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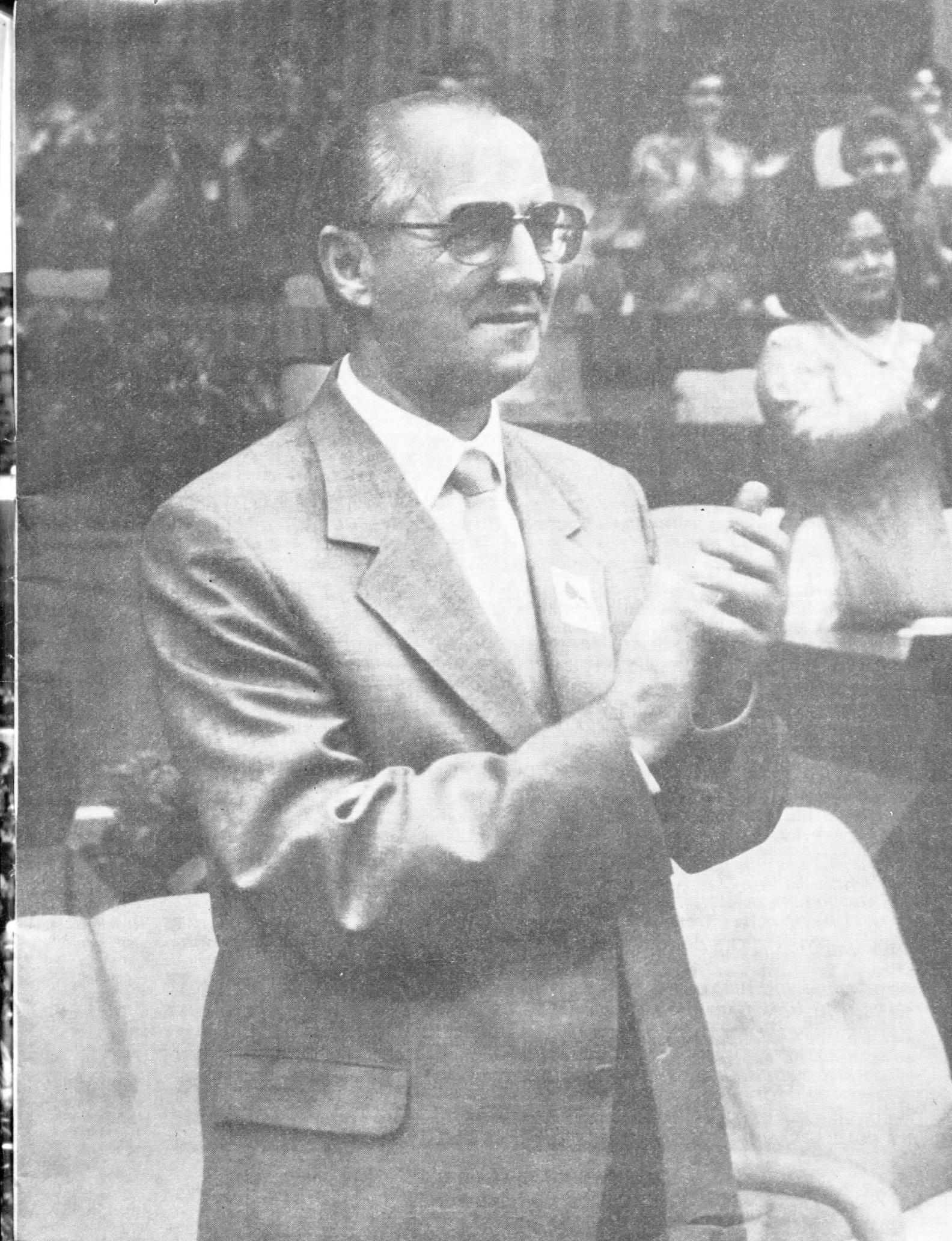


COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA ON
THE TRIBUNE OF THE CON-
GRESS.

THE DELEGATES TO THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE WUA
ENTERING THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES

At a session of the Congress.





THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION

- COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA OF THE PARTY AND THE

IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF GREAT JOY AND REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM, THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA (WUA) HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS FROM 6-8 JUNE IN THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES IN TIRANA.

THE DELEGATES AND THE GUESTS TO THE CONGRESS BROKE OUT INTO APPLAUSE AND OVATIONS TO GREET THE ENTRANCE INTO THE HALL OF COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, AND COMRADES ADIL ÇARÇANI, HEKURAN ISAI, LENKA ÇUKO, MANUSH MYFTIU, MUHO ASLLANI, PALI MISKA, PROKOP MURRA, RITA MARKO, SIMON STEFANI, KIÇO MUSTAQI, LLAMBI GEGPRIFTI, PIRRO KONDI, QIRJAKO MIHALI AND VANGJEL ÇËRRAVA.

ATTENDING WERE ALSO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA, NEXHMIJE HOXHA, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, XHAFER SPAHIU, AND COMRADES SPIRO KOLEKA, HAKI TOSKA, PILO PERISTERI, HAXHI LLESHI, SHEFQET PEÇI, AND MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY AND OF THE GOVERNMENT.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, MOUNTING THE TRIBUNE OF THE CONGRESS, WARMLY GREETED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE HALL, WHO CHEER POWERFULLY: «PARTY OF LABOUR,» «PARTY-ENVER, WE ARE ALWAYS READY.»

THE WORKING PRESIDUM OF THE CONGRESS TAKES ITS PLACE IN THE TRIBUNE.

PRESENT ALSO ARE HEADS OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS FROM VIETNAM, THE PANAFRICAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION, ZIMBABWE, BRAZIL, DENMARK, ECUADOR, EGYPT, CANADA, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SYRIA, TANZANIA, FRIENDS OF OUR COUNTRY FROM FRANCE AND GREECE, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ALBANIAN WOMEN LIVING IN FRANCE, ROMANIA, SYRIA, ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WHO HAVE COME TO ATTEND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS AT THE INVITATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE WUA.

BESIDES THE DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS THERE ARE ALSO GUESTS SUCH AS VETERANS AND VANGUARD WORKERS, DISTINGUISHED ACTIVISTS OF THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ORGANS OF THE PARTY, THE STATE AND OTHER MASS ORGANIZATIONS, OF VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE WUA WAS OPENED BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE WUA, ELENI SELENICA.

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY THE CONGRESS WAS GREETED BY COMRADE ADIL ÇARÇANI.

CONGRESS UNION OF ALBANIA

AND OTHER LEADERS AND STATE ATTEND -

«Together with all the women of our country», said Comrade Adil Çarçani among other things, «the entire Party and people are experiencing today the great joy which the 10th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania has aroused. This is another important event in the life of the Albanian woman and of our whole society. The proceedings of this Congress and the decisions it will take will raise higher the great work of the Party for the emancipation of women, will give fresh impulse to their enthusiasm and mobilization at work and will carry the construction of socialism in our country forward. On this occasion the Central Committee of the Party, on behalf of the whole people, conveys to you, comrade delegates, and through you to all the heroic women of our country, its most ardent greetings and best wishes for the successful development of the proceedings of the 10th Congress of the women's Union of Albania.

«The Party sees in women a great force of our society, not only because of their numbers, but also because of their potential and vitality. Women have always been the carriers and bearers of the lofty patriotic sentiments of our people, their rich and ancient culture, their major political and moral values, their revolutionary spirit. It is the great merit of the Party and women themselves that they knew how to elevate this mission to the level of an active, conscious and direct activity for the development and progress of the country.

«Without the active participation of women and their outstanding contribution, the freedom and independence of our country could not have been won, the people's power could not have been established and defended, the militant unity of the people could not have been forged and the new socialist life we are living today could not have been built. Inspired by the Party, women rose out of the centuries-old

backwardness, overcame old mentalities, courageously and resolutely rejected the religious dogmas, old prejudices and enslaving canon laws which oppressed them and made their life miserable in the past. Today women have become a major building and creating force, equal to all the other members of socialist society, enjoying all the rights this society guarantees. The name of our women and their militant organization, the Women's Union of Albania, is indissolubly linked with all our historic victories, and their sweat and toil, together with all our people, have contributed to the magnificent social and economic transformations of the country.

«In the course of this deep-going revolutionary transformation the life of the Albanian women has undergone unprecedented changes and they have been subject to a constant process of emancipation. This is one of the major victories of the Party and one of the most profound transformations in the life of society. The promoter and architect of this monumental deed has been and remains our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 80th anniversary of whose birth the Party and our people will celebrate this year solemnly. At the head of the Party, he fought ardently and with communist adherence to principle all along his life, for the political and social awakening of women, in order to involve them in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country, in the defence of their freedoms and rights, as a sacred law of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the inspirer of all the major socialist transformations which led to the outburst of the colossal energies of Albanian women, helping them to occupy the place they deserve in society. The deed of the emancipation of Albanian women will go down in the centuries, and just as all the historic deeds of Comrade Enver Hoxha, will live for ever.





the Presidium of the Congress. Comrade Adil Çarçani hails the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA.

«The 9th Congress of the Party laid down a great program of work for the development and progress of the country on the road of the construction of socialism. Involved in a series of revolutionary movements the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth and our heroic and hard-working women are working with enthusiasm and a militant spirit to implement its historic decisions. In the course of this period, important achievements have been made in all fields of social and economic development of the country, which shows of the optimism and unflinching determination of our working people to accomplish the tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan in time.

«We are faced with major tasks and important objectives which are linked with the further development of industry, agriculture, transport and the other branches of the economy, the introduction of new technologies and the increase of effectiveness of production, the advance of science, culture and education, the improvement of the supply of the people and the social services, the perfection of the socialist relations of production, the constant raising of the well-being of the working masses, etc. Their fulfilment requires profound understanding and thorough knowledge of political situations and the conditions and demands put forward by the general development of society, greater mobilization of the entire Party and people, courage and determination to overcome difficulties. As a powerful lever of the Party, the organization of the Women's Union of Albania plays a prominent and irreplaceable role in this direction. By means of more qualified education work it should raise further the political and ideological consciousness of women, their educational, cultural and technical-professional level and enhance their militant spirit at work and in social life.

«The construction of socialism impels the emancipation of society and, together with it, the emancipation of women. It is in constant development, advances and rises higher in conformity with the new level of the time. Emancipation assumes a broader meaning with us at present, it has become the concern of all and puts forward ever greater demands. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «Emancipation means more culture, more knowledge and science, means an active role and thinking for work to proceed well.»

«The Party rejoices at seeing that ever greater masses of women are taking part in the great revolutionary movement for their emancipation.

Women carry a great burden in the field of production, indeed, in some sectors and branches of the economy they account for the main working and creative force. In the vanguard everywhere are the more active women in the political life of the country, those fighting to temper and further steel the great unity of the people, to constantly develop socialist democracy and strengthen the people's power, those carrying and implementing the new and progressive in production, technique and technology, mastering and applying science, and asserting the finest cultural, moral and civic socialist values. Educated by the Party, the revolutionary women of our country cannot and should not reconcile themselves to old concepts regarding management of work, bureaucratic procrastination in the solution of problems, shortcomings in the protection and administration of socialist property, but should put up an energetic struggle against all these manifestations. They should become more aware of the present requirements of production, should lead the struggle to increase productivity, improve the quality of production, strengthen the savings regime, and discipline and order at work.

«With their revolutionary stand, their tireless work and struggle, their knowledge and abilities, our women have always lived up to the high consideration and appraisal the Party and the people have of them. As active members of society, they militate today with their fully developed personality and dignity on every front of socialist construction and in defence of the Homeland, they are workers and cooperativists, geologists and agronomists, doctors, and teachers, artists and writers, and capable leaders up to the highest forums of the Party and the state. In future, too, the Party will fight with all its might in order to do away with conservative barriers and manifestations of underestimation of and distrust in the abilities of women, so that they occupy the place they deserve in society. Properly assessing and raising women to the posts of responsibility pertaining to them is to the benefit of the development and advance of the country, and expresses the level of emancipation of our society.

«The state has created numerous possibilities for women to acquire education and culture and constantly expand their knowledge. In this field, too, women's achievements are great and are expressed in all their activity, at work and production, in social and family life. However, all these must be utilized better and with greater effectiveness. It is especially important that women raise their level of qualification, master

their work and profession better and respond more adequately to the requirements. Education and culture provide women, like all the other members of our society, with a powerful means which enables them to march forward, develop their personality in all aspects, enrich and ennoble their spiritual world. Greater care should be taken especially of women in the countryside so that advances in production and in family and social relations, or in children's upbringing reach them more rapidly with a view to constantly narrowing down distinctions between the town and the countryside.

«As always, in the future, too, the Party, with all its levers, will combat old mentalities and alien influences, backward customs and religious leftovers which affect the personality of women and hamper their advance. In the class struggle waged in the ideological field for the formation, education and tempering of our people, the affirmation of the norms of socialist morality and the new way of living, the contribution of women is great and the experience they have acquired rich. The Party is confident that, as always, our women and their militant organization will militate in the front ranks of this struggle, displaying the courage and determination which characterized them when they trampled underfoot the old canon laws, destroyed the churches and mosques, when they made that great and unprecedented leap forward in their history.

«The Party and the people's state power have created ever better conditions to make women's chores easier, so that they put their mental and physical capabilities fully in the service of the Homeland. Our achievements are great and they must be made better use of, but still there are problems for the solution of which all of us must struggle, and together with us, the women's organization, too.

«Our people have always honoured the figure of the woman as a mother and educator of the new generations of society. The years of socialism, however, have given a new content and broader dimension to the educative role of mothers. This is their important mission, so it has been paid particular attention not only on the part of the women's organization, but also the Party, the State and society as a whole. Albanian mothers have always cultivated in the new generations the wonderful traditions of our people, have conveyed into the veins of the nation that great vitality and strength without which it could not have been able to cope with the assimilation waves that have swept our soil in the course of

history. They and our people as a whole take legitimate pride in seeing our youth today growing healthy and strong, marching with determination on the road of the revolution and socialism, thirsty for knowledge and culture, and endowed with a pure moral and civic figure. The new generation of socialist Albania will grow, will be educated and tempered in this spirit in the future, too.

«Our whole society, the school, the family and the women's organization itself are interested in the Marxist-Leninist formation of the youth. This is a complex, delicate and difficult process which calls for broad knowledge of its present physical and psychological, educational and cultural, spiritual and social development. This demands that, in their relations with the youth, party organs and organizations, state organs and mass organizations should avoid manifestations of paternalism, exaggerated concern and sentimental stands on the part of parents, which stifle the development of their personality, inhibit their spirit of initiative and push them towards seeking the easy way in life.

«While working and struggling to carry the development of the economy forward and to constantly improve the well-being of the people, the Party and our state attentively follow the development of the international situation, draw conclusions and define the necessary stands and actions demanded by the construction of socialism in and the defence of our country. Our foreign policy has always served the lofty interests of our Homeland and people, the defence of the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the country, the creation of peaceful conditions for the building of socialism in Albania and the fulfilment of its internationalist duties, thereby responding also to the aspirations of the peoples struggling for freedom and independence, peace and national sovereignty, and social progress.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported and will always support the peoples who oppose the aggressive and war-mongering policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, national oppression and capitalist exploitation, colonialism and racism, and has denounced and opposed the attempts of the imperialist powers and reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to trample upon and violate their sovereign rights. This correct policy of principle has further strengthened the international position of socialist Albania, and increased the respect it enjoys among the progressive peoples and countries in the world.

«The women of our country, who have always

resolutely supported the foreign policy of our Party, and have been led and inspired by it, the mass organization of the Women's Union of Albania, will raise higher the spirit of solidarity with the women of the world, everywhere they struggle for national and social liberation, for freedom and democracy, and for their rights.

«Your Congress will certainly give a powerful impulse to the work and activity of women and their organization. Let the echo of this Congress reach all the women of Albania, everywhere they work and live! Let your involvement and enthusiasm be a further encouragement for the women of our country so that, all together, with the Party at the head, march towards new heights to carry the construction of socialism and the defence of the country forward, to promote the great deed of the emancipation of women!»

The message of greetings was often punctuated by applause and ovations for the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

The report «On the work done and the tasks of the WUA for a more active role of women in all fields of life» was delivered by Comrade Lumturi Rexha, President of the General Council of the WUA.

«We come to this assembly of Albania women with boundless love in our hearts for the glorious Party of Labour and with the solemn pledge that we will always march resolutely on the road of socialism, as banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and fighters for the application of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party», said Comrade Lumturi Rexha among other things.

«Socialism is the life of the Albanian women. In the decades of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism the Party has raised high the personality of women, brought them out of the world of oppression and exploitation, liberated them from enslavement of canon laws and religion and has given them the honoured place in society which they deserve. Our revolution, unprecedented in history, has brought women all rights and democratic freedoms, ensured them employment and education and the free medical service, enriched their lives with new moral values and made them a great and irreplaceable force. Our new woman is outstanding for her level of emancipation, for the communist ideals which inspire her, for her political and ideological clarity, for her broad cultural horizon, for the dignity which she upholds, for her rich spiritual world and for the security and happiness she enjoys.

«All these achievements we dedicate with boundless gratitude to the Party and our unforgettable beloved leader, the architect of the new Albania, the thinker, teacher and inspirer of the emancipation of women, of this outstanding accomplishment of socialist civilization, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose 80th birthday we will commemorate with majesty this year.

«The 9th Congress of the Party gave the people a majestic program of socialist economic and social development, opened broad horizons of creative work, reaffirmed the role of women at the present stage of development and in future, and defined new tasks for their further emancipation.

«Throughout the history of our country the Albanian women have been outstanding for their freedom-loving spirit and patriotic feelings, for courage and bravery and for close links with the Homeland. They raised these qualities to a higher level and enriched them with a new content in the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and express them today in every step of life. The women live actively with the political situation, unreservedly support the line of the Party and are engaged with all their might in putting this program in practice.

«Realizing the rights and democratic freedoms which they enjoy, their voice is heard and respected on the fundamental problems of the policy of the Party and the state, in governing the country, in drafting plans, in working out laws, etc. The women are a major force in the ranks of the Party, making up 33 per cent of its members, more than 40 per cent of those elected to the people's councils and a whole army of social activists, cadres and specialists in all fields. As workers and social activists, the women unite their physical and mental potential with that of the whole people and have become an important factor of progress and unity, a great force of our revolution, fighters for the emancipation of the whole society and for the defence of the socialist Homeland.

«The promotion of women to position of responsibility has been one of the main directions of the policy of the Party and our state and has found widespread embodiment during all the years of the people's state power. This is a requirement for the development of the country, and an indication of the level of emancipation of society, in general, and of the women themselves.

«The evaluation which Comrade Ramiz Alia made of the role and the political, professional and moral capacities of women in his speech to the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Vlora district fills us with joy. It is another blow dealt by the Party at conservative stands and disbelief in the capacity of the women. From this speech our organization draws important tasks for its work; it should contribute with greater insistence to ensure that energetic and cultured women who are capable organizers are placed in positions of responsibility.

ty. However, the women themselves must take more responsibilities upon themselves and must free themselves completely from the old ways of thinking and psychology which makes them inferior to men, and must fight more resolutely to assert their personality and combat any concept which underrates their abilities.

«The Party has placed a great theoretical treasure at the disposal of our working masses and women for their ideological and political education. The women are working carefully to study the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and are inspired and guided by them in life. The education of women is at the centre of attention of organs of the press, the radio, television, publications and the cultural and scientific institutions. But along with the demand which emerges for raising the quality and level of the treatment of problems of women, the inculcation of a broad ideo-political culture is essential. Without it the tasks of the time cannot be coped with, as the 5th Plenum of the CC of the Party pointed out. The problem is that what is studied must be applied, and the work and stand of the women must always be exemplary in ensuring that intellectual culture is in accord with moral culture.»

After speaking about the activity of the women's organization for an all-round socialist culture, she stopped to dwell on the brilliant objectives envisaged under the 8th Five-year Plan, and stressed:

«The women are a great potential in the economy. We must recognize it, organize it and use it with the highest effectiveness. Women make up 47 per cent of the working people of the country, indeed they bear the main burden of some branches of the economy, such as agriculture, light industry and the food-stuffs industry, health service, trade, education, etc.

«A major achievement of the last decade is the tripling of the number of women workers and cooperativists with secondary schooling. In general, the level schooling of women workers under 45 years of age coincides with the requirements of the job they do, while among the women up to 30 years of age is virtually no difference between their level of schooling and that of men. Such developments, together with the raising of their level of qualification, express the deepening of the emancipation of our women. This has assisted women and made them more capable of taking part in jobs and work processes in which new up-to-date techniques and methods are applied, of giving valuable opinions about the plan or about the quality of the product, about costs and problems of the organization and management of the economy, in this way further affirming themselves as workers, organizers and leaders.

«The development and strengthening of our socialist economy is based on the common work and property. They are the source of the people's well-being and joy, the foundations of the country's prosperity, the guarantee of the present and the future of socialism. The correct stands which women take towards work and property, the struggle which they wage to accomplish the plan, to increase productivity, to avoid shortcomings in the process of production, to reduce temporary incapacity to work and absenteeism, etc., reflect the new psychology, the socialist consciousness and the patriotism of the women.

«With their abilities, experience and culture, people carry the economy forward. Conscious of this the Women's Union of Albania must struggle to ensure that women respond with higher knowledge and qualification to the present level of production and its future development. The work which we have done in collaboration with the state organs and the trade-union organizations has led to the continual narrowing of differences between the level of qualification of women and the level of the technique and technology of production. This has yielded direct results and is manifested in the achievements of women workers in all sectors of the economy.

«The Party has set major tasks for the rapid intensification of agricultural and livestock production.

«The women, who comprise 53 per cent of the labour force in farming, must become more aware of their role in fulfilling the targets. Indeed, in some districts of the North, where the proportion of the women is greater, and in sectors such as livestock-farming, the crops of tobacco, cotton and other industrial plants, women's work is decisive. Therefore, our organization must intensify its work inculcating in the women love for the countryside and enthusiasm for the work in agriculture, and here, too, must support and disseminate the advanced experience which we now have in every district and economy. It must struggle harder to raise the level of schooling and qualification of village women which is still low, because the work in farming, too, requires skill, knowledge and science.

«We are glad that a great mass of women take part in the technical and technological bureaus, in the movement for innovation, in scientific-research activities in which, compared with 5 years ago, the number of women with scientific titles and degrees have doubled. This great army of women must be encouraged and assisted more by the women's organization to take up and become qualified in performing such tasks and thus to take a bigger stride ahead in the participation of the masses of women in technical-scientific qualification. Women's thinking must always be creative in order to give concrete solutions to problems which help to increase production, to open up new jobs, and to increase the range of small articles so essential for the needs of the people, and especially, of women. The women specialists, who constitute the majority in cer-

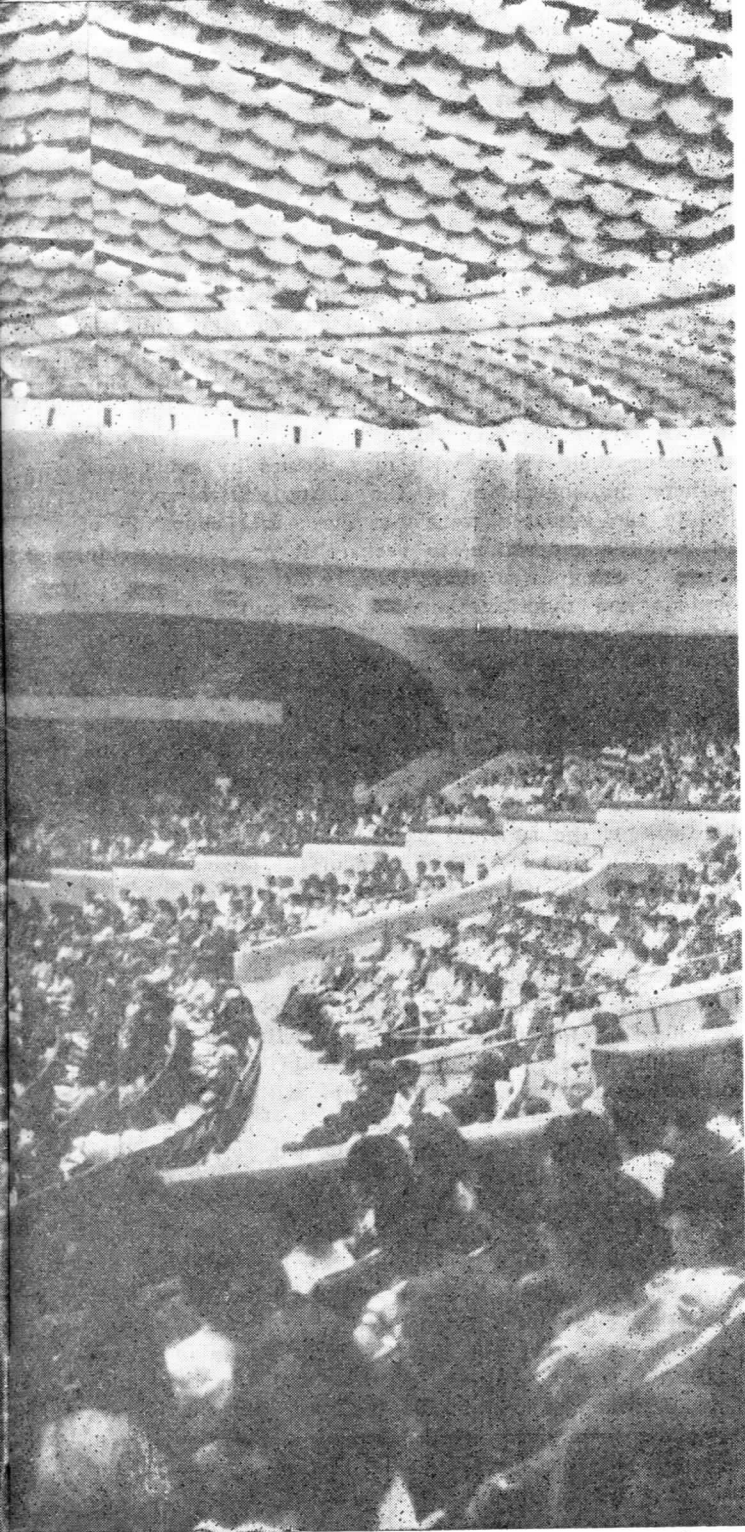


View of the hall.

tain occupations requiring secondary school training: 74 per cent of specialists in market commodities, 69 per cent of economists, 57 per cent of zootechnicians, etc., should play a major role in this direction. It is the cultured work they do, the quality of the products they turn out, which give women real authority and make them honoured in society.

«Our society and state have always regarded the

development of the economy as closely linked with the creation of suitable conditions to free women from certain heavy tasks, and they have made colossal investment for this aim. It is a fact that the continual measures that have been taken in mechanization and other services have helped women to work with high productivity and have reduced to a minimum the temporary incapacity at work, etc. Even though there are improve-



strengthening the family and harmonizing the whole of family relations. The great social and economic transformations have brought qualitative changes in our family, have strengthened it, not only from the economic aspect, but also from the ideological and political aspect, have made it an important hearth for the revolutionary education of its members and a powerful support for our society in solving major problems of socialism. Liberated from many concepts of the old outlook, our family lives with the spirit of the time and is affirming new standards day by day. The democracy which prevails in it reflects one of the best achievements of our socialist democracy, just as the equality of men and women constitutes one of the great social equalities in socialism.

«The harmony and unity of the family, which are basic elements for good relations between husband and wife, are not strengthened by submitting to outdated prejudices and customs, but by combating them with courage and intelligence in revolutionary ways. In this context, our organization, relying on the finest qualities of the Albanian woman, aims to raise her role as the regulator of family life, as the bearer of advanced opinion in the relations within the family. Characteristic in our society are the examples which speak of the strengthening of the fine Albanian traditions, of respect and understanding between generations within the family, of continuous care for the parents or of the parents for the children, a tradition which has not only strengthened the family, but has also enhanced the personality of the woman.

«One of the fundamental factors which exert their influence in solid, sincere, healthy relationships within the family is the creation of the family on a sound basis and on socialist motives. In this direction the general situation is very positive. Nowadays marriages on the basis of mutual acquaintance and love between the couples have become predominant, although quite a few marriages are still brought about through recommendation, but the important thing is that there is no imposition by the family. This positive tendency has led to healthier relationships within our family and, as a result of its influence, our country has one of the lowest levels of divorce in relation to the number of the population, which is an expression of the radical improvement of the material conditions and, at the same time, a guarantee for the maintenance of the high rate of the reproduction of the population.

«In the revisionist and bourgeois countries there are many phenomena which indicate the deepening of the process of the degradation and disintegration of the family, which is being brought about under the influence of bourgeois theories about a life free from family obligations. In those countries free cohabitation, conflicts between the generations, revolts of the youth, moral degeneration, drug addiction, and insecurity for the future have become more than common. These phe-

ments, however, the effect of investments is frequently limited because of the lack of concern of managers of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, poor check-up by the respective government departments, as well as the inadequate work of the councils and branches of the women's organization.

«An emancipated woman, with her personality developed in all directions, is an important factor for

nomena are quite alien to our society and family which is characterized by confidence, optimism and security for the future.

«In our country the number of divorces is low, among the lowest in Europe. This is at a time when divorces in other countries are increasing so rapidly that sociologists of those countries are obliged to express doubts about the future of the family there. However, we consider it necessary that the Women's Organization should do more differentiated educational work to create correct concepts about it so that divorce is used only when it becomes unavoidable.

«The demographic policy of the Party and our state and our socialist legislation support and protect the health of mother and child,» Comrade Lumturi Rexha pointed out. «In our country every effort is made to ensure that every child born grows up healthy. This has led to the maintenance of high rates of increase of population. Amongst the countries of Europe Albania has the highest level of births and the lowest level of deaths per thousand inhabitants, its whole population is young, with the mean age of less than 26 years and a life expectancy nearly double that before Liberation.

«Children are the joy and wealth of life, therefore we must struggle for the creation and use of the possible and necessary conditions which favour the birth and upbringing of children. It is impermissible that, while the Party and the State display great readiness and provide funds for the building of crèches and kindergartens to lighten the work of mothers, they remain uncompleted because of the carelessness and bureaucratic attitudes of certain organs and their cadres. Our organization must not reconcile itself to these attitudes and even less to the instances in which the existing institutions are not utilized, especially in the countryside, where outdated concepts and opinions about the upbringing of children still exist.

«Many positive examples show what fine results are achieved when the Women's Organization coordinates its efforts with the organs of the state and other organizations of the masses, when it works in a concentrated way and in a spirit of action. The experience of the district of Lushnja, which with its own initiative and efforts is solving the problem of crèches and kindergartens in most villages, or that of the districts of Kukës and Dibra, which through the serious engagement of all the levers is setting up a good number of such institutions, must encourage the women's organizations everywhere to undertake greater responsibilities. We must aim to ensure that these institutions are not simply centres in which the children are collected, but extend their influence to the homes so that the educated habits which the children acquire in all forms are made lasting and developed further.

«Social responsibility for the children and the young

generation so that they grow up capable people and ardent patriots is characteristic of our country. This fine tradition has been turned into an aim of each parent to have good, industrious, educated and patriotic children. The women play a major role in transmitting this message from one generation to the other, they are increasing their values with new virtues by being good mothers and educators of the rising generation. But despite the laudable work for the sound education of the younger generation, to prepare it properly for life, it must be admitted that, along with successes, shortcomings and manifestations of petty-bourgeois nuances raise their head within the family. The Party has always demanded resolute stands by society as a whole and by the family, in particular, towards such phenomena which harm the sound education of our children. Our whole society rightly demands increased responsibility of the women in this direction, because who better than the women, who better than the mothers, can enter into the feelings, the spiritual world and the desires of the younger generation. At this stage of the development of the country the inculcation of the moral qualities of socialism requires that the women's organization should also work against the excessive concern and tutelage of some parents and sentimental attitudes towards children because, as Comrade Ramiz Alia instructs us, efforts to get ahead in life by the easy road will not turn out well. Our cultured society and family value only devoted, industrious, educated people with lofty revolutionary ideals.

«The development of the ideological revolution, the increase in production, the rise in the material level of the masses, the extension of the network of social and cultural institutions, the new buildings which are increasing from year to year, and the narrowing of the distinctions between the town and the countryside have exerted a powerful influence on the ceaseless improvement of the way of life. In every Albanian home today life is happy and civilized, and the necessary facilities, radio, TV, domestic electrical appliances, etc., are being introduced. The Party and the State, our entire society are interested in further improving the way of life. Another great victory, the influence of which will be to improve living conditions, is the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party that through actions on a massive scale ample drinking water will be provided for all the villages and inhabited centres of the country by 1990.

«The further emancipation of women is closely linked also with the work to raise the educational level and the achievement of a more complete cultural and artistic formation of women through organization so that they can spend their free time in cultured ways. Masses of the women are attending schools of all categories and making efforts to gain more knowledge. They rejoice over the successes and achievements of the literature and art of socialist realism, they are

consumers of this great national wealth and active participants who are becoming more and more prominent in the assistance they give for its further advance. Today there is no field of education and the arts in which the role of women is not felt. The women take part actively in the problems of the school, in creative discussions and in mass cultural activities and express their own opinions in these fields with competence.

«But today the demands are greater and women must respond to these demands with greater involvement in these matters. A more complete appreciation of the problems of education and culture is required, more insistence on frequenting schools, cultural and artistic objects and institutions, on reading books and living with the cultural and educational development of the country. In particular we must devote greater attention to those zones where there is more backwardness. We have all the possibilities to organize ways in which women can spend their spare time in cultured ways, to involve more women and girls in those sectors where there are fewer of them, just as we have every possibility to do more effective work with the women of the countryside. More thought must be given to the rest and recreation of cooperativist women, to their cultured spare time. So that they benefit from all the values and achievements of our culture. In cooperation with the state organs and the Committee of Culture and Arts we must struggle harder to put this instruction of the Party into practice.

«In the struggle for the socialist construction of the country and the all-round emancipation of our society, the Albanian Women's Organization has strengthened itself from every stand-point, has increased its authority and become a powerful auxiliary of the Party. In its ranks today it has 700,000 members — a whole army of resolute fighters for socialism. In the period since the last Congress the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania and the district women's councils have carried out all-sided political and educational work to place the physical and intellectual potential of women fully in the service of coping with the major problems of the time.

«The Women's Union of Albania firmly supports the principled foreign policy of our Party and State, regarding this policy as a guarantee of the defence of the lofty interests of the Homeland. We feel legitimate pride in that authority and admiration which Albania has won amongst the peoples and the freedom-loving and progressive forces, as a country which is prospering through the toil and knowledge of its own people and ceaselessly strengthening its freedom, independence and sovereignty. The women rejoice when they see that throughout the world our country is taken as an example of a true socialist state, which is fighting resolutely against the expansionist policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and is for

the peace and security of the peoples, for relations of good neighbourliness with all states and strongly opposes any form of violence, dictate and plunder, any form of the exploitation of man by man and discrimination on account of nation, race, and sex.

«We do not see the struggle for the further emancipation of society in isolation from the events and wars which are going on in the world today. We follow the tragedy of the heroic Palestinian women in the occupied territories with concern and pain, and whole-heartedly welcome the struggle of this martyred people for their national and democratic rights. As sincere friends of the Arab peoples, expressing our ardent international feelings, we condemn the inhuman genocide perpetrated by the Zionist occupiers, the unprecedented terror which they are imposing on the population of the occupied Arab territories. The Albanian women live with the grief of the Afghan mothers for their martyred sons, for their children massacred by the Soviet occupiers and unite their voices in protest with them. They firmly support the struggle of the Azanian women and whole people to put an end to the shameful racist humiliation and to gain the human and national rights which belong to them as a free people in an independent country.

«We feel a special joy when we see that the women throughout the world are taking to the barricades on the side of the proletariat, the side of the progressive freedom-loving revolutionary forces which are fighting against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the savage discrimination and aggressive policy of the two superpowers and their military blocks and other imperialist reactionary forces.

«Bourgeois-revisionist society has made a contradiction of the woman as a worker and the woman as a mother. Being incapable of solving this contradiction justly, it is trying to remove the woman from social life and shut her up in the home. In fact, these are efforts for the degradation of women along with prostitution, pornography, the mass degeneration and disintegration of the family, which are among the most disturbing problems throughout the world. Our revolutionary women comrades, in their struggle on the side of the proletariat, are more and more freeing themselves from the influence of the movement for pseudo-emancipation.

«The major problems which face the women and the working masses in the world today cannot be solved with demagogic slogans which the bourgeoisie concocts or with reforms in the Gorbachov style such as those being applied in the Soviet Union through «perestrojka» and «glasnost». The women's road to freedom, equality and social rights is the road of the revolution. The Albanian women, who have gained their rights through the struggle for the liberation of the country and the construction of socialism, are and will always be on the side of the women and mothers of the whole world who aspire to and fight for genuine freedom, democracy, peace and security.

«Dear comrades,

«Because we are closely linked and pledged to the Party nothing can stop us on our road, the road of the revolution and socialism, which is the road of honour, the happy life and the brilliant future which we are building.» said Comrade Lumturi Rexha in conclusion.

Then the Congress proceeded with contributions to the discussion of the report.

At the end of the first session, Comrade Ramiz Alia went into the hall and cordially met delegates — workers, cooperativists and intellectuals, who expressed their enthusiasm and the wish: «Long live the Party; may you live long Comrade Ramiz.»

The 10th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania was also greeted by a number of delegations of women from various countries of the world, who attended its proceedings. In their messages of greetings they expressed the feelings of appreciation and respect for the high level of emancipation reached by the Albanian women in the epoch of the Party. Many of them stressed that the road followed for the emancipation of women in Albania is a great inspiring example in the struggle for the emancipation of women in the other countries.

The emancipation of the Albanian women is the work of the PLA, the pride of the Albanian people and women, and at the same time, a valuable contribution to the emancipation of the women in the world, said **Trucng My Hoe** in her message of greetings on behalf of the delegation of the **Women's Union of Vietnam**.

We express our conviction that the visit of our delegation of the Women's Union of Vietnam to Albania will contribute to the further strengthening of solidarity and traditional friendship between the women of our two countries, said she.

The **Panafrican Women's Organization** addresses its fraternal and militant greetings to all the Albanian women, said the head of this delegation, **Hardiel Rehan-tamalala** in her speech. The struggle for the emancipation of the African women, she continued, has just begun. The road it must traverse to achieve this emancipation is long.

The heroic struggle of the Albanian women, their unexampled patriotism, the raising of the banner of emancipation and liberation of the women here, in your country, further build up our confidence in future.

In her message of greetings, the representative of the **Women's League of Zimbabwe**, **Joyce Mujur**, said:

The beloved leader of the Party and people has cordial talks with delegates to the 10th Congress of the WUA.





I want to congratulate the Albanian people and government on the efforts they have made for the emancipation and enhancement of the role of Albanian women. From this tribune I want to call to all the Albanian women and to all the women of the world to continue their support to the struggle against the hated system of apartheid.

The Albanian experience shows that the participation of the women in the life of society and in the front of production opens the road in all the directions the women aspire to, in which they can reveal their values in society and in which they are made citizens equal to men, said the head of the delegation of **Brazilian** women, **Lilian Pereira Marina**.

The gains of the Albanian women are seen as a confirmation of the correct struggle that must be waged for the complete emancipation of the women in Brazil and in the world, she concluded.

On behalf of the **Women's Front**, of the revolutionary, progressive and militant women of **Denmark**, the Congress was greeted by **Lotte Roertoft-Madsen**, who said: Only in socialist Albania women enjoy in practice the right to work, to develop their all-round abilities, development of society. In no other country of the world is given such a great support to the women's struggle and efforts as in socialist Albania, under the leadership of the Party of Labour.

We are confident, concluded Madsen, that in the unwavering Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, lies the strong guarantee for still greater achievements.

Without doubt, the participation of the Albanian women in production and their election to leading political positions, in conditions of equality with men, have come about as a result of the eradication of the bourgeois thinking which considers woman as an inferior being capable only of bearing children, said in her message of greetings **Alisia Noronia**, head of the delegation of patriotic, progressive and revolutionary women of **Ecuador**, organized in the **Democratic Front of Women**.

The head of the **Egyptian** women's delegation, **Zeynab Efni**, said in her message of greetings:

I am happy I had the chance to see Albania, I am amazed at the struggle of the Albanian women in all fields of life, a thing which wins great respect and consideration for your leadership, which defines this advance. I greet, especially, your Party for what it has given the women, I greet all the Albanian women. I wish we have a strong friendship.

Sushil Cor, representative of the **Democratic Women's Union of Canada**, said:

Today glorious Albania advances on the road of

the construction of genuine socialism under the leadership of the Party of Labour, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head. We congratulate you on your brilliant victories and want to express to you and to all the Albanian people, led by the Party, our most profound love, confident that you will emerge victorious over all the enemies who try to impede you.

The head of the delegation of the **Anti-fascist Revolutionary Women's Union of Portugal**, **Manuela Taveres**, said: the rights the Albanian women enjoy in all fields of life, as workers, mothers and citizens, and the great role they play in Albanian society are an example for all the women of the world and a powerful encouragement in their struggle.

When I return to Portugal, said she, I will tell my comrades that I was among the women of a new world, in which everything is built for the creation of a new woman, of a new man.

Because of the oppressive and exploiting nature of capitalism, which has been deepened especially now, in the stage of imperialism, women are fighting for the fulfilment of their aspirations and those of the entire people, said in her speech, **Lusilla Arago**, head of the delegation of **Spanish** women.

For this, she continued, let us see what is happening in the Soviet Union, where, through the «perestroyka» efforts are being made and theories are raised to make the women go back to household work, to their mission «as mere women», and this they claim is a democratic achievement which rejuvenates society, when it is nothing else but a manifestation of the crisis of capitalism, as can be seen in the other countries of the capitalist world.

The struggle you Albanian women and your organization of the Women's Union, guided correctly by the PLA, have waged and continue to wage is an example, also, for the revolutionary Spanish women, and in this struggle you will always have our complete support, she concluded.

The struggle of your people under the leadership of the PLA, for freedom, democracy and progress, the majestic achievements in the construction of socialism have the respect of our party, our country and our people, said the head of delegation of the **Working Women's Union of Syria**, **Yesser Blanco**.

She said: we are proud for the principled stands of your country towards the Arab question and, especially, towards the question of Palestine and the Golan Heights of Syria, occupied by Israel with the support of the USA.

On behalf of Syria and its people, I address the best wishes and consideration to Comrade Ramiz Alia and wish complete success to the Congress.

The head of delegation of the **Women's Organization of Tanzania, Joyce Hamisy**, said: We feel that the struggle of the Albanian women for their own organization and their mobilization in the construction of socialism is a valuable example which we must follow.

You, the women of Albania, have won equality and emancipation, because these rights are supported by the whole socialist state and the economic system.

After the contribution of discussion to the report, the 10th Congress of the WUA adopted the decision to endorse the report «On the work done and the tasks of the WUA for a more active role of the women in all fields of life». The resolution of the 10th Congress of the WUA was also adopted.

In the last session, the delegates unanimously approved the composition of the General Council of the WUA of 175 members.

Then the General Council of the WUA held its first meeting for the election of the presidency and the secretariat. Comrade Lunturi Rexha was elected President of the General Council of the WUA.

The President of the General Council of the WUA made the closing speech of the Congress.

She said among other things, «**Our Congress was a**

clear expression of that high level of emancipation which the Albanian women have reached in the decades of triumphant socialism, and of the ideological, political, cultural and scientific level. Once again, from the tribune of the Congress, the women of socialist Albania promise that they as a steel fist with the Party and, with their revolutionary optimism, will remain in the forefront of the work and struggle to make our beloved Homeland more and more beautiful and prosperous.»

Enthusiasm in the hall was very great. Applause and ovations for the Party went on uninterruptedly.

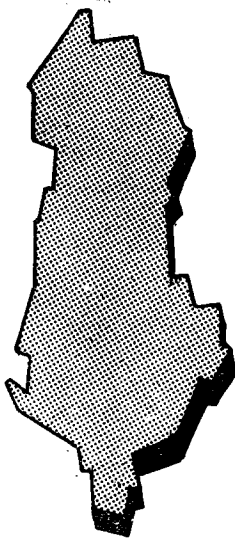
In these beautiful moments, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

«Let us cheer once again together: For the women of heroic Albania! For our glorious women! For the invincible strength of socialism in Albania! Long live our heroic women!»

The hall resounds to the powerful cheers of the delegates and of all participants. Comrade Ramiz Alia comes into the hall and cordially greets the delegates.

This great assembly, which held its proceedings with complete success, was thus closed.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



THE 3rd SESSION OF THE 11th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

On June 21-22 the 3rd session of the 11th legislature of the people's Assembly held its proceedings.

Working people of central departments, institutions, enterprises of the transport system and other sectors, people's councillors, representatives of mass organizations and military units, were invited to attend the proceedings.

The deputies and the guests enthusiastically applauded the entry into the hall of the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and State leaders, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, the Alternates Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali and Vangjel Çërrava.

The session was declared open by the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly, Comrade Petro Dode, who proposed the following agenda for the proceedings:

1. The report of the Council of Ministers «On the development of road, rail and water transport and internal transport in the countryside, the problems that emerge and the measures to be taken for the fulfil-

ment of the tasks of the plan for the year 1988 and the entire five-year plan», as well as the related draft-decision.

2. The draft-code of rail transport of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

3. The draft-law «On the organization of production and distribution of fruit-tree seeds and saplings».

4. The decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies approved the agenda unanimously.

Then the floor was given to the Minister of Transport, Comrade Luan Babameto, who delivered the report on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

Applying the policy of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the concrete conditions and needs of the country, Comrade Luan Babameto said among other things, a complex and powerful transport system, which meets the ever growing needs of the country and the passenger movement, has been set up. The development of this sector is characterized, among other things, by extension of an already dense road network to the remotest zones, creation for the first time of rail, sea and internal water transport, which means incomparable growth of transport capacities, better distribution of road transport among the different regions, and expansion of external transport in all its kinds. The technical base for the maintenance of transport means and the production of spare parts up to aggregates, indeed

the local construction of some types of transport means, has been expanded further. From 1958 to date about 6 billion leks, or nearly 8 per cent of the total volume of state investments has been used for building this complex system of transport and its upkeep. As a result, the volume of goods transport has grown at more rapid rates than the social product so as to meet the needs of the economy ever better, whereas the volume of passenger transport in the last five-year plan has grown 3.7 times more rapidly than the population. At present, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, intensified utilization of this transport system and the means available has primary importance.

The 9th Congress of the PLA set important tasks in the field of transport. In the first two years of the current five-year plan transport has coped better with the movement of goods, minerals, and products for extracting and processing industries, agricultural products, constructions materials, mass consumer goods, goods for export, etc. Meanwhile the efficiency of transport has risen, too. In 1987 movement of one ton of goods cost the economy 4.7 per cent less than in 1986, while in 1988 it is envisaged to be reduced to 7.4 per cent as compared with 1987.

The year 1988 has started with an all round mobilization of the working people to fulfil the tasks set in the transport of goods and improve services in all fields, especially, the servicing of passengers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «The development of a high-productivity economy cannot be conceived without the development and extensive advancement of the rail network.» Through the policy pursued by the Party today we boast an extensive rail network, with 509 kilometres of main lines and branches in 12 districts, which in 1986 was attached to the international rail net-

work. The Fier-Vlora, Shkodra-Han i Hotit and Milot-Rrëshen railways have been commissioned and the construction of the Rrëshen-Klos railway is in the process. Implementing the tasks the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party set to rail transport in 1982, today this kind of transport accounts for 46 per cent of overall goods transport of the Ministry of Transport.

The work of people is the principal factor for the rhythmical fulfilment of tasks in rail transport. About 8,700 working people, 273 cadres with higher education and 2,670 with secondary education work in his sector. At present more attention is being paid to the training and qualification of working people through courses, the vocational secondary school in Durrës and post-university studies for the cadres at higher qualification.

Then he went on speaking about the important measures the Party has taken for the further improvement of organization and management and the tasks facing the transport organs and the working people of this sector for their application.

In the course of work to carry into effect the instructions Comrade Ramiz Alia gave in his meetings with people in the district of Durrës, the speaker pointed out, more care has been taken to raise the efficiency of transport through reducing expenditure. In 1987 the cost of goods transport has been reduced by 1.8 per cent, whereas in 1988 it is planned to be 7.2 per cent lower than the previous year. Hence, in 1988 productivity is envisaged to rise 24.8 per cent as against 18.4 per cent in 1987. In order to increase savings in transport the Ministries and other central departments are improving the planning of distribution of raw materials and products. A better distribution of copper ore and coal made possible the saving of 12 million ton/kilometres, or about 3.5 million

leks, in the three last years only. Implementation of the tasks set by the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for the districts to gradually meet their own needs for agricultural and livestock products and small items, has also brought about savings in transports among the districts. This will be further extended to include the transport of timber, etc.

At present, he went on further, transport faces important and intensive tasks. Broad-scale actions should be organized especially in the transport of timber and fire wood from forests, during the harvesting and threshing campaign, in the transport of export goods, and the movement on time of goods from railway stations to seaports. This calls for high-level management and organization on the part of the Ministries and the other central institutions, and especially, the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, co-ordination and resilient organization of work by the enterprises and mobilization of all transport workers.

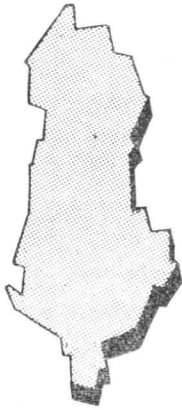
The proceedings of this session, Comrade Luan Babameto said in conclusion, will raise the mobilization of transport workers higher so as to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the birth of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with their tasks fulfilled, to carry work in transport further ahead and realize the tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan with success.

Deputy Zenel Hysa, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Construction-Transport-PTT of the People's Assembly, delivered the report on behalf of this commission.

Then came contributions to the discussion of the report of the Council of Ministers.


In conclusion the deputies unanimously approved the report and the draft-laws and decrees submitted to the Assembly.

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**FROM THE LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



CONCERT WITH SELECTED ITEMS FROM

- COMRADE
RAMIZ ALIA
AND
OTHER
PARTY
AND
STATE
LEADERS
ATTENDING -

The May concerts, organized by the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Tirana, were given in the capital for some days in succession. The performances of professional and amateur artists, as well as students of arts schools were another powerful manifestation of the development of our musical and choreographic art. In implementation of the tasks set by the 5th Plenum of the CC of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia the Tirana composers, instrumentists, singers and dancers came out with musical works, songs and dances which were outstanding for their sound content, high artistic level, and variety of themes from the work, life and history of our people.

A concert with selected items was given in the evening of May 26 in the Palace of Congresses.

Attending the concert were Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as other Party and state leaders.

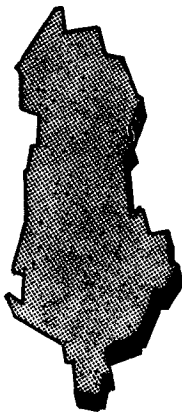
The concert started with dances on



THE MAY CONCERTS 1988



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Tirana motifs executed by the dance group of the «Migjeni» amateur artistic ensemble. The public received with warm applause the song «A House at Labinot» dedicated to the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, which was sung by People's Artist Gaço Çako, the partisan songs interpreted by the chorus of the Artistic Ensemble of the People's Army. The choreographic tableau «Youth, the Beautiful,» performed by the ballet troupe of the Opera and Ballet Theatre created a lively and optimistic atmosphere on the stage. The little artists of the Palace of the Pioneers of Enver brought a profusion of colours, fresh-

ness and joy to the stage. For the first time this year they appeared before the public with the operetta «Albi and the Cartoons», a fragment of which was given at this concert.

The concert closed with the choreographic piece «On Celebration Day» which was masterfully performed by the dance group of the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances.

In the end of the performance the artists came out again on the stage and, together with those attending the concert, cheered enthusiastically for the Party of Labour and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

THE LUBRICANT OILS PLANT AT BALLSH WAS INAUGURATED

On the eve of May Day, in the industrial town of Ballsh, in the district of Fier, the lubricant oils plant, one of the most important projects of the current five-year plan, which is part of the plant for the deep processing of oil, was inaugurated. This project, the first of the kind in our country, will serve to further raise the degree of processing and utilization of the primary material, and will produce lubricants of high properties and of world standards, which not only will fulfil the needs of the local economy but also will create possibilities to increase the export of them.

This project, which bears the imprint of the thinking and toil of our heroic working class, ensures the transition from the primary and secondary processing of oil to its deep processing, thus further strengthening the national economy in general and the oil extraction and processing industry, in particular. The new plant is an important achievement which

expresses the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance which has been, is and will remain the basic principle of the policy of our Party for the construction of the socialist society.

Immediately after its inauguration the industrial centre of Ballsh began to deliver the first batches of lubricants, which have been produced according to parameters of world standards. In this way from today onwards the necessary lubricants for our machinery, equipment and technique, will be locally ensured for our industry and for our economy as a whole.

This project became another great test and school in which the technical and professional skill and capacity of the great army of our builders and assembly workers was displayed in the highest degree; it was the confirmation in practice of the spirit of sacrifice of that great army which our glorious Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have raised,

educated and helped to grow and scale new heights.

At present this new plant is capable of producing 18 different lubricants, against 16 that the designs envisaged, and by the end of the year it will produce many more different oils for the needs of the economy.

The instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the

CC of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, during his visit to the plant, have become a source of great inspiration and strength for the completion with success of the plant and, at the same time, a great programme of work for its collective to improve the technology of production, to reach technological and technical-economic parameters of the designed capacities,

and to increase the range of lubricants with new types. The coming into production of this new plant in the branch of oil processing and in the chemical industry, as a whole, creates new possibilities for transforming this powerful industrial complex into a real laboratory for the study, experimentation and production of more and more new types of fuels extracted from oil.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC COMPLEX OF BANJA IS OVER

The first phase of the construction of the hydro-electric complex of Banja, in the district of Gramsh, was completed and an inauguration ceremony was organized on the eve of May Day. At this stage, the gates of the deviating tunnel were closed and the creation of the lake began, the waters of which will be used to irrigate the plains of the districts of Elbasan, Durrës, Lushnja, Fier and Berat.

Following the instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, during his visit to Banja two years ago, the builders, the specialists and leading cadres of this great project have worked without letup and succeeded in completing the first stage of the work one month ahead of the schedule, thus reaching the objective set in the framework of the movement «Ban-

ner-bearers of the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the application of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party». The tasks set for the period from the beginning of this year have been fulfilled in all indices and voices, as planned.

The collective of this project kept their word to give agriculture 30 million cubic metres of water more than planned this year. In less than one year, the centuries-old bed of the Devoll River was changed twice: first its course was directed into a canal, and then, into the tunnel. By closing the gates of the deviating tunnel, the lake began to fill with water within the time set. This is a major contribution of the working class to the application of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the tasks set by the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the Party for the increase of yields of agricultural crops and the ever better

supply of the population with agricultural and livestock products.

The completing of the first phase and the creation of the lake dictated the need for changing the existing motor-road linking Elbasan with Gramsh and the displacement of some villages in the vicinity. To this end, 15 districts of the country organized an action and the motor-road was built with success, while in Povelçe of Fier a new socialist village was built with 200 apartments and all necessary surroundings for a cultured life. Two more dwelling centres are under way in the district of Gramsh and that of Elbasan for the same purpose.

This great work brought once again into light the high spirit of selflessness and sacrifice, the initiative and courage, the advanced thinking of the workers, specialists and cadres who are working on the construction of this project.

THE 44th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC CONGRESS OF PËRMET

In an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm aroused by the implementation of the tasks set by the 9th Con-

gress of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, on May 24 the people of the Përmet district

celebrated with great rejoicing the 44th anniversary of the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress whose decisions opened up a new page in the history of our people.

Forty four years ago, in liberated Përmet, the legitimate representative

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of the Albanian people, which came from the battles for the liberation of the Homeland, with the General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, sealed with the barrel of the gun the will of the Albanian people for the creation of the Albanian state of people's democracy.

Homages were paid to and wreaths were laid at the martyrs' cemetery of the district.

Then a visit was made to the museum hall, where 44 years ago the Congress of Përmet, which would remain in history as one of the more important events in the glorious epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, carried out its proceedings.

A meeting was held on the main square of the city, with the participation of workers of centres of work and production, cooperativists, former delegates and partisans, members and relatives of martyrs' families, deputies and councillors, militarymen, young men and women, pioneers of Enver, and others.

Present at the meeting were also the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, as well as leading cadres of the Party and state organs of the districts of Përmet, Kolonja, Tepelena, Gjirokastra, Saranda and Berat.

Comrade Besnik Bekteshi greeted those present and congratulated them on the May 24 festivity on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the leader of the Party and people, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

At the historic Congress of Përmet, said he among other things, **the creation of the new Albanian state of pe-**

ple's democracy, with its legitimate government was sanctioned. By this important act the main question of the revolution, that of the people's power, was resolved once and for all time in favour of the people. It represents a victory of particular historic importance which was achieved as a result of the great heroic war our people waged for the liberation of the country from the nazi-fascist invaders and the local traitors under the leadership of our glorious Party with its legendary Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head.

We celebrate this great event, he stressed, in the jubilee year of the 80th anniversary of the birth of our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the 45th anniversary of our People's Army, at a time when our entire people as one have totally mobilized themselves to implement the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Then Comrade Besnik Bekteshi pointed out the great importance of the Congress of Përmet which will always remain a symbol of the triumph of all the centuries-long struggles of the Albanian people for freedom, independence, democracy, culture and economic and social progress, and spoke about the great tasks the 9th Congress of the Party set for the further revolutionization of the organs of state power and administration, and about the deep-going socialist transformations that have taken place throughout our country and the prospects opened up by the 8th Five-year Plan

Then a meeting with members and relatives of martyrs' families took place in one of the halls of the Party Committee of the district, and visits were paid to martyrs' families and vanguard workers.

A SPORTS CENTRE FOR THE YOUTH

One of the important tasks set by the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA is also the further extension of the sports movement, especially among the masses of the youth. So the building of sports facilities and grounds has priority for the implementation of this task. In their broad network, which is being expanded all over the country, the recent inauguration of the Tirana sports centre doubtlessly occupies a special place.

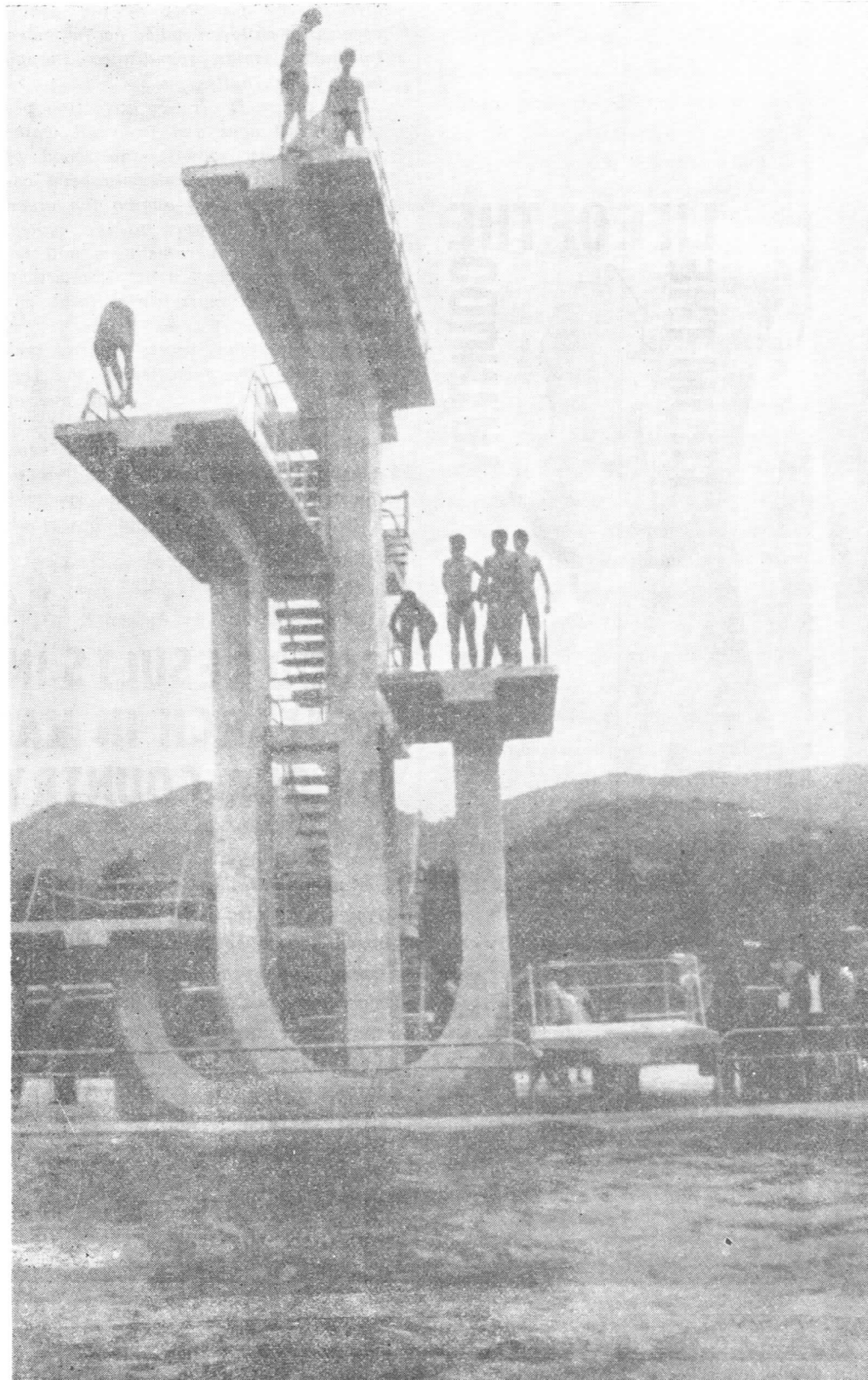
Built within a very short time amidst the luxuriant vegetation of the hills surrounding Tirana, in an environment of clean air and varying landscape on the shores of the artificial lake, this centre, constructed on a modern contemporary level, represents a major complex for physical tempering.

New, white-coloured and varied in its many objects, this centre, which lies in the vicinity of the Capital, with a capacity of about 3500 visitors per day, has already opened its doors to the broad public. It is a whole complex of various sports facilities, serving the physical tempering of the youth, and catering to different tastes, requirements and desires. Actually, it is not so much a centre for qualified sportsmen as, so to say, a «stadion for all». It enables everybody to exercise the kind of sport they prefer, from swimming to springboard dives, from basketball to football or volleyball, from lawn tennis to racing, and many games of strength, dexterity and intuition by means of modern electronic devices.

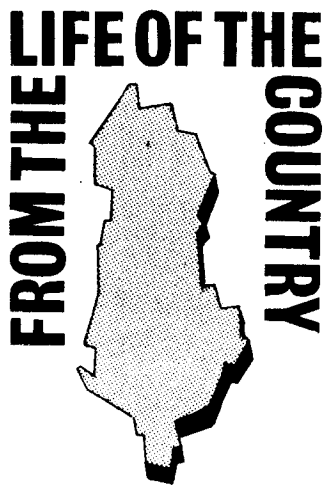
Without doubt, the first thing to catch the eye in this great sports centre are the swimming pools, or better say, the complex of swimming pools. There are five swimming pools of different sizes for different ages, requirements and tastes: the swimming pool of olympic size, the swimming pool with springboards and the shallower swimming pools for children or others to learn swimming. The modern swimming

pool complex dominates the whole Centre and is equipped with all the necessary facilities: dressing-rooms, baths and means of hygienization, shops and resting places on pictu-

resque green plots. In each swimming pool there are specialists to teach swimming or organize swimming competitions, in a word, to turn swimming, this irreplaceable means of



Partial view of the Tirana Sports Centre



tempering, into an actual means of education.

The tennis section is sited on a relaxing green plot adjacent to the football section, with its many fields. Football is a mass sport in Albania, and the favourite sport of our youth. Then comes the badminton section, etc.

A special section of this centre is that of electronic games. It is already the favourite of the youth, especially children who, accompanied by their parents, spend many happy hours in its halls.

The centre is already attracting people of all ages and from all walks of life. Very soon «the wood of strength» as it has already been called will be set up among the green trees of the entrance to the centre. Here people of various ages will temper themselves with gymnastical exercises and sports in natural surroundings.

In the Tirana Sports Centre there are also the facilities of the Dynamo Sports Club of Tirana, one of the most popular sports clubs of the country. Here, too, everything is new, from the administrative building to the beautiful hotel and the spacious halls for gymnastics, and basketball

and volleyball games, besides dozens of open air football, basketball, and volleyball fields and tennis courts. Training halls with all modern facilities and various technical and medical sports laboratories must also be added to them. In this manner amateur sportsmen will have the possibility of both training themselves and watching the high degree of development of sports among the highly qualified sportsmen of the Dynamo Sports Club, which will be an encouragement for them to engage in various sports activities. The sports centre will contribute to achieving what has always been at the centre of attention of our society: combining the mass character of sports with their qualitative development. About 1500 sportsmen of all kinds of sports may train simultaneously in the new facilities of the Dynamo Sports Club

Still, the Tirana Sports Centre will not remain what it is today: the new facilities of the Tirana «17 November» Sports Club, another sports club very popular in Albania, will also be built here. Likewise, the Centre of National Teams is also being erected here, which will turn the Tirana Sports Centre into a great sports city for the capital.

GOOD RESULTS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY

During 1987 the Centre of Archaeological Research of Albania organized a number of expeditions of reconnaissance and excavation in different regions of the country. Excavations were carried out in a relatively broader geographical zone than in former years and by a greater number of expeditions (22), covering a period extending from prehistory to the Middle Ages.

In the field of prehistory some New Stone Age settlements were unearthed

in the inner zones of the country, which are less known and studied. Excavations were carried out in the cave settlement of Dajç (Kukës), the New Stone Age settlements of Raicu and Qukës (Librazhd) and Topojan (Peshkopia), with the discovery of interesting material which enables the dating of these settlements, and the study of cultural links among the different zones of our country and the neighbouring regions, as well as the local peculiarities distinguishing them

from one another. The good results of these excavations call for their continuation in the coming years, too.

In order to shed further light on the problem of the formation of the Illyrian ethnos and its culture, this year the prehistorian archaeologists carried out excavations in the settlements of Zagora, Belaj and Beltoja (Shkodra), the tumular graveyard of Dajç (Kukës), and the settlements of Salen (Skrapar), Lleshan (Elbasan) and Drenova (Korça).

Fresh discoveries have added to our knowledge and enabled us to follow the socio-economic and cultural development of the Illyrians in these regions from the end of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, a period in which the Illyrians take their first steps towards urbanization and state organization.

Excavations in the field of Illyrian Antiquity were aimed at further studying the problem of urbanization of South Illyria, especially in regard to Illyrian fortified towns and settlements. During 1987 our archaeologists carried out research in the Illyrian cities of Bylis (Fier) Antigonea (Gjirokastra), Shkodra Castle, Apollonia and other places.

In Bylis excavations continued to unearth the centre of the city. After the discovery of the theatre, the agora and the stadion, work continued to unearth two constructions of a social character, one of the 3rd century AD and the other of the 1st century AD, and a large cistern which supplied the city with water, built under the race-course of the stadion. Excavations here were also made in the territory of the Late Antiquity city, especially in the basilica no. 2, where other very beautiful mosaics were unearthed.

Also this year, streets and the agora were uncovered in the central part of the antique city of Antigonea.

Besides, this year expeditions of re-

search in the field of the Illyrian Antiquity discovered a rich archaeological material which has great importance for creating a more complete idea of the life in these cities. Among the monuments discovered in the course of these expeditions a special place is occupied by structures of a social character and the cistern unearthed in Bylis, the agora of Antigonea, a new gallery in the direction of the still uncovered part of the Durrës amphitheatre, as well as new tracts of the encircling wall of Apollonia.

Of particular scientific interest were also the excavations carried out in some centres of the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages, part of which were a continuation of the excavations of former years. This year's excavations were centred on the major Mediaeval centres of our country like Durrës, Shkodra, Elbasan, Vlora and other fortified settlements of the period, in order to acquire new information for the further elucidation of the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, a problem which will be at the centre of attention of the 3rd Assembly of Illyrian Studies in 1990.

The intensive excavations carried out this year unearthed new archaeological monuments like the remains of a building of social character near the present-day post-office of the city, or the church unearthed in the new gallery of the amphitheatre. An expedition to the Shkodra Castle found a wealth of archaeological material which throw new light on this ancient settlement. The inception of excavations in Elbasan Castle and in the site of ancient Aulon (today's Vlora) were a further expansion of research in the field of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The results of these excavations were made more complete by expeditions to Danja (Vau i Dejës): Peca Castle (Kukës), Skra-

par Castle and Zaradishta Castle (Korça), as well as excavations in the basilica no. 2 of Ballsh, which covered a period of time from the first centuries AD to the 15th century AD.

Taking into account all these discoveries and the wealth of archaeological material acquired through the excavations of this year, we can say that it marks a new series of achievements in the work of the Centre of Archaeological Research.

This year preparations will continue for the organization of 28 expeditions all over the country which are expected to bring out interesting material on Prehistory, Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

In July this year an Albanian archaeological exhibition under the general coverage «Archaeological Treasures from the Land of the Albanians» will be opened at Hildesheim of the FR of Germany. This exhibition will display a selection of archaeological material from all the museums of the country, accompanied by a detailed catalogue with historical and archaeological information about our country.

Likewise, in the context of the 10th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's visit to the ancient city of Butrint, a scientific session will take place on the research and studies over many years of our archaeologists in this ancient city. A reconstruction of the Archaeological Museum of Butrint will be done on this occasion.

In conclusion of the annual activity of the Centre of Archaeological Research, after its many expeditions throughout the country, there will be a scientific session on the results of excavations of 1988, which will be of interest not only to the archaeologists, but also all those who want to know about the recent archaeological finds.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY HOLDS ITS 7th CONGRESS

by **PIRRO KONDI**

FROM MAY 11 TO 14, 1988 THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS WITH COMPLETE SUCCESS. THE CONGRESS TOOK PLACE IN SAO PAULO, THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL CENTRE OF BRAZILIAN INDUSTRY AND THE WORKING CLASS, AND ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CENTRES OF THE COUNTRY. IN THE CONGRESS PARTICIPATED ABOUT 430 DELEGATES REPRESENTING OVER 100,000 PARTY MEMBERS.

THE 7TH CONGRESS OCCUPIES A PARTICULAR PLACE IN THE 66 YEAR-LONG HISTORY OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL. IT IS THE FIRST CONGRESS WHICH CARRIES OUT ITS PROCEEDINGS IN LEGAL CONDITIONS. THESE CONDITIONS HAVE NOT BEEN BOUGHT AT THE PRICE OF OPPORTUNISM, AND CLASS CONCILIATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE, AS HAS OCCURRED AND CONTINUES TO OCCUR WITH THE REVISIONIST PARTIES WHICH HAVE BETRAYED THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS OF THE PROLETARIAT. ON THE CONTRARY, LEGALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL AND THE HOLDING OF ITS CONGRESS IN LEGAL CONDITIONS REPRESENT A MAJOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VICTORY FOR THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNISTS, BECAUSE THEY HAVE IMPOSED THEMSELVES ON THE BOURGEOISIE AND REACTION THROUGH THE DETERMINED STRUGGLE OF THEIR PARTY, RESISTING WITH REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM THE SAVAGE PERSECUTIONS OF THE YEARS OF THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE AND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THE COUNTRY.

The increase of the ranks of the Party to over 100,000 members and its active participation in the struggles of the masses of the people and the progressive forces for freedom and democratic rights, in defence of the interests of the working people against capitalist and latifundist exploitation, for the independent development of the country, in defence of national sovereignty and resources against the interference of foreign capital, etc., are evidence of the perceptible growth of the authority, the increased influence and presence of the Communist Party of Brazil in the

social and political life of the country.

The 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil took place at a time when the country stands at a historic cross-roads: either the present situation will change radically, with ensuring independent economic development and effective democratization, modernization and progress of national life, or the forces of the right will take over and the country will go towards decay and subjection to the financial and imperialist oligarchy.

The leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, Comrade Joao Amazonas, held a profound and very important report at the Congress. He made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present all-round crisis of the world capitalist system, denounced the dan-

gerous policy of the superpowers and exposed their deceptive agreements, voiced support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the working class and peoples, stressed and defended the achievements of socialism in Albania, and stressed the need for the struggle against the present anti-communist campaign of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The internal situation, the problems and prospects of the democratic and revolutionary movement in Brazil were at the centre of the proceedings of the Congress. In the present stage of the Brazilian revolution, the program of the Communist Party of Brazil comprises establishment of a democratic regime and popular government which would open up the prospects of the further development to socialism, liquidation of Brazil's dependence on and subjection to foreign imperialist capital, annulment of foreign debts, abrogation of the system of latifundia and distribution of the land to those who till it, elimination of the monopoly groups of the big bourgeoisie linked with foreign capital, achievement of the victory of the working class and its allies over the forces of reaction and dependence, with a view to building a new democratic and socialist life in Brazil. Summing up, the tactic of the Party, as laid down at the Congress, is aimed at grouping the democratic and progressive forces, neutralizing the wavering and inconsistent intermediate sections and bringing about the defeat of the conservative and reactionary bloc of the bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified latifundists, allies of foreign capital.

A valuable contribution to this

PIRRO KONDI — Alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, head of the delegation of the PLA to the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil

OF BRAZIL

The whole development of the proceedings of the Congress clearly showed the correctness of the line of the Communist Party of Brazil and its creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of Brazil and the present stage of the Brazilian revolution

effect is the criticism made at the Congress, especially in J. Amazonas' report, of the Gorbachevite revisionist course in the Soviet Union, the exposure of its demagogy about «perestrojka», «glasnost», «the new political thought», etc., which represent, within the country, the road of transition from a half camouflaged capitalism to undisguised capitalism, while, on the international arena, the line of criminal agreements with American imperialism to stamp out any revolutionary and liberation struggle and maintain the status quo of bourgeois and imperialist rule.

Apart from the political report held by Comrade J. Amazonas, the Congress heard another two reports on the programs, organizational problems and the Constitution of the Party, as well as a number of contributions dealing with problems of ideological work and education, work with the trade-unions, women and youth, the parliamentary activity of the Party, etc. There were about 100 contributions to the discussion of these materials. The Congress was hailed by the representatives of 12 fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties: the PLA, the CP(R) of Portugal, the CP of Denmark (M-L), the RCP of Great Britain (M-L), the CP of Spain (M-L), the CP of Canada (M-L), the CP of Peru (M-L), the CP of Chile (M-L) (Proletarian Action), the Ghadar CP of India, the M-L League of Tigre (Ethiopia), the CP of Suriname, the M-L Organization of the USA. The whole development of the proceedings of the Congress clearly showed the correctness of the line of the Communist Party of Brazil and its creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism

in the concrete conditions of Brazil and the present stage of the Brazilian revolution. The balance drawn at the Congress shows the seriousness of the Communist Party of Brazil which has known how to combine its correct revolutionary principles with active revolutionary work among the masses and progressive forces. The discussion and debate at the Congress were imbued by a spirit of high militancy and optimism. Its proceedings were characterized by sound ideological, political and organizational unity on the line worked out in the documents of the Congress. An expression of this unity is also the fact that apart from many young elements, all the former leading comrades without exception were elected to the leading organs of the Party, which were expanded further. Comrade Joao Amazonas was unanimously re-elected Head of the National Leading Board.

Both the Congress and the mass meeting with the participation of over 2,000 people held on the occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the Congress on May 15 in Sao Paulo were a tribune of proletarian internationalism. On both events, the delegations of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties expressed their militant solidarity with the Communist Party of Brazil, congratulated it on its historic 7th Congress and wished it other still greater successes in its revolutionary activity. The message Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to the Congress on behalf of the CC of the PLA was received with great warmth and enthusiasm. At the meeting, the Congress was also hailed by deputies of left political parties, governors of

various states of Brazil and other local progressive personalities, who highly valued the Communist Party of Brazil as an active fighter and an important factor for democratic and independent development and social progress in Brazil.

Apart from attending activities in Sao Paulo, the delegation of the CC of the PLA also visited the capital of the country, Brasilia. It had a friendly meeting with a group of federal deputies of the Communist Party of Brazil and other progressive deputies, was received by the Chairman of the Federal Constituent Assembly, Ulisses Gimrans, attended a plenary session of the Constituent Assembly, visited the State University of Brasilia, where it was received by its rector, and attended a meeting of friendship with working people. The delegation went also to Rio de Janeiro where it was received by the President of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Gilberto Rodrigues, who chaired a meeting in honour of Albania, with many personalities of social and cultural life, and attended a session of the Legislative Assembly at which it was greeted by various deputies. Everywhere the delegation saw a lively interest in socialist Albania, its road and experience, and heard expressions of friendship for our people. This shows the great work the Communist Party of Brazil has carried out in this direction. As Comrade Amazonas pointed out at the Congress, the CP of Brazil sees in Albania a vivid example that socialism exists and forges ahead. This also shows the tireless work carried out by the Brazil-Albania Friendship Association.

ORIGINAL ROADS FOR THE PERFECTING OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

by **HASAN BANJA and MIHAL ZIU**

Our Party has always considered the construction of socialism and the development of the rural area, in particular, as a process with a profound ideological, political, economic and social content, which is connected not only with the development of the productive forces, but also with the establishment of the socialist relations of production and with their continuous development and perfection

THE CORRECT HANDLING AND SOLUTION OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION HAS BEEN AND REMAINS A KEY QUESTION OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. AS COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTED OUT IN HIS SPEECH ON THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE HIGHER INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE, IN TIRANA, AGRICULTURE HAS REMAINED IN THE EPICENTRE OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND OF THE PLANS FOR THE SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS DEVELOPED STEADILY AND ON ORIGINAL ROADS. THE EXPERIENCE GATHERED IN THE SETTING UP OF THE HIGHER-TYPE COOPERATIVES, THE COMBINATION IN THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE GROUP PROPERTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE WITH THE SOCIALIST STATE PROPERTY, THE PRIORITY INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN EXTENSIVE ZONES, THE COMBINATION AND HARMONIZATION OF THE INTENSIVE ROAD WITH THE TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT, THE SOFTENING OF THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE LOWLAND ZONES AND THE HILLY AND MOUNTAINOUS ZONES, AND THE STABILITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE RURAL AREA, ARE THINGS WHICH WE MIGHT DESCRIBE AS UNIQUE.

Our Party has always considered the construction of socialism and the development of the rural area, in par-

HASAN BANJA — Professor, director of the Institute of Economic Studies
MIHAL ZIU — Candidate of Sciences

ticular, as a process with a profound ideological, political, economic and social content, which is connected not only with the development of the productive forces, but also with the establishment of the socialist rela-

tions of production and with their continuous development and perfection. The Party, in the stages of the socialist construction of the country, has seen and treated these questions with constant care. They occupied a central place in the work of the 9th Congress of the Party and its respective decisions.

The final objective of this development is the strengthening of the socialist character of economic relations, by purging them continuously of all the blemishes of the old society and of the backward elements which hinder the advance of the productive forces. This is the only way to assist the harmonized and simultaneous development of both aspects of the mode of production in their unity; to enhance the active role of the socialist relations in production in the development of the productive forces, in the increase of production and its effectiveness, in

the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the people, the economy and the defence of the Homeland. This process has, likewise, been a powerful factor for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working people with the sense of the socialist attitude towards work and common property and for the more complete harmonization of their interests.

The perfecting of the socialist relations of production was treated extensively and in all its complexity in the materials of the 9th Congress of the PLA. The main place in them was occupied by the achievements and the measures for the strengthening and ceaseless development of the socialist property in both forms, the state property and the cooperativist property.

The interconnection that exists in the relations of ownership between the state and the agricultural cooperatives were analysed on a general plane. The same was done also about the roads and forms which will be pursued and applied in this field. It is known that of both existing forms of the socialist property the state property has priority and plays the leading role in our country. That is the reason why the weight and role of this form of property in the development and advance of our whole society has become increasingly greater. From one five-year plan to the other the fundamental productive funds of the economy have increased and their structure has been improved to the advantage of the active part of these funds. These and the measures adopted for perfecting the relations of management and organization of the economy and the advanced forms of social production, specialization, cooperation and combination, and the measures adopted for the good administration of the property as a whole, have been aimed at ensuring the further increase in the effectiveness of the economy.

The Party has worked to ensure that, along with the state property and, first of all, through the work of the masses of cooperativists and with the all-round material-technical, financial, organizational and cultural assistance of the socialist state, the socialist cooperativist property is con-

tinuously consolidated and developed, that the agricultural cooperatives are transformed more and more into centres of modern extended socialist production. In this process, the socialist state is interested and actively helps in perfecting the relations which result from this form of property, in strengthening the relations between the state property and the cooperativist property in the village, by adopting measures of a socialist content.

The cooperativist socialist ownership in agriculture plays and will continue to play in the future an important role in the overall development of the country on the road of socialism. The role and importance of this form of property is especially great in agricultural production, in improving the material well-being of the peasantry, in narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside, in supplying the people with agricultural and animal products. In 1985, the agricultural cooperatives occupied 3/4 of the cultivated surface and 76.6 per cent of the arable land. They provided for 62.5 per cent of the total agricultural production of the country (at the prices of 1981), against 41.6 per cent which they did in 1960, the year when the collectivization of agriculture was accomplished as a whole. In compliance with the Party directives and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the development, rapprochement and transformation of the group property in the countryside into the property of the entire people is an historical process which goes through a long, complex and original road.

Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of our country show that just as the socialist transformation of the small private property into the cooperativist socialist property is not carried out at one stroke, so the process of bringing the cooperativist socialist property close to the property of the entire people, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «...will not be carried out through decrees, but will be the 'historical' result of a continuous process of the economic, social and ideo-political development of the whole country, especially in

the countryside and in the masses of the cooperativists.»¹

This historical result is achieved both through the strengthening of the common features of the two forms of the socialist property and through the narrowing of the distinctions which exist between them in regard to the degree of their socialization, the distribution of the product for the society and the product for oneself, especially, and in the field of exchange, organization and management. Therefore, one of the main objectives of the Party's policy and the activity of our socialist state is the continuous strengthening of the common features of these two forms of the socialist ownership of the means of production. Important measures have been adopted continuously in this spirit, with the aim of enhancing the leading role of the socialist state ownership, the ceaseless strengthening of collaboration between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the perfecting of the economic links between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, the perfecting of the relations of distribution of the social product, the strengthening of the attitude, collaboration and mutual assistance among the working people in regard to the socialist property, and the strengthening and perfecting of the other common features of these two forms of property.

The fundamental characteristic of the common features of the two forms of the socialist ownership of the means of production in our socialist economy is their ceaseless strengthening.

Despite their common features, the two forms of the socialist property have their distinctions, which have not an antagonistic or contradictory character. As such, the distinctions do not grow wider, on the contrary, they grow more and more narrow until they are finally levelled out. These distinctions have to do with such important aspects as the degree of socialization of production, the relations of distribution, exchange, management and organization.

Of decisive importance in the process of rapprochement to and the transformation of group property in

the rural area and the property of the entire people, through the consolidation of their common features, is the strengthening of the group property. The achievements and perspectives of this process are and will be, in the first place, the result of that internal development of the group property itself, which is carried out and consolidated mainly with its own forces, through the use with high effectiveness of the entire potential and possibilities which exist, which increase and are strengthened within the group property, through the exploitation of the internal reserves which this form of property has and ceaselessly creates in the conditions of the rapid development and advance of the socialist agriculture in our country, as a complex, intensive and modern agriculture.

The assistance of the socialist state in this process of consolidation, rapprochement and gradual transformation of the group property in the countryside, despite its continuous growth, has been and remains a complementary factor. As the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania points out, the socialist state supports the development of the socialist cooperativist property in the countryside and helps actively in its rapprochement to and transformation into the property of the entire people. In this field, of particular importance are the measures which the state adopts for the development of agriculture, for the opening up of new land, for land improvement schemes, for irrigation and systematization and other measures which are included in the relations without compensation between the state and the agricultural cooperatives. Meanwhile, important measures are adopted by the state with a view to strengthening and the continuous improvement of its economic links with the agricultural cooperatives, through the better adjustment of prices for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products and the prices for the sale of means of production (according to definite criteria), the charges for the work and services carried out by the machine and tractor stations, the appropriation of part of

the product for the society by the centralized state fund, etc.

At the same time, the socialist state actively assists the process of rapprochement of the group property in the countryside to the property of the entire people through its direct participation with nonreturnable means, in the first place, those which go for productive objects in the mountainous and the hilly-mountainous cooperatives, up to a given limit of the value of the workday, and in the higher-type cooperatives and in the zone of priority intensification, as well, in which the ordinary cooperatives are treated on the same footing as the higher-type cooperatives. The latter constitutes another step forward in the process of perfection of relations of ownership in the countryside, and, on this basis, the perfection of other economic relations, which has begun in our country from the beginning of the 7th Five-year Plan with the priority intensification of the agricultural production in the lowland and coastal zones.

This state participation in the higher-type cooperatives and in the cooperatives in the zone of priority intensification by means of fundamental investments, first of all, in objects of a productive character, has two purposes: to give a greater impetus to the development of productive forces in the rural area for the rapid-rate development of production in the most fertile plains of the country and to raise the degree of socialization of the cooperativist property, by bringing it closer to and ensuring its transition into the property of the entire people.

The new which the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have brought in this field is the interconnection, step by step, of the relations of cooperativist property with the property of the entire people. The interconnection of the relations of group property with the property of the entire people in the rural area has its beginnings in the theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha and in the revolutionary practice of the PLA for the setting up of higher-type cooperatives, in which the state participates directly with nonreturnable social means. «The

nearest objective of this aim is to ensure that agriculture in the most fertile plains of the country should develop at higher, more rapid rates and to guarantee in a stable manner the increase of the production of those agricultural and livestock products for which the national economy has greater need. On the other hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher degree of the socialization of the group property on the road of its rapprochement to the property of the entire people.»² The thing of first-rate importance in this question is the direction of this process, which should be realized «...in such a manner as to ensure the gradual extension of the sphere of the relations of state property and the narrowing of the sphere of the relations of cooperativist property.»³

The higher-type agricultural cooperatives were set up and developed on the basis of a great deal of explanatory and persuasive ideological, political and organizational work in order to ensure the correct understanding and implementation of the orientations of the Party about this new and higher form of development of the cooperativist order. The results achieved show that these cooperatives have completely confirmed the correctness of the line of the Party for the development of agriculture and the Albanian village in an uninterrupted manner even after the complete collectivization of agriculture.

Relying on its own material, financial and human resources and as a result of the participation of the state with fundamental productive investments, the higher-type cooperatives have created greater possibilities for the development of productive forces, for the more effective use of their material-technical base and the socialist accumulation, for the further deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the process of concentration, specialization and cooperation of agricultural production. The direct outcome of this development is the increase of the agricultural production at rapid rates, the higher degree of the intensification of production, higher yields of agricultural crops, the increase in the

income per work hand and per capita of the population, the growth and the more effective use of the accumulation created by these cooperatives, and of the funds which the state has made available for them according to the economic potential of each of them. On this basis, the achievements of the higher-type cooperatives are greater, not only compared with the previous levels, when they existed as ordinary cooperatives, but also considered in the dynamics of their development; indeed, the successes in some of them are higher even when compared with the state farms of the same economic profile and with similar or nearly the same conditions.

The state assistance with investments to these cooperatives, from the time when they were set up in 1972 and on, has been and is being used in those directions that lead to the increase in production, both for building up the fertility of the land, for agrarian systematizations, for the setting up of fruit-tree plantations, for the increase in numbers and for the improvement of breeds of animals, for constructions of a productive character, for the purchase of means of transport, etc. For this our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat uses considerable financial means which go in favour of the higher-type agricultural cooperatives. The amount of investments for each unit of the arable land surface in the higher-type cooperatives is greater than in the other cooperatives and is gradually reaching the level of investments made in the state farms. This structure of the use of the cooperatives and state investments in these types of cooperatives has justified itself from the viewpoint of the economic results achieved, therefore, it will continue to be applied in the future, too.

The higher-type cooperatives are characterized by a higher degree of the development of productive forces than the others, the so-called ordinary cooperatives. The fact is that, although the state aid is important, still the needs for the development of production in these cooperatives are mostly covered with their own means and funds. The base of their

extended reproduction remains the accumulation realized with their own forces.

The investments which the state has made and will make in the future for the development of the existing cooperatives, but also for the setting up of more higher-type cooperatives, are a new, efficient and original economic form for the combination of the relations of ownership between the state and the cooperative in our agriculture. This form of economic aid does not replace the previous forms which the state will continue to use and extend (such as investments for irrigation, farming machines, etc.). At the same time, this economic aid for the higher-type cooperatives and for the cooperatives, which are treated as ordinary ones in the zone of priority intensification, does not interfere with the growing assistance which the socialist state gives to the development and intensification of agricultural production all over the country.

The correct and consistent implementation of this economic policy of the Party for the development of agriculture and the combination of the relations of ownership between the state and the agricultural cooperatives calls for a more direct and effective involvement of the state and economic organs and bodies in the centre, the districts and the grass roots, it calls for a more rational planning, distribution and utilization of the cooperatives' investments and the investments made by the socialist state, so that they are concentrated there where the work and investments yield greater production and are made with the highest economic effectiveness and fruitfulness.

Apart from the assistance with investments which they receive from the state, the higher-type cooperatives have also their special branches of machine and tractor stations which the state has set up for them and which remain the property of the state. These stations are in a position to respond better to the needs of the cooperative for the complex mechanization of work, for carrying out services in time, and guaranteeing the increase of yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of ani-

mals, the increase in the productivity of labour and lightening the burden of the work.

The role of the higher-type cooperatives in the past three five-year plans, from the time of their creation until today, has increased continuously. Their place and weight in our agricultural economy is important. In 1985 the higher-type cooperatives represented 11.2 per cent of the total number of the country's cooperatives. They had nearly 1/4 of the surface of arable land and nearly 43 per cent of the surface of the arable land in the lowland zone. In the higher-type cooperatives there are over 350 thousand inhabitants or 21 per cent of the cooperativist peasantry; they occupy with work about 23 per cent of the work hands of the cooperativist sector of the country. In the past five-year plan the higher-type cooperatives secured about 30 per cent of the wheat and maize produced by the cooperativist sector as a whole, about 60 per cent of the cotton, 45.6 per cent of the sugar-beet, 24.2 per cent of the sunflower, 22.3 per cent of the potatoes, 38.8 per cent of the vegetables, 29.2 per cent of the milk, 28 per cent of the meat, etc., of the production of the whole country. Together with the state farms they constitute a powerful and stabilized base which fulfils the growing needs of the people and the national economy for agricultural and livestock products.

The higher-type cooperatives constitute a step forward, also, as regards the perfecting of the relations of production compared with the other ordinary cooperatives. The degree of socialization of labour is higher there, because now it is not just the fruit of the work of the cooperativist, but, to a greater extent than in the other cooperatives, it is the result of the work of the whole society materialized in the form of direct investments made by the state. This is an important distinguishing feature of the higher-type cooperatives.

As a result of the increase in production and its effectiveness income per work hand realized in the higher-type cooperatives is close to the income per worker realized by

the state farms. In this way, the living conditions of the cooperativist peasantry have been further improved and the essential distinctions between the urban and the rural area are narrowed step by step. With the ideological and political work and the conditions that have been created, the socialist consciousness of the cooperativists and their socialist attitude towards work and the social property have been further strengthened.

The experience of the higher-type cooperatives hitherto completely confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the superiorities and the greater possibilities which they have in comparison with the ordinary cooperatives for the development and the increase of production, for the raising of the material and cultural level of the peasantry and for raising the group property to the level of the property of the entire people.

Therefore, the setting up and the development of the higher-type cooperatives and the further combination of the state-cooperative relations will remain, for the future, the unswerving course of the policy of the Party for the ulterior development of the cooperativist order. In the report to the 9th Congress of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out: «During this five-year period the cooperativist order will be further strengthened and improved. The number of higher-type cooperatives will be increased both within the zone of priority intensification and outside it. In them, the original process of the combination of relations which are characteristic of the property of the group and those of state property will be deepened.»⁴ Meanwhile, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that the further transformation of the higher-type cooperatives, as an intermediary form of socialist property of our agriculture into property of the whole people, will be done in natural ways, because «the property of the group will not exhaust its possibilities for development and progress for a long time.»⁵

In conformity with this orientation, the directives of the 9th Congress of the PLA set the task: «To raise to

a higher level the social character of the socialist property in its two forms, state and cooperativist, by raising the degree of the concentration, specialization and cooperation of production and by ceaselessly strengthening the group property in the countryside, in the first place, through the resources of the agricultural cooperatives and the assistance of the socialist state, and to further consolidate and extend the zone of priority intensification with state participation, for the increase of production and the effectiveness of investments.»

With the priority intensification of the agricultural production in the coastal and lowland zone of the country and with its further extension, the combination of the relations that exist between the cooperativist property with the property of the entire people assumes a broader extension, because here, besides the higher-type cooperatives, the ordinary cooperatives, too, are treated in the same spirit. This represents a «...new stage of development which goes beyond the stage of the creation of the higher-type cooperatives, which continues in other regions.»⁶

In the zone of priority intensification the state has invested more than 1.4 billion leks, which helped to increase production and yields, especially of wheat, cotton and sunflower, which thoroughly proves in practice the correctness of the line of the Party in this field.

The economic and financial achievements in the zone of priority intensification, just as in the higher-type cooperatives, demonstrate the growing effectiveness of the participation of the state with investments in them. Therefore, in the future, it is the common interest of the country that the state should participate with investments, in conformity with the economic potential of each cooperative, in order to preserve the general structure of the use of such investments and to concentrate them on the productive sphere, especially on the land, on irrigation, on machinery, on productive buildings, on animals of production, etc. Such a structure guarantees higher effectiveness of the state participation in the intensification of agricultural production.

According to the directives of the 9th Congress of the PLA, the 8th Five-year Plan opens up new perspectives for the zone of priority intensification. During this five-year plan, «...The second phase of the program of priority intensification will be applied... This will be achieved through the wider extension of the cooperative-state relations which are applied in the higher-type cooperatives, as well as through the increase and more rational use of the material-technical base.»⁷

With the experience accumulated in combining the relations of the cooperativist property with the property of the entire people and in compliance with the financial possibilities of the state, the conditions now exist that the state participation should be realized not only through nonreturnable state investments, but also through the means of circulation financed by the state for the agricultural cooperatives, beginning from their productive objects, such as the field crops, for animal fattening pads, for the animal fodder base, etc. Comrade Ramiz Alia said to the 9th Congress of the Party that, «The key to the combination of state-cooperative relations will be the participation of the society with nonreturnable funds for investments and means of circulation, proceeding step by step towards increasing the proportion of means of the state in the whole of the productive funds which the higher-type cooperatives employ.»⁸

In the higher-type cooperatives the conditions have been prepared for the transition, step by step, of the group property into the property of the entire people, by opening the way for the development of the productive forces. Therefore, the process of development of the relations of ownership not only will not be interrupted, but, on the contrary, this will be done in natural ways and without artificial haste.

The economic science has worked out the criteria for this transition, which should be strictly observed and respected for each concrete occasion. Moreover, they must be made more accurate and enriched, especially from the social aspect, on the

basis of the experience which we are gaining from the transformation of the higher-type cooperatives of Plasa and Greccalia into state farms, which was done in the 7th Five-year Plan, and which, as is known, represents the process of the beginning of the transformation of the group property in the countryside into the property of the entire people, not to mention the cases of the direct transition of the group property into state property, which is conditioned by the need to bring about a better regulation of the agricultural production, its regionalization, specialization and cooperation, and the placing of planning, organization and management on scientific bases.

Our cooperativist sector has created all the possibilities for the achievement of higher productivity and yields, for the increase of production and income. In the 8th Five-year Plan, agricultural production is envisaged to increase at an annual average rate of over 6 per cent. Higher rates of development are envisaged for the field crops, livestock and fruit-growing, therefore, it is necessary that the planned tasks should be fulfilled by every economy and for every voice by using, simultaneously and in a harmonious manner, the intensive and the extensive roads and all the factors of the economic growth so that the great potential, which the cooperativist order of the countryside has, is fully mobilized and placed in the service of the economy.

The combination of state-cooperative relations and the increase of the weight and influence of the state property in the cooperativist sector can be achieved through the further perfection of the relations of distribution and redistribution of income. The correct use of relations of distribution and redistribution has served the development of the cooperativist order, therefore, in the future they constitute a great object of study which must serve the economic strengthening of the cooperatives. The Party is studying the possibilities for the cooperatives to experiment and apply, with their own forces and step by step, new ways and forms of distribution, which will extend the characteristics of state property

to the higher-type cooperatives and to the zone of priority intensification.

In line with this orientation of the 9th Congress of the Party, in the 8th Five-year Plan the state will adopt measures which will lead to the perfection of relations of distribution and exchange. Of interest among them are the measures for the extension of the forms of remuneration of work according to quantity, quality and material expenditure of production, the forms of stimulation of the interest of the cooperatives and their members to increase the amount of surplus production realized above the approved plan, and the forms of material incentives for creative and innovatory thinking.

The further improvement of these relations in the future, which will follow from the economic strengthening of the cooperatives, can be achieved, besides other ways, also through the improvement of the economic levers (such as the purchase prices of the state for agricultural and livestock products of the cooperatives, the charges for irrigation facilities and the work of the machine and tractor stations, the improvement of relations of the differential rent, etc.), which are employed in the relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives through the policy of prices and the financial system. This is a road on which the Party has proceeded with careful step and which has proved its utility. A great role is played by the harmonization of correct ratios in the policy of favours which the state makes for the agricultural cooperatives and in the policy of the absorption of part of the product of the rural area for the society, on the basis of well-studied differentiations in conformity with the economic potential of each cooperative and for a better studied redistribution of the differential rent between the plains zone and the hilly and mountainous zone to the advantage of the latter, for a better adjustment of the productivity of and profitability from agricultural crops and the purchase prices of the state, which are differentiated and, at the same time, unified for the whole country, for bread grain and for some

other agricultural products, which also favour the cooperatives of the hilly-mountainous zones.

In the present stage, when a series of measures for the strengthening of economic relations between the urban and the rural area have begun to be applied step by step in our country, the economic relations in the field of exchange between the state and the agricultural cooperatives have also evolved in a considerable manner. On the basis of the development of productive forces in the period of the 7th Five-year Plan, some positive trends which emerged in the economic relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives in the sphere of production and the purchase and sale of commodities were encouraged and supported and are now being continuously deepened. The question here is about how to perfect the work for the procurement and accumulation of agricultural and livestock products.

Relying on the economic policy of the Party, important steps are being taken in order to draw some agricultural products directly from the fields and to preserve and process the agricultural and livestock products on the spot. This process is being realized through the elimination of superfluous links in the circulation and movement of agricultural and livestock products, and by relieving the agricultural cooperatives of the processing, manipulation and selection of some agricultural and other products. By summing up the experience thus gained, in the years of the 8th Five-year Plan the new forms of procurement of agricultural products will be used more extensively, in the beginning for the more massive agricultural products and later for the other products.

The economic relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives have been perfected in conformity with the conditions of each stage of development and parallel with improvements of the economic levers through the re-examination, with a view to raising the state prices for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products. In this question, the Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the formation

of prices for agricultural products, has continuously seen to it that the fixing and perfection of prices is done with a tendency not only to attain such a level that the expenditure of production and their sale are covered, but also to ensure that the agricultural cooperatives create the accumulation necessary for the extended socialist reproduction.

Another important field of the strengthening of the group property in the countryside and its combination with the property of the entire people is the raising, to a higher scientific level, of the organization and management of the economy, especially in the state farms and in the agricultural cooperatives, which are the basic cells of the economy.

The primary task put forward for raising the scientific level of organization and management of the economy has to do with the best possible harmonization of the economic management with administrative direction, giving priority to and using with greater effectiveness all the economic methods of planned direction of our economy, assessing and more extensively using the economic categories of socialism such as the cost, prices, profitability, finances, credits, the net income of the cooperative, the centralized net income of the state, etc.

Of interest in this field are the measures for the enhancement of the role and function of the production sectors in the agricultural cooperatives, especially in those which have a broad territorial extension, so that they have greater competences for

their management and organization, planning and the economic and financial activities and results, with the aim that these sectors can, as a rule, cover their expenditure and create the accumulation necessary for themselves, for the cooperative and for the society.

Likewise, of interest in this aspect is the extension of the competences and initiative of the agricultural cooperatives in the questions of planning of production and their income. This will stimulate the creative thinking and initiative of the working masses, the agricultural cooperative and the whole district, will encourage them to link new roads and possibilities for the increase of production and the amount they hand over to the state. The advantages and effectiveness of these measures are seen in the achievements made after the creation of the small flocks of animals, the planting of potatoes, white beans, etc., in the brigade, and the optimistic targets advanced by the cooperatives themselves, which were not planned by the centre, but were the result of the revolutionary initiatives of the peasantry and were supported by the Party.

The directives of the 9th Congress of the PLA for the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) envisage the implementation of a series of measures for the further enhancement of the active role of the socialist relations in the overall economic and social development of the country and, in this context, for the combination of the relations of ownership and the

state-cooperative relations derived from them. This, along with the perfecting of the entire system of economic relations in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party and with its economic policy in the light of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party, will enable these relations to ever better play their true role as a motive force which carries forward the productive forces, safeguards and deepens their socialist character, affirms and instills in the consciousness of the people the norms and principles which derive from these relations and blocks the road to the danger of their bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

The economic policy of the Party in this direction will, in the final analysis, lead to the strengthening of our socialist social and economic order, to the raising of the standard of living of the cooperativists, to the further and rapid increase of the economic, social and cultural level of the countryside on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society in our country.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971, p. 122.

2 *Enver Hoxha*, Works, vol. 47, p. 182.

3 *Enver Hoxha*, About the 7th Five-year Plan, p. 185.

4 *Ramiz Alia*, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, pp. 54-55. Eng. ed.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 55.

6 *Enver Hoxha*, About the 7th Five-year Plan, p. 179.

7 *Ibidem*.

8 *Ibidem*.

**ON THE OCCASION OF THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY
OF ITS CREATION:**

PEOPLE'S ARMY -AN ARMY OF THE NEW TYPE

by **KOSTAQ KAROLI**

The Party has been and remains the soul of the Army, the brain that guides it on the correct road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible

ON 10 JULY 1943, FULL 45 YEARS AGO, IN THE HEAT OF THE GLORIOUS WAR FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE INVADERS AND TRAITORS OUR NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY, THE DEED OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE HOPE OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR POWERFUL WEAPON FOR WINNING THEIR FREEDOM AND FOR DEFENDING IT, WAS CREATED.

THE 45 YEARS OF EXISTENCE OF THE ARMY, THE GREAT SUCCESSES IT HAS ACHIEVED, THE CLEAR PERSPECTIVES THAT LIE AHEAD OF IT, ARE WITNESSES OF THAT SPECIAL SOLICITUDE THE PARTY HAS SHOWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR THE ARMY, FOR INCREASING, EDUCATING AND TEMPERING IT IN ALL DIRECTIONS, WITH THE AIM OF PRESERVING IT, AS THE BELOVED AND LOYAL WEAPON OF THE PEOPLE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE SECURE SHIELD OF THE VICTORIES OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM.

Our Party, loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, from the day of its founding raised the need for the creation of the National Liberation Army as an imperative duty. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Our Party cannot call itself a Marxist-Leninist Party if it does not organize the war, if it does not organize the National Liberation Army of the people. This is its number-one task.»¹ The army was created in difficult historical, social-economic and political, military conditions, in a country with a small territory, with limited human and material resources. The military occu-

pation of the country, the objectives of the occupiers and reaction to smash any effort for the formation of the National Liberation Army in Albania, and the profound economic backwardness, were serious obstacles to the creation, completion and supply of the army. Likewise, the fact that from the anti-popular army of king Zog «we did not inherit anything, ...not a single platoon of soldiers, not to mention greater formations,»² increased the difficulties facing the country for the creation of the Albanian Anti-fascist National Liberation Army. So it was created and organized beginning everything from scratch, from the most essential elements for a regular army,

without getting anything ready and without any kind of outside assistance from anyone. The Albanian National Liberation Army was formed and became a great armed force with all the necessary political-military qualities, from the base to the highest organs; it was built on entirely new organizational, political, military and economic principles. This constitutes a historic merit of the Party and Comrade Enver. From the small guerrilla units, poorly armed with old weapons, within a short time it succeeded in becoming a voluntary army, with conscious steel discipline, with an unyielding fighting spirit, which provides a rare example in history.

The formation of a regular popular army was a complex and complicated act. The merit of the Party and Comrade Enver lies in it that they, with courage and maturity, succeeded, step by step and in conformity with the conditions and situations, in realizing all the links of military organization. The main characteristic and originality in all this lies, in the first place, in the fact that they did not wait till the army was completely organized and then throw it into action,

but went about the creation of the guerrilla units, «...which were the skeleton of the future army,»³ at the same time as the beginning of the armed uprising, and tackled the solution of their important problems like those of cadres, armament, supplies, etc. In the second place, the Party and Comrade Enver did not hasten to go over immediately to the creation of large military formations, but developed them from the smallest units, taking each successive new step after the previous step had been made secure and the conditions were ripe for proceeding ahead. In this framework, the General Staff of the Army was set up on 10 July 1943, in an important moment when the National Liberation War of the Albanian people had waxed strong and grown in size, when the number of partisan *çeta* and battalions had increased, and their fighting operations extended, when the liberated zones and regions had been expanded and the political situation required it. The main task of national importance which the Staff was expected to solve was that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, it should organize the National Liberation Army, would give strategic and operational guidance to the armed struggle against the occupiers and traitors, elaborate and sum up the tactics of this war, etc.

The international significance of this event lies in it that the General Staff would co-ordinate, in a more complete manner, the struggle of our people with the war of the anti-fascist coalition. «...and especially with the national liberation movements of the peoples of the Balkans,»⁴ while at the same time closely and carefully watching the Anglo-American activity against our country. The Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha firmly opposed and rejected Tito's proposal for the creation of the so-called Balkan staff. This far-sighted stand of the CPA brought about the failure of the chauvinist and anti-Marxist aims of the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which strove to lump Albania, Bulgaria and Greece into the one federative «bag».

With the creation of the General Staff the armed struggle of the Alba-

nian people entered a new stage of development, the stage of a higher military organization and the impetuous fighting throughout the country, the stage of the people's general armed uprising.

The necessity of creating the General Staff was connected with the increase in the number of partisan detachments, of creating larger units of the operative and operative-strategic level. Until July 1943, the regular partisan formations numbered 10 000 fighters, organized in over 20 battalions and a great number of *çeta*. More than 20 000 more fighters were included in the territorial voluntary units operating in the free zones, and in the guerrilla units operating in the occupied cities and districts.⁵ The strategic task of the liberation of the country required the transition, now that the conditions had been created, to the formation of «...larger units and higher staffs.»⁶

With the creation of the General Staff, the strategic leadership of the forces of the ANL Army was raised to a higher level. The organization, planning and direction of the war were thus further perfected. The actions of an operative, and later strategic, level assumed a broader and more organized development, whereas those of a tactical level assumed a decisive character.

Proceeding from the conditions and the concrete possibilities for the organization of the regular ANL Army, the General Staff decided that shock brigades should be formed. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «The formation of brigades should be our greatest preoccupation in military matters... The brigade is the real formation of our Popular Army, a formation which will little by little absorb all the staunch elements of *çeta*, or shock battalions so as to reach in this manner to a real army, with a fighting spirit, as we want it to be.»⁷

The election of the General Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Political Commissar of the General Staff was a secure guarantee that the General Staff of the ANL Army would be completely and directly under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania. At the same time this shows

that the Party had won its role through merit.

«In the war which the Albanian people are waging today, the main leading role is played by the Communist Party, which has taken an active part in this war and has not stood aside as a spectator... The Communist Party became the motor of the popular movement against the occupiers and the traitors.»⁸

Under the direction of the General Staff, the ANL Army coped with success with the numerous operations which the German occupiers and the local traitors took against it, and especially, with the large-scale operations launched by the enemy in the winter of the year 1943-1944 and in June 1944, with over 50 000 forces each, and after repeated attacks and continuous assaults, inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and created favourable conditions to go over to the counter-attack and to the general offensive.

The perspectives that were opened to transform this army into a regular army and the creation of the large operative-strategic formations, such as divisions and army corps, raised the need for the creation of the General Command. By decision of the Congress of Përmet, the High Command of the ANL Army was unified, and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder of the CPA, the organizer, leader and teacher of the ANL Army, was appointed General Commander. In this manner once again the CP of Albania showed its maturity and far-sightedness in a culminating moment of the liberation war of the Albanian people, as regards the question of the further strengthening of military leadership of the operative-strategic level of the war, as a decisive condition which was put forward at the stage of the complete liberation of the country and for the defence of the new state of people's democracy.

Along with the process of the creation, growth and transformation of our National Liberation Army into a regular army, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, also, created and developed the Military Art of People's War. In elaborating this military art they took into account the fighting traditions of our people, the circumstances and concrete conditions of the

country, the forms of war and the tactics used by the enemies, etc. These considerations set our military art off as an original military art which relies on the national soil and has a profound scientific content.

In the years of the Second World War the problems facing our military art were numerous and complex, both from the strategic aspects and the tactical and operative aspects. «In war our people had to learn, also, the various tactics of fighting, which were dictated by the situations, the number of the occupier troops and the methods of fighting they used.»⁹

At a strategic level, it gave successful solution to important tasks such as defining the forms and methods of fighting, the operative-strategic leadership, the creation of the support bases, and concentration of forces, the choosing of the moment to go over to the counter-attack and to the general offensive, etc.

Our Anti-fascist War was waged in the form of the partisan warfare, but by the end of the war, it switched over to the tactics of frontal war. In this war, the National Liberation Army and the other formations of the armed people, through partisan tactics — as the main method of fighting actions — succeeded in neutralizing the superiority of the enemy in numbers and means, which varied from 1 to 5 and even from 1 to 10 to its advantage.

The fighting of the ANL Army was characterized by the spirit of attack, dynamism, movability. Even when it had to be on the defensive, its units were never massed or isolated in a single strategic base, or in some free rural-mountainous zone, or in some narrow part of our territory, as was the case with the partisan armies of some other peoples, who suffered defeat. Manoeuvrability and rapidity of action were the distinguishing secrecy, combined with high morale, based on the concrete situations, as well as the method of annihilating the enemy piecemeal, these became the basic features of the tactics of our popular war.

The liberation of the country was the result of the war and sacrifices, the efforts and blood shed by our people, who, relying on their own forces under the leadership of the CPA, fought

and emerged victorious over two large nazi-fascist armies of more than 170 thousand soldiers, engaging more than 15 Italian and German divisions in fighting. The small Albanian territory was trampled by about 700 thousand foreign troops. Our National Liberation Army, 70 thousand strong (apart from tens of thousands of armed people) constituted about 7 per cent of the population of the country, or one fighter for 15 inhabitants. The two nazi-fascist armies had altogether 70 thousand casualties, including killed, wounded and prisoners, and their material loss amounted to 6200 armoured cars, artillery pieces, aircraft, machine-guns, and trucks, without calculating light weapons, munition and other fighting material. The victory of the National Liberation War cost the Albanian people the blood of 28 thousand partisan fighters, men and women, who laid down their lives in the battlefield, and a great material and monetary damage, etc.

The ANL Army made a maximum of sacrifices and fulfilled the obligations of the anti-fascist cofighter in an exemplary manner. It is honoured in the world for the incomparable contribution it made, in proportion to the small numbers and the scarce material possibilities it had. Detachments and units of our Army fought together with the neighbouring partisan armies, with ELAS, with the Macedonian and with the Serbian-Montenegrine armies, to assist them in their liberation war, without mentioning the fighting side by side with the Kosova partisan brothers. The Albanian partisans were in the eyes of the Yugoslav peoples the highly esteemed liberators and internationalists. In the fighting on Yugoslav territory they killed more than 4200 German soldiers, wounded about 8500, making 651 prisoners, capturing, also, a great amount of war and other material.¹⁰ In the fighting for the liberation of the territories of Yugoslavia¹¹ they left 600 killed, who fell heroically.

Nothing can obliterate or negate this internationalist aid.

Our National Liberation War was prepared and led by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The general characteristic of the military activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha during the

National Liberation War is that he, personally, worked out every plan, drafted every important order and instruction of the ANL Army; he led, with a sure hand, all its decisive battles, beginning from the first actions of the guerrillas to the carrying out of the strategic plan of the general offensive for the complete liberation of the country. The detailed and overall study of the internal and external political and military situations, the dialectical calculation of all the factors and elements in play, which could exert an influence on the development and destiny of the operations and of the war in general, the detailed study of the possible regions for fighting operations and assessment of the enemy forces, the maturity in the selection of the target for the main attack, the continuous struggle against dogmatism and stereotypes in these matters, the ability to direct the forces with accuracy, the great personal work, courage and valiance, the love and respect for the common people, these are some of the main features which distinguish Comrade Enver as a strategist and military leader.

The National Liberation War proved in practice that the decisive factor of victory in the war is the internal factor, that the war is won by the people and the army who have a high morale, who are clear about the goal of the war, who are conscious of the war they wage, and are led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, like our Party. The principle that man has priority over armaments, the principle of self-reliance and of the line of the masses, etc., were among the basic factors which determined the correct solution of all the major problems of the war.

The liberation of the country found our Army well organized, with set objectives, with clear tasks and perspectives, and prepared to set out on the road of modernization, in conformity with the historic mission that delved upon it for the defence of the new socialist state. In analysing and describing the militant road followed by the National Liberation Army, and proving with argument the need for its modernization, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, in November 1944, on

the eve of the liberation of the country, that, «...our main task is to go ahead in order to give our army a really modern character, not only in form but also in contents.»¹²

The Party has worked continuously for 45 years to modernize the army and to strengthen the defence capacity of the country. From one year to another and in each five-year plan, our people's army has become stronger, better organized and armed, it has perfected its technique and every direction of its activity, and the defence capacity of the country has also been strengthened along with the development and advance of the economy of the country. As an army of the new type, it is qualitatively different from all the bourgeois and revisionist armies, on account of its special essential characteristics which it has gained.

One of the characteristics of our army is that it has its origin in the people, is a people's army, led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, as is our Party. It was made up of the sons of the people, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and «.. was led with great courage and intelligence by the officers who were formed in the heat of war and emerged from the partisan ranks.»¹³ The aim for which it was set up was the liberation of the country from foreign invaders, the liberation of workers from the yoke of local capitalists in town and countryside. Today its lofty aim is the defence of our socialist Homeland, the defence of the victories achieved. Therefore, the strength of our army, which was formed by the people, lies always in the people. The sons and daughters of the people, included in the units and detachments of the army or in the other structures of the armed forces, are trained and tempered in order to be able to discharge their duties. All of them are at the same time builders and defenders of socialism. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «The army and the people in our country are one and inseparable, are bound to one another by the same ideal and the same interests, by the ideal of freedom and independence of the Homeland, by the ideal of socialism.»¹⁴

Freedom and socialism in our country are secured and realized by the whole people, who are armed and militarily trained, and not by an army of the barracks. Socialist Albania is the first country in the world which implemented in practice the arming and military training of the entire people. This constitutes the implementation and further enrichment of the Leninist thesis that no force in the world will dare to violate the freedom of the homeland if the armed people, who have liquidated the military caste, who have made all their soldiers citizens and all their citizens soldiers capable of bearing arms, become the shield of this freedom.

The creation and functioning of a whole system of free military schools, as institutions in which the military art and skill is learned by the whole armed people, carries the stamp of the creative teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver and constitutes an invaluable contribution to the development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist practice in the military sphere in the conditions of the existence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. «The creation of the free military school,» Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «and its extension throughout the country is a creative application of Lenin's teachings in the concrete conditions of our country.»¹⁵ The military schools constitute that qualitative step in the further revolutionization of the military training through which the army is linked better with the people, the problems of defence are integrated into the problems of the organs of the state and the Party. They help to eliminate the distinctions between the active and the reserve army, further deepens the line of the masses in military training, ensures the complete merger of the military cadres with the masses, avoids the possibility of the creation of military castes, etc., and, as a result, further strengthens Party, leadership and control in the army.

Constantly preserving the profound popular character of the army, fulfilment of all duties on its part, are indissolubly connected with the continuous strengthening of the leading role

of the Party. The indispensability of this leading role in every cell of our people's defence permeates as a red thread the whole theory and practice of our army. It is not an accident that the internal enemies of all hues have, in different times, spearheaded the main edge of their hostile activity against the leading role of the Party, in order to alienate the army from the Party. But all their efforts have ended up in failure and will always do.

The teachings of the Party that there can be no revolutionary people's army without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and that without the leadership of the Party there can be no strong, well-educated and trained people's army, remain always valid. Only the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the armed forces gives the army its class consciousness, educates it with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Only the Party is capable of ensuring, mobilizing, arming and preparing the people ideologically and militarily, of ensuring the coherence and unity in the ranks of the army and the people and making it conscious of its historic role. Comrade Enver has pointed out: «The Party has been and remains the soul of the army, the brain that guides it on the correct road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible.»¹⁶

Our people's army, the weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is trained to defend every inch of the socialist Homeland, to cope with any aggression and to emerge victorious over the enemies. As an instrument which applies the policy of the Party, it is not its aim to attack any other country, to occupy any other foreign lands. But, at the same time, it is always prepared to give the deserved answer to anyone who will dare to attack us.

These characteristics of our people's army derive from the characteristics of the classes which constitute it, the characteristics of the PLA which created, led and is leading it according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver.

From these characteristics of our people's army stem also its lofty moral-political qualities, such as conscious steel discipline, valiance, mu-

tual comradely love and respect between cadres and men, the spirit of initiative, self-sacrifice, stability, etc., which pervade the whole life and activity of the army.

These characteristics and qualities distinguish our army from all the armies of the bourgeois and revisionist countries, which, as weapons in the hands of the oppressive and exploiting classes, have an oppressive and reactionary character, not only towards their own peoples but also towards the revolutionary movements of the other countries. Daily life and facts have proven this to the hilt.

From the distance of 45 years, from the heights to which the Party has raised the army and the defence of the country, we can see the glorious road of this majestic work of the Party. Still greater perspectives and successes await it. The new require-

ments of the time, the important tasks which the General Commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has set to it, open new horizons for the further strengthening and modernization of the armed forces, for the strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist country.

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- 1 Enver Hoxha, *When the Party was Born, (Memoirs), Tirana 1981, p. 281.*
 - 2 Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites (Historical notes), Tirana 1982, p. 45.*
 - 3 Enver Hoxha, *Works, vol. 5, Tirana 1970, p. 268.*
 - 4 Enver Hoxha, *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania, Tirana 1984, p. 271,*
 - 5 *History of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian*

- People, Tirana 1986, vol. II, pp. 308.*
- 6 *Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 152.*
- 7 Enver Hoxha, *Works, vol. 2, Tirana 1984, p. 115.*
- 8 *Principal Documents, of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 105.*
- 9 Enver Hoxha, *When the Party Was Born (Memoirs), pp. 233-234.*
- 10 CAA, *f. General Staff of ANLA, doss. 373, case 14/1.*
- 11 *Albanian Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Tirana 1985, p. 629.*
- 12 Enver Hoxha, *About the People's Army, vol. 1, Tirana 1984, p. 218.*
- 13 *Idem, p. 216.*
- 14 Ramiz Alia, *The Army and the People — One and Inseparable, Tirana 1986, p. 9.*
- 15 *Idem, p. 13.*
- 16 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 61.*

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 110th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN

A BRILLIANT PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN NATION

by **KRISTAQ PRIFTI**

ON 10 JUNE, IN ONE OF THE HALLS OF THE MUSEUM OF NATIONAL HISTORY IN TIRANA, THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY ORGANIZED A SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE DEVOTED TO THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN.

PRESENT IN THE CONFERENCE WERE HISTORIANS, WORKING PEOPLE OF INSTITUTES OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF THE «ENVER HOXHA» UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA, AND GUESTS.

THE CONFERENCE WAS ATTENDED, ALSO, BY COMRADE FOTO ÇAMI, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, COMRADE MANUSH MYFTIU, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, SKËNDER GJINUSHI, MINISTER OF EDUCATION, PROF. ALEKS BUDA, PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, PROF. SOFOKLI LAZRI, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND OTHER COMRADES.

THE CONFERENCE WAS OPENED BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, PROF. HEKURAN MARA. FOUR REPORTS WERE DELIVERED.

More centuries will pass and the coming generations will, as we are doing now, commemorate one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our nation, the Albanian League of Prizren (1878-1881), this «unexampled challenge», as Comrade Enver Hoxha has described it, of the Albanian people to the imperialist and chauvinist powers, «in order to secure the freedom and the territorial unity of the country».

Founded as an all-Albanian political and military organization, on 10 June 1878, at the initiative of the Albanian Committee of Istanbul and of the most distinguished patriotic personalities of the time: Abdyl Frashëri and Ymer Prizreni, Pashko Vasa and Sulejman Vokshi, Sami Frashëri and Zija Prishtina, and hundreds of other patriots, the League of Prizren was the direct continuation and one of the culminating points of that pro-

cess of national emancipation of the Albanian people which went on uninterruptedly for five centuries. Although it was created at the time of the Eastern Crisis of the period 1875-1881, the League of Prizren was not a spontaneous event, nor was it the product of international circumstances. It was the result of the internal development of Albania, was footed in the Albanian soil, emerged as an objective necessity dictated by the urgent need for organizing the national movement on a sound basis for moulding the political and military unity of the Albanian people.

It is the special merit of the League that, in the grave and extremely dangerous situation which was created for Albania with the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, with the signing of San Stefano Treaty and that of Berlin, when the Balkan monarchies supported by the Great Powers were fighting to wipe

the Albanian nation from the map of the Balkans, it undertook the historic task put forward by the time, provided the Albanian national movement with an ideological platform and a clear progressive programme which contained three main issues: recognition of the Albanian nation as one and indivisible, the defence of the integrity and inviolability of the national territories and the unification of the Albanian lands under one single state.

Inspired by the democratic and progressive ideas of the time, the most outstanding ideologists of the Albanian National Renaissance succeeded in raising the spirit of the League of Prizren above the regional and religious divisions, brought under its leadership all the Albanian people, Ghegs and Tosks, Moslems and Christians, thus creating a true political and national unity of the Albanian people on the basis of the com-

mon interests of all the patriotic forces of the nation for the defence of the territorial integrity of the Homeland and for its national liberation. In 1878 Sami Frashëri wrote that the League with the decisions of its assemblies was inspired by the feelings of patriotism, by love of the homeland, and relied on the principle of nationality and not on religious fanaticism, as the imperialist and chauvinist propaganda of the time tried to make out.

The unity which the League of Prizren created was supported by a definitive organizational set-up. The Central Committee of the League, with its seat in Prizren, was in contact with a whole network of its branches and sub-committees established in various cities of the country. Through this system it was in a position to have close links with all the regions of Albania, to coordinate the activities of the Albanian people for a common goal. In the period 1878-1881 joint assemblies were held in the main centres of this activity, such as in the cities of Prizren, Shkodra, Dibra and Gjirokastra, with the participation of the representatives of the Moslem, Catholic and Orthodox population of Northern, Central and Southern Albania, in which decisions affecting the whole country, for the defence of the Homeland against the threat of partitioning and for the autonomy of the country were made.

The League of Prizren fought for such a unity of the Albanian people that would finally be crowned with the formation of a single and undivided national state. It rejected and condemned as anti-Albanian all the projects of the Great Powers for the so-called solution of the Albanian question by the formation of separate autonomous units according to regional and religious divisions, behind which were hidden the political interests of the foreign powers involved. The demands of the League for the creation of an autonomous Albanian state did not remain on paper. It began to carry them out in practice immediately after its founding, supported by and relying on the revolutionary action of the masses of the people, on the military units it

had set up on its own initiative. The League and its committees in some districts of Albania dismantled the Ottoman administration and concentrated state authority in their hands. In January 1881 the most radical leaders of the League, with the active participation of Abdyl Frashëri and the other representatives of Southern Albania, proclaimed in Prizren the formation of the Provisional Government of Albania, headed by Ymer Prizreni, one of the most distinguished organizers of the League and an outstanding Kosovar patriot. Although this government lasted only four months, the very act of the institution of the Provisional Government and the entire activity of the League of Prizren were proof of the ability of the Albanian people to govern themselves and their own country, to organize an independent social life, which a whole hostile propaganda was trying hard to deny.

The struggle of the League for the defence of the territorial integrity of Albania against the great threat of partitioning was transformed into a legendary epic, in which the Albanian people displayed their ardent boundless love for the Homeland and wrote new pages of heroism in their national history. By refusing to accept the unjust decisions of the Congress of Berlin, which denied the right of the Albanian people to national existence and put their national lands up for auction, trying to use it as a barter of exchange in order to satisfy the chauvinist ambitions of the neighbouring monarchies, the League aroused the whole Albanian people against those decisions and condemned them world-wide as «a historical and moral crime».

Relying on the voluntary units, or the «Albanian guard» as it was called by the contemporaries, the League concentrated the defence of the Homeland in its own hands, expressed its determination and will not to concede an inch of the Albanian soil, and put it boldly to the Great Powers and the Sublime Porte that the Albanian people had a master, that any alteration of the border that is made without the consent of the whole of Albania, without consulting the Albanian people, is invalid, and there-

fore, unacceptable. If the Great Powers failed to recognize the League and its demands formally, the League, on its part, forced them to recognize it in the fields of battle and in diplomatic confrontations.

The fighting actions of the forces of the League against the armies of King Nicholas and those of the Ottoman pashas to defend the Albanian territories of Plava and Gucia, Hot and Gruda and Ulqin, and all the diplomatic activity of the League in defence of the inviolability of the Albanian borders, which dragged on for three years (1878-1881), assumed the proportions of a general national question. Behind the Northern highlanders and the thousands of volunteers from Kosova and from all the regions of the country, who went to assist the forces of the League, stood a whole people, the whole Albanian nation.

Deep in the memory of generations will remain the brilliant example of love of country, courage and wisdom of political and military leaders which the Albanian people produced from their bosom, such as Abdyl Frashëri and Ymer Prizreni, Sulejman Vokshi and Iljaz Dibra, Shuaip Spahiu and Mustafa Tetova, Mehmet Ali Vrioni and Haxhi Zeka, Daut Boriçi and Filip Çeka, Mihal Harito and Dhimitër Kolea, the heroism of outstanding popular fighters like Mic Sokoli and Ali Ibra, Isuf Sokoli and Jakup Ferri and of the other men who, in those critical moments, defended their Homeland, putting their chests to the guns of the enemy. In this unequal war the Albanian people, who found themselves alone confronted with the united naval units of the Great Powers which sealed off the Albanian coast-line, faced with the continuous military and political pressure from the Sublime Porte and the neighbouring monarchies, the Albanian people refused to give up Plava and Gucia, Hot and Gruda or to allow the southern borders of the country to be changed, but in the end they lost part of the north-eastern and northern territories which were annexed to Serbia and Montenegro.

The Albanian League of Prizren is one of the most important land-

marks in the struggle of the Albanian people for freedom, independence and democratic rights, to put Albania on the road of civilization, of economic, political and cultural development like the other countries. Precisely on account of the liberation and democratic spirit which characterized the entire activity of the League of Prizren, the contemporaries and more recent authors have compared it and its acts to the Committee of Public Salvation or to the Paris Commune, not with the aim of pointing out the historical parallel but rather in order to show the radical spirit of its most advanced wing, and especially of the peasants and the common people of the town. The Serbian specialist and internationalist of the 20th century, Dimitrije Tucović, compared the League to the revolutions of the Balkan countries, considering it as one of the culminating points of the Albanian National Movement, and the concentration of state power in its hands as a revolutionary act.

Like all other great historic events which arouse the masses of people, the League of Prizren could not be and was not the product of foreign diplomacy or of the Sublime Porte, as the present-day Yugoslav historiography and press are trying to present it. To the stale theses about the «Islamic» character of the League of Prizren, in the light of which the event is treated as a «movement of the Moslem part of the Albanian population», as a «tool» in the hands of the Ottoman Empire to retain its domination in the Balkans, theses which were discarded as worthless not only by the Albanian historiography but also by the historiography of other countries, now are added the more recent publications of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Serbia, which produce a whole chain of

unexampled distortions and inventions. In the Yugoslav Encyclopaedia and in scores of publications of the type of the «Book on Kosova» by Dimitrije Bogdanović, efforts are made to revive all the anti-Albanian myths and prejudices, to falsify the historic past of our people in the most arbitrary manner. The League of Prizren and its voluntary armies are treated, with disregard for all historical facts, as «Great Albania» advocates, as «invaders of the lands of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia», when it is known world wide that they were fighting to defend the Albanian territory.

The wars of the Albanian people in the years of the League of Prizren and throughout the whole period of the National Renaissance, their struggle for recognition of the Albanian nationality and their right to remain in their native land and to defend their territories, in which they have lived for centuries as an autochthonous population, their efforts to preserve the Albanian language and culture, traditions and individuality, have harmed no one, have not violated the rights of the other peoples. Even the evocation of this war by the Albanians does not touch anyone, apart from those who are accustomed to treat historical events from anti-Albanian chauvinist positions. The history of the Albanian people shows that even in the most difficult moments for Albania, in the years of the Eastern Crisis (1875-1881), or during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, the appeals and protests of the League of Prizren and those issued later by the government of Ismail Qemali express only the great desire of the Albanian people to live in peace with the neighbouring peoples. One of the Albanian memoranda of the period of the League says: «We do not want and do

not ask anything of them, but we are determined to keep what is ours by right. We want Albanian lands to be left to the Albanians. We want the rights which are recognized to the other peoples to be recognized to the Albanians, too.»

The resistance of the League made a deep impression in the consciousness of the Albanian nation, exerted a great influence in their subsequent struggles for freedom and independence, and marked one of the most important stages on the road towards the Proclamation of Independence on 28 November 1912. Comrade Ramiz Alia writes: «On this historic road, which was blazed sword in hand and was drenched with blood, the Albanian League of Prizren constitutes a historic event which provided the basis for the struggle of the Albanian people for freedom, independence and social progress. Because the past is not just something over and done with, but is a constituent part of the present and serves the future — this dialectical notion lies on the basis of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and explains the importance they attach to tradition for the patriotic and revolutionary education of our people».

Due to the glorious epic the League of Prizren wrote with the pen and the blood, the time has placed it on the pedestal of the history of the Albanian people.

In commemorating the 110th anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren, our people highly appraise its glorious work, the great contribution of its leader and the thousands of its ordinary fighters, who with the resolve, courage and the blood they shed, wrote this brilliant page in the history of the entire Albanian nation.

ABOUT THE ARTICLES OF A «SPECIALIST» IN ALBANIAN AFFAIRS IN THE NEWSPAPER «BORBA»

by **JAVER MALO**

BEGINNING FROM APRIL 26 THIS YEAR, THE BELGRADE NEWSPAPER BORBA HAS PUBLISHED TWELVE ARTICLES BY ARSO MILATOVIĆ IN THE SERIES «DO WE KNOW THE ALBANIANS?». IN THE INTRODUCTION TO HIS ARTICLES, THE AUTHOR WRITES THAT «OUR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND OBLIVION OR NEGLECT OF THE FACTS OF OUR CENTURIES-LONG RELATIONS WITH THE ALBANIANS ARE A SERIOUS HINDRANCE TO OUR EFFORTS TO FINDING THE BEST WAY TO EVENTUALLY BRING ABOUT CLOSER CONTACTS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALBANIA. ACQUAINTANCE, ESPECIALLY BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS, IS NECESSARY AND USEFUL.» HOWEVER, A, MILATOVIĆ MAKES ONLY A HOLLOW DECLARATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES, BECAUSE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THESE WORDS, WHICH SERVE AS A PRELUDE, HE FILLS HIS LONG SERIES OF ARTICLES WITH SLANDERS AND INSULTS. IN THIS MANNER HE DOES NOT BRING ABOUT GOOD UNDERSTANDING, BUT ONLY DIVISION AND ENMITY BETWEEN PEOPLES.

By means of his articles he wants, first of all, to distort the history of Albania, to present the Albanians as an almost wild and utterly uncivilized people. Thus, for example, he says that in the beginning of the 19th century the Albanians «were the smallest and the most backward people in the Balkans. They had neither a state tradition, nor the tradition of a developed national order, nor a civilization, or an alphabet or school of their own, nor a friendly people to help them.»

Truly a great scientific discovery! It would be pointless to deal here with history in order to reply to an author who flagrantly distorts history. However, we cannot help saying that as far as civilization, the alphabet, or a state tradition are concerned, the Albanian people have

JAVER MALO — Publicist

no reason to feel inferior to the other Balkan peoples and even less, the Serbs, whom the author takes as a point of reference and comparison. Those who laid the foundations of the Serb state, Karageorgević and Miloš in the first place, as the Yugoslav authors have it, were illiterate. Until the middle of the 19th century the number of primary schools in Serbia was so small that it is not worth mentioning. And if Vuk Karadžić published his first grammar of the Serb language in 1814, not much time later the Albanian patriot Naum Veqilharxhi published his first ABC-book of the Albanian language.

We are far from making the Serb people responsible for their cultural backwardness, as Arso Milatović does about the Albanians. The relative backwardness of the Balkan peoples

has to do with historical, social and class factors, and the negative role the Great Powers have played to the detriment of the Balkan peoples. We would be chauvinists, the same as the author of these articles, were we to accuse the Croats and Slovenes for lack of culture and a state tradition only because they shook off the Austro-Hungarian yoke when the bi-cephalous monarchy lost the imperialist First World War, that is, much later than the Albanians.

In this manner, making light of all obstacles and taking the bit between his teeth, the author continues to explain the history of Albania and the Albanians, going so far as to say that the Albanians accepted Islam in order to liberate themselves «from the rule of their Slav neighbours». Islamization has not been an Albanian phenomenon only. However, in this case the question for a man who more or less knows the history of the Balkans would be: «But why did the Bosnians, who are Slavs, too, embrace Islam? Did they also do it to liberate themselves from Slav rule?» So, on this point he falls into a major contradiction with his ownself because below he writes that the Yugoslav ethnographers have «proved that North Albania's highlanders are our compatriots converted to Catholicism, while the Albanians of Kosova and Metohia are Christian-Orthodox Serbs who have abjured their origin». While «admiring» these Yugoslav «scientists»

for their outstanding discovery, we still expect them to explain it to us why these «Slavs», while changing their religion, managed to preserve their Albanian language, tradition and national character?

As to annexation of Albanian territories, Arso Milatović says that «they were won by force of arms and their annexation was sanctioned by the Great Powers». However, he passes in silence the fact that the appetite of the Serb and Montenegrin rulers was much greater, that the former demanded Durrës and the latter Shkodra, and that Ismail Qemali's Albanian government, which proclaimed Albania's independence at Vlora, saw itself in a most difficult position due to the Serb-Montenegrin occupation of half today's Albania.

In another article the author affirms that the Albanians «were late in joining the anti-fascist movement, just as they were late in joining the national liberation movement of the 19th century». However, in 1920 the Albanian people were the first in the Balkans to fight arms in hand and with rare heroism against the armies of Italian imperialism, the forerunner of fascism, and drove it out into the sea, although their northern borders continued to be under the threat of those who ruled in Serbia and Montenegro.

Later the Albanian people continued on their course, made the 1924 Revolution and opened up the road for the democratic development of the country, establishing in Tirana one of the most progressive governments not only of the Balkans, but also of Europe of that time. Unfortunately, however, the scum of reaction, which had been thrown out of Albania's borders, returned to Tirana in December of the same year, with the direct assistance of the Yugoslav state and Pašić, «the good old man», who ruled Yugoslavia at that time, who put weapons, money, Serb soldiers and white Russian mercenaries who had been driven out of the Soviet Union by the October Revolution and given shelter and re-grouped in Yugoslavia, at Ahmet Zog's disposal.

The author does not mention all these doings of the Serb monarchist

rulers which were a reflection of their long-standing intentions in regard to the Albanian territories. He only expresses his dissatisfaction with Zog who «tricked» Pašić and went over to Mussolini. He does not mention other facts, either, like the proposal of the Yugoslav prime minister, Stojadinović to Count Ciano during the latter's visit to Belgrade in the end of January 1938, about the two countries dismembering and dividing Albania between themselves. The Yugoslav prime minister was blind to the danger threatening Yugoslavia from the Axis Powers and dreamed only of extending the borders of his state further on, to Durrës, Tirana and Elbasan, which was an old dream of the Serb chauvinists. Instead of denouncing the Belgrade fascist rulers and their expansionist policy, the author, on the contrary, denounces Comintern for its correct policy towards the fascist regime of the Serb bourgeoisie of that time. The 3rd Communist International, founded by Lenin, played a major role in the creation and tempering of communist parties, the union of the peoples in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and reaction, and in setting up popular fronts fighting for peace, democracy and socialism against fascism, which was preparing to hurl the world into a new holocaust. In particular, the communists and peoples of the Balkans are grateful to Comintern for the great assistance it gave them, and feel proud that Leipzig's hero, the great son of Bulgaria and the Balkans, George Dimitrov, stood at its head at that time. Comintern gave great assistance to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, too, but one cannot expect good words from those who have taken it upon themselves to praise everything negative in Serb society, and its chauvinist, expansionist and fascist ruling class.

The author of the articles published in the newspaper, *Borba* not only does not explain, but does not even mention the fact that the Albanians, «who joined late the anti-fascist movement», as he has it, «educated in a spirit of revenge against the Serbs», «the most backward people in the Balkans», created one of the more powerful national liberation move-

ments in Europe and fought side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia up to complete victory over fascism, pursuing the enemy deep into the territory of Yugoslavia, for the freedom of their country and the establishment of a new world, so that the bitter past should never be repeated.

Arso Milatović writes also about many other things, confusing them or seeing them with the eyes of a short-sighted chauvinist. However, he makes no mention of the common struggle of our two peoples against fascism, or of the massacres perpetrated by Mihailović's gangs against all those they considered communists, whether they were Albanian, Serb or Montenegrin. He distorts everything for the sole purpose of slandering and insulting the Albanians and, together with them, Comintern. He recalls with deep hatred and contempt the events of the war in which Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins fell side by side in the barricade. «Communists in fascist uniform who had been charged with the mission of creating Greater Albania», this is how he calls the internationalist communists who went from Albania to Kosova after the capitulation of the old Yugoslavia. However, Arso Milatović is forced to admit half-heartedly, in a passage, that these communists went to Kosova on the demand of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a demand our new Party complied with immediately and in a lofty internationalist spirit. They were sent there not to work for the creation of Greater Albania, but to make their contribution to the struggle against fascism and for the freedom of the peoples.

This «specialist» in Albanian affairs is quick to switch from Kosova over to Albania, but only in order to attribute to our men and our people a most insulting nature and character. As Vladan Georgević, who wrote that the Albanians were people with a tail, did in the past. Arso Milatović writes about the Albanians that «the geographic milieu in which they have lived, and the climate and nature in which they have existed have left in their character and consciousness deviousness and servility mixed

with Latin cunningness and slyness, all disguised under deepingrained Oriental politeness and wisdom, which is another word for duplicity». However, this talent for «duplicity» that Albanians «attribute to the sincere Yugoslavs» who organized that «children's game» which the Berat plot was and which Milatović does not even bother to mention in his long writings which resemble a cheap installment novel in European newspapers up to the beginning of this century. Were this Montenegrin settler from Prizren to tell these things about Prince Nikola and his spiritual successors, Prince Nikola who took money with both hands from Russia, Italy, and Austria, and a fat pension from his «enemy» Sultan Hamid, who had also donated him a palace in Constantinople, were he to say these things about the successors of the Byzantine ideologists who were known for their hypocrisy and duplicity, this would, in the final analysis, be acceptable. However, to say all these things about the Albanians who have in the centuries been famous for their pride and honesty, for their «besa» and the keeping of their word, this shows not only the cynicism, but also the blindness of the author, which is the result of his chauvinism. Periphrasing the saying of a former personality of the French left, who declared that France has «the most idiotic right in the world», we would say without fear of error that Yugoslavia has «the most idiotic chauvinists in its midst».

The author speaks about Albania and Kosova, and expresses his regret at the emergence and growth of a new intelligentsia in Kosova, the production of literary and artistic works in Albanian language, and the

activity of the University of Prishtina which, according to him, lives with the idea of Albanian greatness and intends to bring about the union with Albania. Arso Milatović deals also with other things, of which we have heard for a long time now from the Yugoslav propaganda, as for example that Albanian women give birth to many children, which is intended as a threat to Yugoslavia, he speaks about the Albanian Piedmont, expresses his fear of Albanian propaganda and especially the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and declares with great «authority» that «Albania did not participate in the Helsinki Conference because it wanted to annex Kosova», and many other things of this kind.

On August 4, 1956, in a conversation with the extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia, who on orders from the Yugoslav leaders had come to voice their disapproval of the assessment by our Party of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations of the years 1946-1948, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «You say that you will be objective in the report you will send your leadership about the things we talked over. This has importance because the representatives of a state have a direct influence on the development of relations between two countries, but it must be said that the personnel of the Yugoslav embassy does not go about it in this spirit, but in a hostile spirit towards our country and our Party».

In this manner, with the great tact which characterized him, Comrade Enver Hoxha let the Yugoslav representative understand that he himself was responsible for this hostile activity. Yugoslavia's representative at

that time was no other than Arso Milatović himself. Also from his articles in the newspaper *Borba* it is evident what a negative role this «diplomat» has played in the development of Albanian-Yugoslav relations. In his last writings, because he died when they were still being published, he shows how limited and superficial was his knowledge of Albania and the Albanians. Finally, it should be said that he was ignorant also of diplomatic ethics, which obliges diplomatic representatives not only not to carry out, but also not to say anything reprehensible, not to slander or insult the people in whose country they have carried out their mission. However, it would be pointless here to expect observance of diplomatic etiquette by a diplomat who has never known what diplomacy is and, as long as he lived, learned and knew only one thing: a pathological hatred for Albania and the Albanians.

Our impression of all this is made worse by the fact that the newspaper *Borba* has published the writings of this contributor at a time when the ink is still wet on the document of the Belgrade Conference. At that Conference all the Foreign Ministers worked in a constructive spirit for the Conference to achieve as many good results as possible in the interest of good neighbourliness and understanding in the Balkans. The Albanian delegation, which attracted the attention of the Yugoslav and foreign press with the seriousness and constructive spirit in which it posed problems, made its contribution in this spirit, too. Do Milatović's attacks in the newspaper *Borba* on Albania and the Albanians promote this spirit, or are they intended for other aims?

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PERESTROYKA — A PROGRAM AND STRATEGY FOR STRENGTHENING SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

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

The reforms Gorbachov has undertaken in the Soviet Union, which go under the name of «Perestroyka», have already had a wide response and aroused much debate and discussion both within the country and throughout the world. Its inventor and initiator presents «perestroyka» as a new philosophy, a new political thought, a new ideology and ethic, indeed a new revolution which in its importance, extension and depth compares with the Great Socialist October Revolution.

It is not the first time we hear about such reforms being discussed in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was the first Soviet leader to initiate, with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, that great counter-revolutionary change and that process of reforms and transformations which sapped socialism, opened the road for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and brought all these retrogressive consequences in the world communist and worker movement.

However, as is known, Khrushchev did not succeed in carrying his reforms through to the end. He was accused of subjectivism and

volunturism and being too precipitous and impatient, so Brezhnev followed his course with more measured steps. Having gained greater experience, Gorbachov now has vigorously set out on the road of his predecessors, especially that of his spiritual father — Nikita Khrushchev, to carry his work through to completion.

Perestroyka is, nor could it be otherwise, broader in extension and deeper-going in content than all the revisionist reforms undertaken before Gorbachov. The crisis of Soviet revisionism and the whole of Soviet society had reached such a degree that it called for a new program to cope with the situation in all fields, the economy and policy, the life of the party and state organs, education and culture, the whole life of the country. This grave situation propelled Gorbachov to power and perestroyka emerged as a way out of it.

Perestroyka is also considered a lifeboat in the conditions of the general grave crisis of the whole of modern revisionism, its theoretical and practical failures, its political and moral discredit, its electoral defeats and the splits of its diffe-

rent trends. So the revisionist currents hail it with enthusiasm not only because they find their own ideas in it, but also because it enables them to raise their authority, which is already at rock bottom, and to gain more of the trust of the bourgeoisie, which now sees that it has nothing to fear from them.

Perestroyka is anti-socialism

The Kremlin leadership seeks to present «perestroyka» as a sure road and means for the regeneration of Soviet society. As Khrushchev did in his time, Gorbachov talks about a return to Lenin and his ideas of socialism, and says that the general motto of «perestroyka» is «more democracy and more socialism». The Soviet revisionists, however, cannot return to Marxism or Lenin and his ideas of socialism, because they have abandoned them long ago, when the Khrushchevites usurped power in the party and the state after Stalin's death. The true essence of «perestroyka» is an attack on all fronts on Marxism-

Leninism and scientific socialism, and a reformation not of the socialist system, but of the revisionist order according to a new capitalist model.

Gorbachov is trying to give his strategy for the strengthening of Soviet social-imperialism a theoretical basis, proclaiming that its aim is the construction of a new model of socialism, which is utterly dissimilar to that preached by his predecessors. Actually all the theses and views he has expounded in his main reports and speeches and synthesized in his book on «perestroyka», which has been distributed world-wide, are a mixture of the doctrines of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and liberal, even christian, socialism which presupposes exploitation of man by man, the division of society into classes and the rule of the bourgeoisie.

His predecessors capitalized on the terms of «real», «developed», or «mature» socialism. The present Soviet leadership seeks to break off openly and officially with any socialist appeal, no matter how formal, that may be left. In his speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachov called for overcoming the historically limited and obsolete form of social organization and methods of work, introducing more contemporary

forms into socialism, achieving a new quality of socialism, and finding, as he put it, «a model for a modern society».

Summing up the ideological and political objective of «perestroyka», the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* writes: «State socialism now has become an obstacle to advance and must be replaced with self-administering socialism». No other terms have been found for the new model than these used by the anarcho-syndicalists and Titoites. Life, however, has shown the complete failure of the system of self-administration whose first model has found its implementation in Yugoslavia. With foreign debts to the tune of 20 billion dollars, a deep-going economic, political and national crisis, galloping inflation, growing unemployment and constant price-rises, with corruption and economic scandals, and the degeneration of spiritual life, the Yugoslav reality is a clear indication of the prospects this system opens up.

The self-administering socialism of «perestroyka», according to its ideologists, has as its elements the economic rivalry among state enterprises, cooperatives and private entrepreneurs: renunciation by the state of the greater part of its administrative functions and its transformation into an arbiter intervening and control-

ling socio-economic life, establishment of new relations of power among the party, the government and non-governmental organizations, development of self-administration, cultural pluralism, etc. The lack of theoretical originality is clearly seen in all these elements. You can find them in many programs of the socialist, social-democratic and Eurocommunist parties of Europe.

Claims to a new model of socialism are accompanied by a savage offensive on Stalin and his revolutionary and Leninist views of socialism, which are called «ideological stereotypes». Not only Stalin as a person against whom so much venom is being poured, but also the whole socialist system that was built in the Soviet Union with so much heroism and sacrifice by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik party with Stalin at the head, is made the target of these attacks. All this glorious period is classified as a history of crime and distortions of socialism. The question here is not in the least about totally rejecting the deed of socialism, because only in this way can the road be cleared for «perestroyka» and «glasnost» which are intended to wipe off all traces of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Stalin is not to blame for the grave crisis the Soviet Union is going through. Sta-

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lin left the Soviet Union a great world power and a victor over fascism. In his time the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, and a deep-going cultural revolution were carried out, and a true multinational family of the Soviet peoples was created. Stalin awakened Russia, pulled it out of poverty and hunger and made it an advanced country in all directions. The Soviet people have a vivid and indelible recollection of that period when there was neither unemployment or inflation, nor crisis or social differentiation.

Who then is to blame for all those evils Gorbachov himself is forced to admit to, such as decline of production rates, work productivity, and the level of income, or elements of moral erosion like parasitism, crime, corruption, drug-addiction, etc.? The blame lies squarely with all those revisionist leaders who have led the Soviet Union over these 35 years since the death of Stalin, the blame lies with the renunciation of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, and the restoration of capitalism, which were initiated by Khrushchev at the notorious 20th Congress of the CPSU. Precisely to cover up this truth now Khrushchev is being praised and Brezhnev criticized and made a scapegoat for the failure of the revisionist course.

For the justification of

his «perestroyka» Gorbachov seeks theoretical support in the views of all those who were against the Leninist program of socialist construction and who now are being rehabilitated one after the other ranging from Bukharin to Zinoviev, Kameniev and all their supporters. As right deviators, Bukharin and his consorts were for the free development of capitalist elements both in the city and in the countryside, for the free market as a regulator of the economy and against socialist industrialization and collectivization. Hence, without rehabilitating their champions the Leninist line of the construction of socialism cannot be rejected, nor can the road be cleared for private ownership, decentralization and self-administration. We know of the stern criticism and denunciation by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist stand of all the right deviators, especially Bukharin whose views Lenin called «the acme of ideological decadence» and their author a defender of the NEP-men and kulaks.

In the context of theoretical and ideological problems the role and place of the party has also been questioned in order to make, as Gorbachov has it, «a clear distinction of functions between the party and the state organs». This is presented as one of the main problems of

the 19th All-Union Conference of the party which will be held in the end of this month in Moscow. The question here is about redimensioning the leading role of the party so as to adapt it to self-administering «socialism», pluralism and the opening towards the West.

Changes in the economic base cannot fail to impose the need for changes not only in the role of the party, but also in the whole political system. Here, too, Gorbachov wants to destroy a tradition that has become an obstacle to him. The system of elections and the functions and competences of legislative and executive organs, everything is being subjected to the new political strategy. For this there will be a juridical and legal reform which will be one of the problems to be taken up at the national conference of the party. The Soviet publicist Bulratski writes in these days in the *Liternaya gazeta* that a presidential political system, which has shown to be very effective in many a western democracy, would be very convenient for the present-day Soviet Union.

So «perestroyka» is intended to adapt the structure and superstructure of Soviet society better to the new stage of «democratic and humane socialism» in order to eliminate everything that hampers the complete tran-

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sition to a new society of uncamouflaged capitalist exploitation.

Privatization of the economy - the main aim of perestroyka

The monopoly state capitalism which has been established as a result of the usurpation of state power by the Khrushchevite revisionists has brought along phenomena typical of it — social and economic crisis, stagnation, bureaucracy and corruption. In these conditions, Gorbachov put at the centre of «perestroyka» a new economic strategy: that of ever greater encouragement and development of the contemporary forms of capitalism. In an interview with a Yugoslav newspaper, the Soviet economist B. Shmelyed says that «Gorbachov's aim is the creation of a broad network of small private enterprises and farms operating parallel with the state sector.»

According to this new economic strategy the private sector is developing at high rates both in the city and in the countryside. The new law on private work allows its utilization in about 30 kinds of activities in the field of production and services. On the other hand, the law on cooperation gi-

ves the green lights to the intensive development of small-scale private production. Unlike the Constitution of 1977, which allows private individual work in agriculture and certain other activities, now private producers have the right to exercise their activity also by setting up wholly private cooperatives and enterprises in industry and agriculture, transport and construction building, intellectual activities, etc. According to the journal *Kommunist* during these years about 50 million working people, 5.5 million pensioners and invalids, 5 million students, apart from the great army of housewives, will be engaged in entirely private activities.

Attempts are being made at extending the bases of the private economy to the village, too, where already 25 per cent of agricultural production is accounted for by precisely this sector. It has also been decided to legalize the fragmentation of the land which will be leased on contract to individuals, families and groups, which will carry out all work against a tribute to the leasing state. This right is accorded to both those residing in the city and the countryside. With these measures Gorbachov is undermining and destroying everything that has remained from the collectivization of agriculture, which was one of the greatest victories of

socialism. With the broad scope that is being given to privatization both in the city and in the countryside, he intends to stimulate the petty bourgeoisie and its production further, which, as Lenin has said, gives birth to capitalism every day and every hour.

The new economic strategy is also intended to restructure the mechanism of functioning of Soviet enterprises. Under the new law on state enterprises complete independence, with self-financing and profit as the main regulators of the productive activity, constitutes the essence and basic principle of their activity. At present 60 per cent of enterprises of industrial production, along with those of transport, building construction, etc. is implementing the system of self-financing and decentralization in taking decisions on most problems of production and planning of work quotas, wages, investments, etc. The road has been cleared for the free movement of capital for enterprises to carry on joint activities and the wholesale trade of the means of production with foreign companies, the existing market relations have been legalized and a work force market is being created just as in the West. This mechanism has become operational also for the activities of the collective forms, as was declared at their 4th Congress

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which was held in March this year.

The new system of greater competences for the technocrats and managers of production is intended, through the increase of their profits, to stimulate this stratum of the Soviet bourgeoisie further, so as to activate it more in increasing surplus value, which is so necessary for the growing needs of the stepped up militarization and the parasitary consumption of the new revisionist bourgeoisie as a class.

Parallel with the process of privatization, «perestroyka» has flung the doors wide open to foreign capital investments and the setting up of joint enterprises which was for the first time sanctioned by law, according to instructions from Gorbachov. Foreign economic relations have also been decentralized further, enterprises and collective farms, cooperatives and private entrepreneurs will be free to enter economic transactions and direct links with foreign firms. A greater integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy is sought by all manner of means.

Gorbachov presents his capitalist platform for the development of the economy as an actual implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) followed by Lenin after the Civil War. However, it is known that the New Economic Policy was

implemented by Lenin only for a limited period of time and in a very grave situation in which the new state of the Soviets was threatened by hunger and the world of capital. The glorious leader of the October Revolution never considered it a general law of socialist construction, but only a temporary withdrawal, which was imposed by the specific conditions of the moment. Not much time later, only a year after the application of NEP, at the 11th Congress of the Party, Lenin declared that this tactic was over and issued the slogan for preparing the offensive on private capital in the economy. To attribute renunciation of NEP to Stalin means to distort Soviet history, and openly take the defence of private capitalism. What for Lenin was only a tactic at that time has been proclaimed a «Leninist» (!) strategy by Gorbachov.

The Leninist strategy for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union was based on industrialization and collectivization, the modernization on a broad front of the economy of the country, the establishment of social ownership and the limitation and liquidation of private ownership. This strategy Stalin implemented with revolutionary consistency, by carrying out a broad program for the construction of socialism. And

the Second World War is evidence as to where this program led the Soviet Union.

The present Soviet leadership has laid great store by the private capitalist initiative and the western methods of management of the economy, in the hope that in that way it could be able to pull the Soviet economy out of the crisis and the consequences it entails. But just as present-day capitalism has proved powerless to avoid these phenomena and ulcers, so Gorbachov's new capitalist reforms will fail to liquidate them. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has analysed it: «The campaign Gorbachov has launched at the present time in the Soviet Union against backwardness and stagnation of the economy, against bureaucratic methods of management, against parasitic and venal high-ranking officials, against misuse and illicit gain, is a demagogic campaign the aim of which is to deceive and lull the Soviet peoples to sleep. These ulcers are by no means the result of previous subjective mistakes, as they try to make out, but the spawn of the very capitalist system which has been restored there. They cannot be cured either by decrees, or through reforms.»

State monopoly capitalism, or the private capitalism of free enterprise, or the combination of both, giving

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priority sometime to one form sometime to the other form, in the conditions of capitalism, are only manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie to ensure the continuity of its political and economic power, and to guarantee its own profits. All reforms in the capitalist economy and society are based, in the first place, on the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the working masses. Perestroyka has created a similar situation in the last three years in the Soviet Union, where, as the economist G. Popov admits in the pages of the magazine *Ogonyok*, «the growing material demands of the workers still cannot be fulfilled». He complains that a large section of the workers «are one of the main centres opposed to perestroyka», and goes on with a call for the creation of «groups of pressure» to support the development of perestroyka with the help of workers selected from the private and cooperativist sectors.

The social and class differentiation that took place in the country after the advent to power of the Khrushchevites has been further accentuated and, as Gorbachov admitted recently, «this society will ineluctably have a variety of strata». The *Izvestia* is compelled to publish readers' letters which reveal that «the division of society into rich, on the one hand, and the unsecured, on

the other hand, the fall in the standard of living of individual groups of people, exist». The magazine *Novyi Mir* admits that «the situation of supplies not only has not been improved, but on the contrary, has grown worse». TASS, through the statement of a top official of the Ministry of Finances, reports that «new taxes will be imposed» on the workers. All this has led to a growing discontent of the masses, has touched off the outbreak of «social conflicts», as the Soviet press mildly calls the workers' strikes. Gorbachov admits openly that perestroyka «will touch the interests of an ever larger section of people, social groups and strata».

But who lends his support to perestroyka? Behind it are a whole lot of worn anti-communist elements and intellectuals of the revisionist vanguard, the broad strata of the worker aristocracy, of the new technocrats and administrators, who have adapted themselves to Gorbachov's restructurings and find in them the ways and means for the attainment of their selfish interests.

The Western bourgeoisie does not withhold its support for the perestroyka, because in this process of reforms it sees, above all, a broader possibility for exploiting the vast Soviet market and the cheaper Soviet labour, a possibility for a

more complete integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy and for greater harmonization of its interests in markets and spheres of influence. This general stand of the international bourgeoisie was openly and clearly expressed by the head of American imperialism, President Reagan, during and after his visit in Moscow, in which he did not spare his eulogies to Gorbachov and his reforms.

Glasnost - a means for crowning all bourgeois ideals

Perestroyka needs a definite psychological and propaganda atmosphere, which Gorbachov strives to create through glasnost. Publicized as a democratic mechanism, glasnost is, in fact, a means in the service of the liberal wing which fights for dominating positions against the powerful party and state bureaucracy of the Brezhnevian period, which, in the new economic mechanism of perestroyka, sees a threat to its own privileges and interests.

In the context of glasnost, they have launched a campaign for the rehabilitation of all and sundry counter-revolutionaries, the publications opposed to the October Revolution and the building of socialism, of rabid maligning of Stalin. It is

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not an accident that in the name of glasnost they are casting doubts even about Lenin, who is blamed for the famine which struck the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, allegedly because in those difficult years Lenin followed the policy of communism of the war. Politicians and historians, writers and journalists, sociologists and scientists, who have lined themselves up in the vanguard detachments of the Gorbachovian perestrojka, have undertaken to rewrite the history, presenting the white as black and the black as white.

With their plays and films, novels and poems, which indiscriminately slander the revolution and socialism, they are preparing the ground for the official crowning in today's Soviet Union of the social and spiritual ideals of the bourgeois democracy, of the degenerate art and culture, of the whole bourgeois mode of living. With their help Gorbachov seeks to gain political capital in the West, in order to assure the West that the Soviet Union will be open to dissidents of every shape, to ideologies of all hues.

Gorbachov has launched the slogan of socialist pluralism of views, which is not dissimilar from that of Mao Tsetung about the blooming of 100 flowers and the contention of 100 schools. This credo of glasnost has cleared the way for the out-

break of nationalist, chauvinist, cosmopolitical and imperialist views. In this atmosphere there is a revival of Slav maniacs like «Paymati», etc., a recrudescence of the Great-Russian chauvinist feeling which echoes the long-aspired right of Russia to domination and leadership not only of the people within the Soviet federation, but also of the other peoples of the world.

The intensification of the Great-Russian chauvinist hysteria cannot fail to cause the exacerbation of the nationalist crisis and tensions, which have characterized the relations among nations in the Soviet Union after the coming of the Khrushchevites to power. The events in Nagorni Karabakh, in Armenia and Azerbaidjan, in the Baltic Republics and in Kazakhstan, have irreparably disqualified the solemn statements of Gorbachov in his speech on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution that «we have given final solution to the national question.»

The national question emerged on the scene again with the Khrushchevite line and with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The newsagency «Novosti» admits that in the letters to the editorial boards of the main Soviet newspapers «many readers express their preoccupation about the future of their na-

tional languages. They stress that the schools in which national languages are taught have been closed in many regions of the Soviet Union.» Whereas *Moskovskie Novosti* publishes the letter of a lawyer from Riga, which reads, «It was not Stalin who destroyed the equality of national languages, but Khrushchev and Brezhnev. When Stalin was alive, the constitutions of each republic provided strong laws which defended national languages. But what's to be done now? Will the crimes which Khrushchev and Brezhnev committed against the non-Russian culture and language be ever mentioned? It is easy to rehabilitate Bukharin, but what will be done about the rights to national languages?»

Perestrojka is making allies also among the religious circles. The topmost representatives of the religion hierarchy publicly bless perestrojka and call on the faithful to lend their support to it. Gorbachov and the patriarch of Russia have met and found a common language in order to attack Stalin again about the way he treated religion. A new law on religious matters, which enhances the role of religious institutions in the life of society, has been drafted and the «Soviet communist state celebrated with great pomp and pageantry the millennium of Christianity in Russia.»

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Glasnost means opening up to all kinds of counter-revolutionaries and anti-communists, but when it comes to handling his opponents Gorbachov does not hesitate to censure, repress and dismiss people from leading positions. Under the banners of «defeating the resistance of conservative forces», glasnost-wise democracy has been accompanied with sweeping purges of cadres at different levels in the party, the state and the economy, the most extensive ever undertaken in the Soviet Union. Despite this, perestroyka has come up against difficulties and a great opposition; the rates and results are not what the masterminds of it were expecting. The political and ideological struggle over perestroyka has flared up with greater acuteness especially now, on the eve of the 19th All-Soviet Conference of the party. An expression of this struggle is the alarmed call of Gorbachov that «the staunchest supporters of perestroyka should be elected» to the conference of the party.

The ardent supporters of perestroyka are anxious to steal a step on their adversaries. They are for the application of perestroyka at rapid rates and through radical measures. In *Literaturnaya Gazeta* they openly confirm that the «lop-sided measures in the economic system cannot yield results. Compromise solutions, and there are plenty of them,

cannot bring about the desired change». The main opposition to the perestroyka comes from the huge state bureaucracy, which would not consent to renounce its positions and privileges in favour of the new NEP-enthusiasts. Perestroyka carries in itself a clash of interests between different groupings of the bourgeois class in power, therefore the conflicts and upheavals within its ranks are unavoidable. In order to prevent any unpleasant surprise, Gorbachov's adherents have put forward the idea that the position of the first secretary should not be determined by the Central Committee, fearing some putsch like that which overthrew Khrushchev, but should be decided by public discussion in the whole party and the masses, or that the first secretary should be elected by the Congress of the Party by direct voting.

The ideological, economic and social affinities between perestroyka and the bourgeois order does not restrict or moderate Moscow's empire-building ambitions, just as it does not mitigate the rivalry between the USSR and the USA for spheres of influence. It is true that the Soviet Union today needs a period of tranquillity, in order to save its forces and funds. But this is a transient situation and they will use it in order to regroup their forces, to determine

new tactics and moves, to consolidate the Soviet rule and eventually extend it everywhere.

Perestroyka in the field of international relations, the democratization of these relations and giving them a more humane face, which it is striving to achieve in fact, is aimed at indoctrinating the world into the ideology and the policy of Soviet social-imperialism, at hiding the threats which come to the peoples from the aggressive and hegemonist course it pursues. But the demagoguery of the political philosophy of Gorbachov on the international relations cannot cover up the reality of the social-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union.

Phrases about internationalism cannot be reconciled with the policy of hegemonism and domination of the peoples, just as the exploitation of the other countries through the sale of arms and capital investments cannot be covered up with the Soviet «concern about their development.» The fawny efforts for the correct solution of the regional conflicts cannot cover up the deals with American imperialism to the detriment of the peoples, just as the talks and the agreements reached with it allegedly in the interest of peace and security cannot cover up their attempts at monopolizing the international affairs and the division of spheres of influence.

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Making great play on the major real threat which comes to the peoples from nuclear weapons, Gorbachov, like Khrushchev in his time, has reduced all the contradictions of the world today into one single contradiction, into that between war and peace. In the name of saving mankind from the catastrophe which threatens it, of saving common ship in distress, he preaches complete class conciliation, union and collaboration with everyone without distinction, demanding that the peoples should relinquish all their revolutionary and liberation ideals. Negation of the class struggle, the socialist revo-

lution, the national liberation wars, maintenance of the status quo — this is the essence of Gorbachov's «new philosophy» in the international arena, which is as old as opportunism in the worker's movement.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which has waged a great and long struggle against modern revisionism, has been and will be a staunch fighter against revisionism of any hue, against all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and especially against Soviet revisionism, as the most sophisticated and the most dangerous revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha

has said: «Our Party cannot reconcile itself to any kind of opportunism, with any kind of deviation from Marxism-Leninism, with any distortion of it.

Modifications, tactics, perestroikas of various revisionist trends are aimed at strengthening the national and international positions of modern revisionism. The peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties have not and cannot have any illusion about corrections and reforms of the capitalist and revisionist system, because its reactionary character can be changed only through a real proletarian revolution.

THE DEFENCE OF PEACE IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The day of the victory over fascism is an historic event not only because it has entered the annals of modern time. The peoples have never considered the past a purely historical moment, and especially since the question concerns such a victory as that of May 9, 1945, which was achieved after 6 years of war and enormous sacrifices, and when its values, importance and consequences are of colossal impact and are directly connected with our days.

The historic victory over fascism is the result of

the resolute war and the great common sacrifices made by all the peoples of the anti-fascist coalition. On the European continent, especially, which was the main theatre of military operations, all the peoples hated fascism and rose in the war against the hordes of the «new order of blood-thirsty nazism.»

In this context, the contribution made by the peoples of the Soviet Union was very great and the Great Patriotic War entered history for ever. The organizer, inspirer and leading body of

this heroic war was the Bolshevik Party with J.V. Stalin at its head. On this occasion, not only the true communists, but also all the ordinary freedom-loving people remember with respect J.V. Stalin who had the great merit of defending and continuing the work of Lenin as the glorious Marxist-Leninist leader, as the great architect of the victory of the Soviet peoples over fascism.

The Albanian people are proud that they have been one of the active participants in the events which brought

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the victory over fascism. They were among the first who coped with the fascist onslaught without support, and, in the face of the Mussolinian legions which overran the country, never for a moment lost heart and always had confidence in the just cause of their war. The past had taught them that freedom is won through war and sacrifices, relying on their own forces. And the great historical fact remains that not a single foreign soldier from the allied forces entered the Albanian land as happened in the other European countries. Our people were totally included in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and liberated themselves with their own forces, writing in this war the most glorious epic of their history. The inspirer, organizer and leader of this historic war was the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA), founded and led with courage and far-sightedness in the very complicated conditions of the world war by our glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The leadership of the Party ensured the total mobilization of the people in the war, created and fortified the trust in the final victory over the fascist divisions and in the construction of a new society, a free Homeland which would be emancipated and independent as it is today. It was under the leadership of the Party and

the far-sighted Marxist-Leninist thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha that the people's war gradually mounted into a profound people's revolution which neutralized and hit at the proper time internal reaction and the intrigues of international imperialism.

The Albanian people are proud because they ensured their freedom at the cost of 28 thousand lives of their best sons and daughters, through the fighting operations of the glorious National Liberation Army, which counted 70,000 strong, and which chased the occupiers not only out of the territory of Albania but also beyond it. An expression of the internationalist solidarity is the fight of the divisions of our National Liberation Army for the liberation of Kosovo, Dibra, Montenegro, Sandjak and Bosnia, side by side with the Yugoslav National Liberation Army. If we judge from the number of the population and the size of our territory, the human losses and the material damage, in economic and cultural values sustained by our people, are among the greatest among the states of the anti-fascist coalition. More of thousands of people were put in Italian and German concentration camps, imprisoned or interned, and 21 per cent of the houses in towns and villages were burned or destroyed. The new Albania which emerged from

the Anti-fascist National Liberation War occupied the place it merited as a sovereign and fully independent state in the system of international relations.

All the peoples who fought and made great sacrifices to bring about the defeat of fascism aspired for freedom and independence, for progress and peace. From the day of the triumph over fascism 43 years have passed, but the lessons which emerge from it are always valid for our days, because they demonstrate the need for vigilance and for struggle against the imperialist superpowers and against the other war-mongering forces. In the international life, the peoples come up against the aggressive imperialist policies, with blockades and blackmail, with neo-colonialist practices and principles, which are in opposition to their demands for peace and international security. It is known that the main cause of oppression and exploitation, of unrestrained militarization and aggressive wars, of all tensions which exist in Europe and the world, are the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, with their respective aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

This aggressiveness and these threats, which come from the policy and strategy of the superpowers, cannot

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be covered up with the treaties and agreements concluded between them for the reduction of armaments. The problem of disarmament, of defending peace and avoiding war is vital for the peoples, who can never let them to be solved by imperialism and social-imperia-

lism, cannot trust them to the «goodwill» of them. The solution of this problem is in the hands of the peoples, in the determination of the peoples. Comrade Ramiz Alia has emphasized: «The peoples should not and cannot see the problem of disarmament in a fatalistic

manner and the war as something unavoidable. As communists and revolutionaries we are, we have confidence in the strength of the peoples. If the peoples are united, they have the necessary strength to stop the superpowers from throwing the world into a war of extermination».

REAGAN-GORBACHOV TALKS ARE A DANGEROUS MONOPOLIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The American President, Roland Reagan, was on a five-day visit to the Soviet Union, during which he had intensive talks with the General Secretary of the CP of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachov. This was the fourth meeting in the last three years between the leaders of the two superpowers. Their meetings attract attention because each of them marks a new degree in the inter-imperialist political relations, in the agreements and rivalry between the superpowers and in the relationship of the Soviet-American collaboration and the world.

The Reagan-Gorbachov talks were not accompanied with any spectacular accord in the field of armaments, apart from the exchange of

instruments of ratification signed last December, which includes the medium- and short-range missiles. The other agreement on a fifty per cent reduction of the strategic arms was deferred until some other time. Separate agreements were signed on the joint experimentation of checking-up on the correct implementation of the treaty of 1974 on the limitation of underground nuclear tests, another agreement on the preliminary warning system for the launching of inter-continental ballistic missiles and ballistic missiles launched from submarines, and another on rescue operations at sea, etc. The number and the kinds of agreements concluded does not reduce nor does it dissimulate the negative and

dangerous effect which the negotiations and deals between the superpowers exert on the whole system of present-day international relations.

As in no other meeting with the American president, Gorbachov described the talks and the whole Soviet and American diplomacy as a «great» policy which affects millions and millions of people. The concept of this «great» policy claims to assume the right and unique role which the two superpowers have taken upon themselves to play; it has claims to the extension of the American-Soviet policy and operation to all regions and countries of the world, and to the high degree of the political and military co-ordination of interests of

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the two superpowers in the international arena.

The international public opinion is sick with the euphoria of propaganda about the bilateral meetings of the heads of the superpowers and with their pompous statements about «historic steps and pages». Each new Soviet-American meeting differs from the other only in the advancement of the American and the Soviet global strategy towards the rule and domination of the world, each in its own sphere of influence. This division, especially of the rest of the regions, apart from Europe in which the dividing line is more or less definite, is emerging more and more clearly as one of the most pressing problems they have.

In the political issues and relations the superpowers have made still greater advances, but at the same time it is here that the consequences and the great dangers of their hegemonic policies and ambitions with regard to the sovereign peoples and states upspring more flagrantly and in a more direct manner. To the present talks both sides came after having concluded the agreement on Afghanistan, which they presented as a model of the solution of all regional conflicts. The withdrawal of the occupation forces is, without doubt a good thing, but behind it lurk the deals and mutual concessions that have gone on

between the superpowers. From this angle, the efforts they are making to have the Afghan model imposed everywhere else for the solution of other regional conflicts, expresses precisely the co-ordination of their political, juridical and military actions against the various peoples and countries on a world scale.

The Moscow talks openly proclaimed the rights of the superpowers, not only to discuss matters in the absence of the interested party, but also to adopt decisions binding on others, and to offer guarantee for the solution of all those conflicts the cause of which are they alone. The leaders of the two superpowers declared that in their talks they also discussed and «made headway» in the question of Angola and Cambodia, the Middle East and Ethiopia, and many other regions. In the press conference held on June 1, Gorbachov said that «the problems of local conflicts were discussed in the most exhausting manner in the meeting and we have reached a situation in which it can be said that real possibilities emerged here for the solution of the regional conflicts on the basis of the equilibrium of interests.»

Problems concerning Europe were also put on the negotiation table of the top-level meeting between the two superpowers. These problems were discussed wi-

thout the participation of the Europeans, who were only informed after the accomplished fact. Their interests are disregarded and, what is more, pressure is put on them in order to get them do what the leaders of the superpowers decide on their behalf. Gorbachov declared without kid-gloves that the implementation of the agreements reached between the USA and the Soviet Union is a matter that concerns the other countries, especially the allies.

As on no other occasion before, this time in Moscow the two leaders evoked the coalition between the United States of America and the United Soviet Socialist Republics during the Second World War. History has recorded the values of the great anti-fascist world coalition, in which the United States and the Soviet Union participated, and against whom it was directed. But in this situation we cannot but ask the question: against whom is the present American-Soviet coalition designed, whom is it intended against? Reagan spoke about the «new collaboration», whereas Gorbachov about a greater understanding between the two sides, especially in the military field. For the first time the two laders had taken along at the top-level meeting their ministers of war, who met and talked tête-à-tête to discuss «the various zones of the world

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and the exchanges between their respective departments». The spokesman for the American president, Fitzwater, called this «the most productive form of working relations that have developed at this top-level meeting».

In the contest to find «historic documents» to show the great imperialist collaboration with the USA, the Soviet leaders did not limit themselves to the years of the Second World War only, but searched for arguments also in the first years after the War. In the days of Reagan's visit, the Soviet press declared that the one to blame for the cold war between socialism and imperialism after the Second World War was not the USA and the other capitalist powers, but Salin with his «expansionist policy» and with his «obsession with «imperialist encirclement». Such a stand towards imperialism and its cold war policy could not displease the American president and the American monopoly bourgeoisie, who see that with the present Soviet leadership it is possible to achieve a better co-ordination of the attacks of their present cold war against socialism and the revolution.

The present top-level meeting ended without concluding the much publicized agreement, made six months before in Washington, about a fifty per cent reduction of strategic weapons. Whether

or not they gave the world a treaty on strategic weapons, this, of course, is not without consequence. But independently of this, there remains the colossal destructive nuclear potential, just as there remains also the aggressive policy and the hegemonic strategy of the superpowers. The talks on armaments by the superpowers are only efforts to adjust the military rivalry, the strategic parity between themselves which is always difficult to maintain in the inter-imperialist relationships.

More than at the previous bilateral meetings, the recent talks between Reagan and Gorbachov were held under the sign of the needs of the Soviet leadership and the American administration in their internal policies. Gorbachov is on the eve of the first all-Soviet conference of the party, which will verify his program of perestrojka and will take decisions for a new phase of his «reforms». He needs a success in his foreign policy and international support, especially by his great rival and partner in the imperial plan for world domination. On this point, the American president was overgenerous and lavish with direct praise for «perestrojka» and its architect, and presented in rosy colours what he once had described as the «empire of evil». For his part, Reagan and his party are in the year of presidential elections and

on the eve of party conventions for the nomination of candidates to the presidency. Reagan's party also needs a success in the foreign policy and a Soviet support in order to have some electoral capital in store. In return, Gorbachov was unsparing in his praise for his «friend Reagan», whom he had previously called the president with fascist tendencies.

The whole affair at the recent Moscow meeting, the problems and directions, the projects and plans that were made known to the public, reveal before international opinion a continuity of the bilateral scheme in the policy and strategy of the two superpowers.

As the development of events shows, at the end of this century and on the eve of the 21st century, the peoples of the world will have to face the reality of the American-Soviet condominium, which is more dangerous than any imperialist alliance of the past. So the developments in the international life we are witnessing show with irrefutable force the correctness of the thesis expressed by Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 9th Congress of the PLA, that: «Any practice, not only present-day practice, but that throughout the epoch of imperialism, has shown that the agreements between the big powers made in the name of avoiding war and streng-

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thening peace, the establishment of order or limitation of armaments, and so on, have all resulted in cynical

deals to divide territories and spheres of influence, and to operate jointly against the liberation and revolutionary

movements. The ententes and détentes can change their uniforms and names, but their aims remain the same.»

THE AFGHAN «MODEL» OF THE SOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND THE DIVISION OF SPHERES OF INFLUENCE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

At present there is a great deal of talk and much ado in all quarters about the agreement on Afghanistan reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. But international public opinion still is not informed about what kind of concessions have been made and what commitments the two superpowers have taken in regard to one another.

Both Moscow and Washington insist that the agreement is «an event of especially great consequences» and that this marks the beginning of a «new epoch» in international relations. People have a rightful preoccupation and make the question: What is the significance of all this and what new stage are they talking about in the White House and the Kremlin? The answer is withheld, as is the practice of the secret diplomacy of the superpowers, and instead of a strait answer they dish up to the public the Afghan «model»

as a paragon of the solution of all the local conflicts in the present-day world.

In this atmosphere the world comes to learn that the United States and the Soviet Union have held consultations at vice-minister level in Paris about Cambodia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and at the same level they talked in London about Ethiopia and Angola. The American diplomacy and the Soviet diplomacy, as official sources of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the American State Department inform, are currently engaged in discussing the questions of the Middle East, Central America, South Africa and the Persian Gulf, the Horn of Africa, as well as the Korean Peninsula, Ethiopia, and even Cyprus. In short, the superpowers are trying to shape all world problems in line with the Soviet-American agreement on Afghanistan.

It is understandable that since the United States and

the Soviet Union reached an agreement about a local conflict and regard this as an important step in the relations between the Americans and the Soviets, they must have their particular deep reasons for this. It means that in the framework of these relations and the strategic relations between great powers, the problem of local conflicts is assuming more and more the same importance as that of the armaments. As the deal over Afghanistan is abundantly showing, the local conflicts are becoming one of the main bases of their policy and strategy of the domination of the world.

Certainly, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan is in itself something good. The Albanian people have been and are against the demployment of troops and military bases of one country in the other countries. And Albania remains rock firm on this position. However, in the case of

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Afghanistan it must be stressed that the withdrawal of the Soviet soldiers was meant more as a move to safeguard the prestige of Gorbachov and his associates rather than one made in the interests of the Afghan people.

The Afghan «model», which is being so loudly trumpeted about, is not a solution in conformity with the legitimate lawful interests and aspirations of the people of this country. The Afghans will continue to be massacred and torn in a civil war, which is fought with the weapons supplied by the Soviets and the Americans, while the possibility that the country might be divided into two spheres of influence is not to be ruled out.

With the withdrawal of its troops the Soviet Union eases itself of a heavy military, financial, political and moral burden. In this way, Gorbachov has the possibility of adding some good points to his score about the «perestrojka» and «glasnost» which he intends to carry out at home. But there is a limitation to his «glasnost», because no illusion should be entertained that Gorbachov will be as outspoken and sincere about what he has given to Reagan in re-

turn for what the latter has conceded to him upon the withdrawal from Afghanistan. Various observers see a connection between the role of the Americans in Afghanistan and a probable Soviet concession in Central America and in Angola, as well as in the possibility of a lenient stand of non-contradiction to the American plan of the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Afghan «model» of the solution of conflicts is nothing other than a model for the devision of the spheres of influence all over the world.

The agreements on Afghanistan show that the superpowers discuss and make decisions about the problems of the other peoples and states in the absence and to the detriment of the interested parties. Now the superpowers' dossier of local conflicts includes all kinds of conflict unpalatable for them, not only in a given region at large, but also in separate countries and states.

The models offered by the imperialist big powers for the solution of regional conflicts and problems have never coincided with the lawful interests of the peoples and with justice. Whole peoples and regions continue to

suffer the consequences of the models of solution created by the big powers for their own imperialist interests. It is from these imperialist interests that the United States and the Soviet Union proceed in the treatment of the present regional problems and in the solutions they offer.

The talks on and the prescriptions given by the superpowers for the solution of regional conflicts are an expression of the arrogance of the United States and the Soviet Union in the international relations today, of their efforts to monopolize them for their own interests. This policy of theirs which trades with the destinies and the interests of the peoples, their mutual concessions regarding different regions, have very grave consequences for the freedom and independence, the sovereignty and dignity of the nations, peace and genuine security in the world. The freedom-loving peoples and sovereign states cannot and should not watch with indifference these processes in the world policies. The history of this century is full of examples which show how dearly such stands cost and how important it is to put up a staunch opposition to these policies.

Just as in other fields, the Albanian woman makes her valuable contribution in the field of science and technique, too.



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