseless revolutionization** of the whole life of the socialist society. As an objective law of social development, the process of the revolutionization of the life of the country implies the communist education and the uninterrupted raising of the cultural level of the masses, the irreconcilable struggle with any manifestation of the degenerate bourgeois-revisionist ideology and culture, the further development and modernization of all spheres and sectors of culture, education, science, literature, art, etc., the use of all their creative potential in favour of the complete construction of socialist society. One of the main aims of the cultural work in every sector and field is the awa-

kening of the creative forces of the masses. At the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The development and progress of culture means the development and progress of the nation.»⁷

Within more than 40 years a new socialist civilization has been created in our country, which is expressed as an entity of material, spiritual and cultural values, as a cultural creativity and as a movement, as a progress of culture itself. The socialist

culture has become a direct expression of the all-round economic, social and cultural emancipation of the working masses and an important means for the uninterrupted raising of the level of their all-round emancipation. Not only the achievements in the field of ideology and culture, but also those tendencies which are being consolidated as laws of our socialist social system and which testify to the perspectives of the future cultural development, have their importance, too.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has said that, «The great teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and his tireless activity to build a new culture, revolutionary in content, with a firm national base and a powerful popular and democratic spirit, have been and will be an unerring guide to show us the right course on which we must proceed, in order to work and fight tirelessly to make our Homeland a country ever more emancipated, ever more cultured.»⁸

1 Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha and His Work Live and Will Live For Ever, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 14, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, On Literature and Art, p. 10, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, On Literature and Art, p. 60, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, On Literature and Art, p. 257, Alb. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, Report and Speeches, 1974-1975, p. 116, Alb. ed.

6 Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha and His Work Live and Will Live For Ever, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 14, Eng. ed.

7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1981, p. 154, Eng. ed.

8 Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha and His Work Live and Will Live For Ever, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 13, Eng. ed.

THE JURIDICAL SANCTIONING OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

by Prof. LUAN OMARI

The question of state power, a fundamental question of our people's revolution or any other revolution throughout history, was resolved in the heat of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, through the barrel of the gun, according to the platform worked out by the Party and its leader, Comrade ENVER HOXHA.

TWO IMPORTANT JUBILEES IN THE HISTORY OF OUR SOCIALIST STATE: THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AND THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF ITS CONSTITUTION, WERE CELEBRATED THIS YEAR.

THESE TWO EVENTS WERE THE EPILOGUE OF A WHOLE PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH HAD THEIR ORIGIN IN THE CREATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA AND WHICH, UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP, LED GRADUALLY TO THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE NAZI-FASCIST OCCUPIERS, THE DESTRUCTION OF THE STRENGTH AND POSITIONS OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES AS COLLABORATORS OF THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS, THE BREAKING OF THE STATE MACHINE THAT WAS PLACED IN THEIR SERVICE, AND THE RISE AND CONSTANT STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

The question of state power, a fundamental question of our people's revolution or any other revolution throughout history, was resolved in the heat of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, through the barrel of the gun, according to the platform worked out by the Party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The decisions of the Conference of

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Peza and, more especially, that of Labinot, reflected this organical combination of the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for a new state of people's democracy whose political base was constituted by the national liberation councils. The triumph of this state was sanctioned by the historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet which founded the Albanian state of people's democracy, a state which was in its embryo a

dictatorship of the proletariat; it was strengthened and perfected further by the decisions adopted at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee which was held in October 1944 in Berat. A month later the people's state power extended over the whole of Albania which was finally liberated from the bondage of the German nazi occupiers and the rule of the big landowners and the bourgeoisie. A new historical epoch, the epoch of socialism, set on for the Albanian people. They would build socialism relying on their own forces and under the leadership of the Party as they had done in the National Liberation War, too.

The people's state power was faced with new tasks: it had to strengthen and perfect itself, to enlarge its social base and democratize its composition. The creation of the Albanian state of people's democracy was the result of an irreversible process. As an embodiment of the will of the

people, it had a definitive character, but its organs, which during the war had been created as provisional organizations, now had to assume their final form. And, what was the main thing, the juridical problem of the form of government had to be resolved in its final and full form, thereby sanctioning a state of things which had been achieved in the course of the National Liberation War with the condemnation of the regime of Zog by the Congress of Përmet and the prohibition of his return to Albania until the form of government had been decided on by the people after Liberation, with the creation of such organs as would exercise the supreme state power in a collegial manner.

With the wisdom, foresight and realism that have characterized it since its creation, during the war the Party carefully avoided any hasty step in the question of the form of the state so as to eliminate any pretext for conflicts and divisions on the part of people and trends representing views different from its own on the question of the future state order in Albania. This was apparent as early as the Conference of Peza at which, with the initiative of the Party, the proposal of a delegate about «fighting for a democratic republic» was not accepted and a resolution was adopted with the concluding appeal for «an independent, free, democratic and indivisible» Albania, which implied a democratic regime, on which point all the delegates, including the Zogites who posed as supporters of democracy, were in agreement. In this manner the platform put forward by the Communist Party of Albania expressed the demand for a democratic regime, while at the same time being formulated so broadly as not to create open differences on the content of this regime which different groups and trends interpreted differently. The further development of the National Liberation War vindicated the correctness of this stand of the Party.

Now, after the complete liberation of the country, as it was decided during the war, it was up to the people, through the Constituent Assembly, to

decide on the form of government of the new Albanian state and on its constituent organization.

Although the armed struggle itself had resolved the question of state power in favour of the working class and the working masses, the juridical sanctioning of this historic victory was not a mere formality. On the contrary, it implied the continuation of the struggle, though in new forms, against those internal and external forces which tried to impede the further development of the revolution, to turn back the wheel of history. These forces were the exploiting classes which could not reconcile themselves to their defeat in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the former Anglo-American allies who by now were ever more openly showing their hostility towards the new order of people's democracy, as well as the different anti-Party elements who, still hidden in the ranks of the Party, plotted against the Communist Party of Albania and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the encouragement of the Yugoslav emissaries.

Aware of these difficulties, the Party considered the defence and strengthening of the people's state power as the main one among the many tasks it had to cope with. «After every war and revolution», it was said in a circular letter of the CC of the PLA of December 1944, «the most important and the most difficult question is the taking and maintenance of power. For us, for our Party, too, the most important question is that of state power: this is our central problem. Accordingly, our main objective today is to strengthen the state power and with it to pass from victory to victory, from reform to reform.»¹

The solution of the question of state power was the key to the solution of other important problems: defence of the country from the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites by foiling their attempts at political and economic interference, wiping out the remnants of fascism which presupposed the elimination of all political, juridical and ideological consequences of the fas-

cist occupation, completion and perfection of the state apparatus on the basis of the national liberation councils, further development of the revolution in its uninterrupted process which implied the carrying out of democratic and social reforms of democratic character combined with other, more radical reforms of socialist character.

For the achievement of these objectives after the liberation of the country, the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council adopted a number of laws of a political, economic and social character which were put forward by the Government. A very important measure for the limitation of the private ownership over the main means of production and the preparation of the conditions for their transition to state ownership was the December 1944 Law of the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which decided that all Albanian industries and companies should be placed under state control. In the same month the export of precious metals, land products and manufactured goods was prohibited, thereby imposing important restrictions on private trade so as to avoid speculation to the detriment of the reconstruction of the national economy, while another law enforced the confiscation of the property of all political fugitives. This measure turned considerable amount of wealth into state property, for among the fugitives there were many of the main representatives of the local landowners and bourgeoisie. Extraordinary taxation on war profits, confiscation of the property of the collaborators of the enemy who had been killed during the war, the actual placing of internal private trade under state control were other measures weakening the positions of the exploiting classes.

These were measures of a revolutionary character based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that «the proletariat exercises its political power in order to gradually wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie to centralize all the

means of production in the hands of the state, that is, the proletariat organized as a ruling class, and to increase the productive forces as quickly as possible.»²

In January 1945 the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front decided the confiscation of all Italian and German state and state-controlled property in Albania, as well as the confiscation of the property of the concessions of different Italian companies that carried on their activity in our country. The National Bank of Albania was also nationalized.

The practical importance of the expropriation of the property of Italy and Germany becomes clear if it is considered that, according to some data, in 1938 capital controlled 75.6 per cent of industry and that joint capital (foreign and local) controlled 22.6 per cent of it. However, it is clear that in this case, too, foreign capital held key positions with the national bourgeoisie controlling only 1.8 per cent of them. The state sector, which was set up on the basis of these expropriations, accounted for 84 per cent of total industrial production in 1946.³

It must be said that extraordinary taxation and confiscations, although they were democratic measures taken in the context of the struggle against fascism and those who had profited from it, in essence were measures of a socialist character which expropriated and liquidated the richer section of the bourgeoisie. Extraordinary taxation could not be taken isolated from the deepening and exacerbation of the class struggle: the financial bases of the counter-revolution had to be liquidated, on the one hand, while, on the other, the financial means had to be found for the development of the process of revolutionary transformations, without waiting for them to be accumulated by conventional methods.

With these measures, a broad sector of the state economy, which would go on expanding and strengthening, was set up in Albania. This called for the planned management of the economy, and for this purpose the Eco-

nomical Council and the State Planning Commission were set up in 1945.

Thus immediately after the fulfilment of the main task of the National Liberation War — the liberation of the country, the people's state power took a number of measures of democratic and socialist character. The new state, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised not only the political leadership but also the economic management of the country; it came out not only as a political force, but also as an economic force which grew constantly in importance.

In August 1945 the 1st Congress of the Democratic Front demanded that the supreme state organs should hold elections for the Constituent Assembly. In accordance with the decisions of the Congress of Përmet, in September, at its third and last session, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council adopted the Law on the Constituent Assembly. The Law envisaged that the Assembly should decide on the political form of government, as well as endorse all the acts passed up till its convening by the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council and its Standing Committee and then adopt the Constitution of Albania. Likewise, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council passed the Law on the elections of the representatives of the people to the Constituent Assembly and the Law on electoral lists. The system of elections was defined and the democratic principles of their holding were sanctioned: general, equal, direct and secret vote, as well as the necessary guarantees for the free exercise of electoral right, on the part of all citizens.

Entitled to elect and be elected were all citizens without distinction as to sex who had completed 18 years of age, apart from war criminals and people's enemies, as well as those who had lost their electoral rights. The citizens who had taken part in the war in the ranks of the National Liberation Army were recognized the electoral right even when they had not completed 18 years of age.

The elections of November 2, 1945, the first truly free elections in the history of the Albanian people, were a great triumph for the Democratic Front, a clear manifestation of the unity of the people around the Party, which was being steered more and more, and for the indisputable authority it had won in its struggle for the liberation of the Homeland and the fulfilment of the social aspirations of the working masses. In this atmosphere of political enthusiasm on January 10, 1946 was convened the Constituent Assembly which on the following day, on January 11, adopting the proposal made by Comrade Hysni Kapo on behalf of the delegates of Vlora, proclaimed Albania a People's Republic, thereby definitively solving the question of the form of government of the new Albanian state of people's democracy.

The proclamation of the People's Republic was the logical conclusion of the revolutionary process developed during the years of the National Liberation War and sanctioned in the decisions of the Congress of Përmet. The Congress not only prohibited the return of Zog to Albania until the people themselves had decided on the form of government after Liberation, but also categorically denounced the monarchic regime of Zog, demanding that it «should no longer be repeated»⁴. The creation of the Albanian state of people's democracy itself excluded the monarchy as a form of government. It was curried for good right from the Congress of Përmet, although its liquidation could not be proclaimed at that time. The new Albanian state of people's democracy, with the structure of the supreme state organs endorsed by the Congress of Përmet, actually assumed the form of a republic, although formally this was not expressly sanctioned in any act of the state power. This becomes clear with the placing at the head of the state of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which was represented by its Standing Committee in the period between its two sessions. These organs exercised the supreme state power in a collegial

manner. The Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council exercised the functions of the head of state for all intents and purposes, functions which later, on the basis of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, were attributed to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic the state organization which was set up during the National Liberation War and which enabled the further advance on the road of political, economic and social transformations, was preserved.

After the proclamation of the People's Republic, the Constituent Assembly endorsed the legislative activity of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council and its Standing Committee, thereby, through its sanctioning, giving a definitive character to the laws adopted in the period from the Congress of Përmet to the convening of the Assembly itself.

The Assembly also examined the draft-law on the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly. Although the organization of the supreme state organs would be definitively regulated through the Constitution of the Republic the endorsement of the draft-law on the Presidium, before its election by the Assembly itself, had particular importance, for it defined the character of this organ and its competences up till the adoption of the Constitution. According to the draft-law, the Presidium had the character and competences of the former Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council with the important difference that the Presidium was not recognized the right of exercising legislative functions, which in the case of the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council was justified by the circumstances of the war.

After the adoption of this draft-law, on January 12, 1946 the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly was elected. In the process of its election the warning Comrade Enver Hoxha had made some months before proved very valuable as some oppositional elements would try under the dis-

guise of the Front to create within the Assembly an opposition which, from the class stand-point, would be the expression of the interests of the bourgeoisie, the big merchants, industrialists, rich peasants, a small part of whom had formerly helped the National Liberation War, but now were reacting adversely to the socio-economic reforms of the people's state power. To the list of the candidates to the Presidium which was presented by five deputies of the Berat constituency, some representative of the opposition group, which worked behind the scenes, opposed a second list in which the main personalities of the National Liberation Movement, which figured in the first list, were left out. Other people were proposed in their place, including some persons of the opposition group. It was clear that the question was about a political manoeuvre which was intended to oppose the line of the Party and the Front by preliminarily sounding out the terrain so as to go over eventually to other actions. A secret voting was taken on both lists and the first list won with an overwhelming majority.

The most important task of the Constituent Assembly, after the proclamation of the People's Republic, was the adoption of the Constitution. After its draft was presented to the Assembly, the latter suspended its proceedings from February 5 to 25, 1946, a period during which the suggestions made during the great popular discussion carried out throughout the country were summed up and studied. This was another expression of direct democracy, of the sovereignty of the people who expressed themselves unanimously for the draft-Constitution which embodied its aspirations, while at the same time making a number of suggestions which improved and democratized the content of the Constitution further.

These suggestions and proposals of the masses were reflected in the amended draft which was presented to the Assembly on February 26.

Thus, for example, to the last paragraph of Article 10 it was added that «the State gives the petty and

middle peasant special support through its economic policy, credits and the system of taxation.»

To Article 16 which sanctioned the principle of the separation of the church from the state was added the paragraph which said that «It is prohibited to employ the church and religion for political purposes. Likewise, political organizations on a religious basis are prohibited.»

Some provisions were added like «Betrayal of the people is the highest crime,» «The state cares especially for the education of the young people,» «Children in tender age are under the protection of the law.»

During the discussion of the draft-Constitution in the Assembly reaction made again its voice heard. It called the Constitution a document «couched in the ideological spirit both from the political and the socio-economic stand-point,» and finally, in an ironical manner, demanded from the Assembly that Albania should be proclaimed «a People's Socialist Republic».

Various deputies gave the provocation of the representative of the group of reactionary deputies the reply it deserved, pointing out that the time had gone by when the world could be intimidated with the bugbear of socialism, and that it was a fact that Albania was not yet a socialist country and that the draft-Constitution could not be fully socialist. The draft-Constitution was adopted unanimously on March 14, 1946.

The adoption of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly, after it had secured the support of all the working masses in the great popular discussion, was the final juridical sanctioning of the deep-going revolutionary changes that had taken place in Albania during the National Liberation War and after its victory. The Constitution was the result of the victory in the National Liberation War and in the people's revolution over the foreign enemies and the exploiting classes that had placed themselves in their service. At the same time, it opened up clear prospects for new revolutionary trans-

formations of a socialist character in all walks of life.

The main principle of the Constitution was that of the sovereignty of the people; from this fundamental principle stemmed the principles of the indivisibility of state power and democratic centralism. The sovereignty of the people was expressed in the concept: All state power derives from the people and belongs to the people. This state power was exercised through the representative organs, the People's Assembly and people's councils.

The principle of the indivisibility of state power was expressed especially in the fact that state power, both at the centre and in the districts was wielded by these representative organs which exercised both legislative and executive power. In a derived manner, state power was exercised by the executive organs, the government and executive committees, but these were elected by the representative organs and answerable to them.

The provisions of the Constitution on the socio-economic order which sanctioned the superiority of state and cooperativist ownership, recognized but also limited, private ownership, called for the nationalization of the main means of production, the management and development of the life of the country according to a general economic plan and for the state to encourage the working masses to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation, were in accordance with the line set by the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania in February 1946, which called for all work in the future to be carried out to the benefit of the working masses for the liquidation of the exploiting classes, with the construction of socialism as a perspective.

The provisions of the Constitution clearly expressed the character of people's democracy in Albania as a social order of the new, higher type, opposed in principle to bourgeois democracy. With the adoption of the Constitution the process of the poli-

tical organization of the state of people's democracy came to an end and a new period set on, that of the deepening of the revolution and socialist construction, a construction which, with the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's state power, constituted the new strategic objective of the Party.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania was the Constitution of a state that had set out on the road of socialism, skipping the stage of developed capitalism. Hence, although many principles of a socialist character were included in the text of the Constitution, it also contained many principles of a general democratic character which responded to the conditions and demands of this stage, as for example, safeguarding private ownership and private initiative in the economy, although with certain limitations dictated by general interest, prohibition of monopolies, trusts and cartels, separation of the church from the state and the school from the church. In this historical context, some provisions of the Constitution, at the time when it was adopted, had rather a programmatic character and went beyond the reality of that time. However, despite some programmatic provisions, the Constitution of 1946 on a whole was never a program, but the main juridical means for the achievement of the objectives set by the Communist Party (today the Party of Labour); and this defined its active and creative role in the construction of socialist society.

The great transformations that continued to be carried out also after the adoption of the Constitution made its amendment necessary after a short time. The Constitution of a socialist country as ours, in which the rates of development are very rapid, is a juridical act which must reflect the dynamics of this development so as not to lag behind it. For this reason, in July 1950 some additions and amendments were made in the text of the Constitution. For the first time, the class structure was directly and clearly sanctioned by calling the People's

Republic of Albania «a state of the workers and working peasants». It was also proclaimed that foreign trade was state monopoly, and the role of the state as a regulator and manager of foreign trade, and the objective of the collectivization of agriculture on socialist bases were expressly envisaged.

A significant addition was the principle that «Work is the basis of the social order of the People's Republic of Albania».

The Constitution now emphasized the role of the Party of Labour of Albania as the «organized vanguard of the working class and all the working masses, and the leading nucleus of all the workers' associations, both social and state.» This was a new important principle which reflected our social and state reality. Although included in the article which provided for the citizens' right to organize themselves in different associations, still it was expressed neither in its proper place nor in explicit form.

With these additions and amendments the Constitution served as a juridical basis for the development of the country on the socialist road.

The Constitution of 1946 was the offspring of the people's revolution and the embodiment of the revolutionary experience of the masses. For a period of 30 years it lay at the foundation of the international and external policy of our socialist state, and this was possible because of its profoundly democratic and socialist content, of the accordance of this content with the interests of the working class and the working peasantry.

The sanctioning by Constitution of the principles of organization of our new state and society played an important role in the development of the socialist construction in Albania. As a fundamental political and juridical document, the Constitution created the possibilities for the deep-going revolutionary transformations that went on after its adoption. «It played an important role,» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «not only in

the defence and consolidation of the state power and all the other victories of the revolution, but also in the all-round development of the socio-economic order on the socialist road.»⁵

The Constitution became the main source for all the legislation issued by our state for the regulation of social relations in all walks of life. The drafting and adoption of new codes and laws in different fields was a major and urgent task for the socialist state. The abrogation of old laws, which was done by a law of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council on May 17, 1945, supplemented by the interpretative decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of January 21, 1947, called for the working out of a new legislation in the interest of the working masses. This task began to be carried out even before the adoption of the Constitution, but more especially after its adoption. The Labour Code was a great victory for the working people. Throughout its existence, the anti-popular regime of Zog had not adopted any law on relations at work. Now for the first time the working people of Albania enjoyed rights which were guaranteed by law, limitation of working hours to 8 hours a day, right to an annual paid leave of not less than two weeks, state insurance free of charge.

The Penal Code, the Family Code, various laws in the field of juridical and civic relations were an important part of the new legislation which was drafted in the first years after the adoption of the Constitution and subsequently supplemented, improved on and amended to a great extent, always in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution so as to respond to the new requirements of the development of society on the road of socialism ever better.

Since the time of the adoption and amendment of the Constitution further deep-going and radical changes were carried out in Albania. The bases of socialism were laid, the many-formed economy was liquidated along with private ownership and the exploiting classes, a single system

of socialist economy based on state and cooperativist ownership was set up, the social structure was changed to only two classes — the working class as the leading class and the cooperativist peasantry together with the stratum of the people's intelligentsia which now derived from them. The socialist state and its mechanisms were democratized and perfected further. An important stage in this process was the all-round struggle against bureaucracy, for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country on the basis of a comprehensive and creative summing-up of the positive experience of the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as well as of the negative experience of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries in which the revisionist course had led to a retrogressive process towards capitalism. This important theoretical summing-up which was done by the Party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the concrete measures that were taken to prevent the emergence of the threat of bureaucracy had an importance which went beyond the bounds of our country, because it was the first time that a Marxist-Leninist party in power made such an analysis and worked out such a concrete program.

All these changes in the political, economic and ideological field resulted in the first Constitution no longer responding in many directions to the new relations created in the country. So, at the 6th Congress of the PLA, in November 1971, in the Report held on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed the drafting of a new Constitution which would respond to the present stage of the socialist development of the country and would be a more suitable juridical basis for the complete construction of socialist society.

The new Constitution was adopted by the People's Assembly on December 28, 1976 after a work of many years in working out its draft which was discussed by the broad masses of the people, and after the suggestions of the 7th Congress of the Party

about the draft were also taken into account.

The new Constitution is the Constitution of socialist Albania, it reflects its loyalty to the principles of scientific socialism, their creative application on the basis of its revolutionary experience and the experience of world socialism. From this stand-point the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania affirms the content of our socialist state as a dictatorship of the proletariat at a time when the different revisionists negate altogether or curtail the essence of the concept of this dictatorship. The Constitution sanctions as juridical norms the experience and ideas of the Party about the leading role of the working class and its party in society and the state, about the ceaseless revolutionization of all the life of the country, about the struggle that must be waged to prevent the emergence of manifestations of bureaucracy and to counter any attempt of the counter-revolutionary forces at the restoration of capitalism, about such cardinal problems as socialist democracy, the line of the masses, worker control, etc.

Our Constitution is a major political and ideological document which opposes our revolutionary experience to revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration. It has fulfilled the task set by the 6th Congress of the PLA «to express the true features of socialism which distinguish it from all the distortions the modern revisionists have made of it.»⁶

The Constitution of 1976 responds fully to the reality of the country, the present stage of its development. It reflects the victories achieved in the construction of socialism by stating in Article 16 that «The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production,» and that «In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania private property and the exploitation of man by man are eliminated and prohibited.» Unlike the former Constitution, the present Constitution is a fully socialist one not only in the objectives it lays down,

not only in the character of the state it represents, but also in the social relations it regulates, which are socialist relations. At the same time, along with the sanctioning of our present-day reality, the Constitution opens up clear prospects for the stage of the complete construction of socialist society and the subsequent gradual transition to communist society. As is said in its Introduction, «the broad roads on which our socialist society is strengthened and advances» are the development of the class struggle in favour of socialism, the constant strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the deepening of socialist democracy, the development of the productive forces, the ceaseless improvement of the well-being of the working masses, the gradual narrowing down of distinctions between industry and agriculture, between city and country, mental work and manual work, the affirmation of the personality of man within the socialist collectivity, the mastery of

contemporary science and technique, the constant revolutionization of the whole life of the country.

The great achievements of our society and the prospects of its development in the coming years have their starting-point in the first democratic and socialist achievements, in the major transformations that were carried out in very difficult conditions with great efforts and sacrifices. The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the continuation of the Constitution of 1946, though at a higher stage.

Looking back from the new heights at the 40-year long road we have traversed we see the importance of the Proclamation of the Republic and the adoption of the former Constitution which were a great victory for the line of the Party and the Democratic Front. In particular, the political struggle against the attempts of internal and external enemies which tried to impede the process of the political organization of our state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mobilization of the masses

of the people for the achievement of the political, economic and social objectives set by the Party were a major school of education for them and important factors for the strengthening of that unity which enabled the great victories on the road of socialism under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and which constitutes today, too, a sound guarantee for new victories under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

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- 1 History of the Party of Labour of Albania, p. 250, 2nd. Eng. ed.
 - 2 K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, Tirana 1975, p. 42, Alb. ed.
 - 3 The Statistical Yearbook of the PRA, 1959, p. 65.
 - 4 Documents of the Supreme Organs of the Revolutionary National Liberation State Power, Tirana 1962, p. 155, Alb. ed.
 - 5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 124, Alb. ed.
 - 6 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 127, Alb. ed.

ABOUT THE CREATION OF IN THE STAGE OF THE BUILDING OF THE BASE OF SOCIALISM *by Prof. H*

The example of socialist Albania, the revolutionary road traversed and the field of ownership, are convincing proof that the liquidation of the capitalist relations of production is the fundamental feature of communism, that the replacement of the economic base is done in conformity with the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism, that the forms can by no means alter the general trend, the objective development of the economic base with force in all countries and peoples liberated from the shackles of capitalism.

BEFORE LIBERATION ALBANIA WAS A BACKWARD COUNTRY, WITH AN UNDERDEVELOPED ECONOMY IN COMPARISON WITH THE DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, A COUNTRY WITH LANDOWNER-BOURGEOIS RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH DID NOT REACH THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM. UP TILL THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THE LANDOWNER-BOURGEOIS RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND THE EXPANSION OF THE ENSLAVING FOREIGN MONOPOLY CAPITAL, ESPECIALLY ITALIAN CAPITAL, LEFT THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AT AN EXTREMELY LOW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT.

THE LOCAL BOURGEOISIE WAS INTERESTED RATHER IN THE POSSESSION OF TRADING CAPITAL THAN IN THE EXTENSION OF INDUSTRY. IT INVESTED CAPITAL ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT AND FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRY, BECAUSE THE EXPLOITATION OF THE RICHES OF THE SUBSOIL WAS DONE DIRECTLY BY FOREIGN MONOPOLY CAPITAL, ESPECIALLY BY ITALIAN CAPITAL. SMALL-SCALE CRAFTS PREDOMINATED IN THE TOWNS. THE COUNTRYSIDE WAS FULL OF FEUDAL LEFTOVERS WHICH PUT UP A RESISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, DESPITE ITS GROWING ECONOMIC STRENGTH, THE RICH PEASANTRY DID NOT SUCCEED IN BECOMING A DEVELOPED AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE. AT THAT TIME THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION BEGAN TO SPREAD ESPECIALLY IN THE STATE FARMS, IN THE FARMS SET UP BY ITALIAN CAPITAL AND IN THE ODD FARM SET UP ON ALBANIAN CAPITAL¹

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

HASAN BANJA — director of the Institute of Economic Studies

in alliance with the working peasantry, led by the Party which was and remains the only leading political force of the country, left open only one possible alternative: the development of the country on the road of socialism, which was an imperative.

In this process the decisive thing was the liquidation of private owner-

ship and the establishment of social ownership of the means of production, as the condition *sine qua non* which would lead to the liquidation of the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and landowners as a class, to the consolidation and ceaseless strengthening of the people's state power, which could not rely on the old economic basis or on the multiform economy. So, it was necessary to create a single system of the socialist economy as an indispensable condition for the rapid development of the forces of production, for the introduction of the economy on the road of development according to a single, general plan centralized by the socialist state.

The first question which was raised for solution was to make the distinction between the big capitalist private property, which was based on the exploitation of hired labour, from the property of small producers, which was private property too, but which was based on personal labour. In connection with this, in his major work *Capital*, Marx has written: «The political economy (bourgeois — H.B.) confuses in principle two widely different private properties, of which one is based on the personal

THE SOCIALIST PROPERTY ECONOMIC

SAN BANJA

*experience gained in the cardinal
private ownership of the means of production is and remains
base of capitalism by the economic base of socialism
concrete, national, historical features and
human society, which operates
capitalism, who have set out and are developing on the road of socialism*

work of the producer, and the other, on the exploitation of the work of other people. It forgets that the latter kind of private property not only is the opposite of the former, but also grows from its grave.»²

Knowledge of the socio-economic content and source of the forms of private ownership which existed in Albania (the big capitalist private ownership of the means of production, the feudal ownership of the land, the small private ownership of small producers of commodities in town and country), enabled the PLA to define the stand it would take and roads it would follow for the socialist socialization of the means of production, and to work out and implement a differentiated economic and social policy. It proceeded immediately to the liquidation of big private property of the foreign and local bourgeoisie without compensation, thus, carrying out the expropriation of the expropriators, which is a universal law of the socialist construction.

The initial steps, which the people's state power took in order to deal with the interference of foreign monopoly into the economy of our

country, were adopted at the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress, held in Përmet in May 1944. The Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, expressing the will of the Albanian people, decided at its first meeting, «To review all agreements, the economic and political relations entered into by the Zog government with foreign countries to the detriment of the Albanian people, to annul them and conclude new ones.»³

This principled stand of our Party and of the representatives of the Albanian people at the 1st Anti-fascist Congress of Albania was in opposition with the stands and attitudes of the Yugoslav Titoites who, with the support of internal enemies working in the ranks of our Party, used advice and pressure in order to have these decisions rejected, although they had been again confirmed at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was held in the liberated town of Berat, in October 1944, in order to compel our state to maintain the enslaving treaties entered into between Zog and the capitalist states. As Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book *The Titoites (Historical notes)* these pressures were rejected by the CPA. «Of

course we did not submit to these pressures and continued our previous stand,»⁴ writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Immediately after the liberation of the country the new state adopted the law on the «State control of the industry and Albanian companies»⁵, under which all industries and Albanian companies were placed under control of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, the law «On the confiscation of the personal and fixed assets of political fugitives»⁶ was adopted.

In the beginning of 1945 the law «On the confiscation of the assets of the Italian and German states inside Albania and of taking control of the wealth of their citizens»⁷ was also adopted. Under this law, all the state and pre-state assets of Italy and Germany situated within the Albanian territory were confiscated. Under the same law the state took control of the companies, enterprises and firms etc., owned by the Germans, Italians, or jointly by Albanians and Germans operating in Albania. The state control was exercised by a commissar who was appointed by the respective department.

In conformity with the spirit of this law, beginning from February

1945, further steps were taken for the socialist socialization of the main means of production in our country. In February 1945 the movable and fixed assets of the EIAA⁸ and ITAL-BA⁹ were nationalized. In March of the same year the personal and fixed assets of the AGIP company,¹⁰ which had its seat in Durrës, were nationalized, followed in May by the nationalization of the SESA¹¹ and the Aurelio Aureli company,¹² with its seat in Tirana, while the Italian companies operating in the oil industry and the mining industry of Albania, namely AIPA, SAMIA, ACAI, FERRALBA, SIMSA, AMMI¹³, were finally nationalized in December 1945.

An important blow to the economic power of the bourgeoisie was the law «On extraordinary taxations on war profits»¹⁴, the law «On the annulment of the convention of the National Bank of Albania and its shares»¹⁵, which had been created as a bank of credit in March 15, 1925 by the Italian financial group, behind which the Italian state operated (under this law, which came into force on January 13, 1945, all stocks of the National Bank of Albania and its assets went over to the Albanian National Bank), etc.

In this way, immediately after the liberation of the country the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat adopted and carried out radical measures for the socialist nationalization of the main means of production. The nationalization of them was carried out through the simultaneous application of a series of auxiliary measures such as the prohibition of the trade of gold, the sealing off of such goods and other means which fostered speculation, the establishment of the state monopoly of foreign trade, the establishment of state control, discipline and regulation of the circulation of currency, the overprinting of the paper money, etc.

The nationalizations of the year 1945, which affected the main means of production formerly owned by the bourgeoisie, were, in their essence, nationalizations of a socialist content, because they were made in the interest

of the working class, and also, because the socialist state sector of the economy emerged from them.

The directives of the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, held on 21 February 1946, which carried the struggle for the socialist nationalization of the main means of production further afield, was of extraordinary importance for the implementation of the revolutionary reforms of the Albanian state of the dictatorship of the proletariat regarding the big capitalist private ownership of the means of production and circulation.

In the report delivered to the Plenum, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the following definition of the course of the Party for the liquidation of the big capitalist private property and the establishment of the socialist state property in the economy: «We should cut off all possibilities for private capital to develop and strengthen itself. Any laxity in this direction means allowing the bourgeoisie to become strong...»¹⁵ And further on he pointed out, «Everything for the strengthening of the state sector; merciless struggle against private capital.»¹⁶ The 5th Plenum, supporting the programmatic report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, adopted a resolution which emphasized: «The question now is that the base of the state power, the economy, should go into the hands of the working masses. The Party must ensure that the working masses, which have the state power in their hands, fight against the classes which were in power till yesterday, the feudal owners and the bourgeoisie...»¹⁷

The stand maintained at the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for the abolition of the big capitalist private property of the means of production and the establishment of the socialist property was a principled Marxist-Leninist stand which responded to the interests of the revolution, socialism and the aspirations of the broad masses of working people.

The orientations of the plenum for the above-mentioned field¹⁸ served, at the same time, to give the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat clear

orientations for the carrying through to the end of the measures for the socialist nationalization of the main means of production and for the continuation of the work for the building of the economic base of socialism in Albania.

In January 1946 the remaining Italian private companies and firms of industry, building, transport and trade were nationalized. The following months marked the completion of a series of other nationalization measures affecting the main means of production of the industry of building materials, the food-stuffs industry, the printing shops, engineering workshops, etc., which had been property of the national bourgeoisie.

In this way, the socialist industrialization of the large-scale and medium industries, which had begun in 1944, was completed in general lines in 1946. This year the state had in its hands nearly 90 per cent of the existing industry. Since there was only one party in power, the PLA, which consistently applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist nationalization of the main means of production was carried out through immediate revolutionary acts, without compensation and at rapid rates.

The year 1946 marked the final stage of the nationalization of the main means of production which were property of the local and foreign bourgeoisie. On 11 January 1946, by decision of the Constituent Assembly, Albania was proclaimed People's Republic. The Constituent Assembly adopted all laws and decrees issued by the Standing Committee of the Antifascist National Liberation Council from the time of the Congress of Përmet to the day of its convocation. Among other things these decisions touched on the question of the ownership of the means of production.

The Land Reform, which was promulgated in August 1945, was carried out in November 1946. The implementation of the law on the Land Reform with the amendments made to it in May 1946, marked the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. In essence this law envisaged the democratic transforma-

tion of the socio-economic relations in the Albanian countryside, the liquidation of the big landowner holdings and the capitalist ownership of the land, the wiping out of the survivals of feudalism and landowners as a class from the face of the country. As such the Land Reform contained also elements of a profound anti-capitalist character, because it was implemented by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The implementation of the Land Reform had a direct consequence on the relations of ownership of the land. Nearly 20 thousand former owners of land, who had had 172 thousand hectares of arable land, 47.4 thousand olive-trees and nearly 6 thousand work animals, were expropriated totally or partly.

About 90 per cent of the total surface was thus expropriated, half of the olive-trees and all work animals were distributed among 70 thousand landless and landpoor peasants gratis.¹⁹ All the farmers and owners of land who worked the land themselves were given no more than 5 hectares. In this manner, the Land Reform preserved the small private ownership of the land by the peasant and increased the weight of the middle peasant, making him the central figure of our village, but, on the other hand, it prohibited the sale and purchase of the land under any title and its mortgaging, restricted the possibilities for the development of capitalism in the countryside and served as a premise for the socialist cooperation of the small producers in the countryside.

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With the socialist nationalization of the main means of production the economic and social structure of classes in our country changed in favour of socialism. At that time our national economy consisted of three main sectors: the socialist sector, the sector of small commodity producers and the capitalist sector.

The socialist sector included the key branches of the economy and had the

commanding points in its hands. The small commodity production, both in countryside and town, included most of the population occupied with work. This sector accounted for the greatest part (4/5) of the total volume of the social production. The capitalist sector consisted of the economies of the kulaks in the countryside, the merchants and black-market dealers, the handicraftsmen and entrepreneurs in the town, who employed hired labour.

From the beginning the Party was convinced that the socialist social ownership of the means of production is the negation of any form of capitalist ownership. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot build its complete economic base as long as the socialist cooperation of small producers is not carried out. At the same time the Party adopted differentiated stands towards the forms of private property. If it made the capitalist property of the foreign bourgeoisie and the local bourgeoisie, which relied on the exploitation of hired labour, the object of immediate expropriation, it did not and could not make the small-scale private property, which relied on the personal work of the small producers, the object of nationalization. Towards the small commodity producers in town and countryside the Party pursued and applied the method of the socialist socialization of the means of production through their gradual cooperation carried out on the basis of their free will, in the cooperatives of production and circulation, with the assistance and all-round support of the socialist state.

V.I. Lenin teaches us that the working class should build socialism in alliance with the working peasantry, that the building of socialism and communism requires the gradual narrowing and final wiping out of essential distinctions between town and countryside, that socialism cannot coexist for a long time with the small commodity producers, whose economy is a hotbed for the flowering and development of capitalism, because small-scale production «... continuously begets capitalism and bourgeoisie every day, every hour, in a spontaneous

maner and on a broad scale.»²⁰ He considered the transition of the working peasants into socialism, through their voluntary cooperation, as the simplest, easiest and most suitable road for the peasant and pointed out that the cooperativist order «... is the order of socialism when the means of production are social ownership, when the proletariat as a class has triumphed over the bourgeoisie.»²¹

In order to ensure the development of our countryside and to put it on the road of socialism, the PLA, as early as the stage of the implementation of the Land Reform raised the need to prepare the conditions for the socialist cooperation of the small producers of the countryside. In order to achieve this objective it adopted immediate measures, liquidated the large-scale feudal and capitalist property of the land, restrained and stopped the disintegration of the peasantry into two poles, into rich and poor, carried out the distribution of the land to the landless and landpoor peasants according to the principle «the land belongs to him who works it», prohibited the sale, purchase and lease of the land, and the employment of hired labour.

At the same time the Party was careful to prepare the conditions for the socialist cooperation of small producers in town and countryside. However, both peasants and handicraftsmen had no experience of working in united cooperatives. Therefore, the road which was followed, the methods which were used and the time-limit in which the process of the voluntary cooperation of the handicraftsmen and peasants was carried out is different from the road of the socialist nationalization of the main means of production. The resolution of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania says, «The Party will be orientated towards strengthening the socialist sector of agriculture (state farms) and towards the gradual measures for the voluntary collectivization of the land in the countryside through the agricultural cooperatives of labour...»²² In conformity with the decisions of the 5th Plenum of the CC of the Com-

unist Party of Albania, in April 1945, by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, a government commission was appointed to study the principles, manner of creation and types of cooperatives, the norms of their statute and regulations, etc.²³

In our country the cooperativist movement in the field of production and especially circulation in the countryside has gone through two stages. The first stage covers the period 1946-1955, and the second stage extends from 1956 to 1967. In each of these stages there were specific features and special duties. The first stage is characterized by the preparation of the ideological, political, economic and psychological conditions necessary to convince the peasantry about the road of collectivism, as the future of the countryside, as the secure road of raising the economic, social and cultural level there, of raising the well-being of the peasantry, in general. The tasks of the first stage were carried through to the end under the slogan «we should not hurry or mark time in the question of the collectivization». This wise slogan of the Party was aimed both against the hasty measures for the completion of collectivization in the countryside within a very short time, without taking preparatory measures and without making the necessary preparations, and against opportunist manifestations to interrupt the socialist collectivization of agriculture. In the first stage, from 1946 to 1955, that is in ten years, 318 agricultural cooperatives were set up, representing 14.5 per cent of the arable land.

The completion with success of the first stage of the collectivization of agriculture created the ideological-political, socio-economic and organizational conditions which were needed in order to embark on the second and last stage of this process. Of decisive importance in this direction were the decisions of the plenum of the CC of the PLA, held in December 1955, and those of the 3rd Congress of

the PLA, held in May 1956, for the acceleration of the rhythms of collectivization in all plains zones and in most of the hilly zones of the country. The year 1957 was the year of the great change. Not only poor peasants but also middle peasants joined in the agricultural cooperatives in large numbers. At the end of 1959 the surface of collectively owned land represented more than 85 per cent of the total surface of the arable land formerly owned by peasants. In the same year, the cooperativist socialist sector of agriculture ensured 65 per cent of the national production of bread grain, 87.4 per cent of the production of cotton, about 75 per cent of the production of sugar-beet, 88 per cent of the production of tobacco, etc.

Encouraged by these achievements, the Party reached the conclusion that the socialist collectivization of agriculture had been completed as a whole. In 1960, that is, at the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960), the cooperativist socialist sector comprised 85 per cent of the arable land, 71 per cent of the peasant economies, and together with the cooperativists' personal plots, accounted for 66 per cent of the total agricultural production of the country. In 1967, with the collectivization of those villages which were outside the cooperativist system in the remote mountainous zones of the country, no village of Albania had remained outside this system. In 1960, when the completion of the cooperation of small producers of the countryside as a whole was proclaimed, the socialist cooperativist sector was represented by 1,484 agricultural cooperativistes, which had 339.4 thousand hectares of arable land, and the number of cooperativist families at this time was 114,495.²⁴

At the same time work continued for the socialist cooperation of the craftsmen in handicrafts cooperatives. This process, which also began in 1946, was completed in 1961, when the system of handicrafts cooperati-

ves comprised all the craftsmen of Albania. Along with the handicrafts cooperatives, other cooperatives, those of circulation, in the form of the socialist consumer cooperatives, were set up in towns and buying-and-selling cooperatives were set up in villages. Whereas the aim of the setting up of the agricultural and handicrafts cooperatives was to increase the agricultural and industrial production and to fulfil the needs of the people for repairs and other services, the consumer cooperatives in towns were set up as economic organizations of the masses which were created by the workers and employees themselves in order to facilitate and guarantee their own supplies of consumer goods, especially in the first years after Liberation, when the state sector was not in a position to guarantee the regular supplies of agricultural and livestock products.

The deep-going revolutionary transformations in the field of the relations of ownership which were realized in the stage of the revolution and socialist construction, helped the country over to an important historic stage marked by the realization of the objective of the Party — the liquidation of the old economic base and the creation of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside through the placing of the socialist ownership of the means of production in its two forms: socialist state ownership and socialist cooperativist ownership, at the basis of all relations of production. In 1960 the socialist sector of the economy (the state sector and the cooperativist sector) realized about 90 per cent of the national income, 98 per cent of the overall industrial production, over 80 per cent of the overall agricultural production, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade and 90 per cent of the retail trade.²⁵ All these things show that in 1960, only 16 years after the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's state power, the fragmented economy of the

country had been replaced as a whole by the unified system of the socialist economy, that the socialist social ownership of the means of production has been established on a predominating scale in all the national economy, that the economic base of socialism, in general, had been built, that Albania was entering the new historical phase of the complete construction of the socialist society.

Summing up the results of a whole historical epoch of the socialist construction, as is the period of the construction of the economic base, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report submitted to the 4th Congress of the PLA, in 1961, declared: «Thus, the multiform economy has generally disappeared in our country and in its place a single system of socialist economy has been created. Thus, the economic base of socialism has been created both in town and in countryside. The capitalist economy, the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished. With this great historic victory our country is advancing at a more rapid pace towards the further construction of the material and technical base of socialism.»²⁶

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The construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania marked the second greatest victory in the history of our Party and people after the establishment of the people's state power. This marked an important qualitative step forward in the carrying out of the historical tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to communism.

The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production, the establishment of the socialist ownership and the socialist relations of production, the abolition of the ex-

ploitation of man by man, the planned organization, direction and development of the economy by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the main features of our social order. They have been and remain the most important constitutional principles. As such they found their reflection in the Founding Law of our state, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, which was adopted in March 1946, and which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, was the Constitution of the building of the foundations of socialism in Albania.²⁷

The Constitution of the year 1946 carried out its historic mission of reflecting and sanctioning the deep-going revolutionary changes achieved on the economic base and in the superstructure of our society and its mission of supporting the all-round development of our country on the road of socialism.

The historic achievements made in the construction of the economic base of socialism and the setting out of the country on the new historical stage of the complete construction of the socialist society, as well as the strides ahead made by our country in this direction, raised the need for the amendment of the Constitution, which was decided at the 6th Congress of the Party. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Our new Founding Law reaffirms the correct Marxist-Leninist principles which were the foundation of the former Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. But the new Constitution marks a further qualitative development of the existing Constitution, in conformity with the present stage of the revolution, which our country has reached.»²⁸

An important place in the new Constitution is occupied by the features which determined the physiology of the socialist social order in Albania, at the foundations of which lies the socialist ownership of the means of production.

The Constitution points out, «The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

«In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there are no exploiting classes, private property and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated and are forbidden.»²⁹

The importance of the completion of the building of the economic base of socialism is great and has wide repercussions. It affects diverse fields.

From the *political aspect*, the dictatorship of the proletariat was consolidated and strengthened, because from now on the political power would rely on its own economic base, on the socialist ownership of the means of production, on the single socialist system of the economy. This greatly strengthened the positions of the people's state power, making it impregnable and invincible.

From the *ideological aspect*, the construction of the economic base of socialism brought about noticeable changes in the consciousness and in the world outlook of the working people, in their conceptions and stands towards property and the social work. The establishment of the socialist ownership liquidated the basis of the psychology of private property, the petty-bourgeois psychology, and at the same time, created the conditions for the formation of the socialist psychology, for the cultivation of the new norms of the communist morality.

From the *economic aspect*, the construction of the economic base of socialism replaced the multi-sector economy with the socialist system of the economy, made the relations of production compatible with the character of the forces of production, opening unlimited possibilities of development before them, established the economic links between town and countryside on an entirely new basis, blocked those channels through which the classes and, above all, capital

emerge. As J.V. Stalin says, «To create the economic base of socialism means to link the socialist agriculture closely into a single economy with the socialist industry, to place agriculture under the direction of the socialist industry, to put the relations between town and countryside on the basis of the exchange of agricultural products with industrial products, to block and liquidate all channels from which the classes and, first of all, capital are born, and in the final analysis, to create the conditions of production and distribution which lead directly to the disappearance of classes.»³⁰ The establishment of the socialist property liquidated the centuries-long antagonistic contradiction between town and countryside, which, as Marx has put it, exist only in the framework of private property. A real overthrow was made in the relations of distribution, exchange and, in this context, also in the organization and running of the economy. The parasitic appropriation and consumption by the former exploiting classes of the products of work turned out with the toil of working people were liquidated. From the first years after Liberation, the people's state-power adopted a new system of wages, placing the socialist economic law of distribution according to work done at the foundation of this system. Socialism not only freed labour from any kind of oppression and exploitation, but also placed it at the foundation of its own ceaseless development as a socio-economic order. The socialist economy developed as an integrated single economy in conformity with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, as a planned economy in which spontaneity, anarchy and competition as well as economic crises have disappeared, as a stable economy which develops uninterruptedly and on the ascending line.

From the *social aspect*, the building of the economic base of socialism liquidated the exploiting classes and

changed the very foundations of the class structure of our society. Speaking at the 4th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «At the present stage the most fundamental and characteristic feature of the structure of classes in our country is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperator-peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the strengthening of the moral-political unity of all working people on this basis.»³¹

A new Labour Code regulated the relations of work and social insurances. With the building of the economic base of socialism in our country the centuries-old dream of the working people for social justice and equality became a reality.

In the process of the construction of the economic base of socialism the PLA observed the universal laws of the socialist revolution and construction, applying them in the concrete historical conditions of our country and enriching them with its own revolutionary experience. In this field the PLA acted in a creative manner, on the basis of the conditions and specific features of our country. It did not remain passive, but just as it acted for the seizure of the political power, so it started the work and struggle for the immediate revolutionary, democratic and socialist changes that would be made.

The economic base of socialism, like the complete construction of the socialist society which is going on, was achieved in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. The internal factor, self-reliance, has been and remains the decisive factor also for the construction of the economic base of socialism and for its continuous perfection. The economic base of socialism was built in the conditions of the leadership of a single Party, the Party of Labour of Albania, which rallies around itself all the working masses of the country, with the working class at the head,

the Party which guided them in the attack on a broad front against the economic positions of the bourgeoisie and landowners and in the process of the socialist cooperation of the small producers. The process of the construction of the economic base of socialism was accomplished in the conditions of the waging of a fierce and uninterrupted class struggle on a national and international scale, in irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist «theories» and practices.

A distinguishing feature of the establishment of the socialist ownership of the means of production in our country is that the nationalizations were carried out at a rapid pace and without compensation, and that from the beginning, the socialist relations were established in the agricultural cooperatives which eventually went over to the highest form of cooperation in the countryside, etc. The experience of the PLA in the socialist cooperation of small producers of the countryside shows that this process must not be procrastinated and put off until the productive forces have developed, just as it must not be unduly forced and hastened before the necessary ideological-political and the socio-economic premisses have been created.

The PLA has always defended the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the question «which will win», socialism or capitalism, cannot be considered as definitively solved even after the construction of the economic base of socialism. Historical experience has shown that there is the danger of the capitalist restoration of capitalism from outside and from within, there is the danger of the socialist relations of production, a danger that may become a reality when the party and the working class do not remain in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary positions. The tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and in the former countries of people's democracy is clear proof of this potential threat.

Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «We must always bear in mind that we are in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. This means that during this period capitalism and socialism are in irreconcilable struggle. This struggle goes on over the whole period of transition, which we do not know how long it may continue, but which we know that it still will continue for a long time. No one should think that this struggle has been won finally in our country. No! And, as I said, the struggle which in our country is called «the class struggle» continues and will continue.»³²

The socialist development of our

economy and society shows the irreplaceable historic role of the socialist relations of production in the material and spiritual development of our society on the road of socialism. They are free from the internal antagonistic contradictions and as such have emancipated the living forces of our nation and have become the primary factor of the rapid development of the forces of production, the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working people, the rapid and all-round advance of our society on the road of socialism.

The example of socialist Albania, the revolutionary road traversed and the experience gained in the cardinal

fields of ownership, are convincing proof that the liquidation of the capitalist private ownership of the means of production is and remains the fundamental feature of communism, that the replacement of the economic base of capitalism by the economic base of socialism is done in conformity with the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism, that the concrete, national historical features and forms can by no means alter the general trend, the objective development of human, society, which operates with force in all countries and peoples liberated from the shackles of capitalism and who have set out and are developing on the road of socialism.

1 History of the Party of Labour of Albania, Tirana 1981, p. 20, Eng. ed.
 2 K. Marx, Capital, vol. 1, book 3, p. 257, Alb. ed.
 3 Official Gazette, no. 1, date 21.12.1944.
 4 Enver Hoxha, The Titoites (Historical notes), Tirana 1982, p. 232, Eng. ed.
 5 Official Gazette, no. 2, date 23.12.1944.
 6 Idem, date 3.12.1944, p. 9.
Confiscation, as a matter which regards the right of property, is not different from nationalization. Like the socialist nationalization of the main means of production, confiscation is enforced by special juridical decisions taken by the socialist state and marks the transition of the main means of production, with violence and without compensation, from the hands of the bourgeoisie into the hands of the state of the dictatorship of

the proletariat (footnote by H.B.).
 7 Idem, no. 3, date 23.1.1945.
 8 Idem, no. 16, date 20.6.1945.
 9 Idem, no. 19, date 5.7.1945.
 10 Idem, no. 6, date 29.3.1945.
 11 Idem, no. 11, date 12.5.1945.
 12 Ibidem.
 13 Idem, no. 7, date 24.1.1946.
 14 Idem, no. 3, date 23.1.1945.
 15 Idem, no. 4, date 1.2.1945.
 16 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, p. 270, Alb. ed.
 17 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 342, Alb. ed.
 18 Enver Hoxha, Works, pp. 5, p. 251, Alb. ed.
 19 V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 8, Alb. ed.
 19 Idem, pp. 339-340.
 20 Idem, p. 8.
 21 V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 529, Alb. ed.
 22 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 565.

23 Official Gazette, No. 31, date 30.4.1946.
 24 Thirty Years of Socialist Albania; figures and facts about the development of the economy and culture. Published by the General Directory of Statistics, Tirana 1974, p. 104, Eng. ed.
 25 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 20, p. 123, Alb. ed.
 26 Ibidem.
 27 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 14, Eng. ed.
 28 Idem, p. 17.
 29 The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Article 16.
 30 J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 22, Alb. ed.
 31 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 20, p. 124, Alb. ed.
 32 Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1974-1975, pp. 201-202, Alb. ed.

ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

by ENRIKETA KAMBO and SHABAN ÇOLLAKU

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SCIENCES OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE SERIES OF MAJOR SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN VARIOUS FIELDS IN THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

JUST AS OF OTHER ALBANIAN SCIENCES, OF ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, TOO, ONE CAN SAY WITHOUT HESITATION THAT IT WAS BORN AND DEVELOPED AS A SCIENCE IN THE PROPER MEANING OF THE WORD ONLY AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

In the past research and studies about the history of the Albanian people were mainly the preserve of foreign historians. The liberation of the country and the establishment of the People's State Power opened the way and created great possibilities for the development of our new historiography. In these conditions, the new Albanian historiography was faced with the major task of critically assessing what the foreigners, who in many cases were biased against our country, and what the local historians had done. In both cases, apart from some positive values, there were serious shortcomings as they were based on an idealistic world outlook and an erroneous methodology. Besides, proceeding from a new methodology, our new historiography had to carry out deeper-going and more complex studies which involved all the periods of the history of the Albanian nation and for which it had to rely on a broader documentary base, local sources in the

first place. In order to successfully carry out these major and important tasks the Albanian historiography based itself on the theoretical thinking of the PLA and, in particular, on the guiding ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the assessment and interpretation of historical phenomena and figures.

Historical sciences underwent further development after various institutions of scientific research were set up under the direct care of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Thus, in 1947 the first organized nucleus of historical studies was set up in the framework of the Institute of Sciences and, later, in 1955, of the Institute of History and Language. The Institute of History with several scientific sections and many specialists in all the periods of our national history, trained mainly in our country, was founded in 1972. Today the Institute has its own archives which are constantly being enriched with new documents. The Institute has its library which is a filial of the library of the Academy of Sciences and which possesses

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Albanian historiography considers historical processes as natural results of the development of the socio-economic and political cultural forces of the Albanian people. It sees the replacement of socio-economic orders, not as a mechanical process, but as the result of the class struggle which moves historical development forward. In opposition to the bourgeois historiography, our new historiography correctly interprets and reflects the inter-action between internal and external factors in the history of Albania

a very rich fund of Albanological and Balkanological publications. Besides, with the establishment of the People's State Power and under the direct concern of the Party, an Albanological section with a great number of Albanian and foreign publications about Albania and the Albanians was set up at the National Library. At the same time the State Archives and the Archives of the Central Committee of the Party, the first of this kind in our country, were set up. They have collected and filed a wealth of documents as well as undertaken the publication of collections of documents for particular periods and individual historical figures. The founding of the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of Tirana, the organization of special courses for training specialists in disciplines connected with history, the running of various courses on the history of Albania in all categories of schools, the creation of institutes of historical research and studies, the establishment of scientific associations and groups in the districts — all these were major factors assisting the training and qualification of specialists in history and the development of their scientific productivity.

Albanian historiography considers historical processes as natural results of the development of the socio-economic and political-cultural forces of the Albanian people. It sees the replacement of socio-economic orders

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Aware of the great role it has to play on the ideological front, our historiographic science is deeply engaged in the struggle against the anti-scientific and anti-Albanian views of foreign, bourgeois-revisionist, historiography, especially in the conditions of the stepping up of the ideological aggression on our country. At national and international scientific congresses and conferences, the Albanian historians have refuted with incontrovertible facts and compelling arguments the distortions of some foreign students who, despite their different shades of opinion, are united in the negation of the objective laws of history, suffer from empiricism and objectivism, nationalism and chauvinism, and make the apology of the capitalist and revisionist system.

The founder of the Party and the leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has made an outstanding contribution to the development of Albanian historiography.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's major works such as «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «The Yugoslav «self-

administration» — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «The Titoites», «the Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «When the Party Was Born», «Reflections on the Middle East», «Laying the Foundations of the New Albania», etc., are a brilliant model for the historian in the treatment and analysis of historical events and phenomena.

The successes of Albanian historiography over these forty years are obvious for all periods of history. In the field of ANCIENT HISTORY, beginning from scratch, Albania now boasts a great number of archaeological sites in which the achievements of Albanian archaeologists have made a valuable contribution to the elucidation of many problems of the ancient history of our people.

Archaeological data throw light on the historical cultural continuity between the Bronze and the Iron Age which have particular importance for the scientific argumentation of the autochthonous process of the birth and formation of the Illyrian ethnos. On these data is based the scientific view of Albanian archaeology that the Illyrian ethnos was formed in the Balkans and on the Albanian territories since the Bronze Age in the framework of an Aegean or Balkan-Anatolian culture. This view is opposed to that which seeks the centre of the formation of the Illyrian ethnos outside

the Balkans and makes the Illyrians come from Central or Northern Europe in the Iron Age.

Of great importance are the research and studies carried out by our archaeologists about the Illyrian city which constitutes the main link in the process of the socio-economic development of the Illyrians in the period of the slave-owning order. Various archaeological excavations have proved that by the second half of the 5th Century and the beginning of the 4th Century before our era the process of urbanization begins among the Illyrians. By the end of the 4th Century and especially by the second half of the 3rd Century before our era this process went through the period of its greatest development, which is characterized by fortifications and public works in the cities, as well as the expansion of artisan production and exchanges. A wealth of numismatic and epigraphic material of great value for the study of the political organization and the social development of the cities of Southern Illyria has been unearthed. On a whole, discoveries and studies about the Illyrian antiquity have elucidated many problems of the origin of the Illyrian city, aspects of its economic, social, political and cultural development. At the same time, Albanian archaeology has tried to work out a typology and classification of the cities according to the importance of the position of each of them in the different stage of their development as well as the peculiarities of their links with the Mediterranean world. In general the discoveries of Albanian archaeology prove that Illyrian society knew class differentiation, that it had achieved a relatively high economic and cultural development, that long before the Roman occupation Illyrian society set out on the road of unitarian development. These conclusions are also based on rich numismatic collections which give a broad idea of the issue and circulation of coins in the cities of Illyria.

All these data and conclusions of the new Albanian archaeology refute the view of foreign historiographers who insist on the primitive character of Illyrian society, the inability of the Illyrians to form a state of their own, or their passive and conservative nature. The 1st Colloquium of Illyrian Studies, which took place in Tirana in 1972, summed up these results.

The new Albanian archaeology has achieved good results in the study of the EARLY MIDDLE AGES, too. Although research in this field began at somewhat later time, still new and broader light was thrown on the Illyrian culture of the Late Antiquity, which represents the autochthonous base on which the early Arbër culture was born. A rich and varied material has been found in the necropolises and castles of the Early Middle Ages. It provides specimens of the features of the Illyrian culture in the 4th-8th Centuries of our era and thus enables us to have a relatively complete idea of the birth, formation and the distinctive peculiarities of the Albanian Early Mediaeval culture.

As for the period of the MIDDLE AGES, the studies carried out hitherto show that the Mediaeval history of Albania is the history of an already formed nationality on the basis of an ancient ethnic element, a nationality which is clearly distinguishable from the other neighbouring nationalities since very early times. In this direction, Albanian historiography has the merit that it has made a very objective and scientific interpretation of the events of this period. It has shown with scientific argument that despite the changes that have taken place on the political map of the Balkans and Albania in particular, despite many influences from the foreign invaders, the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and genetic link and, as a result, the autochthony of the Albanians on their present-day territories remains an undeniable fact.

Albanian historiography has pro-

vided a correct solution to the main problem of this period — the problem of the emergence and development of feudal ownership and relations, showing that their emergence took place in the normal course of development of the local forces of production. Our historiography has proved that in the Middle Ages, prior to the Ottoman occupation, in general our country was not behind the other Balkan countries in socio-economic, political and cultural development, and an important proof of this is the formation of the first Albanian feudal state in the end of the 12th Century and, later, of the big Albanian feudal principalities. These conclusions of our historiography refute the views of some foreign bourgeois historians who allege that the Mediaeval history of our people until the Ottoman occupation is made up only of movements of nomadic herdsmen or mountain tribes, that external factors set them in movement and strife. Emphasizing the creation of feudal state formations as a result of local development, our historiography sees all this in a dialectical manner, a result of the economic strengthening of the Albanian feudal class, of its efforts to protect its rule against foreign attacks, while, on the other hand, not neglecting their class aspects, showing their aim of keeping the peasant masses under feudal rule. The National Conference on the Study of the Formation of the Albanian People, Language and Culture, which was held in 1982, dealt also with these problems.

Our mediaevalists have done particularly valuable work with their studies and publications dealing with the Albanian-Ottoman wars in the 15th Century under the leadership of Skanderbeg, seeing the events of this period not as an isolated phenomenon, but as closely connected with the socio-economic and cultural development of former periods of history and Skanderbeg as a time-conditioned pro-

duct of the Albanian land, not a meteor in the sky of Albania. In a number of studies our historiography has shown that the struggle of the Albanians under Skanderbeg's leadership was a struggle of the masses of the people, the struggle of an already consolidated nationality which fought for freedom, land and independence. Our mediaevalists have paid particular attention to the relations of Skanderbeg with foreign states and, contrary to bourgeois historiography, indicated the negative and hostile role of the Papacy and Venice towards Albania.

In regard to the period of Ottoman rule in Albania, Albanian historiography has laid the foundations for the elucidation of some important problems of this period. It has pointed out the features of Ottoman military feudalism, has thrown a new light on the anti-Ottoman popular movements as well as the activity and role of the Albanian feudal class. Liberation and anti-feudal popular movements occupy an important place in the studies of our historiography. Besides, such processes of the Albanian society of that time as the phenomenon of islamization, which is considered as an ideological means used by the Sublime Porte for the furthering of its political ends, have also been studied.

New historical material, both local and foreign, utilized by our students of the Middle Ages has thrown new light on a series of important problems which have to do with the changes that took place in the Albanian regions in the 18th Century, such as the transition from the *timar* system to the *çiflig* system, the development of the cities and production, the creation of an inter-regional market and the founding of two Albanian big *pashaliks* — that of the Bushatli in the North and that of Janina in the South. The Albanian *pashaliks* are treated as formations of the rule of the big local feudals who, along with the exploitation of the peasant mas-

ses, created favourable conditions for the economic and political unification of the country. The period from the 30s of the 19th Century to 1912, which the periodization of the historical process includes in the epoch of our National Renaissance, has attracted the attention of a large number of Albanian and foreign students. About this period of history, too, our students have refuted the views of some foreign students who considered our National Renaissance from a very narrow angle of vision. Because they did not have a profound knowledge of the broad material about this period, or because of certain political or economic motives, some foreign students have tried to present our Renaissance as a merely cultural movement, or a conservative opposition to the «progressive» reforms of the Ottoman Empire, or refractoriness towards the «civilizing» aims of the Great Powers of the time; they have described the culminating moment of the organization of the Albanians in this period as the result of incitement from outside, as though, not the national awareness of the Albanians, but the influence of some Great Power or Empire of the time were their motor force.

The Albanian students of this period have pointed out the peculiarities of our National Renaissance compared with those of the other Balkan countries and seen it in all its complexity. They have tried to shed light on its different economic, social, political, ideological and military aspects.

They have relied on a very broad base of local and foreign sources in the elucidation of many problems of the historiography of this period. Many volumes of important documents of this period have been published in the recent ten years. Proceeding from this material, in many studies and monographs our historiography has succeeded in making a new periodization of the beginnings of the National Renaissance, setting them in the 20s-40s of the 19th Century. In this perio-

dization it takes account of the fact that the anti-Ottoman popular uprising of the 30s of the 19th Century, unlike the popular movements of former times, were uprisings of the masses of the people of the city and country and were led by representatives of the artisan-mercantile bourgeoisie, the feudals and peasantry, and demanded not only the improvement of their grave economic situation, but also liberation from the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus and its replacement with a local administration.

To the problems of National Renaissance have been devoted a number of scientific conferences and sessions, among which worth mentioning are the scientific sessions on the formation of the Albanian nation and the national movement (1952), on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren (1968), on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Congress of Monastir (1968), on the occasion of the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren (1978), on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Independence (1972), etc.

Albanian historiography has paid particular attention to this problem, convinced as it is that political and cultural processes cannot be correctly understood and interpreted if they are taken in isolation from the economic and social processes of a given historical period.

An important step forward has also been taken in the study and correct interpretation of the Tanzimat reforms and their implementation in Albania, emphasizing the national liberation character of the uprisings of this period and considering them as component parts of our National Renaissance.

The Albanian League of Prizren (1878-1881) has found broad and many-sided treatment. Our new historiography has proved with convincing scientific argument the social base of this League, its historical roots, its motor forces, its fundamental tasks. It has

shown the connection between its program and actual deeds, aspirations and possibilities. It has made an objective dialectical assessment of its content and character, and explained the causes of its successes and failures.

The Albanian National Movement of the years 1882-1912, which has also been studied by the new Albanian historiography, was expressed in the upsurge of the armed resistance of the masses of the people, in their demands for the territorial-administrative autonomy of the country, in the program worked out by the outstanding men of our National Renaissance for the Albanian national democratic movement, in their efforts to give it a more organized character on an all-Albanian plane, as in the case of the Albanian League of Peja, etc. All these questions have been dealt with in their dialectical unity as aspects of the one process of the Albanian National Movement.

The conflict between the Albanians and the young Turks has been treated in a broader context. It has been considered in all its aspects, in all its expressions in the educational and cultural, economic and political fields, which led to the outbreak of the big uprising of the years 1910-1912. Individual studies have been made about outstanding figures of our National Renaissance such as Abdyl Frashëri, Sami Frashëri, Ismail Qemali, Isa Boletini, and others.

Enriched with new important facts, the studies about the period 1912-1939 provide a truthful description of the struggles and efforts of the Albanian people for the consolidation of the independence of their country, its defence and the achievement of the unity of the dismembered nation and territorial integrity. Albanian historiography considers the proclamation of independence as the result of the struggle of the Albanian people themselves.

Based on the study of socio-economic problems which are closely

linked with political phenomena, the new Albanian historiography has pointed out the specific features of the history of this period as a painful and contradictory process which was slowed down by the remnants of feudalism and the reactionary forces as well as the interference of imperialist states.

The socio-political movement of Central Albania in the years 1914-1915 has been considered a culminant moment in the history of our nation. By refuting the distortions of some historians which saw in this movement only a rebellion of ignorant and fanaticised peasants, our historiography has set this complex event in its proper place.

Filling a large gap and correcting many inexactitudes of bourgeois historians, our historiography has also shed light on the years of the First World War and the resistance of the Albanian people, in this context also elucidating two important events - the Congress of Lushnja and the Vlora War, and proving with scientific argument their all-Albanian, liberation and anti-imperialist character combined with social elements, as well as the inner links between these two events which constitute a single political and military action of the Albanian people against the imperialist forces. It has come to the scientific conclusion that the class struggle between the peasantry and the landowners in the years 1920-1930 represented the axis around which the whole life of the country revolved at that time and that the solution of the problem of the land conditioned the solution of the other political problems of the period, too. Contrary to the views of bourgeois historians who described the Revolution of June 1924 as a putsch, it has gone deep into the socio-economic factors which determined the development of the revolutionary situation in the spring 1924, the change of the ratio of forces to the advantage of democracy, the

character and causes of the failure of the revolution, the vacillations and parliamentary illusions of its leaders. Proceeding on this basis, our historiography has come out with the thesis that the Revolution of June 1924 was an expression of the triumph of democracy over the oppression of the landowners and the penetration of foreign capital, an expression of the aspirations and aims of the masses which worked to carry the unsolved social tasks of the national revolution, which brought about the independence of the country in 1912, to their final solution.

The comprehensive study of a number of new problems of this kind, which had not been dealt with hitherto, such as the ideological struggle between different, progressive and reactionary, social classes and groups, and within this struggle, the variety of its trends, the necessity of a radical transformation of the spiritual life of society, the beginnings of the workers' and communist movement and its evolution from the state of spontaneity to that of organization, the spread of Marxist ideas and the activity of communist groups, must be considered an important achievement in this field.

An expression of the successful development of the Albanian Marxist-Leninist historiography is its ever broader transition to the inter-disciplinary study of the two more important periods of the contemporary history of the country — the *Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the Struggle for the Socialist Construction of the Country*. Contrary to the views of bourgeois historiography which considers the events of our time as influenced by politics and, consequently, practically impossible to study for the time being, our historiography has not waited for them to go through the filtre of time and then be given the «stamp of history», but has studied them on profoundly scientific bases as a component and indivisible part of our national history.

The historiography of this period has succeeded in truthfully rendering the Albanian reality in all its greatness. Apart from many monographs and special studies, the broad range of problems of these periods has been subject to study and discussion at many scientific conferences organized on a national scale, such as the National Conference of Social Studies in 1969 and 1973, the National Conference of Studies on the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian People (1974), the Conference on the Problems of the Constitution (1976), the Scientific Conference dedicated to the Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Thought of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1983, etc.

As for the period of the *Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian People*, short in time, but full of many events and phenomena, our historiography has assessed it as the highest stage in the history of our national and social movement, as the most massive, most conscious and best organized movement of our people, which stands out for its profoundly revolutionary content, its proportions, its motor forces, and the ways and means employed for the solution of its problems.

Without any doubt the founding of the Communist Party of Albania was the most important event and the fundamental factor which determined the content, forms and roads of development of our national liberation war. The elucidation of the all-round efforts for the implementation of a Marxist-Leninist political line, of a correct strategy and tactic in accordance with the internal and international situation, as well as the evidence of the foresight of the Party in the harmonization of the political and freedom-loving aspirations and ideals of the masses with their social aspirations, have served our historiography to arrive at the very important conclusion that the strategy and tactic of the CPA were Leninist, a creative

and original application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country. The analysis of this complex fundamental problem enabled our historiography to delve deep into the study of many particular aspects of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War both in its content and character.

Particular aspects of the history of our war have also aroused «interest» among Western and Eastern authors, Yugoslav and Soviet in particular, who have distorted the historical truth by denigrating and falsifying the struggle of the Albanian people. In their works and memoirs predominates the thesis that the Anti-fascist National Liberation War in Albania was merely a civil war between our movement and the organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti and that these organizations were co-authors of the organization of the anti-fascist resistance along with the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front.

Western historians and the Soviet ones in particular absolutize the role of the War of the great allies and especially the Soviet Union, describing it as the sole and decisive factor for the victory of the National Liberation War in Albania. According to their views, our war assumed its broad proportions only after the victory of the Soviet and other peoples fighting against fascism became a certainty. The Yugoslav historians go even further in denigrating the war of a small people who liberated themselves. By manipulating the facts to suit their own ends, they try to prove that every important military and political action in Albania at that time was allegedly done on the initiative of the Yugoslav leadership.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of events and phenomena as well as a broad and rich documentation, the new Albanian historiography has fully vindicated the correct theses that our war was transformed into a genuine popular revolution under the direct and

sole leadership of the CPA, which was created as a result of the inner development of the country itself and the efforts of the Albanian communists for its formation; that the polarization of the socio-political forces during the National Liberation War was a natural and inevitable process which did not lead to the transformation of the war into a civil war, although such elements were present in it; that its national liberation character remained unaltered through to the end, because, the occupier was and remained the main enemy, while the exploiting classes were never fought against as such, but only as collaborators of fascism.

According to our historiography the National Liberation War broke out and developed as a movement of the Albanian people themselves without any incitement or interference from abroad, with a clear and independent strategy worked out by the Communist Party of Albania and which coincided with the national interests and the aspirations of the masses of the people.

The historians of this period have dealt extensively with the problem of the unity of the Albanian people embodied in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front. The studies carried out in this field bring convincing arguments to the effect that it was a direct, conscious and voluntary unity of the masses of the people led by one party — the Communist Party of Albania, and not a coalition of political parties or organizations, that this unity realized in struggle and through struggle represented not an amorphous conglomerate, but a unity set up on sound bases and with a well-defined political and organizational program.

Assessing the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance as on a whole necessary for the destruction of fascism, our historiography points out the distinction that the CPA made in its stand towards the different members of this alliance and its efforts to paralyse any divisive activity and any interference

in the internal affairs of our war. Likewise, the studies of our historians correctly reflect the struggle of the Soviet and neighbouring peoples, proceeding from the fact that the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the fascist states constituted the most favourable external factor and the surest support for our struggle on the international arena.

The studies of the history of the following period of *socialist construction*, although started in later time, extended to various fields of social sciences. They have dealt with the fundamental problems of the theory and practice of the revolution and socialist construction, stressing the correct and far-sighted policy of the Party in the proper solution of these problems according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our actual conditions.

Although important successes have been achieved in the study of modern history, still it must be said that the history of this period, because of its very nature, continues to represent a broad open field for new initiatives, for deeper-going investigation and inter-disciplinary treatment.

The contemporary period has attracted the attention, also, of foreign historians who have assessed it dependent on their formation, the sources at their disposal and, in most cases, their own interests and aims.

Most foreign authors dealing with Albanian problems, Westerners and Yugoslavs in particular, continue to give a distorted image of contemporary Albanian society. Theses which minimize the important transformations in the field of agriculture, which conceive our nationalizations in the early years after Liberation as a natural transition of foreign property to local property, denying their revolutionary character, which make the absurd claim that the development of industry in general and heavy industry in particular has been done at the cost of the other branches of the economy, etc. have wide currency in this sort of literature.

Yugoslav authors continue to show themselves more active in this anti-Albanian campaign, especially in the distortion of the history of Albanian-Yugoslav relations in the first post-Liberation years, as well as some English, West-German and other historians.

Correctly reflecting our socialist reality, its achievements and successes in all fields, our historiography conceives the history of socialist construction as the history of a society essentially distinct from the preceding societies, as a period of impetuous and deep-going revolutionary transformations in all aspects of life in which socio-economic processes merge fully with political history because of the extremely important guiding and organizational role and function of the superstructure, as the history of a society built on new bases, with new social class relations, with a new ideology and world outlook. As a result of the studies carried out in these fields we have today a more or less complete picture of the economic and social development of the country during the two main stages of its post-war history — the construction of the economic base of socialism, which has been more extensively studied, and the complete construction of socialist society, which has begun to be studied only in the last years.

In their studies of the more typical problems and phenomena of the economic development of the country our historians have described its peculiarities and the great difficulties that had to be coped with in the conditions of a small backward agrarian country, the fierce class struggle this process went through, the efforts of the working class and the other working masses under the leadership of the Party to carry the socialist revolution forward successfully. The problem of the nationalization of the principal means of production has been dealt with in this context as well as in individual monographs. The thorough

treatment of the essence of this phenomenon and the peculiarities that distinguish it from the nationalizations that were carried out in other countries, of its revolutionary and socialist content, and of the forms and roads that were followed for its rapid execution without compensation, confirms the view that the nationalization of the principal means of production led to the complete destruction of the old economic relations and the establishment of the socialist relations of production.

The socialization of the means of production of the small producers in the city and countryside and their setting out on the road of cooperation constitutes another problem which has found satisfactory treatment in our historiographic literature of the more recent years. In the studies devoted especially to these problems, the problem of the socialist collectivization of peasant economies occupies a central place. The first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside, the Land Reform, its content, the roads that were followed for its implementation, the revolutionary measures that accompanied it, the premises it created for the Albanian peasantry to set out on the road of collectivization have been dealt with in the context of this problem.

The problem of socialist industrialization has also been dealt with on the basis of an analysis of the historical reality as an important aspect of the socio-economic life of the country. The harmonious development of industry and agriculture, with priority being given to the first, the priority development of the branches producing means of production, the gradual transition from a mainly extracting heavy industry to a processing one through the complex utilization of internal sources and local assets according to the principle of self-reliance constitute the fundamental features of the socialist industrialization in Albania.

Among the problems of the superstructure, a central place is occupied by the treatment of the questions of the consolidation, strengthening and democratization of the People's State Power, the elucidation of the fundamental functions it assumes in socialist society.

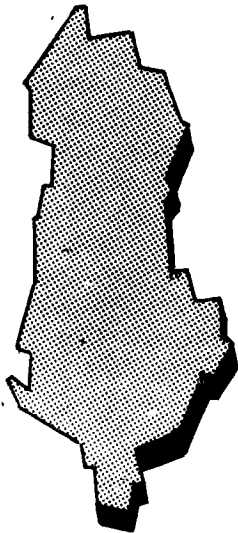
Along with the study of the events and phenomena of the contemporary period from a clear-cut class standpoint, which constitutes one of the main features of our historiography, classes, the class struggle and the va-

riety of its manifestations have been the subject of separate treatment for the social sciences in general and the historical sciences in particular. The study on the theoretical and practical plane of these problems, especially those of the first years after Liberation, has occupied a considerable place in the work of our historians. The important process of the creation of the social class structure and its transformations in the period of the socialist construction of the country has been treated in the context of

these major problems. Correct conclusions have already been made about the social class features and peculiarities of the Albanian society during the two main stages of its development, though on a general theoretical plane which leaves room for further study.

The successes achieved constitute a sound basis for many inter-disciplinary studies of an ever broader range of historical problems the new Albanian historiography will cope with in the future.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



ON THE OCCASION OF THE 44th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF OUR PEOPLE'S PRESS

Celebrating the 44th anniversary of our people's press, the Standing Committee of the Journalists' Union of Albania and the editorial board of the newspaper Zëri i popullit organized a solemn meeting in the hall of the Writers and Artists' League in the capital.

Participating in the meeting were journalists and editors of the central press organs, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency and Radio and Television, representatives of the local newspapers, veterans of the press, contributors and voluntary correspondents of the press organs, printers and other guests.

Attending the meeting were also the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Simon Stefani, the head of the Press Section of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Dhimitër Tona, the Chairman of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, Comrade Dritëro Agolli and others.

The meeting was declared open by the chairman of the Journalists' Union of Albania and general director of the Albanian Radio and Television, Comrade Marash Hajati.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by the general secretary of the Journalists' Union of Albania and editor-in-chief of the magazine New Albania, Comrade Ymer Minxhozi. Speaking about the 44 year-long road of our people's press, among other

things he said that our people's press has raised its ideo-political and publicistic level, strengthened its role of organization, propaganda and agitation for the communist education of the masses and their mobilization for the all-round fulfilment of the tasks and objectives of the revolutionary movement «Banner-bearers of the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha».

As a life-giving tribune of the Party, our press has grown and is strengthened from day to day, from year to year. A vivid evidence of this indisputable reality are these figures: in 1938 Albania had 6 newspapers and 15 periodicals with a total annual circulation of 2,670 thousand copies while today it has 23 newspapers and 77 periodicals with a total circulation of 64,000 thousand copies. In 1938 our country had only one radio station which broadcast only 2 and a half hours a day, whereas today Radio Tirana broadcasts over 24 hours of different programs a day for the internal listeners and over 83 hours in 21 languages for the foreign listeners. Our Television broadcasts over 5 hours of different programs a day (over 8 hours on Sundays), and the Albanian Telegraphic Agency receives about 2000 news items from all over the world within 24 hours. Along with its quantitative growth, our press has undergone a qualitative development, too: it has strengthened its revolutionary features further, has enriched its

content, its range of themes, thereby enhancing its already great influence on the education of the masses in the socialist spirit.

Our people's press expresses the spirit of the Party, its lofty principles and its truthfulness, its irreconcilability with the enemies and their reactionary ideology, its combative and unyielding spirit. All this has turned it into a tribune from which the voice of the Marxist-Leninist truth forcefully re-

sounds and the enemies of all hues and types — the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the modern revisionists and all other reactionaries, are mercilessly exposed. That is why our press has won the affection and respect of our people and the revolutionaries all over the world. «Without doubt,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «this is the greatest honour and reward for the workers of the press in our country.»

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE SYSTEM OF TRANSPORTATION

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the system of transportation in our country a commemorative meeting was held on August 9 in one of the halls of the Museum of National History in the Capital.

Participating in the meeting were vanguard workers, specialists and cadres of automobile, rail and sea transportation, Heroes of Socialist Labour, veterans and many guests.

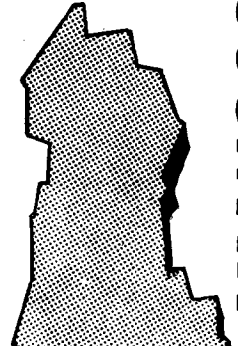
The meeting was also attended by the Candidate of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava, the Minister of Communications, Comrade Luan Babameto, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the

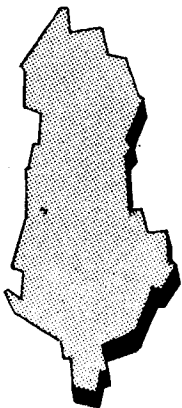
District, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti, the Member of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Shesqet Peçi, and other comrades.

Among the applause of those present, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava read the greeting of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, addressed to the workers of transportation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the system of transportation in our country.

After expressing to the workers of the system of transportation his congratulations on the occasion of the celebration of their 40th anniversary, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava among other things, said:

«Forty years have gone by since the day when the first enterprise of transportation was set up in the new Albania. These years belong to a pe-

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riod of struggle and victories of our people under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, also in the development and expansion of transportation which has become one of the more important branches of our economy. With their selfless work the workers of transportation have coped on time and successfully with the constant increase of the volume of production and, going all out, have preceded the vigorous development of our socialist country.

«The Party and people hold in high honour the difficult and noble work of drivers, railwaymen and seamen who, through their tireless work, have enlivened and increased the dynamism of our economy.»

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE ALBANIAN BUILDERS

On August 4, the working people of construction celebrated the Builders' Day. At a time when the whole people of our country are engaged in the discussion of the draft-directives of the 9th Congress of the Party, the builders draw the balance-sheet of the successes they have achieved in the 7th Five-year Plan and have started work for the implementation of the great tasks which the 8th Five-year Plan has set.

Relying completely on their own forces, the designers, builders and as-

Speaking about the great tasks of the vigorous development of our country during the 8th Five-year Plan, he expressed his strong conviction that the workers and cadres of transportation, with the communists in the lead, will turn into a reality the great demands for the expansion of transportation and the development of cooperation between its various branches, as well as for the further raising of the skills and qualification of the transportation workers, for the enlivenment of the technical thinking and the intensification of the struggle for the introduction of advanced methods of work, so as to meet the great events that await us — the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding, with ever new successes and victories.

sembly workers, with their skill and inspired by the ideas of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, gave the Homeland one of the greatest hydro-electric projects of the country, the «Enver Hoxha» hydropower station of Koman which supplies electric energy to various branches of the economy and fulfils the needs of the people. They built and commissioned for production the Fier-Vlora railway line and completed the building of the Shkodra-Hani i Hotit railway; they built some new

coal mines and extended the extraction capacities of the existing ones, increased the extraction capacities of several copper, chromite, iron-nickel, quartz, bauxite, mineral salts, and other mines, which contributed to the further development of the extraction and processing industry.

In order to increase the processing capacities of the light and food-stuffs industry many new factories and production lines were set up which include oil factories, factories for the processing of grapes and fruits, for the preservation of olives, for the production of sauce; other factories such as the factory for the production of light textiles, dyeing plants, knitwear and other factories were reconstructed.

Large investments and many constructions were made for the further development of agriculture and livestock-farming. The irrigation capacity increased by 31 thousand hectares, many livestock-farming complexes for the raising of cattle, pigs and poultry, a centre for the intensive production of eggs, etc., were built.

Thousands of kilometres of road were built to facilitate the more thorough exploitation of mines, forests, etc. Many important socio-cultural objects, school buildings, dormitories, kindergartens, some new hospitals, palaces of culture and sports, 80 thousand new dwelling apartments, etc., were given to the country.

The designing and construction of some important projects of the last five-year plan such as the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station of Koman, the lubricating oils plant at Ballsh, the nickel-cobalt plant in the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the new seaport of Vlora, many other industrial and socio-cultural objects, etc., which involved numerous complicated techni-

cal-scientific problems, have built up the confidence of our working people to design and build with their own forces any kind of project of any degree of difficulty.


The hydro-electric complex of Banja, the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway, the tunnel of Bulqiza, the new urea plant and that of superphosphate, the ferro-chromium plant and nine new mines, the completion of the nickel-cobalt plant and that of lubricating oils, scores of reconstructions and the extension of the irrigation capacity with 60 thousand hectares, these are the main projects on which the productive investments of the 8th Five-year Plan, which the 9th Congress of the Party will endorse, are envisaged to be made.

New factories and production lines, roads and schools, health and cultural institutions will be built all over the Homeland. Work will begin on 687 limit projects, of which 526 are new ones and 649 will be commissioned for production within the current five-year plan. Of 85 thousand apartment buildings and dwelling-houses which will be built as a whole during the five-year plan in order to improve the housing of the population, 34,500 of the apartments will be built by the construction enterprises.

The building materials industry will assume further development. In 1990, as against 1985, the production of cement will increase 37 per cent, bricks 35.4 per cent, tiles 72.2 per cent, tiling 24.8 per cent, and so on.

In the 7 months of the current year, working with the method of action and through a better organization of work for the concentration of means and forces, it became possible to complete ahead of schedule 539 tobacco depots against 479 that the plan envisaged, 26 limit projects, 183 projects



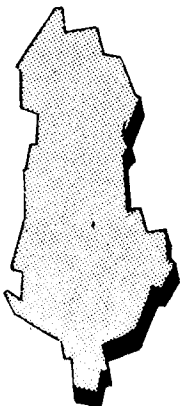
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In the epoch of the Party Albania has been transformed into a huge building site. Eighty-five thousand new apartments and dwelling-houses will be built only in the 8th Five-year Plan.



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under the limit, 520 ensilage dumps, and 1,614 dwelling apartments.

These results are a reflection of the growing enthusiasm and initiative of the masses and of the spirit of action,

which predominates everywhere as a mass phenomenon of a great effect in the implementation of the instructions of the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

THE ALBANIAN ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY – AN IMPORTANT EVENT FOR ALBANIAN CULTURE AND SCIENCE

The Albanian Encyclopaedic Dictionary — a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA, has come off the press. This is a major scientific work of an encyclopaedic character first published in our country. It constitutes an event of major value and importance for our socialist culture, a new success for Albanian science.

The main characteristic of the AED is that it is aimed at providing the working masses with as comprehensive, extensive, systematic and scientific knowledge as possible about the nature of our Homeland, the glorious history of the Albanian people, the wealth of their material and spiritual culture, their achievements in all fields of production, art and science.

The AED comprises 5,000 entries, 900 photos and pictures, 190 maps and drawings and 110 colour photos in a volume of more than 1,200 pages.

This major and complex scientific

work was possible only in the epoch of the Party under the leadership of which the Albanian Marxist-Leninist science has been created and developed, a science which has already said its authoritative word in all fields and disciplines which are linked with the present and the past of our people.

The elaboration and content of the entries in the AED proceed from and are imbued throughout by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Everything here has been verified in the Party spirit and based on facts and other relevant data. The AED reflects the highest levels of contemporary science in this field. It is based on the major achievements of our social, natural and technical sciences.

Questions are dealt with in a positive manner and, when necessary, accompanied with criticism of principle from Marxist-Leninist positions of all views and theses of bourgeois

and revisionist sciences in so far as they have to do with our country, thereby refuting the hostile stands and assessments of the imperialists, revisionists and chauvinists of all hues about our people and their history.

In the entries dealing with questions of historical sciences, important problems of the Illyrians, the national individuality of our people, their autochthony on their present-day territories, their struggle for freedom and independence, knowledge and progress, their relations with other peoples and their contribution to world history and the treasury of world culture, are discussed. Individual entries are devoted to progressive historical personalities in the fields of politics, military art, culture, literature, arts and thinking.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War is treated to such an extent as to enable the creation of a comprehensive and precise idea of its importance.

The true national independence as well as the all-round material and cultural development of the country, two historical aspects of decisive importance for the destinies of the Albanian people, have found due reflection in this work. With full justification, the AED can be considered a synthetic reflection of the socio-economic development achieved by socialist Albania over more than four decades of ceaseless struggle and creative work.

In dealing with the problems of the development of the economy this work describes the more important achievements in the setting up of a socialist economy with a multi-branched structure, a modern extracting and processing industry, a collectivized intensive agriculture in the organization of civic and production activities, the

diverse branches, transportation, an extensive network of trade, communal and health services covering the whole territory of the country. Figures and data which illustrate this development are chosen in such a manner as to provide indisputable scientific evidence of the great advance our country has made on the road of socialist development.

The Albanian miracle, the country's rapid development in all fields of life on the basis of self-reliance, is due to the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the PLA. The implementation of this policy with adherence to principles and unwavering consistency has enabled our people to find their own individuality, to turn the external pressures and constructions imposed by the enemies of socialism, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, as well as the backwardness inherited from the past into factors of material, cultural and spiritual advance. That is why everything bearing on the history of the PLA is dealt with in the AED as an important component part of the history of the country in the last quarter of the century. Everything that has been achieved in this country — the transformation of society, of man and nature, is the deed of the Party, of its leadership and its guiding, organizing and inspiring strength. Realistically aware of the difficulties of growth, our Party and people, led by the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, are forging ahead with unexampled determination and awareness so as to go through a stage of material and cultural development which other countries have completed centuries ago, within the shortest possible historical term.



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MOSCOW'S EUROPEAN DIALOGUE IN THE SERVICE OF SOVIET HEGEMONY

ZËRI I POPULLIT — organ of the Central Committee of the PLA

Last July Moscow was the place of unprecedented meetings and talks with top-official leaders from the West.

On this occasion, top-level Soviet officials were careful to ensure that receptions and farewell ceremonies did not remain within protocol limits, but assumed a new significance and proportion. The General Secretary of the «Communist» Party of the Soviet Union, Gorbachov, was the protagonist of the whole show and held talks with all the guests, reserving them a warm reception. As was reported, they discussed and talked about many political problems of our time, about general and specific problems.

But the feverish arms race, the nuclear test explosions, the manufacturing and launching of spy satellites into outer space, the climate created after six years of barbarous war in Afghanistan, the presence of the Soviet medium-range missiles in the «friendly» countries, and many other facts which international public opinion knows very well, have taken the sheen off the illusive pacific image of the Soviet Union, which it has been labouring hard to build through its foreign policy.

The whole picture of the Soviet foreign policy regarding

Europe becomes still more complete and clear if to these talks and meetings which were held in Moscow we add also the visit and talks and the new agreements that the Soviet foreign minister, Shevardnadze, signed in London in July. These activities speak not only of a reactivation and intensification of this policy, but also of the intensive efforts the Kremlin leaders are now making in order to achieve those fundamental objectives that are contained in the hegemonic strategy of the Soviet Union, as an imperialist power, towards the old continent. For this policy of his to have success Gorbachov needs not only the consideration of the West to present him as the «man of peace, a man of modern time, who sees things realistically». He needs not only the high technologies in order to save the Soviet economy which is deep in crisis and has created huge deficits which keep growing, but also outside political support in order to ensure the attainment of his objectives in the field of present-day relations, which are characterized by new and still greater tensions and exacerbation, especially with the United States of America.

The Kremlin is trying to achieve a rapprochement and

ensure closer collaboration with the countries of Western Europe, especially the biggest and the most powerful of them, with the allies of Washington, in order to foster its own economic, political and military interests. Of course, in these circumstances there can be no talk about France and the FR of Germany playing the role of the simple intermediary or catalyst in the Soviet-American dialogue. Each chancellery touches the pulse of and exchanges information and messages with the other, and each one of them separately has its own aims and interests and will hardly ever sacrifice them to the interests of the other. Moreover, the heads of the two superpowers come to an accord with one another whenever their common interests require it, whether in broad daylight or in the dark of the night, even to the detriment of the interests of their closest allies.

In their efforts to drive a wedge between Washington and the European imperialist powers, by conceding the latter a role of greater responsibility regarding the destiny of Europe, the Soviet social-imperialists strive to cause splits and breaches in the ranks of the Atlantic alliance, to neutralize the strike of the West against the East,

just as the American imperialists act in regard to the countries of the Warsaw Treaty. So, the torpedoing of each other's position even in the interior of their spheres of influence is one of the new characteristics of the fo-

reign policy of the superpowers. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed: «The intensification of the arms race, as is natural, has led to the escalation of confrontation between the superpowers, thus creating new tensions in

general and specific problems. A new element in this confrontation is that the tensions on both sides have been displaced from the periphery to the zones in which the frontiers of the military blocks meet.»

THE OIL MARKET AND THE IMPERIALIST MANIPULATIONS

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS — organ of the Institute of Economic Studies

In the very turbulent economic and financial circumstances in which the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world has found itself in the last 10-15 years, an important place is occupied by the energy crisis.

The problem of fuels, in general, and that of oil, in particular, are an expression of the exacerbation of contradictions between imperialist powers, and, in the first place, between the superpowers and the former colonies and the dependent countries. The metropolises, especially the United States of America, while resorting to many machinations which were used in the past, are still trying to intensify the plunder of the natural wealth and the exploitation of the peoples of these countries, which could not but arouse them to legitimate revolt.

In the analysis of the situation created in the oil market after the Second

World War it is necessary to take account of some trends, the most important of which are, first, the great weight of oil not only for the economy, being a primary material and fuel, but also for the army and for the consumption of the population, as well as because of its more suitable and easier handling than all other sources of energy, a thing which explains the very rapid rate of its production and consumption in the world. Second, the disproportional development of the different sources of energy and the absolute priority which the consumption of oil has occupied in the last 30 years. Third, the unequal distribution of the sources of oil. About 60 per cent of the oil reserves and resources and about 40 per cent of its extraction are concentrated in a number of countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Fourth, the domina-

tion of the market of fuels by the imperialist states, and in the first place, by the two superpowers and the multinational companies. Suffice it to recall that only the companies Ekson, Exaco, Gulf, SACAI, Mobil, RD Shell, British Petroleum, CFP, which are the eight largest oil companies, in the year 1973 controlled 70 per cent of the oil extraction of the capitalist world, 54 per cent of the processing of oil and 54 per cent of the oil sales. And lastly, the growth of the political awareness of the peoples of fuel-producing countries, which manifests itself in their legitimate demand to take control of and use this wealth in their own interests.

Until the beginning of 1950s, the USA was the largest oil producer of the world. With the discovery of immense oil reserves in the basis of the Middle East and North and Central Africa, however, the

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weight and role of the United States in the production and export of oil began to fall steadily. Moreover, the USA itself was beginning to import oil from the Arab countries and from some countries of Central America, where oil production was virtually taken over by the American monopolies.

The process of the plunder of «black gold» of the Middle and Near East and of the North and Central Africa was accompanied with fabulous profits for the American monopolies. This because the geological-technical conditions of the oil and gas resources in these zones are very favourable and the output of the oil-wells is extremely high. In order to increase their profits, the monopolies and the multinational companies imposed very low prices on the oil-producing countries. This situation continued up till the beginning of the '70s. Moreover, looking into the situation in its process, it was observed that while oil prices in the USA tended to increase, in these zones they were falling continuously. This factor worked in favour of drilling new wells in these zones, since it was more profitable than working on the existing ones in the USA. This situation is connected also with the policy of the American financial oligarchy about the conservation of this important economic and strategic primary material. The picture of the buying and

selling and of the barbarous exploitation of the oil-producing countries by the metropolises and the multinational companies, especially by the American ones, is made still more complete if we bear in mind the fact that the buying and selling of oil and other transactions of this kind are conducted with the American dollar, the value of which was falling with each passing year. These facts sufficiently confirm Comrade Enver Hoxha's scientific conclusion that «the big imperialist powers have built their industrial empires with the oil which they have plundered from the other peoples and through the purchase of primary materials at a cheap price.»

This plunder aroused the peoples of the oil-producing countries to legitimate revolts which result in the nationalization of some oil companies and the «regulation» of oil prices. From 1971 to 1985 prices were «adjusted» several times until the 40 dollar per barrel level was achieved.

The year 1983 began with a new fall in the sale prices of oil. This trend continued without being checked all along until in 1985 one oil barrel sold at 25 dollars. In December 1985, the oil market experienced a severe shock of grave consequences which continued well into the first months of the current year. In April of this year prices fell to an all-time low, so-

metimes one barrel selling under 10 dollars. This abrupt change which shook the situation in the markets of oil and oil by-products, is the result, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 14th Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the manipulations on the part of the imperialist powers, especially of American imperialism, which has dug its clutches deep on the oil market and is manoeuvring for the realization of its imperialist ambitions. It is also an expression of the co-ordinated operation of the speculative factors with the economic, financial, political and strategic factors, and has led to the further exacerbation of contradictions both among the imperialist powers and among the oil producers themselves. In order to realize their aims, the imperialist powers, especially American imperialism, exploited the situation created in the oil market. It is common knowledge that the «regulation» of prices of oil stimulated the measures for the lowering of the specific consumption of this important fuel and for the development of technologies for the utilization of alternative sources of energy.

The drastic fall in the prices of oil and oil by-products and the very turbulent situation on this market served, in the first place, the realization of the economic,

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political and strategic interests of American imperialism. Since the USA imports over 50 billion dollar worth of oil and its by-products every year, it is reckoned that the reduction one dollar per barrel of oil would bring direct and indirect profits which would lead to the reduction of the deficit in the trade balance of this country to two billion dollars. Apart from this, American imperialism, even by stimulating the fall of oil prices in speculative manner, created the possibility for it to seal its own oil-fields which are run at a high cost, and to fulfil its own needs through the increase of the import of cheap Arab oil.

The fall in the oil prices is in favour of the interests of imperialist powers also for the reason that they make great profits from the difference between the prices of the sale of oil by-products and the price at which they import it. This helps them to alleviate the burden of their chronic deficit.

By keeping prices at a low level American imperialism secures another weapon with which it fights the

other superpower, the Soviet Union. Cheap oil directly brings about the weakening of the economic and financial positions of the Soviet Union, which secures 50-60 per cent of its free currency from the export of fuels. The fall in the oil prices has thus further shaken the situation in the balance of trade and payments of the Soviet Union, and has acted as a brake on the introduction of advanced technologies and has brought about an ultimate increase in the debts of this country.

The unstable situation of the oil market is in the interest of the United States of America also in order to undermine the activity of OPEC. Only in the first three months of this year, the members of OPEC incurred a loss of 10 billion dollars from the fall in the oil prices. In their efforts to ruin this organization, the United States of America and the other imperialist powers have used the services of Saudi Arabia, which remains a mouthpiece of the interests of world reaction. Saudi Arabia came out openly against

the strategy of OPEC which, in order to check the further fall of oil prices, has proposed the reduction of oil production. Even in face of the fall in oil prices to 12 dollars a barrel, Saudi Arabia and some other members of OPEC were opposed strongly to the demand for the reduction of production, which was made at a special session of the organization.

The critical situation in the oil market sharpened the contradictions between OPEC and oil producers outside this organization. Some of the latter, such as the countries of the North-Sea oil, decided to increase the production and export of oil, at a time when OPEC reduced it. This had an influence on the oil market and continues to do so to day. All the manoeuvres of world imperialism are thus aimed at the disintegration of this cartel. But the drastic fall of the oil prices cannot continue for ever. The objective economic laws of capitalism and of the capitalist mode of production will certainly lead to the rise of prices regardless of the fluctuations that may occur from time to time.

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ILLUSIONS ABOUT A SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET

ZËRI I POPULLIT

In the beginning of June, in Brussels the foreign ministers of twelve member coun-

tries of the Common Market held a meeting. The only thing they admittedly ac-

knowledged was the desire for the creation of a single, common European market, a

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proposal which had been made at the meeting of Rome back in 1958, and expressed in the founding treaty of the European Community.

That the creation of a homogenous West-European market is utopia and an illusion this is seen, besides other things, also in the facts of the period from the founding of the EEC onwards. Now, 28 years after the creation of the so-called United Europe, the economic development of the 12 countries of the EEC is still unequal. The structures of their industries and of their economies, in general, are different, and their interests, apart from points in common, clash fiercely over different national issues. This makes the planning of production, its distribution and consumption, the precise definition of the sale markets impossible, and gives rise to inevitable contradictions and economic-commercial quarrels among its members. Hence, each member of the EEC tries to adopt

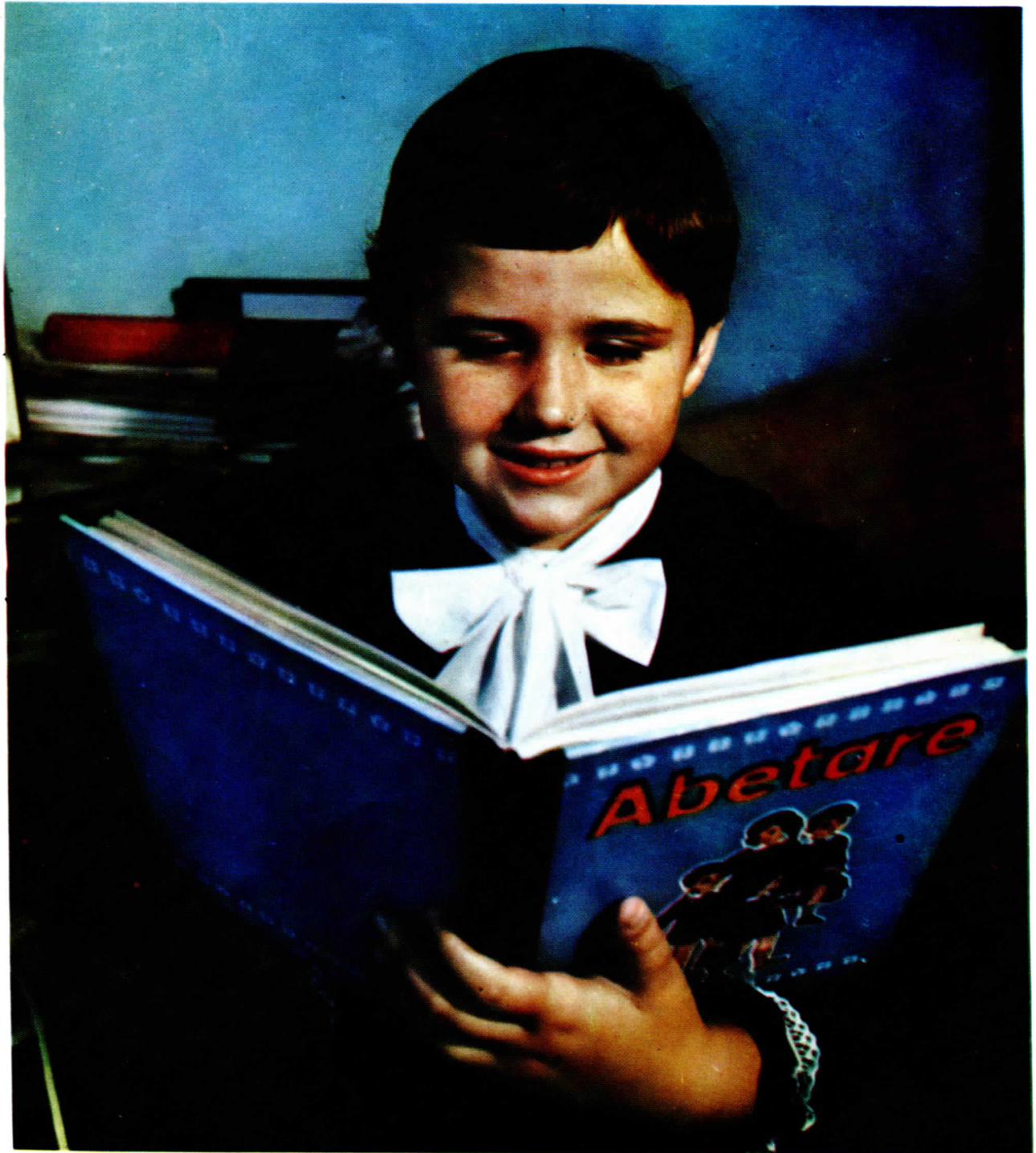
protective measures for its own country. As a result, to the West-European goods that circulate inside the community there are a series of impediments, protectionist measures, minute customs control, and strict national standards and norms for special commodities.

The problem assumes a national aspect because it has to do with the sovereignty of each country, with its economy and income. The strongest members of the EEC, who have pretensions and try to set the tone to the economic and commercial problems of the community, demand that the other members should open their doors wide to and allow them to compete with the goods of the weaker members. In this way, no one relinquishes its own economic-commercial competences to the parliament of Strasburg, but defends them with fanaticism, as the last meeting of the EEC showed.

The factor of the West-European «homogenous market»,

which is an internal factor within the framework of the organization, is one which has a decisive influence in the relations of the EEC with the USA and Japan. Stagnancy, added to a situation of disagreement, contradictions and rivalry within the West-European market, has created conditions ripe for competition and rivalry from outsiders, from the other board of the Atlantic and from the Far East. The meeting of foreign ministers was an expression of the discontent about the continuous growth of the trade deficit with Japan (last year it was 10 billion dollars), and demanded the «opening of the Japanese market» to the EEC products. The meeting adopted the same attitude also towards the protectionist measures taken by the USA directly affecting agricultural products, food-stuffs and steel of West-European make, pointing out that it will retaliate in case the EEC exports are subjected to such attacks.

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