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MAY DAY IN ALBANIA

BRILLIANT M OF THE WORKING P COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AN LEADERS

Proud of their achievements in the epoch of the Party, with profound gratitude to our great leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, for his brilliant and immortal work and in steel unity round the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, on May Day the people of the capital streamed to the Avenue of the Martyrs of the Nation to take part in the traditional manifestation of the international festivity of the working class. This is the May Day of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland — a year full of great and joyful events for the Party and the people. We have come to this beautiful celebration full of optimism and determined to make our beloved socialist country stronger and more prosperous.

At ten o'clock the avenue resounded with ovations and applause when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Prokop Murr, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kicho Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, the president of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Xhafer Spahiu, members of the Central Committee of the Party and government, emerged on the central tribune erected in front of the palace of the Council of Ministers.

On the tribune stood people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, vanguard workers of industry, agriculture, education, science, art and culture, representatives of the mass organizations, militarymen, young men and women.

Students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana, who were lined up in front of the tribune, cheered enthusiastically for the Party and shook bouquets of flowers. Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted them affectionately.

Foreign guests, heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania were also present on the tribune.

The brass band executed the National Anthem.

Comrade Hekuran Isai, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

This year the working class and the whole Albanian people, he said, celebrate May Day, the day of the international solidarity of the working people, in the atmosphere of enthusiasm and mobilization which the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution have aroused throughout the country. I greet you on this occasion and wish you a happy celebration on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

Our people come to this beautiful celebration of the working people with new achievements in all fields of social activity. They come head erect and proud of having achieved all their victories on the socialist road on the basis of self-reliance, holding their hand out to nobody. Our Homeland develops and advances knowing no crisis or inflation, no drug addiction or degeneration, which are incurable ulcers of the bourgeois-revisionist society today.

United as one round our heroic Party of Labour, our people have mobilized all their creative energies to make our socialist Homeland ever more beautiful, ever more prosperous and ever more powerful; and this gives them fresh forces and makes them even more optimistic about the future that awaits them.

The name and authority of socialist Albania is in constant rise in the international arena, for our country has always followed a wise and far-sighted policy, a correct policy of our people, of good neighbourliness and stability in the Balkans, as well as peace in the world. Albania denounces the aggressive policies and acts of the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers. Albania unreservedly supports the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the working class and peoples for freedom and independence. It opposes the policy of social oppression and national inequality.

On this festive day we warmly hail our patriotic brothers, wherever they are, the friends and well-wishers of our country, the true revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninist parties, and the

MANIFESTATION PEOPLE OF THE CAPITAL

OTHER PARTY AND STATE
ATTENDING



working class as the carrier and realizer of the ideals of the new society.

Comrades,

Implementation of the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the important decisions of the Plenum of its Central Committee, and fulfilment of the great tasks that are placed before us call on the working class, the peasantry and all the working people of our country to make more efforts and strengthen discipline at work, to raise their militancy and involve themselves more deeply in mass actions, display more creativeness and more initiative, and enhance their control and political responsibility.

The May 7 elections are drawing near and they will be followed by the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania. Let us turn these events into a powerful mass manifestation of the unity of the working people round the Party and its correct line. Let us enhance the strength of this manifestation through the fulfilment and overfulfilment of tasks in all fields of social activity.

Led, as always, by the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, let us turn the jubilee year of liberation into a year of intense work to fulfil planned tasks on all fronts, to improve the well-being of the people further, to make their culture and spiritual life richer, to increase our vigilance and strengthen the defence capacity of our beloved socialist Homeland.

His speech was interrupted by frequent ovations «Party-Enver — we are always ready» and enthusiastic cheers for the Party.

In this atmosphere of rejoicing a group of young pioneers of Enver mounted the tribune. They offered Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders bouquets of flowers. Comrade Ramiz Alia affectionately caresses the children.

The national flag was flying in front of each square of the par-

ticipants in the manifestation. Then came a group of banner-bearers followed by workers holding portraits of the classics of Marxism-Leninism — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Gymnasts formed the figure «1944 — red star — 1989» before the tribune, and then «the 45th Anniversary of Liberation» and the portrait of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. They performed gymnastical exercises and created beautiful figures.

The working collectives of the capital started their manifestation. They celebrate the festivity with pride and with rich successes. Over 150 working collectives have fulfilled the planned tasks of these four months and many of them have overfulfilled them, giving some million leks worth of production above plan. On a district basis they have fulfilled planned tasks ahead of schedule in general industrial production, goods turnover, construction, transport, communal services, the production of small items, etc. The workers of the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor plant are in the lead.

«We build socialism relying on our own forces», this is our guiding motto. On this road we have marched and will continue to march, for it is the road of victories, the road for the further strengthening of independence. Our successes speak for themselves. Tirana today boasts a powerful modern industry. Only in the last two decades general industrial production has increased more than 3.8 times over. Now it takes two months and a half for Tirana to turn out the amount of industrial production of 1960. It occupies first place in the republic in mechanical engineering, wood-processing, light industries, etc.

«The decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA are implemented by fulfilling tasks in every field», «Let us go to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania with new achievements», — these were some other slogans of those participating in the manifestation. The working people of the capital carried the slogans «Long live proletarian internationalism!», «Revo-

lutionary greetings to the proletariat and the peoples struggling for social and national liberation». From its heart, red Tirana hailed the Marxist-Leninist parties — the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the peoples of Africa and Latin America struggling against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and expressed its support for the just cause of the heroic Palestinian people fighting for their legitimate rights. The people of the capital greeted their Albanian brothers, and the friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania everywhere in the world, emphasizing once more that our foreign policy is a correct policy of principle, and a factor of peace in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

Albania, which was once called «a geographical expression» by those who wanted to deny it its rights, supports the struggle of all those defending their national and democratic rights. This manifestation showed that «our people want to live in peace and understanding with the neighbouring peoples» and that «the independent and democratic stand of each state is a condition for the democratization of international relations».

Cheering workers paraded with the slogans «Modern revisionism of all hues and Gorbachov's perestroika are anti-Marxist theories and practices», «Down with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the most dangerous enemies of freedom and the independence of the peoples, peace and social progress», «NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are political and military instruments of the superpowers for hegemony and expansion, a source of tensions and conflicts in Europe».

For some minutes, the school youth of the capital occupied the whole avenue. If all the students of 8-year and middle schools, as well as those of the part-time schools of the capital had come out on the avenue, their number would have been equal to the whole population of Tirana in 1938. Students carrying a portrait of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the slogan «Mar-

xism-Leninism is the dominant ideology in our country», «The magnificent work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is a source of inspiration for the present and future generations», «Long live the PLA and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head», etc., were a symbol of the sound convictions and the everyday active work of our youth at school, mass actions and military training for the defence of the Homeland.

Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted with love the students who on this great day had come out to manifestate for the working class and all the working people.

After a figure symbolizing the preparation of our entire soldier people to defend the socialist Homeland, the broad avenue resounded with marches and the powerful steps of the squares of young men and women parading in military uniform.

There could be no greater happiness than to see our children, the young generation of socialist Albania, grow healthy, happy and full of joy. The Party and the whole people work for the life of children to be always happy and their future secure. Hundreds of tenderfoots and pioneers of Enver radiated their joy all over the place. Smiling, singing and dancing in their multi-coloured costumes, they are the finest flowers of our socialist spring. They assembled before the tribune to express their happiness, cheering «Party-Enver — we are always ready», singing their songs and waving bouquets of flowers. Comrade Ramiz Alia affectionately hailed the little ones who would not leave the tribune.

The manifestation ended with the «Internationale». All sang together the anthem of the world proletariat.

As always, on this May Day, too, the people of the capital expressed

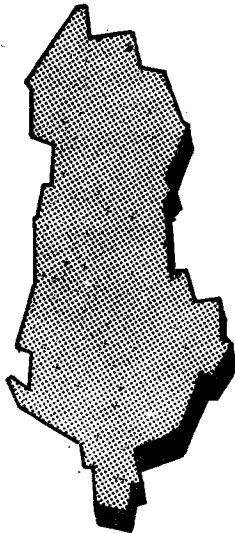
their boundless love for the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia, and their determination to turn into reality all the great tasks of this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, and march always forward on the road of socialism, the road of Enver.

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In the atmosphere of revolutionary mobilization and drive created by the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, May Day was joyfully celebrated all over the country. The working class and all the other working people came to this festivity with new achievements in all fields of production and life, implementing the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the recommendations of Comrade Ramiz Alia.



FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



A BRILLIANT VICTORY OF THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE WITH THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

COMMUNIQUE ON THE CONCLUSION OF ELECTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS AND PEOPLE'S COURTS

On May 7, 1989, in an atmosphere of great popular rejoicing, the elections for the people's councils of the districts, the city quarters of Tirana, the cities and city quarters, the united villages and villages, and for the people's judges and assistant judges were held throughout the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The returns from the polling, which the executive committees of the district people's councils have reported to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, show that:

The elections were carried out everywhere in complete conformity with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the provisions of the decree «On the elections for the people's councils and the people's courts».

The total number of voters registered in the electoral lists is 1,945,618. Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (17 electors did not participate in the polling) participated in the polls.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electo-

rate (with 5 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the district people's councils. One hundred per cent of the electorate voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of the city quarters of Tirana.

One hundred per cent of the electorate voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of the cities.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (5 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of city quarters.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (11 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of the united villages.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (251 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front to the people's councils of villages.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (20 votes against) voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front for judges.

Over 99.99 per cent of the electorate (11 votes against) voted for the

candidates of the Democratic Front for people's assistant judges.

The commissions at the polling centres found 619 voting papers invalid.

By voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front, once again our people expressed their unbreakable unity for the uninterrupted strengthening of the people's state power and for the construction of the new socialist

life under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

The brilliant victory achieved in the May 7 elections will serve the working masses as another great inspiration to raise the patriotic spirit, their determination to build and beautify our Homeland, to strengthen and defend it against any danger,

to always march on our brilliant Marxist-Leninist road, on the road of Enver, to go to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania and to the great celebration of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution with the richest balance of achievements and victories possible.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA MEETS WORKERS AND CADRES OF THE DISTRICT OF FIER



FROM THE COUNTRY

In the morning of May 4, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, had a meeting with the members of the Party bureau and other leading cadres of the district of Fier in one of the halls of the Party Committee of that district.

Comrade Ramiz Alia inquired about the progress of work in the different fields of life and the economy, the oil sector especially, as well as agriculture and the supply of the people with agricultural and livestock products. He was acquainted with the new plans of the working people of this district who, inspired by the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, reviewed their planned tasks and set themselves higher and bolder ones.

In their discussions at this meeting, they expressed the determination and optimism of the working collectives of the district to achieve higher results in all sectors.

In regard to its economic strength, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his speech, Fier is one of the more important district of the country. On a national scale, Fier occupies first place in agricultural production and third place in industrial production. With the size and development of the economy in your district, rigorous logic and a broad view of things is needed for work to advance.

As the comrades said here, the district of Fier has on a whole fulfilled the plans for the first four months of this year. We welcome the pledge you have taken to make up with the results of this year for some deficits of past years. For this pledge to be kept much hard work has to be done.

When you stay in Fier, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on, you cannot fail to talk about geology, the extraction and processing of oil, in general,

which make up some of the basic sectors of our national economy and on which its functioning and independence depend to a great degree. We have some experience in this sector, too, but we cannot be satisfied with what our oil industry has achieved so far. Deep drilling and extension of prospecting to new zones have given rise to new technical and technological problems. The oil-workers have the will and the specialists the necessary experience to cope with their tasks, but they must also have new scientific ideas. Our soil has oil and gas, we all agree on that, so we must find out where it is, extract it and put it in the service of the economy to an ever larger scale. For this purpose confidence in success is needed, a confidence based on science, and cooperation of intellectual forces and co-ordination of the multifarious activities that are carried out in this complex branch of our industry.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the «Gogo Nushi» nitrogenous fertilizers plant, where he was received with affection and enthusiasm by its workers. He visited various sections of this plant and learned that, for the past four-month period, the working collective of this plant had given agriculture one thousand ton of nitrogenous fertilizers above plan and, up to the end of the year, it would give another seven thousand ton of fertilizers above plan.

Then he visited the new urea factory which is being built close by. The building and assembly workers and specialists gave him a warm reception.

After conveying the collective of building and assembly workers the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, among other things, said:

Here in Fier we have our largest complex of chemical industry in the service of agriculture, and are extend-

ing it with the construction of the new urea plant. This is one of the largest projects of our 8th Five-year Plan, with an expenditure of over 300 million leks. Our agriculture expects to receive 100 thousand ton of urea annually from this new plant of our industry. This means that only with this investment we shall give our agriculture another 65 kg of active matter per hectare, almost as much as we gave it in the seventies, with the building of the first plants for the production of chemical fertilizers. That is why the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided to advance the completion of the new plant for some months so that it starts production about the middle of the coming year. The Party trusts

your pledge to give the economy another 50 thousand ton of fertilizers from this new plant in the coming year.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on:

In all fields of production, construction and services we have already gained valuable experience which is being enriched in the process of the dynamic development of the production forces and the economic, technical, social and cultural advance of the country. Results of great value have been achieved in the building of hydro-power stations, dams and, in general, water conservancy projects, just as there are major achievements in the building of new mines, with their tunnels, galleries and shafts. We may also speak about our incre-

ased experience in agriculture either state farms or in advanced cooperatives, as well as in the development of the mechanical engineering industry.

All this experience must be summed up systematically and on sound scientific bases.

I express my conviction, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, that you will turn into a reality ahead of schedule the projects you are working on.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was seen off with great affection by the building and assembly workers of this new project.

They will always remember this visit of the leader of the Party.

ALBANIA RESPECTFULLY HONOURED THE MEMORY OF ITS MARTYRS

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA HONOURS THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS AT KUÇ, IN THE DISTRICT OF VLORA

On May 5 of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, all our people commemorated with profound respect its sons and daughters who fell in the struggle for the liberation of the country.

Thousands of residents of the capital, working people of work and production centres, veterans of war and work, militarymen, members and relatives of martyrs' families, young men and women, and pioneers of Enver went to the cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation to pay homage to and lay bouquets of flowers at their graves.

Party and state leaders also came here. They met members and relatives of the heroes and martyrs and re-

sidents of the capital. Wreaths were laid at the monument «Mother Albania».

The Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, and the Member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, laid wreaths at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The party and state leaders stood in silence, with their clenched fists raised to honour the memory of the legendary commander and architect of the new Albania, the beloved and unforgettable leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Then with their hands raised in

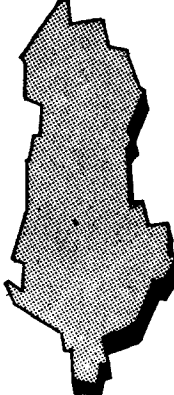
clenched-fist salute, they marched past the graves of the sons and daughters of our people who fell in the struggle for the liberation of the country.

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On May 5, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, went to Kuç, in the district of Vlora, to honour the memory of the martyrs. He was accompanied by the first secretary of the Party Committee for the district, Faik Çinaj, and other comrades.

On behalf of the Central Commit-

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



tee of the Party Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Faik Çinaj laid a wreath at the memorial stone erected to the sons and daughters of Kuç, who laid down their lives for the liberation and defence of the Homeland.

While the brass band executed the National Anthem, Comrade Ramiz Alia stood with the clenched-fist salute in front of the memorial stone.

Then he went to the village square, where thousands of people from the surrounding villages had come together to receive him with great affection and enthusiasm. A rally was organized there. Amid cheers for the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.

Four decades have gone by since the beginning of the epoch of the Party, the epoch of the new Albania, he said among other things. When we see how much the country has changed, when we compare the present with the past, which are as different as day is to night, we can proudly declare that our Party and people's state power have always kept faith to the behests of our martyrs and the aspirations of our people.

During these 45 years, with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the new Albania has taken strides which are measured by centuries. The years of socialism have shown the strength and vitality of our people, their progressive and creative spirit, and their desire and determination to make their Homeland rich and prosperous.

Their freedom and the independence of the Homeland are great achievements of our people in the epoch of the Party. In the course of centuries our people have fought for freedom more than for anything else. Hence, we must defend our victories as the apple of the eye. The blood our people have shed during the war and their efforts during the construction of socialism show this.

After speaking about the all-round transformations our country has undergone in the epoch of socialism and about some problems of the international situation, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on:

Our people look with optimism and self-assurance to the future. Albania knows development and advance, they know no crises and stagnation, as happens with many capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist countries. Our people know that they work for themselves and are clear about their prospects, hence they are persistent, determined and laborious.

Concluding, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Socialism has brought our people only good things. The people's power is the life of the people, it is their blood and toil.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's address was frequently interrupted with applause and cheers «Party-Enver, we are always ready!»

He had lunch with the cooperativists of Kuç and the surrounding villages. Then there came another meeting and a freindly talk with the local leaders and people, who saw him off with warm affection.

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On May 5 memorial activities such as paying homages to the martyrs' cemeteries, rallies, laying of wreaths and bouquets of flowers at the graves, busts and memorial stones of those who fell for the liberation of the country, meetings and talks with war veterans, visits to heroes and martyrs' families, etc., took place in all the districts of the country.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHER PARTY AND STATE LEADERS PAY HOMAGE TO AND LAY WREATHS AT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S GRAVE

On April 11, on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the death of the founder and leader of the Party, the legendary commander of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the architect of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, homage was paid to and wreaths were laid at his grave.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave came to pay homage Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Lenka Çuko, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Rita Marko, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Simon Stefani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pirro Kondi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Tirana, Llambi Gegprifti, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and head of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana, Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the Central Committee of the Party and Pre-

sident of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, representatives of the mass organizations and leading cadres of the party and state organs of the district.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Lenka Çuko laid a wreath with the inscription «To Our Glorious Leader» on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party. Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the district of Tirana. A wreath was laid on behalf of Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and family.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders stood in silence in front of the grave and honoured with the clenched-fist salute the unforgettable memory of the beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Members of Comrade Enver Hoxha's family also paid homage.

During the ceremony the brass band executed funeral marches and the national anthem. Militarymen and pioneers of Enver stood guard of honour.

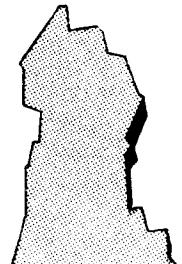
Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm meeting with workers of work and production centres, veterans, students and children who had come with bouquets of flowers to participate in the ceremony.

During the day homage was paid to and bouquets of flowers were laid at the grave of the unforgettable and

beloved leader of the Party and people by thousands and thousands of people — workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, veterans of war and work, members and relatives of martyrs' families, students, young men and women, and pioneers of Enver, who expressed their respect for the immortal work of the leader through their everyday work and ever greater successes on the fronts they work and militate. They bowed with profound respect to the brilliant work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, optimistically-minded and determined to turn the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland into a year of all-out struggle for new achievements.

On April 11, the working masses throughout the country honoured with profound gratitude the brilliant work and the unforgettable memory of the beloved and glorious leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this occasion homage was paid to and wreaths were laid at his monuments and busts in the different districts of the country. Also, various activities were carried out in which our people expressed their determination to proceed always on the road of Enver Hoxha under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, so as to score ever new successes in this jubilee year and go with tasks fulfilled and objectives achieved to the May 7 elections and the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania.

THE UNSTOPPABLE ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY — A GREAT HOMAGE TO ENVER HOXHA

FROM THE

COUNTRY

For outstanding leaders, such as Enver Hoxha, who have left their people and countries an immortal legacy of all-round revolutionary activity, there are no special days for homage and respect. Every hour and every day, with his work and struggle for the great cause of the socialist construction of the country, every communist, cadre and worker bows with deep respect and great gratitude before his immortal work as a far-sighted leader and outstanding statesman, the architect of all the victories and epoch-making transformations that were carried out in about half a century, and the brilliant figure of the greatest man the Albanian soil has ever produced.

April 11 finds the Party and our people engaged in strenuous work and efforts for the realization of the bold objectives of the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. The valuable teaching of Comrade Ramiz Alia that the unstoppable advance of the country is the greatest respect paid to the revolutionary life and immortal work of Enver Hoxha, has become part of the consciousness of all and everybody. Throughout their glorious history, our people have honoured and respected with profound veneration their tribunes and leaders. Enver Hoxha's contemporaries, who for about half a century were his consistent and loyal cofighters, preserve deep in their hearts and minds that great and sincere love which brought about the militant union of our people with the Party, inspired that steel unity which is today and will remain always in the future the golden key to ever

greater successes in the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories achieved. A synthesis of this great respect of our people for Enver Hoxha is the powerful movement «Banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party», in which all our working masses are involved.

This year the Party and our people will celebrate with great solemnity the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. This great historic victory, for which our people have shed torrents of blood, they link with Enver Hoxha's name, with his struggle for the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (now the PLA), which aroused the people in struggle for the liberation of the country and its advance on the road of independent economic and cultural development, the road of socialism. As the founder of the Party and the legendary commander of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, as the far-sighted architect and leader of the deep-going socio-economic transformations, Comrade Enver Hoxha embodied the virtues of a convinced communist revolutionary, a great statesman, an ardent patriot, a man whose heart and mind worked more than anyone for the emancipation of society, a fiery internationalist and a vanguard fighter who devoted everything to the cause of the defence and creative development of our triumphant ideology — Marxism-Leninism. In the documents of the Party of the recent years, and in the speeches of Comrade Ramiz Alia the qualities that

characterized the many-sided personality of Enver Hoxha are remarkably synthetized and his outstanding and great contribution as the architect of the new Albania, and all its magnificent victories masterfully described. Creatively implementing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the conditions of Albania, he showed the strength of socialism, and proved that this is the only social order with a future, which is the only alternative for the elimination of the oppression and exploitation of man by man, indicating that socialism represents not only a social theory and practice, but also an ideal, an aim, and an impulse that pushes mankind ahead, and a strength that moves it towards progress. Our advance on the road mapped out by our beloved and unforgettable Enver, the only road for the strengthening and advancement of socialism in Albania, is our historic duty.

Throughout his life our great leader worked and struggled as a bold creator and an outstanding innovator. In this spirit work and struggle today the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the popular intelligentsia to implement the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party, and the valuable recommendations and suggestions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. Evidence of this are our achievements in the further deepening of the socialist industrialization of the country, the modernization of agricul-

ture, the development of culture and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country. Everybody express their gratitude to our great leader and educator through their work for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of tasks, and through the contribution they make every day to the economic development of the country and the improvement of the well-being of the people. This profoundly revolutionary spirit also characterize the efforts of our working masses throughout the country to successfully implement the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party, to fulfil tasks on all fronts, to improve the organization and management of work, to strengthen order and discipline at work everywhere, to consolidate the norms of our communist morality, to affirm the personality of our new man as a builder and creator of our socialist society, to constantly steel the unbreakable unity of the Party with the people and to raise the revolutionary spirit of the communists and masses ever higher on all fronts of production and social activity. With this balance of successes, under the leadership of the Party, our people will go as one to the May 7 elections, in which they will once more manifest their love for the Party and their determination to strengthen and constantly revolutionize our people's state power, our dictatorship of the proletariat, aware that only on

this road, which was mapped out by Enver, will they be able to develop the socialist economy, to enrich their culture, to raise their standard of living and guarantee and strengthen the defence of the Homeland.

With its correct, principled and independent internal and external policy, socialist Albania today enjoys an honoured and respected name with all the progressive forces of the world. Its authority and prestige cannot be separated from the struggle of principle Comrade Enver Hoxha waged for decades on end against Yugoslav, Khrushchevite, Chinese and other trends of modern revisionism. It is inseparable also from the consistent struggle our Party has waged and continues to wage against the superpowers and world reaction. Socialist Albania has been and will always be determined in its struggle against American and Soviet imperialism, reaction and revisionism, just as it has been and will always be a champion of peace and international security, in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress.

The Albanian people and their Party of Labour will always proceed on the road of Enver Hoxha. Albania will prosper and advance ever more, as Enver wanted it to, and will always remain the red bastion of socialism, a country of free and independent people.

THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF JOURNALISTS OF ALBANIA

In the afternoon of 21st April in the hall of the Central House of People's Army in the Capital, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the organization of the Union of Journalists and the 25th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of

the magazine Journalist's Tribune, the presidium of the Union of Journalists of Albania organized a solemn conference.

The conference was attended by veterans and working people of the press, the ATA, and Radiotelevision,

contributors and voluntary correspondents of the press organs, typographers, journalists of local press organs, leading cadres of central departments, central organizations of the masses and various other institutions.

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Also attending were the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Foto Çami, and other comrades.

The conference was opened by the chief of the press sector at the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, Dhimitër Tona.

The conference received with great joy and enthusiasm the message of greetings from the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, to the journalists, the working people of the press, the radio and television on the occasion, which was read by Comrade Foto Çami.

The message said among other things: Your organization was created at the initiative of the Party and under the direct solicitude of Comrade Enver Hoxha, at a time when the country had to mobilize all its forces in order to realize the major socialist transformations and when the new Albania had to cope with and repel the heavy blows of the reactionary forces from within and without. It was created as a union of the new forces of Albanian journalism, who, through their work, with their pathos and militancy, would make the press a banner and a weapon of the Party in the major political, ideological, economic and cultural battles of those arduous but glorious times. The main objective was the creation of a journalist of the new type, communist and patriotic, who must embody the political passion of the revolutionary fighter with the ability of expression of the journalist's opinion; the staunch defender of the socialist principles with the wisdom and justice of the new social order; the high intellectual culture with the profound popular spirit and the proletarian modesty.

The Party and the people have always highly appreciated the contribution of the working people of the press have made and are making to the advancement of our socialist Homeland. They have always highly valued the tireless work which they do

in order to take the word of the Party to the masses, to reflect the daily life of the people with its progressive changes, the thinking and desires of people from various strata, the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, for democracy and socialism.

The pages of our newspapers and magazines carry every day and every hour the indelible chronicles of the struggle of our people for the socialist construction, they write their biography and history, the message of greetings goes on. It is a great honour for the journalists and editors, but it is also an arduous patriotic and social burden to give a truthful and clear reflection of the majesty of this epoch, the joys and preoccupations of the contemporaries.

The journalist has an important and delicate mission. He has great political and civic responsibilities. His work is directly linked with the formation and expression of the public opinion in a field in which the democratic rights of the citizens are realized in a considerable degree, in a sector in which more than anywhere else the new progressive opinion finds reflection, in which ideas are thrashed out and views exchanged, the good and the bad are confronted are sifted out, the roads are charted and the horizons of the future are cleared up.

It must be born in mind that the voice of our press represents, in a great measure, the voice of Albania in the world. This voice must sound strong and clear in defence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the people's struggles for freedom and peace. This voice must sternly condemn and stigmatize imperialism and social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

In the end, the message of greetings said:

Dear comrade journalists, editors and correspondents, working people of the radio and television, of the technique of the press, once again

I wish you good work and new successes, many joys and everything good in your life.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by the chairman of the Union of Journalists, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Zëri i popullit, Marash Hajati.

Among other things he pointed out that the social-political organization of the Union of Journalists of Albania, created 40 years ago, led and inspired by the teachings of the Party and of the beloved and unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, had the task of mustering all the creative energies of the journalists and publicists of Albania in order to make our Homeland stronger and prosperous, for the complete construction of the socialist society.

Speaking about the growth of our press, he said that at present our

country publishes 117 various organs with a circulation of 60 million copies. Zëri i popullit alone comes out daily in 120 thousand copies. Radio and television have been greatly strengthened with over 90 hours of daily broadcast of internal and international programmes. Important steps ahead have been made by the Albanian News Agency. (ATA), releasing at a good level valuable information and commentaries not only to supply the other press organs of our propaganda but also to convey our country's opinion to the world. The local radios and press organs in all the districts play an important role in the Party propaganda work.

Then the speaker stopped to dwell on the complex educational and professional activities of the Union or Journalists of Albania and the role of this organization and its organ Journalist's Tribune, which comme

morates its 25th anniversary of its creation, in the ideological and professional education of the journalists, their further qualification in the field of journalism.

Comrade Marash Hajati continued speaking about the duties which emerge for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia for the enhancement of the militant spirit, for the creation of a most convincing propaganda.

In the end he pointed out the outstanding contribution of the press and radio-television to the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist line and the correct principled stands of the Party of Labour of Albania in international relations.

The conference sent a telegram to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA ATTENDING

On March 10, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania (DFA) met in a hall of the Museum of National History in the capital.

Those present met with applause the entry of the First 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 meeting was declared open by the President of the General Council of the DFA, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

The Secretary of the General Council of the DFA, Comrade Xhorxhi Ro-

bo, delivered the report «The tasks of the Organization of the Democratic Front for the successful conclusion of the elections of the people's councils and courts and the preparation of the 6th Congress of the DFA», on behalf of the leading body.

Speaking about the May 7 elections of the people's councils of all instances and people's courts, Comrade Xhorxhi Robo pointed out that, in the decades of socialist construction, elections in our country have become very important political and ideological actions. By means of their free and democratic vote, the Albanian people have manifested their close

links with their state power. Electoral campaigns have been turned into large popular consultations in which the masses express their opinions in a democratic manner and make their valuable suggestions for the further revolutionization of work.

After stressing the great and all-round achievements of socialist agriculture, he said that the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for the further development of agriculture once more show the great concern of the Party and our socialist state about the political, economic and social life in the countryside as one of the funda-

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mental and vital conditions for the development of the revolution.

To this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of liberation, he said further on, our People's Socialist Republic comes with a higher international authority. The correct policy of the Party and our socialist state, and the construction and advance of the country relying completely on its efforts are an example for the people's struggling for freedom and independence. Our experience has shown the world that even a small people and country, if they are led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, are able to build and defend socialism. On the road it has followed for 45 years on end, our country is developing at rapid rates on its course to socialism.

Comrade Xhorchi Robo continued:

Our people do not want our peninsula, the Balkans, to be a powder keg, but to live in a spirit of understanding, goodwill and fruitful cooperation. In this spirit and with these aims, socialist Albania has taken and continues to take constructive steps which contribute to the creation of a more favourable climate for the further extension of relations.

These aims and intentions it has expressed in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. It must be said, however, that Belgrade's anti-Albanian campaign and its relentless national oppression of the Albanians in Yugoslavia hamper their correct development and make them difficult. The recent events in Kosova are truly appalling. Unexampled violence and arbitrariness are being exercised against the Albanians. The state of emergency and military rule have actually been established there. Mass arrests, police raids and all sorts of reprisals have begun there. The Albanians now are prohibited to express not only collectively, but even individually, their opinion and judgement on what is happening in Kosova, and what is

offered them and what is intended for them. The national and democratic rights, which the Albanians had won through their National Liberation War, which they waged together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, are being denied to them. They are being denied their autonomy, the right of the unconditional use of their mother tongue, the right to elect the people they want to the organs of state power, as well as the right to demand and have complete equality with the other nations and peoples of Yugoslavia.

Because the Albanians of Kosova do not reconcile themselves to this arbitrary and anti-Constitutional negation and curtailment of their rights, because they do not accept the amendments the Belgrade's Great-Serb leadership wants to make to their present Constitution, which has been sanctioned in the year 1974, the army has been sent to Kosova and the police regime has been extended over the whole province.

The people of Kosova have publicly expressed their will, their desires and opinions about the amendments to the Constitution in a peaceful and democratic manner in the course of their November manifestations, in which hundreds of thousands of people took part, with the general strike with the Trepçe miners at the head, as well as at meetings at communes and work centres.

Now anything can be imposed, any constitution, but it will be the constitution of the tanks, pressure and violence. History has shown that those constitutions and laws which the people do not want and do not approve of, but are imposed by violence on them, are short-lived.

After the report a discussion was held. All those contributing to the discussion expressed their determination and optimism to turn the electoral campaign of May 7 into a period of general struggle for new

victories, to take part one hundred per cent in elections and cast all the votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front, to meet the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front with a proud forehead and with hands full, to celebrate the great jubilee of liberation with as many successes as possible in all walks of life.

In the recess between sessions,

Comrade Ramiz Alia met the members of the General Council of the Democratic Front, welcomed them, had a warm talk with them, and wished them success on all the fronts of their work.

The General Council unanimously adopted the decision to convene the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania. It decided that the Con-

gress should be held on June 26-28, 1989 in Tirana.

Then those present unanimously adopted the Call of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania addressed to the Albanian people on the occasion of the elections of the people's councils and courts.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha delivered the closing speech.

EXTENDED MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

On March 14 the extended meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania carried out its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana. Present at the meeting were leading cadres of the ministries, workers of scientific institutions, teachers of higher schools and specialists of the major centres of production in the various districts of the country.

Attending the meeting were also the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, the Member of the Central Committee of the Party and Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

The meeting was declared open by the President of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Aleks Buda, who, among other things, said that this meeting was devoted to an important problem — the enhancement of the role and contribution of the natural and technical sciences to the further development and strengthening of our economy. This problem assumes special acuteness and importance, he said, after the tasks the 6th and 7th Ple-

nums of the CC of the Party set and the important recommendations Comrade Ramiz Alia gave.

Three reports were delivered at this meeting.

Comrade Foto Çami also contributed to the discussion.

Our economy, he said among other things, needs deep-going and complex studies to revolutionize production and bring about qualitative changes in its processes. The problems we are faced with are of a complex nature, and have to do with inter-institutional and inter-disciplinary relations. The studies we have carried out so far, however, do not yet cope with all this complexity in the course of the solution of problems, nor have they yet achieved such a comprehensive approach as is characteristic of large-scale studies. This means that we must find more effective forms for the organization and co-ordination of the scientific forces and studies that are carried out by the various scientific institutions of the country, and for deepening the integrative tendencies which are so necessary for coping with complex tasks. When the question is about concrete problems provisional groups of scientists may be

set up for their solution. Whereas, for major objectives, which are often long-term, programs of work, interdisciplinary or inter-institutional schemes should be worked out with scientific tasks and aims which would not only direct scientific research, but also bar the path to unnecessary or unimportant themes and parallelisms, and would concentrate forces.

The working out of such programs is of more interest for problems of long-term strategy which go beyond the limits of a five-year period. It is in the nature of scientific research to provide many variants for the solution of economic or social problems.»

After speaking about the need for many scientific studies which open up prospects and precede economic solutions, Comrade Foto Çami stressed that, dealing with important strategic problems of national dimensions, we will be in a position to cope on time also with major and concrete problems that arise in every five-year plan.

Then Comrade Foto Çami emphasized that enhancement of the role and place of science, its transformation into a direct production force and the need to make scientific activity as effective as possible have further

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completed the concept of productivity of scientific work and called for it to be ever more subject to the operation of economic mechanisms. So, in the past year 7 institutes of the ministries went over to the system of self-accounting, whereas this year other institutions of production are also being included in this system. On a whole the experience of the last year was positive.

We have set up in our country a whole network of institutes and institutions which carry out studies in various fields of production and social life. Apart from this, over 250 technological bureaus have been set up at various enterprises. However, we have never claimed that everything in studies and scientific experiments should be coped with in these specialized units. At the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA of June 1980, Comrade Enver Hoxha, considering the institutes nuclei of scientific work, emphasized that they should rely firmly on our thousands and thousands of cadres of higher and mendum training, as well as our vanguard workers and cooperativists in order to encourage their initiative, should cooperate with them and enable them to qualify themselves fur-

ther, as well as to profit from their experience.

An important source of scientific, technical and social progress, said Comrade Foto Çami in conclusion, is the technical and creative activity of the talented masters of production, the innovators and rationalizers. With all the measures taken for the improvement of organizational work, as well as the promotion of moral and material incentives, we do not yet profit as much as we ought to from the real possibilities of the innovative movement. The workers and technicians of production should be encouraged and valued more, because experience so far shows that their innovations are an important source for the development of production.

Prof. Aleks Buda closed the session.

The Assembly approved the admission of new members to the Academy of Sciences. Comrades Farudin Hoxha, Ylli Popa, Alfred Uçi, Hamit Beqja, Ismail Kadare, Shaban Demiraj and Teki Tartari are the new members and Skënder Gjinushi the new corresponding member. Also, the Assembly elected the presidium of the Academy of Sciences with Prof. Aleks Buda as President and Hekuran Mara as vice-president.

NATIONAL MEETING OF DISTINGUISHED TEACHERS

In the context of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, on the occasion of March 7, Teacher's Day, on March 6 the Ministry of Education organized the national meeting of distinguished teachers in the palace of culture of Rrëshen, in the district of Mirdita, in the northern part of the country.

Present at the meeting were distinguished teachers and pedagogues, headmasters of various schools and veterans of education, representatives of educational and cultural institutions and the central mass organizations, and guests. Attending the meeting were also the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the

Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, the President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

The Minister of Education, Prof. Dr. Skënder Gjinushi, delivered the speech of the occasion.

Speaking about the struggle and efforts of our people for the development of the Albanian language and school, he stressed that these have been indissolubly linked with the struggle for national liberation. It goes to the credit of our school that the major fighters for the national cause were also outstanding teachers, just as teachers were ardent patriots who, at any moment, every time it was needed, took to arms and laid down even their lives for the defence of the sacred cause of the nation and the national school.

It is a cause of honour and pride for all of us, he went on further, that the greatest man the Albanian nation has ever produced, our unforgettable teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has figured in this glorious pleiad of teachers and patriots. On this great day of our education, we recall his immortal life and work with profound respect, because, with his mind of genius he conceived our new school, founded and organized it on wholly Marxist-Leninist and democratic bases, with a pronounced national and socialist originality, thereby writing down the most glorious pages of our national education.

The figure of the teacher, Comrade Skënder Gjinushi continued, assumed a new dimension in the epoch of socialism. It was raised to a pedestal of honour and glory by the Party, because, as Comrade Ramiz Alia, has said, «before all, the teacher of our society is a political man, an active assistant of the Party, a transmitter

of its policy and ideology, and its all-round educational influence to the children, the younger generation and the working masses.»

Then Xhafer Spahiu, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, rose to speak. He informed that on the occasion of March 7, the Presidium of the People's Assembly had decorated 54 teachers with the title «Merited Teacher», 14 teachers and schools with the order «Naim Frashëri» of the First Class, and tens of others with orders and medals.

On this occasion the Ministry of Education and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Mirdita put on a dinner.

Rising to speak here, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Foto Çami congratulated those present on the March 7 festivity and wished them new successes in the performance of their noble duties.

SCIENTIFIC SESSION ON THE THEME «PERESTROIKA – AN ANTI – SOCIALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE»

On March 16, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies organized a scientific session on the theme «Perestroika — an Anti-socialist Theory and Practice» in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses.

Present at the session were students and scientific workers of various institutions, teachers and specialists of the chair of social sciences, workers of the mass organizations and propaganda organs at the centre and in the districts.

Attending were also the Member of the Political Bureau and Secreta-

ry of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, the alternate-member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee for the district of Tirana, Comrade Pirro Kondi, and other comrades.

The session was declared open by the Member of the Central Committee of the Party and Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, who among other things, said:

«Our Party has always paid spe-

cial attention to the deepening of the struggle against modern revisionism, especially its Soviet variant. This struggle must be continued with determination by further deepening the analysis for the exposure of revisionism in all theoretical and practical directions.

«Gorbachov's «new» course, perestroika and glasnost,» she said further on, «are in essence a continuation of Khrushchevism in the conditions of the all-round political, social and economic crisis of revisionism, in general, and its Soviet variant, in par-

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ticular, Gorbachov's «new» course, perestroika, both in its content and form, is unable to ensure the «revival of socialism», because it is anti-socialist and anti-Marxist. Gorbachov's restructurings are only a facade to cover up the monstrous dimensions of bureaucracy, the dismal failures and the profound crisis which has the whole political, social and economic life of the country in its grip and which has its source in the revisionist course the Soviet leadership has constantly followed since its 20th Congress.»

Comrade Foto Çami, delivered a speech at this session.

Our Party, he said among other things, has waged a consistent struggle of principle against modern revisionism, especially its Soviet variant, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, represents the most complete theory and practice of the revisionist counter-revolution and its most dangerous expression. This struggle will go on throughout the existence of capitalism and imperialism whose offspring revisionism, this dangerous enemy of the revolution and socialism, is. «Therefore, the struggle of the PLA against modern revisionism and all its variants has been and remains a struggle of historic importance,» as Comrade Ramiz Alia has emphasized at the 9th Congress of the Party.

At present, the speaker went on, the revisionists have shed all masks and have come out openly with their capitalist platforms. They not only have renounced all revolutionary and liberation ideals, but have also launched themselves on an all-out attack on Marxism, the revolution and socialism. At the head of this great anti-communist campaign, as before, stands Soviet revisionism, expressed in Gorbachov's course of «perestroika», «glasnost» and the «new political thought». Gorbachov's world outlook and policy represent a new stage in the development of modern revisio-

nism and an escalation of its onslaught against everything achieved by the world communist and revolutionary movement. This new stage stands out for its total negation of the socialist base and superstructure, the class interests of the proletariat and the aspirations of the peoples to freedom and independence, and the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, it stands out for its transition to direct social-democratic, bourgeois and even anti-communist positions.

Never to this day have the bourgeoisie and imperialism managed to slander and attack the October Revolution and the socialist construction so savagely as Gorbachov and his propagandists are doing now.

The Soviet press now is saying ever more openly that the evils for which Stalin has been accused stem from the concept of socialism itself as it was formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and that Stalin has done nothing other than to implement the ideas of socialism worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The idea of the leading role of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, that is, the Communist Party, is turned down and political and ideological pluralism to open the road for other parties is preached.

The basic Marxist concept of socialism as an order which is based on the social ownership of the means of production and the planned development of the economy is attacked, thereby opening the road for capitalism and the market economy, competition and the free play of prices, investments of foreign capital, joint companies, etc.

The thesis of the cooperation of agriculture is rejected and the private peasant economy is taken under protection. In this manner, one of the major achievements of socialism is being destroyed, laying the blame for the failures in agriculture not on the revisionist policy, but

on the cooperativist order, which has demonstrated its indisputable superiorities.

The idea is put forward that we must not reconcile ourselves to the «dogma» of the necessity of the struggle against bourgeois culture. On this basis the doors are being flung wide open to the penetration of degenerate culture, decadent art, literature and music, and all monstrosities in cinematography and television which poison the minds and hearts of the masses.

So, the Gorbachovite revisionists have embarked on an all-out offensive against all those basic principles and laws which lie at the foundation of the socialist order and distinguish it from the bourgeois order.

In the process of socialist construction, Comrade Foto Çami said further on, we come also against various problems and difficulties. They arise neither from the line of the Party nor from our social system. Speaking about the solution of problems that arise on our road, he stressed that, «an inspiring and encouraging example in this direction was given by the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party, with the concrete measures it took for perfecting remuneration in agricultural cooperatives, for broadening their competences and enhancing their initiative, for strengthening relations between the cooperatives and the state, and improving the combination of the interests of the individual, the group, society, etc.

We must cope with and solve the problems produced by life, because only in this manner will we be in a condition to carry the socialist construction ahead and defend socialism from the attacks of the revisionists, and vindicate its vitality and superiority.

Behind the great noise about the «new political thought» in international relations, Comrade Foto Çami

said further on, the revisionist question and deny everything: Marxism is considered obsolete, the revolution overcome, the class struggle useless, socialism without prospects. All social, economic, political and ideological distinctions, contradictions and antagonisms are ignored. There is talk about a new political thought common to all mankind, a unified and integrated world, the convergence and merger of socialism and capitalism. By all manner of means the values of the capitalist order, the market economy, the forms of capitalist organization and management and bourgeois democracy are being boosted, and the principles, the historical experience and the achievements of socialism are being rabidly attacked. For the sake of certain global and all-human problems all the ideals, aspirations and just wars of the peoples for freedom and independence, justice and social progress are being abandoned. The general motto is to unite and embrace all and everybody — bourgeois and proletarians, communists and capitalists, oppressed peoples and imperialists in order to build a new order which will ensure peace and prosperity for all.

After saying how the struggle against Gorbachov's theories should be waged, he stressed that, «as the Party and Comrade Enver have pointed out long since, the struggle against revisionism and opportunism can be waged with complete success only from sound Marxist-Leninist positions.

Also, Comrade Foto Çami, spoke about some changes in the international situation and pointed out that «in accordance with these changes in the world, there are new developments in the foreign policy of the Party and our state, too. Our diplomatic relations have been expanded, visits and exchanges with other countries have become more frequent, our country is taking part in more

international activities, exchanges and forms of economic cooperation with other countries are extending, etc.

Nothing has changed nor will ever change in the stand of principle of the Party and our state, the speaker emphasized. Everything is done only in the interest of the country, the strengthening of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the consolidation of the international position of Albania, the creation of peaceful conditions for the socialist construction of the country, the development of the economy, culture, technology and science, and the enhancement of the role and authority of our country in the world.

The line of our Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has said, never has been the line of self-isolation in the «ivory tower». And it will never be like that.

In conclusion, Comrade Foto Çami said:

The range of problems of the struggle against revisionism is very broad. Gorbachov's perestroika bears on all fields — the economy and policy, philosophy and history, culture and science, the life of the party and its role, problems of the state and law, national and international relations, etc. In all those fields we must express our opinion in order to expose and reject the revisionist deception.

Four reports were read at this session: «Perestroika and the Deepening of the Capitalist Road in the Soviet Economy», «Bourgeois Reformism of the Political System in the Soviet Union», «Ideological Pluralism — Glasnost and the Further Degeneration of Spiritual Life in the Soviet Union», and «The New Political Thought as a Basis of the Soviet Hegemonist Foreign Policy».

Some papers were also read.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha declared the proceedings of the session closed.

THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

by **SKËNDER ANAMALI**

The Albanians stem from the Illyrians and our archaeological studies are displaying and proving our history of thousands of years, the ancient and rich culture of a brave, hard-working and unconquerable people.

THE NEWEST, AND DOUBTLESSLY, MORE IMPORTANT ASPECT IN THE PRESENT-PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIAEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY IS THAT OF THE RESEARCH CARRIED OUT ALMOST ALL OVER THE COUNTRY TO KNOW THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE. THIS IS A PERIOD ABOUT WHICH HISTORICAL SOURCES ARE LACUNOUS AND FOR WHICH ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS ASSUME SPECIAL VALUE.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IS PROVIDING EVER CLEARER EVIDENCE THAT THE FORMATION PROCESS OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE OCCURRED IN THE CONDITIONS OF A DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WAS INITIALLY SLUGGISH BUT WHICH ASSUMED MAJOR PROPORTIONS AFTER THE 8TH CENTURY. THE LATE ANTIQUITY HAS BEEN A PERIOD OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN ILLYRIANS, A TIME IN WHICH A CONSERVING PROCESS OF THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE TOOK PLACE, AND ANOTHER PROCESS, THAT OF THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, SET ON. THIS PROCESS DEVELOPED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE LATE ROMAN AND THEN BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND BEARS THE STAMP OF THE TIME BOTH IN ITS HISTORICAL AND IN ITS CULTURAL ASPECTS.

Archaeological discoveries have changed existing opinions about the Late Antiquity on the territory of the southern Illyrians and imposed a new historical vision of it. They provide incontrovertible evidence of the Illyrian ethnic and cultural continuity in the provinces of Praevalis, Dardania, Epirus Nova and Epirus Vetus and the presence of a **unitarian culture** in them at that time.

It is known that among the more important consequences of the slave-owning order was the decline of the cities and the ruralization of live, especially in the West. Throughout the Illyrian territory there is a perceptible increase of peasant settlements, which in the Late Antiquity, accord-

SKËNDER ANAMALI — *Ancient scientific collaborator*

ing to archaeological data, were in greater number than in the preceding centuries. Interesting in this context are frequent finds of farm implements in the necropolises of peasant settlements. In our country this phenomenon is seen in the Coastal Plain which was formerly known as an intensely urbanized region. The peasant population of these settlements now is made up of free and very active peasants. The crisis of the slave-owning order had an influence also on inter-provincial commercial relations. They break down and the Illyrian region becomes independent of import. Local artisan articles still meet the needs of the consumers, but, unlike the past, they are produced by small craftsmen.

With its protracted resistance to

the Roman occupiers, the Illyrian peasant population has shown great stability in different walks of life. The end of the long domination of the traditions of Roman art liberated the local creative forces in the southern Illyrian regions, too, which up to that time were under the stifling influence of this art. Connected with this revival of local art, in which antique influences continue to exist, some reliefs discovered in the last years are very interesting. They display men and implements of work, farmers and craftsmen, and are produced by local masters. These reliefs, which are met with mainly in peasant settlements differ from the former ones through their composition, their shallow carving of stone, and, especially, the typically Illyrian dress of their human figures. This popular art proves that the Illyrian ethnic community has never ceased its existence. The evolution of the Illyrian culture during the Late Antiquity went on in regular manner.

A characteristic of the Late Antiquity has also been the fortification of some cities, especially the reconstruction of the castles in the plains. Such were the citadels of Scampini (Elbasan), Vig (in the vicinity of Shkoder), Palaeostron (in the district of Gjirokastra), etc. It has been said that they were built to cope with the threat of the Goths and other barbarians.¹ While accepting this opinion as correct, it must be added that these castles were built also for another not less important reason:

ILLYRIAN PEOPLE STATISTICAL DATA

to control the movements and uprisings of the local population which, as known in many instances, represented the Roman occupation. Let us recall here an uprising of the Taulentians in the years 395 A. D., which Emperor Honorius suppressed by dispatching the Visigots led by Alarich against them.²

Different is the picture in the cities, in which the crisis of the slave-owning order was deeper-going and accompanied with graver consequences, especially in the 4th century A. D. Yet not all the cities of the southern Illyrian regions were ruined and abandoned by their inhabitants. A «selection» of ancient cities took place, especially in the coastal plain, in which there was a relatively great density of cities. So happened with the great and famous city of Apollonia. After a life of a thousand years Apollonia became an episcopal see, but, having no economic role to play (the river Aoos had changed its bed and flowed more to the south, while the agricultural land of the surrounding area had become swamped), turned into a «parasitic» settlement which was gradually relinquished by its inhabitants. Other cities like Antigonea (Jerma, in the vicinity of Gjirokastra), Zgërdhesh (in the vicinity of Kruja), etc., were also depopulated in this time.

In the 5th and 6th centuries the general situation in the southern Illyrian regions included in the Eastern Empire underwent some changes. There were still cities which, favoured by their geographical posi-

tion, coped with and overcame the crisis of the slave-owning order of the 4th century and remained important fortified centres, which is rebuilt by their walls. These cities were kept alive as a result of the growth of the productive elements and their periphery. Some of these cities, Skodra, Lissus (Lezha), Antipatrea-Pulcheriopolis (Berat), Aulon, Hadrianoiopolis (Melani in the Gjirokastra district), Onchesimoi (Saranda), etc., remained important commercial and artisan centres. Archaeological discoveries have shown that below Lissus there was in this time a city quarter which, favoured by the proximity of an important road which linked Durrhachium with the cities of Dardania, and by navigation on the Drin River succeeded in becoming the largest quarter of the city. In the castle of Berat archaeological evidence shows that Antipatrea-Pulcheriopolis continued to be an important centre as far as the 5th-6th centuries A. D. Remnants of walls erected in the Late Antiquity have been found under the walls of the Mediaeval castle, while ruins of buildings of the same period have emerged in some points within the castle in which excavations have been carried out. In the places of excavation a profusion of fragments of baked pottery of everyday use has been unearthed. Along with this, in the cultural stratum were also found work implements, household utensils and coins.³

Durrhachium (Durrës), the main centre of Epirus Nova, was been an important centre in the Late Antiquity. Concentration of the provincial military, administrative and ecclesiastical institutions stimulated the development of the various branches of production and trade of the city with its Illyrian hinterland. In Durrhachium there were large imperial workshops which produced bricks and tiles, and decorative sculptures for monumental buildings, which supplied

not only the city, but also a broad region around it⁴. This was the region called Durrachia, which according to Vibius Sequester, a geographer of the 5th century, extended from the Mat River to the north to the Shkumbin River to the south⁵. This was a region inhabited by a compact Illyrian population which stubbornly defended their city and played an important role in the events of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century, and maintained its links with Durrhachium in the Middle Ages, as well. (Historical sources mention a protective girdle of 30 castles which went as far north as Ulqin). In the Late Antiquity Durrhachium had a powerful system of fortifications erected under Emperor Anastasius I, who originated from this city.⁶ These walls, as well as those built in the time of the emperors Justinus and Justinianus, were to remain the main protection of the city throughout the pre-Turkish Middle Ages. The Museum of Durrës today boasts the richest collection of palaeochristian architectural decorative sculpture in our country; it is made up of granite and marble columns and capitals, often of very large size, in which there are also specimens originating from Proconnesus near Constantinople, as well as plates and frames engraved with great mastery, which once decorated a number of monumental basilicas in the city and its surrounding.⁷

In the southern Illyrian regions there were many cities which, although they lived on into the Late Antiquity, underwent changes. There were cities which shrank to mere military-strategic castles, there were others which lost their former impressive walls and their ancient social buildings, with the exception of the old church, and there were also cities which, what is more important, forfeited all their former importance, power and economic means, even

most of their ancient territory, occupying only a small part of their old settlements. This picture emerges from the ruins of the Illyrian city of Byllis unearthed in the hill above Hekal village of Mallakastra, in the district of Fier.

According to the Synecdemus of Hierocles of the 6th century, in the Illyrian provinces there were 20 settlements considered as cities in that time.⁸ This number coincides with the information provided by the church Councils of the time, because all the major cities also had episcopal sees. These were Skodra, Lissus, Durrhachium, Scampini, Scupi, Ulpiana (in the proximity of Prishtina), Lychnis (Ohër), Apollonia, Byllis, Amantia (Ploça of Vlora), Aulon, Bouthroton (Butrinti), Onchesimoi, Phoinike (Finiki of Saranda) and Hadrianopolis-Justinianopolis.

Archaeological research offers an up-to-now unknown picture of this region, in which, apart from military and civil buildings, there was also a broad creative activity in the field of monumental church building, which is evident in their architecture, mosaics and decorations. Among recent discoveries from the 5th and 6th centuries, there are the basilica of Saranda, which was built within the encircling walls of the city and which had a floor covered with multicoloured mosaics occupying an area of 150 square metres, the basilica of Ballsh (in the district of Fier), with a very rich decorative sculpture, and the basilica of Arapaj (in the district of Durrës), which is one of the largest buildings of the Christian cult discovered in our country.⁹

The number of palaeochristian basilicas discovered in the last years kept on increasing. In the Coastal Plain and in the interior of the country, and in the cities and their surroundings there are over 30 ruins of paleochristian basilicas. These buildings were connected with the ruling classes.

Along with the cities which were also episcopal sees, there existed also a number of fortified towns and castles, some of them linked with the

military interests of the Byzantine Empire, but most of them settlements of the peasant type in whose life agriculture occupied their great number. Very interesting here are the fortified towns of the Late Antiquity in Kosova, settlements of the Dardanian peasant and mining population, which are still insufficiently excavated and studied.

All this indicates the presence in the 5th and 6th centuries of a **unitarian material culture** in the region inhabited by the Albanians. The unitarian character of this culture is seen in various artisan productions, pottery (including building ceramics), the art of construction, architectural patterns and mosaics, and even coins.¹⁰ The existence of this unitarian material culture in the southern Illyrian provinces, Praevalis, Dardania, Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova shows that their ethnically homogenous population has reacted in the same manner to the influences of the Roman and, later, Byzantine culture.¹¹

The Illyrians entered the Middle Ages with an advanced economic and social development, and with a unitarian material and spiritual culture. However, after the 6th century there is no mention of them in the Byzantine narrative sources. **On the Early Middle Ages there exist mainly archaeological materials.** Archaeological materials increase from year to year, while their documentary value also increases, because they are almost totally of a local character.

The **Koman culture** is like that. The first discoveries of this culture belong to the end of the last century and were made, as is known, in the cemetery of the Castle of Dalmaca, near Koman village of Puka from which it has taken its name. Right from the discovery of the first graves, the archaeological finds attracted the attention of students and gave rise to much discussion. Faced with an unknown, though highly interesting culture from the scientific stand-point, the students tried to penetrate its mystery. Without knowing the history of the population of the country in which these graves were found, and

even less, the geography of the region of Puka, they carried to Koman people who had nothing to do with the local population, like the Germanic Sueves, Avarians and Slavs. More reasonable and acceptable was, for that time, the opinion that the cemetery of Dalmaca belonged to a Romanized Illyrian population, just as its dating, the epoch of the migration of peoples, the 4th-7th centuries A.D.¹²

Our archaeology has devoted great attention to tracing and studying the Koman culture in these last twenty years. A result of systematic research in the last years has been the discovery of a number of cemeteries similar to that of the Castle of Dalmaca, mainly in North and Central Albania, in the districts of Tirana, Durrës, Kruja, Lezha, Mirdita, Shkodra and Kukës. The Koman culture has been discovered also outside the state borders of the PSR of Albania.

In all these cemeteries, including the smallest ones, a **unitarian material culture** has been found. This is shown, in the first place, by the inventory of the graves, in which the fibula with upturned legs represents the most striking example. This is shown also by some common elements such as wire spirals or pyramidal heads, etc., which are seen in a number of ornaments like fibulae, neck, hand and head laces, as well as large belt strings. The decoration of metallic ornaments is the same, with many elements of the Illyrian symbolic being repeated with compelling insistence and extension.

In all cemeteries **graves were built in the same manner.** They are casket-shaped, often with a central convexity. Both the construction and orientation of graves and the burial rites are very ancient in our country, and they are found in almost all the burial mounds from the last period of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

The archaeologists who have studied the Koman culture, have also determined its **components.** Indeed, by means of these components they have been able to follow the process of the autochthonous formation of this

culture. It is fully clear now that the Koman culture is the direct continuation of the local culture of the Late Antiquity, though at a higher level. This is seen very well in a number of objects found in the graves like work implements and weapons, axes, knives and arrow-heads, ornaments, fibulae, pins, clasps and pottery. All these objects reproduce patterns which are found in cemeteries and settlements of the 4th-6th centuries and are very interesting because they are locally produced, hence, they prove the **continuity** of some crafts like silver and iron smithing and pottery, a natural phenomenon in the process of the autochthonous formation of the Koman culture.

Among archaeological finds remarkable are two pendants — which were connected with the local dress — and which come from the fund of Illyrian culture of the Iron Age. These iron pendants are shaped in one or two-three circles with or without inner radius and are often ornamented with bird protomes on two or four sides. These circular pendants are also called wheels and had a function of amulets among the Illyrians. With their circular shape they represent the sun or the solar disc. Bird protomes link them also with the cult of the sun bird.

Quite a few such pendants have been unearthed in all the larger cemeteries, which means that they had preserved their symbolic meaning up to the Early Middle Ages. This is very important, first, it indicates that amid the population which used the cemeteries there existed strong leftovers of pagan cults, and along with them, also leftovers of their ancient culture.

Another phenomenon which has been observed in the cemeteries and which strengthens us in our conviction of the Illyrian continuity, is also the presence in the graves of some objects characteristic of the Illyrians, such as half-spheric buttons adorned with radial lines in their upper part, biconical beads, rings with lateral convexities and bronze ornaments.

All this leads to the logical con-

clusion that the **deeper roots of the Koman culture reach down to the Illyrians, the ancient inhabitants of our country.**

In general, the ornaments of the Koman culture are a clear indication of ethnical peculiarities. This becomes even more evident when we compare them with those of the neighbouring peoples. The difference strikes the eye immediately; they are not found outside the region inhabited by an autochthonous population.

Among these ornaments, some kinds of belt clasps, golden broches and earrings, which have come through the intermediary of the local nobility, are of direct Byzantine extraction. Most of them have been found in the cemetery of Kruja, but there is no lack of them among the objects found in the cemeteries of Lezha, Mijela and even Castle of Dalmaca, either. The centre from which these objects have come, along with other Byzantine influences in general, was the city of Durrhachium.

The finding of Byzantine objects in our cemeteries means that **the Koman culture also had cultural elements of the early Balkan-Byzantine culture.**

In the Koman culture there are no elements of the Slavic or Avarian culture.

In connection with the «theory» of some Yugoslav archaeologists who saw «Slavic leftovers» in some objects of the cemetery of the Castle of Dalmaca, we have proved its unsubstantiality many years ago, based on the evidence of a rich archaeological material and many scientific arguments.¹⁴ For the sake of truth it must be said that in the Yugoslav literature today there is no unanimous opinion about the «Slavic» elements in the Koman culture, especially after the increase of archaeological finds and the discovery of cemeteries with objects of this culture on the shores of the lakes of Shkodra and Ohër. A good part of Yugoslav archaeologists admit that in the Koman culture «there is a material and spiritual tradition of the local population, that is formed as a culture of its own

on the basis of a culture of the Late Antiquity». Others are of the opinion that «in a certain area an archaeological group with peculiar characteristics and much Byzantine import has been formed, which belongs to the one ethnos.» However, as in the case of the description of the inventory of the necropolis of Mijela in Montenegro, there exists also the opinion that «the nearest analogy is found in the funerary material of the Castle of Dalmaca and Kruja». Some other authors seek a compromise solution.

As is seen, in the Yugoslav literature there are contradictory opinions about the Koman culture. One thing, however, is certain. In most cases the Koman culture is accepted as a local (it is not said Albanian) culture, but with the provision that, apart from Byzantine influences there are also Slavic influences (which in the case of the Slavs have come from Byzantium, too).

The elements of the provincial Roman culture, which were preserved in the Late Antiquity and lived on into the Early Middle Ages, and the elements of the early Byzantine culture do not infirm the autochthonous character of the Koman culture. On the contrary, as pointed out already, they indicate that this culture developed in close contact with them, and that **its carriers were the Mediaeval Arbër, the direct descendants of the ancient Illyrian population**, which was under the influence of the Roman provincial and early Byzantine cultures.

Based on these data, our archaeology came to the conclusion that the Koman culture is a local culture developed on the basis of an earlier culture, which was also local. Being such, it is clear that its carriers could be no other than the descendants of the ancient Illyrian population, who emerged with the name **Arbër** in the Middle Ages, the continuers of the name of Ptolemy's **Albanoi**. The Koman culture prospered about the end of the 6th-8th century, at a time when the process of formation of the Albanian people had already started. Hence, it is linked

with the **Arbër** — the ancient Albanians.

The **Arbër** population of the 7th and 8th centuries was organized in rural and urban communities. In the cemeteries used by this population graves with a rich, poor and even non-existent inventory have been found, which shows the economic differentiation and the existence of different strata within the community. The **Koman** culture has been the culture of rural and urban **Arbër** communities, whose disintegration belongs to the initial period of the establishment of feudal relations.

What were the boundaries of extension of the **Koman** culture or where did it develop? Discovery of this culture in the region of **Kukës** is clear evidence that the territory of **Dardania**, in which this region was included in the Early Middle Ages, underwent the same cultural development as the other regions of our country. The same can be said about the region around the **Ohër Lake**, where, just as in **Dardania**, the descendants of a large **Illyrian** community lived.

Be as it may, it can be said with full conviction that the **Koman** culture extended over a broad area in which the **Illyrian** cultural group of **Mat** was included. The territory of **Arbanon** extended on this basis in the Early Middle Ages and then a large ethnographic region began to be formed.

Archaeological excavations carried out in some tumular cemeteries in South Albania in the recent years also discovered the presence of an **Arbër** culture of the Early Middle Ages in these regions. This has emerged from the mound of **Dukat** of **Vlora**, the mounds of **Piskova**, **Rapcka** and **Grabova** in the district of **Përmet**, the mound of **Rehova** of **Kolonja** and the cemeteries of some rural settlements in **Skrapar**. The finds in these cemeteries remain still unstudied and no material has yet been published about them, so to reach a conclusion is difficult and perhaps premature. However, from some reports we may have a preliminary idea

of the culture represented in these cemeteries. However, what should be stressed is the fact that the ancient burial grounds were reused in the Middle Ages, with the same burial rites and the preservation of the same casket-shaped grave types, a phenomenon which testifies to the preservation of elements of the ancient spiritual culture and the presence of an autochthonous population, which here, too, is that of the **Arbër**.

In the above cemeteries no objects recalling the Antiquity have been found yet, while objects of the Early Middle Ages, few in number and limited to some kind of ornaments, mainly earrings, rings, necklaces and the odd bracelet have originated from the corresponding Byzantine models of the 9th century. Perhaps this feature of the **Arbër** culture was conditioned by the geographical position and the political situation. It must be kept in mind that contacts with **Byzantium** were easier and more frequent through the **Vjosa Valley**.

Although archaeological finds are still limited, there is evidence of the presence in South Albania of a material culture of the Early Middle Ages which is connected with the newly formed **Arbër** population.

An interesting archaeological material belonging to the 10th-12th centuries has been discovered in some cemeteries of Southeast Albania. It is somewhat different from the earlier ones, partly in inventory and partly in geographical extension.

These graves and cemeteries have been discovered mainly in the southeastern part of our country, in the districts of **Pogradec**, **Korça**, **Kolonja**, **Skrapar** and, to a lesser degree, **Përmet**. The inventory of these graves is **very uniform** and is made up of generally bronze bracelet, earrings and rings.¹⁵

These ornaments had a wide extension also in other regions of the Balkans, Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia.

The extension of these objects in the southern region of **Arbër** has nothing to do with the formation of our people, because this process was

already completed and a new process, that of the consolidation of the Albanian nationality, had set on. Apart from these, these objects were spread over a zone of contact with other peoples, which was geographically and chronologically limited.

In regard to this ethnographic region formed in the 6th century another fact of just as great importance should be mentioned: the extraordinary revival of a number of local settlements and cities during the events of the 10th-11th centuries, like **Balsh-Glavenica**, **Jerico**, **Bouthroton**, **Hadriapolis**, **Kolonea** and **Deabolis**. These are already **Arbër** cities, and wars and foreign invasions may have been accompanied by grave economic consequences for the local population, but they could not change the character of these southern regions, which was not different from that of the northern ones. The archaeology has found no evidence of new settlements which might be linked with the foreign invasions of the 10th-11th centuries. There are only cities which have lived on from the Antiquity and cities which were initially castles built by the **Arbër** and which the **Arbër** themselves transformed into cities.

For the problem we are dealing with of great interest is the examination of the urban life in the Early Middle Ages, for the cities were involved in the transmission of ancient ethno-cultural traditions and played a first-rate role in the formation of the Albanian people. This examination should take into account two important factors: first, that the **Arbër** city developed on a territory with ancient urban traditions of which archaeological research of the Antiquity has provided much convincing evidence and, second, that this territory, especially the coastal region, was very little affected by the barbarian invasions which took place in the Balkans on the eve of the Middle Ages.¹⁶

What must be said right from the beginning is that the physiognomy of the **Arbër** cities and towns, at the outset of the Middle Ages, was very similar to that of the Late Anti-

quity, especially during the first two centuries of the Middle Ages. They continued their life regularly, going from the Late Antiquity over to the Middle Ages as a result of an uninterrupted inner development, while also going through the crisis of the slave-owning order and its consequences. I will mention the more remarkable examples which have emerged from the excavations carried out in the last decade.

The Castle of Pogradec is among the little fortified towns built in the Late Antiquity, which lived on into the Early Middle Ages, when agriculture assumed first-rate importance.¹⁷ Four years of excavations have brought out evidence of a revival of the population of this city and a regeneration of some of its cultural traditions. Autochthonous elements of the material culture of the Late Antiquity lived on into the Early Middle Ages. The arrowheads and the iron knives found in the citadel have their counterparts in the materials of the cemeteries of the 6th-8th centuries of North and Central Albania. Vessels have patterns and ornamental motifs which continue well into the Middle Ages. To the 6th and 8th century in this citadel belong a number of pottery fragments of a special type: big vessels of yellow clay ornamented with dots and lines among which there is the brownish to red cross motif; along with them were also found a golden earring with a grape-shaped pendant and a bronze encolpion, all of Byzantine production.

Excavations in the citadel of Symize in the district of Korça, a town of Desaret origin, also the centre of an agricultural region), have given this picture: in the beginning of the Middle Ages there was a temporary decline in life intensity caused, according to its students, by the turbulent situation created in the neighbouring eastern territories. Since the 8th, and especially the 9th-11th centuries, according to archaeological finds, life in the city rises again. Characteristic of this period is its pottery, which «continues the traditions of the Late Antiquity as reflected

in vessel patterns and ornaments.¹⁸

Continuation of the traditions of the popular pottery of the period of the Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages, as well the existence of local pottery shops have also been observed among the materials excavated in the well-known city of Bouthroton.

Antipatrea-Pulcheriopolis-Beligrad, and later, Kanina were contemporaries of Bouthroton and underwent a similar economic and cultural development in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Archaeological material excavated in the citadel of Berat shows that this was an important city in the Early Middle Ages. The Mediaeval walls of this citadel were built on former Illyrian walls and follow their line. Likewise, in the citadel of Kanina, Mediaeval walls rise on ancient foundations. In the city of Hadrianopolis, too, Mediaeval walls, with little alterations, follow the old circuit. **In the Early Middle Ages the Arbër citadels had already assumed the view they had in the Middle Ages and partly, today.** This, I think, proves a simple truth: that the population in the Late Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages was the same, because it preserved its material and spiritual culture in the same living and urban milieu.

The situation which has emerged in Durrhachium is more or less similar.

A characteristic of this phase of the Early Middle Ages and which is linked directly with the Arbër population is also the preservation of the ancient ecclesiastical organization. In regard to church buildings, «intra and extra muros» of the cities, we observe the same phenomenon. For more than two centuries no new buildings are observed, but the monumental paleochristian buildings are preserved, with partial repairs. This has drawn the attention of the students of the monumental basilicas of Bouthroton, Arapaj, Saranda, Ballsh, etc.

The Ballsh basilica is a monument which deserves particular attention. It was an episcopal basilica and was built under Emperor Justinianus and

occupies an important place in the historical events that developed in the southern regions of the Arbër territory later. It is comprised in the group of basilicas which were connected with the fortified monasteries and owned huge land holdings. The little inhabited centre of Ballsh, with its monastery, with better economic sources, occupied the place of the Illyrian Byllis on the eve of the Middle Ages. With the transfer of the city and the passage of time the ancient Illyrian name was altered: in ecclesiastical sources we read Byllis, Belis, Ballis, Vallis, which lead us to Ballsh, its present name. The Byzantine sources of the 9th-11th centuries mention in this part of the Arbër territory a city which was also an episcopal see, gllavenica-Kephallenia which, in our opinion, is Ballsh (compare Ballsh, Head-Glava-Kephale). As, according to Byzantine sources, Ballsh-Glavenica was for a certain time occupied by the Bulgarians and connected with Bulgarian historical figures, the opinion has been expressed that the basilica of Ballsh-Glavenica was a Bulgarian construction. The excavations carried out in the ruins of the Ballsh basilica, as has been said, have proved that it is a construction of Justinian's time and, moreover, a construction with great architectural and artistic values, which has lived for more than one thousand years. Nothing has been discovered up to now to indicate that the buildings done in the Bulgarian phase, which ends in 1018, even the first great reconstruction which has affected also the architecture and the plastic of the inner ornamentation, relying on archaeological discoveries, belongs to the 11th-12th centuries and the period of the revival of Byzantine architecture.¹⁹

Some castles, which are found only in the northern regions, up to now, also, bear out the building activity of the Arbër population in the Early Middle Ages. Here I mention the citadel of Shurdhah (Mediaeval Saranda) as a well-known example, because systematic excavations with very good results have been carried out there.

Sarda (present-day Shurdhah) emerged as a castle in the 6th-7th centuries not far off an important road which linked the Adriatic coast with the inner Dardanian territories (Kosova). In the first period there were a wall which encircled the hill, surrounded on three sides by the Drin River) and twelve towers of different shapes. Of the materials which help us determine the 6th-7th centuries as the beginning of the life of the castle are, first of all, the pottery that has emerged from the excavations, then the finds in the cemetery, all of them belonging to the Roman culture. Indeed at Shurdhah we find something very interesting which was to be seen later at Kruja: ornament and work implements of the Roman culture have been found within the castle, among the ruins of the earlier houses.²¹ Architectural elements also coincide with archaeological finds. All those who have studied this castle have reached the conclusion that, in the Early Mediaeval castle of Shurdhah, the elements inherited from the Roman provincial Castrum of the Late Antiquity are everywhere present in the shape of towers, the two-tower entrance, the single axis of the city starting from the middle of the gate and proceeding upwards, etc. In general there is an evident desire to implement the requirements of a well-known former system of fortification and, at the same time, an attempt at respecting the compositional concepts of the preceding architecture.

All that is seen in Shurdhah is not accidental: it is connected with a local population, the inheritors of the culture of the Late Antiquity, which knew urban life. The Castle of Shurdhah was built at a certain phase to serve the local population, the Arbër population, which was being formed on the Illyrian soil. Later this new population, which was also a nationality on its own, would transform

Shurdhah from a castle into a city.

Shurdhah was not the only castle with some kind of originality; it had relations with Byzantium, while maintaining its autonomy. The picture of the founding and development of the castle of Shurdhah is very similar to that of Drivastum-Drisht and Kruja. These two were initially castles which were built on strong natural positions. In the case of Kruja, the vicinity of Durrhachium had only a marginal influence. Just as in Shurdhah, here, too, the archaeological material is linked with the presence of an Arbër population to which belongs the rich cemetery of the 6th-8th century on the slope of the nearby mountain.

The local population built these castles at a time when the Byzantine Empire was in temporary decline, and there was a weakening of links of many Arbër regions with the central administration. In this new political situation the Arbër population liberated itself from the direct pressure of the imperial authorities and developed more freely. This had an influence on the economic development of the country and the revival of production. This revival of the local crafts (let us recall the rich archaeological material of the Arbër cemeteries) makes us think that for more than two centuries the utilization of mines, metallurgy, the various crafts and exchange relations, including those between the different regions, had gone over to the local population, which was very active in that time.

According to archaeological data, beginning from the end of the 8th century, and especially in the 9th century, the Arbër cities underwent a sudden revival. The causes of this revival were of various nature. There is no doubt that this development was the result of the development of the internal production forces and the administrative-organization of the By-

zantine Empire, the creation of the **Theme of Durrës** and, later, that of Nicopolis which included the whole Arbër territory. But this was not the only cause. I think that account should be taken of other no less important facts — the gradual strengthening of feudal relations, the emergence of a local feudal class and the formation of the Albanian people, with the subsequent emergence of the Albanian nationality.

The emergence and development of cities was linked with the local population. In these cities there lived always a **strong ethnic stratum** which, even when it wielded no political power, still exercised a powerful influence on the direction of the economic and political life of the country. This explains the fact that, unlike the central part of the Balkans, in the region of South Illyria there was no almost total de-urbanization, neither in the time of the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans, nor later. The Illyrian-Albanian cities lived on without interruption through the vicissitudes of the time.

In this report, through the results of archaeological research, we have followed the process of the autochthonous formation of the Albanian people and their culture. However, this treatment has no claim to exhaustiveness. To the archaeologists the constant discovery of new facts through archaeological research and excavations is indispensable, but not an aim in itself. In order to discover the truth archaeological facts must be pieced up together, compared and explained. This road our archaeology has followed and it has led it to important conclusions. «The Albanians stem from the Illyrians,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «and our archaeological studies are displaying and proving our history of thousands of years, the ancient and rich culture of a brave, work-loving and unconquerable people.»²¹

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PERFECTION OF THE FORMS OF IN AGRICULTURE

by **NEXHMEDIN DUMANI**

In our socialist society no one can attain his personal interest outside the interest of the whole society. Personal well-being is linked closely with and is conditioned by the well-being of the entire society

THE 7TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA MADE A FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE ORIENTATIONS OF THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE. WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THIS PLENUM SOME MATERIAL FACTORS OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ARE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BETTER, THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES FOR THE RAPID INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS ARE FURTHER DEVELOPED. AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE INCREASE OF PRODUCTION AND ITS PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR IS PLAYED BY THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS. IN SUBSTANCE THE PERFECTION OF THESE RELATIONS HAS TO DO:

— With the relationship between interests and their harmonization, always placing the general interest above the interest of the group and the individual. The measures for the further improvement of the system of remuneration of cooperativists and agricultural workers, the leading cadres and specialists working in agriculture, and the measures connected with the production and the sale of the products from the collective plots of land, small herds and personal plots, are seen from this angle.

— With the perfection and extension of competences in planning, for a scientific organization and militant, revolutionary economic thinking.

— With the perfection of the state-cooperative relations, including those which have to do with contracts, prices, tariffs, etc., so that they behave more dynamically towards the problems which arise in practice.

The essence of the requirements which stem from the improvement of the different aspects of the relations in production, and which are actually being applied and will be

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further deepened in agriculture, has to do with the encouragement of the initiative of the cooperativist peasantry and agricultural workers, with enhancing the role of the working man, encouraging his thinking and work both as producer and consumer, as organizer and manager of the socialist property, as the real owner of this property. The socialist relations in production as a whole constitute a unity of elements which interact reciprocally. Whereas the competences, the perfection of planning, the contracts and prices have to do rather with the worker's initiative.

«The harmonization of interests is something which belongs not only to theory. The very policy of our Party has the man, with his legitimate needs, aspirations and interests, in its centre,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party.

In the present conditions the material interests of the agricultural workers cannot be realized and bettered without perfecting the forms of pay, without connecting pay more and more with the degree of the fulfilment of the plans and with

work effectiveness, without making it a rule that the produce of the collective plots of the cooperatives should be sold at their costs.¹

The Party demands that well-studied relationships should be established in the field of interests in our socialist society, giving the moral and material incentives their proper place. The fundamental thing is to understand that the material stimuli in our country, in our society, have their socialist features and content. These stimuli are offered to the masses of working people, the brigade or the collective without neglecting the individual. Thus, for example, the connection of remuneration of agricultural workers better and more closely with the results of production, which is being applied in all the agricultural brigades, has become an encouragement for the increase of agricultural production, a boost for initiatives to set higher plan targets and for overfulfilling the planned quotas by mobilizing all the reserves, for increasing production and income, and for profiting more both as collective and as individual from the result of their own work. By harmonizing the interests of the working collective with those of the individual, the initiatives of both can be supported with material factors. This makes them take a greater interest in increasing production, which eventually means improvement of their standard of living.

The forms of remuneration for the agricultural workers have continuously improved, responding to the level of development, the increase and inten-

REMUNERATION

framework of the general

sification of production. But at the present stage a number of material, organizational and social factors have emerged, which require that the remuneration of the cooperativists and the workers in state farms should be more directly linked with the quality of work, with the degree of the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, with the income and expenditure, so that it can play its role as an incentive.

Today there are many economies, sectors and brigades in agriculture which have stability in production and yields. The income from the common property and the well-being of the working people have increased continuously. In the field of planning of production, in the organization of work and management a rich experience has been accumulated. The 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party adopted decisions and took concrete measures for the promotion of production by stimulating the advanced workers, so that not only these, but also all the others should be interested in work, should strive for higher yields from which they themselves will gain, because their pay will be differentiated from the rest.

The 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party decided that in order to increase production the brigades working in the fields and in fruit-growing must be compensated for overfulfilment of quotas with the entire value of production above the plan in each culture, after making the necessary reductions for the expenditure above the plan and a reasonable accumulation. Likewise, the people working

in state farms have a right to 50 per cent of the income above the plan, after allowing for extra expenditure.

In this manner, there will be a change also in the mechanism of distribution of the fund of consumption in the cooperative on the whole. From the overall income which is allotted for compensations, after deduction of the material expenditure, first the supplementary income earmarked for the brigades which have produced above the planned quotas will be put aside. The rest of the income, which is the main part, will be divided by workdays or work norms, in order to get the factual value of the workday, which will be used for the compensation of all the brigades according to the realization of income and expenditure.

The distribution of income, which gives the vanguard worker his fair share from the results of his work, and which, on the other hand, makes a more objective evaluation of the work of those who fail to reach work norms, will strengthen demands for a better organization of production and work, for greater responsibility within the brigade, for strict application of contemporary technologies, for the use of the material and technical base with higher effectiveness, etc. The members of the brigade will be thus more interested in drafting realistic plans based on arguments for the rational use of the means and funds earmarked for expenditure of production, the strengthening of discipline at work, the protection and good administration of

agricultural and livestock products, and so on.

From the calculations made it emerges that there will be differentiations in remuneration among brigades, especially as regards the value of the workday, which will fluctuate from 1:1.3 to 1:1.5 or even more.

So, those who really create the incomes will have a larger share in them. In practice, this form of remuneration will cause a greater differentiation among brigades as regards their pay, which will eventually avoid part of the redistribution still in force today. The vanguard workers, those who overfulfil the planned targets, who exploit all the material and human forces and resources in production, will have the advantage of higher remuneration. On the contrary, those brigades which fail to reach the planned targets in production will receive less in return, the value of their workday will be lower. But the implementation of this form of remuneration should be accompanied with a more careful work by the cadres and experts, in order to have well-studied scientific plans, so that the brigades should be placed on equal conditions of production and work. The overfulfilment of the planned tasks should always be the result of their own work, and not of the reserves which are left unutilized from the time when the plans are drafted.

Under this new arrangement, the present level of the fulfilment of the production plans all over the country entitles about 150-200 thousand workers in state farms and cooperatives

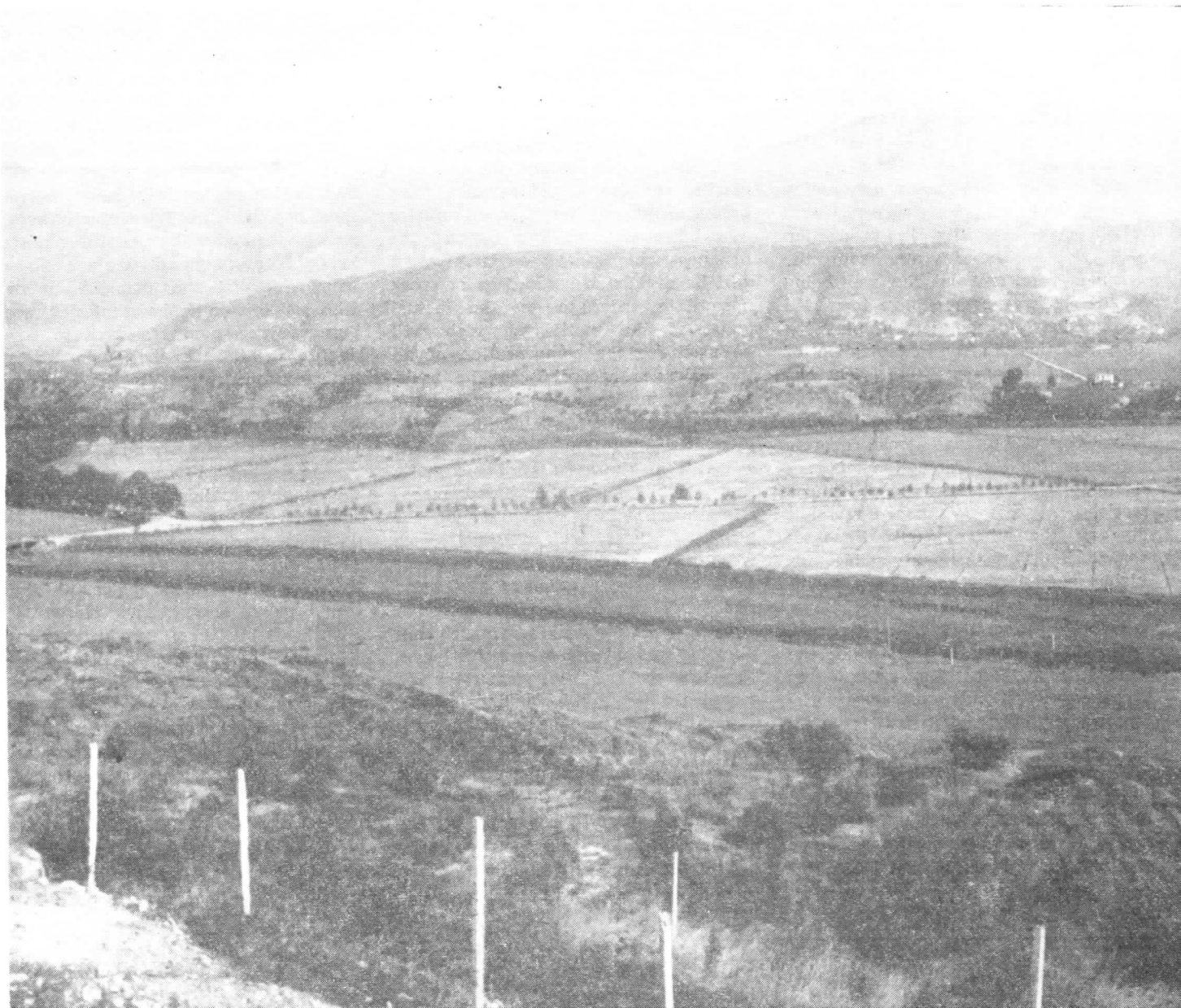
to the new system of remuneration. This is a great mass of people who will become an encouragement for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plans. It is a great inspiring force which will push the other masses of agricultural workers to follow the example of the vanguard ones, to increase yields and production, to use means and funds with economy, and to reduce costs. The implementation of these forms will stimulate the workers' interest and will increase their mobilization in work and production, in the good administration of the socialist property, in protecting and strengthening it, which, in a natural way, will lead to the fulfilment of the Party program for

ensuring the food of the population and for raising the standard of living continuously.

In view of this broad horizon which is opened for the activity and initiative of the agricultural workers, this new form of remuneration, which the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA adopted, takes into account also the conditions in which it is implemented, the objective and subjective factors which operate at present in the agricultural cooperatives and the state farms. Therefore, the mechanism used in the calculation of remuneration should not permit unmerited pay, pay without the necessary amount of production, and should not stimulate

those whose work is poor and production low.

In order to further encourage the vanguard ones so that they take upon themselves new tasks and responsibilities for higher yields, the plan envisages greater remuneration for them in advance. In this manner, the brigades which plan yields above the average level of the cooperative and achieve them are compensated throughout the year and at the end of the year, giving them 20 per cent above the value of the progressive average workday of the cooperative. This differentiation should apply to those brigades which have stability in production for years on end, which take upon themselves



and achieve high yields in wheat and maize, potatoe and cotton production. Each cooperative and sector has such brigades which must be treated in a differentiated manner. Only in this way will they continue to play their vanguard role and be in the lead of the movement for progress, except that now their material stimulus will be somewhat greater than hitherto. This is an incentive for the vanguard ones, for those who distinguish themselves, which will convince the vanguard brigades to always draft their plans with higher and higher indices.

This measure will make new requirements and demands on the experts for drafting well-studied plans,

it will enforce stronger discipline in the correct use and the more proportional distribution of the material and technical base in conformity with the planned tasks of each brigade and sector. And finally, it will help to combat manifestations of one-sidedness which are noticed in practice.

On the other hand, the decision of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party implies, also, that the criterion of differentiations among the brigades on the basis of the best results of work should be extended to apply also to the members of the brigade, so that each one can profit from the contribution he has made to the overfulfilment of the work quotas of the brigade. Those who

are first entitled to this new system of remuneration will be the cooperativists who have put in the minimum necessary number of workdays or normed days. Is up to the members of the brigade to decide collectively about the priorities. This new arrangement will help to strengthen discipline and to encourage the members of the brigade to participate regularly in work and will strengthen control on the estimation of the amount and quality of work. Of course this is in the interest of the whole collective of the brigade and of each one of its members.

Besides all these, the decision also envisages that the pay of the cadres working in agriculture should be



formed of the fixed part, which is provided for state or the cooperative (and this part will not undergo any changes either in the plan or in fact) and by the part which will be formed from the factual value of the workday. Hence, the compensation for cadres will not be restricted either by non-fulfilment or by overfulfilment, but it is understood that by making their remuneration largely dependent on the value of the work-day, the cadres will be much more interested in planning production according to most scientific criteria.

The forms of remuneration which are envisaged in the decision of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA are compatible with the new method of planning which is being applied in agriculture. By making the economy as a whole responsible mainly for what must be handed into the state the sector and the brigade have more rights, their initiative not only for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the planned quotas but also for the perfection of the production structures and the introduction into economic circulation of reserves, which are not negligible in agriculture, will be further invigorated. All the measures regarding remuneration and the other measures which the Party adopted for the further improvement of the socialist relations in agriculture, raise new demands as regards the perfection of organization and management of work and production, the perfection of planning and the check-up on the fulfilment of tasks in each brigade and sector.

First, the scientific planning of yields is required, so that the plan should be based on all the factors of production and on the material-technical base with which the intensified production must be supported. At present all the factors needed for

the uplift of the level of planning in general exist in our agriculture. Now each economy knows everything about the necessary agrotechnical and pedological data of its territory. Each economy has its own cadres, in the necessary numbers and with the required qualification, to draft the technical charts for every single plot of land. The material factors are not lacking and will be further strengthened.

Second, technological and technical discipline must be further strengthened. With the present level of yields in agriculture, every slight violation of the time of sowing and other services for the agricultural crops is fraught with great consequences in the final result, the more so when it is known that failure in a material element cannot be made up for by live work or other technical substitutes. The fertilizer and the water, the tractors and the work forces which are planned for a given culture, must be given to it at the time when the technology requires, otherwise the yields envisaged will decline and, as a result, the remuneration of the working people will be lower.

Third, the management of work within the brigade must be raised to a higher level, control on the implementation of strict accounting for each culture must be strengthened, the struggle against abuse and misuse of the material base be intensified, and the fertilizer and water, the seeds and workdays must be used with great economy.

Putting in the necessary amount of work at the proper time and with quality, these are the decisive factors for the attainment of objectives, therefore control on the quantity and quality of work in the brigade should be strengthened, so as not to allow unscientific expenditure, so that only

what is earned with the sweat of one's brow should be properly evaluated.

Fourth, control from below, control of the masses, should be strengthened with the aim of bringing into economic circulation all the reserves which exist within the brigade, of making the cooperativists more interested in protecting their common property and in the progress of work in the collective economy as a whole.

The analysis of the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party is important in as much as it will help the broad masses to understand that the tasks set today can be completed with success only if they put all their forces and means into the common effort for raising the yields of crops and the productivity of animals, for continuously increasing production as a whole, which is the only source that guarantees the income of each individual. In our socialist society no one can attain his interest outside the framework of the general interest of the whole society. Personal well-being is linked closely with and is conditioned by the well-being of the entire society, therefore the continuous increase of production, of the overall social product, constitutes the main objective of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party.

When all and everyone fight in the example of the vanguard workers, then the whole society will have more products. This makes the common economy stronger, makes life more prosperous, makes the Homeland stronger and invincible.

1 *On the further development of agriculture*, brochure, Tirana 1989.

AN ANCIENT PEOPLE OF A YOUNG AGE

by **ARQILE BËRXHOLI**

The extended reproduction of the population in Albania has ensured its young age - 26 years. Over 33 per cent of the population of our country is occupied by children from 0-14 years old, which is a powerful base for the extended reproduction and for the vitality of the population in future.

WHEN WE SAY ALBANIANS WE HAVE IN MIND ONE OF THE OLDEST STOCKS OF THE BALKANS, THE SUCCESSORS OF THE ANCIENT ILLYRIANS, THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED GENERATION AFTER GENERATION AND HAVE REPRODUCED THEMSELVES ON THEIR OWN TERRITORIES, THROUGH THEIR ILLYRIAN-ARBËR-ALBANIAN HISTORIC CONTINUITY, WHICH IS A CONTINUITY OF LIFE, CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND TRADITIONS.

ON THESE TERRITORIES THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE CREATED THEIR OWN HISTORY, STOOD THE STORMS OF THE CENTURIES AND EMERGED TRIUMPHANT OVER THEM. THROUGH ALL THE VICISITUDES OF HISTORY THEY NEVER LOST THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS AS A NATION.

At what period appear the first traces of human settlements on the territories of the Albanians? These traces go back to very early periods. Numerous material sources speak about it; they can be seen in the various pre-historic archeological stations. They underline the fact that the earliest traces of human settlements on the Albanian territories can be dated as far back as the middle of the Old Stone Age (100,000-40,000 years before). From this time on, this territory has been continually inhabited, and the process has continued intensively both in the degree of peopling and in its qualitative evolution.

Sources of the second cultural layer of the pre-historic archeological stations point out that the Late Stone Age (40,000-10,000 years before the

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new era) has continued in these territories with intensive civilizations and with a more advanced cultural evolution.

The New Stone Age presents further progress, especially in the more intensive peopling of territories. Twelve settlements with a living space from 1.6 to 5 hectares have been discovered in this period. Settlements like these have been found in many zones of the country, such as in Mallakastra and Kukës, Kolonja, the valleys of Mat and Drini i Zi Rivers.

All these settlements, with the rich material they have, are a testimony of the fact that the inhabitants of these places have gone through an autochthonous process of evolution, and that their culture has been formed on the basis of the local ingredients of an early origin.

Still more important aspects are to be found in the later epochs, such as the Bronze and the Iron Age,

when the historic process of the formation of the Illyrian culture and ethnos has its beginnings, when this process was crystallized (the first millennium before the new era) and the Illyrian inhabitants were included in the process of urbanization, whereas their culture tended towards unification. In this period, too, the territory was intensively peopled. This density of population is expressed in the many and massive urban building activities in Illyria, as well as in the sources of that time. Various ancient authors, as Skymnos, for instance, in their works have had the following to say about the level of the Illyrian population: «It is said that its population is very great».

These ample material traces are an expression of the density and continuity of the evolution of the population in the subsequent centuries, until in the Middle Ages when the process of the emergence of consciousness of an ethnic community began and was expressed in the gradual spread and use of the common name of the people, Arbër. The complete replacement of the earlier name means that in Arbëria the consciousness of the Arbër nationality had been definitively consolidated.

Speaking with the language of figures, the Albanian territories of the 14th century, which today lie within the state borders of the RPS of

Albania, had about 50,000 households.

In the beginning of our century the population reached to 800,000 inhabitants.

For all we said above, the Albanians are an ancient people, who blazed the path of history sword in hand.

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September 1928 was the time when the first general census of the population was taken in the Albanian state. From this census it emerged that the country had 803,000 inhabitants. From this time until 1945, when the first census in the free Albania was taken, the population of the country had increased with only 320,000 inhabitants, or with about 15,000 each year.

After 1945, in the conditions of the socialist construction of the country, the rates of the population increase become more rapid. As a result, at the end of 1985 Albania had 3,176,000 inhabitants, or about three times as many as in 1945. Whereas by the end of our century this population is envisaged to reach to about 4 million inhabitants.

Along with this the average number of inhabitants per unit of area has increased from 39 inh. per sq. km. in 1945 to over 110 inh. per sq. km. at the end of 1988, thus topping the list of the Balkan states.

The phenomenon characterizes all the zones of the country. Indeed, there are some mountainous zones in the interior of the country in which the density of population has increased very markedly, as, for example, in the Puka-Mirdita zone, in Mat, in the valley of Drin i Zi River, etc., as a result of the rapid economic development of these zones both in agriculture and in industry. The rural population is fixed in its own living area, thus hindering the emergence of the phenomenon of the depopulation of the countryside, which is happening in many other countries.

The only source of the rapid numerical increase of the Albanian population is its natural growth, its extended reproduction. This has been its main characteristic throughout the decades after the War, and has been

conditioned both by the high level of birthrates and by the continuous fall of death-rates.

Albania occupies the first place in Europe as regards the level of natality, which fluctuates in the limit of 26 births per thousand inhabitants. In this population there are 78,600 live births each year, or 70 per cent more than in the year 1950.

The high level of birthrates is accompanied by a considerable fall in the mortality rate, from 14 per thousand inhabitants, which was the level in 1950, to 5.6 per thousand in 1988. This phenomenon in the general mortality rate is characteristic for the whole territory of the country and for specific age-groups, as well. The highest level of general mortality according to districts is 8.2 per thousand inhabitants, whereas the lowest is 4.8 per thousand.

The extended reproduction of the population has also ensured its young age, at about 26 years. Over 33 per cent of the population of our country is occupied by children from 0-14 years old, which is a powerful base for the extended reproduction and for the vitality of the population in future. For all these reasons we can say that Albania's population in young and full of vitality.

On the other hand, the rise in birthrates, which at present is only 28 live births per thousand inhabitants, and the fall of death-rates, especially among children, has led to the increase in the life expectancy of the population from 53.5 years in the period 1950-1951 to 71.6 years in the period 1986-1987.

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This situation result from a number of factors, in the first place, the measures adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania and the people's state power for the protection of people's health, especially the care for mother and child. Hence, health service was made free of charge for all and its mass character was deepened. At the same time the number of health institutions increased along with the number of beds and of

the medical personnel, including general practitioners and specialists. In 1987 there were about 4,000 health institutions in the whole country, of which 158 were hospitals with 12,200 beds, 714 maternity homes and wards with 4,700 beds, which as a total are, respectively, twice and four times as much as in 1960. Health service in outpatient clinics and in the health institutions with beds, has extended in breadth in the rural area, in which today there are 86 hospitals (mainly in the remote mountainous zones) with about 100 beds. The maternity homes and wards all over the country assisted in 73,000 births, or about 92 per cent of all births, for the year 1987.

Other important measures are the continuous lowering of prices for medicines, free medication for children up to one year old, granting paid leaves before and after childbirth for 6 months and other paid leaves for health reasons, while the work place is kept vacant; the draining of marshes and swamps and the raising of the standard of living, which brought about the liquidation of many epidemic diseases such as malaria, siphylis, tuberculosis, etc., which took a heavy toll of the population in the past.

The vigorous social and economic development of the whole country, especially the industrialization with priority and at rapid rates brought about major changes in the structure of population in the cities and the rural area.

In 1987 the population living in the city was 1,066,900, or 34.6 per cent of the total population, whereas the rural area had 2,015,800 inhabitants, equal to 65.4 per cent of the total population of the country. In 1987, as against 1945, the urban population has increased by 4.5 fold, whereas the rural population by 2.3 fold.

The process of urbanization in Albania has its complex features both as regards its extension all over the territory of the country and as regards its structure. It has developed in close connection with all the economic transformations. The industrial development of the country, not only taken as total production, which in

1987 had a value of over 6 times as great as in the year 1960, but also the structure of its branches, in which the heavy-processing industry accounts for over 87 per cent of production, and the distribution of its branches in space, have brought about the development of the process of urbanization, especially the increase in the number of towns, their distribution in space, the general transformation of the urban centres and the increase of their influence in the neighbouring rural zones. As a result of this development, the number of towns today has reached to 66 against 24 in the year 1945, that is, 42 of them have been set up during the process of the socialist construction of the country and what is more important, they justify their existence as complex industrial centres. Such towns are Laç, Ballsh, Patos, Stalin City, Rubik; Memaliaj, to mention only some of them. Whereas many of the urban centres inherited from the past have completely changed their appearance in regard to their urban aspects and their social and economic life. Some of them, like Tirana, are characterized by a number of complex functions, others like Elbasan, Fier, Durrës, Vlora, Korça, Shkodra, etc., are distinguished for their industrial functions, which they reflect in the inter-regional and national relations.

Precisely such towns have had a noticeable increase in their area and the number of inhabitants.

The most important of them is Tirana, the capital city of the country, with a population of over 225,000 inhabitants, a «Hero City», the largest economic, educational, scientific and political centre of the country. It is the place where on November 8, 1941 the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) was founded. During the years of socialist construction, Tirana has undergone major changes, not only economic but also as regards its urban and demographic development. The industrial production of the city today is over 6 times greater than that of the whole country in 1950. As a result of this development, Tirana has been transformed into an industrial centre for machine building, for the pro-

duction of industrial equipment, for the processing of food-stuffs, wood and timber, wool and cotton, etc.

The second largest centre of the country is Durrës, with a population of 79,000 inhabitants, the most ancient city of the country, which boasts 2,600 years of existence. It is the biggest seaport of the country, an important centre of the chemical industry, agricultural machinery plants, ship building, etc. The industry which is concentrated in this city accounts for 1/10 of the total industrial product of the country.

Shkodra is another industrial city with a population of over 76,000 inhabitants, in which a number of industrial plants have been built.

Other cities which have rapid rates of urban and economic growth are Vlora with a population of 68,000 inhabitants, Elbasan — a metallurgical centre with more than 78,000 inhabitants; Korça — a centre of the light and food-stuffs industries, with a population of over 61,000 inhabitants; Berat with over 40,000 inhabitants; Fier, the centre of the chemical and energy industry, with over 40,000 inhabitants, etc.

The all-sided social and economic development has brought about the perfection of the class structure of the population of our country, which today is made up of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the stratum of intelligentsia which has emerged from them, all being friendly classes which work for the same aim, for the socialist construction and the development of the country.

The demographic transformations which have taken place in Albania, are without doubt the result of the uninterrupted development of the socialist order, which from an aspiration has become a reality. The high level and the rapid rates of development of the various branches of the economy are very significant indices of the all-round economic and social development of the country. The total social product has increased over 13 times against the year 1950. In this production industry already occupies the main place, accounting for over 58 per cent of it already whereas in 1950 it occupied only less than 19

per cent of the overall production of the country.

The overall industrial production for its part not only has increased but has also witnessed a pronounced extension of its structures, in which the heavy industry, especially the processing industry, always plays the main role. Major changes have been made especially in the structure of industry after 1970, which was followed by the increase of production by more than 2.5 fold.

Rapid developments have been made in agriculture. Following the Land Reform and the completion of collectivization agriculture entered more powerfully on the road of intensification, regionalization and specialization. As a result, the overall agricultural production has increased over threefold against the level of the year 1960, which is expressed in the space it occupies.

Likewise, investments, the volume of constructions, etc., have developed at rapid rates, whereby the country has ensured the increase in the national income in which the main contributor is industry with over 46 per cent of it. The income per capita population, the improvement of the people's standard of living and of the working conditions, the improvement of the communal services, etc., have also proceeded at rapid rates.

The development of the economy has ensured the opening up of new fronts of work, which has brought about the occupation of all the new work forces, which at present increase by more than 40,000 a year. In this manner in Albania the insecurity of earning a living through work is out of the question. The state sector today is capable of providing jobs for 788,000 people, or 9.5 times as many as in the year 1950.

These rates of development are an expression of the vigour of our economy, which has been set up almost entirely in the 45 years of the socialist construction, a stability which has permitted and ensured the uninterrupted increase of the well-being of the working masses which know no such social ills as unemployment, price rises, inflation, drug addiction that characterize the society based on the exploitation of man by man.

CORRECT ASSESSMENT OF THE HERITAGE OF WORLD PEOPLES

by **NASHO JORGAQI and NEXHIP GAMI**

We offer the other countries a culture, literature and art of a high ideological generosity with which we take from them, for the sake of the enrichment of our cultural treasury with authentic stable values

OUR NEW CULTURE HAS NEVER ISOLATED ITSELF FROM THE MAIN STREAM OF WORLD CULTURE, ON THE CONTRARY, IT HAS GIVEN TO AND HAS TAKEN FROM IT. AND THIS POSITION IS DETERMINED BY ITS NATURE, AS A CULTURE WHICH IS GUIDED BY THE MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY AND IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE INTERNATIONALIST SPIRIT.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IS THE ARCHITECT OF THE NEW ALBANIA AS WELL AS OF OUR NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE. WITH HIS PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE AND WITH HIS MASTERY OF THE THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, HE INTERPRETED IT IN A DIALECTICAL MANNER AND IMPLEMENTED IT IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIAN SOCIETY TO CARRY OUT THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IN THE TREASURY OF THE THEORETICAL THINKING OF A VERSATILE PERSONALITY OF HIS STATURE, WHO HAD A BROAD VISION AND AN ALL-ROUND DIALECTICAL MIND, ONE CAN FIND NOT ONLY THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH OUR NEW CULTURE HAS BASED ITSELF, BUT ALSO THE MAIN ORIENTATIONS, THE GENERAL ASSESSMENTS AND CONCRETE SOLUTIONS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE CONNECTION OF THIS CULTURE WITH THE WORLD CULTURE. HE NOT ONLY DWELT ON THESE QUESTIONS FROM THE ACADEMIC ASPECT, BUT ALSO SAW THEM IN ALL THEIR COMPLEXITY, ANALYZING THEM WITH AN HISTORICAL EYE AND WITH AN EYE TO THE FUTURE, TO OPEN THE WAY TO THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE WHICH IS FLOURISHING IN OUR COUNTRY. SEEING THE NEW CULTURE NOT AS SOMETHING DETACHED AND ISOLATED BUT AS A PHENOMENON WITH ITS OWN BROAD HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT, COMRADE ENVER HAS CONSIDERED IT AN IMPORTANT CONSTRUCTIVE FACTOR WHICH HELPS EMANCIPATE THE NEW ALBANIAN SOCIETY, BECAUSE, AS COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA HAS SAID, «NO ONE HAS BEEN AWARE OF THE GREAT THIRST FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE WHICH HAS ACCOMPANIED OUR PEOPLE IN THE CENTURIES AS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.»¹ FOR THIS PURPOSE HE MADE THE MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY THE CORNER-STONE OF THE NEW CULTURE, MAKING THIS CULTURE THE PROPERTY OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, AND CONCEIVED AND ORIENTED IT ON THE NATIONAL TERRAIN, NEVER DISOCIATING IT FROM THE NATIONAL AND POPULAR SPIRIT, FROM THE HEALTHY PROCESSES OF THE CULTURE OF THE OTHER PEOPLES. IN THIS ASPECT, HE FOUGHT WITH A HIGH PARTY SPIRIT AGAINST THE CHAUVINIST SPIRIT AND THE COSMOPOLITAN CONCEPTS.

Relving on Lenin's teachings that communism is the only legitimate heir to all the successes of world culture,

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and describing the manifestations of narrow nationalism as harmful and anti-Marxist, the Party of Labour of Albania, from the early years after the liberation of the country has stressed the importance of the ap-

propriation and assimilation of science, culture, literature and arts of the other countries. As Comrade Enver Hoxha put it, «the world culture is the great treasury of the whole of mankind... During the centuries our people have not lived in isolation, but have existed together with other peoples. Therefore, besides their own culture and the knowledge of their ancestors, they are interested very much in the living and culture of other peoples.»²

Before the liberation of the country some occasional efforts were made to give the Albanian public a glimpse of the world culture, but the conditions of that time were not favourable. Moreover, because of the differing aesthetic and social-political orientations which existed among the cultural circles of the time, these efforts ended in heterogenous results. The influence of these circles in the cultural and artistic life of the country could not have better results, in a time when the progressive manifestations in these fields, in one way or another, were compelled to fight through different adverse conditions. The picture which offers itself after the liberation of the country in the years of the people's state power is entirely different in many directions.

The extension of the educational system to the most remote corners of the country, within a very short period of time, was as an irreplaceable basis for the all-sided cultural progress. Among other things, education helped the working masses to acquaint themselves with some of the outstanding achievements of the world culture. A great influence was exerted by the growing number of tran-

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*and aesthetic level with the same internationalist
of the world cultural*

slations of the most valuable part of the world literature and a number of books on various important phenomena and personalities of world science and culture, as well as by the special programs of the radio and television, by the cinema and the theatre, by cultural and artistic exchanges with the world, etc. A special role is played also by the study of these phenomena at school, and especially in some branches of the higher school which train specialists in education, art and culture. This activity did not remain only an extensive activity. It called for and was followed by intensive developments — commentaries and articles in the literary and artistic press organs, school textbooks and studies, rewriting literary works for the stage and the screen — the aim of which was to interpret, analyze and launch the positive values of contents and form.

All this activity is carried out not as an aim in itself. It has some definite aims, which have to do with the essence of our materialist-dialectical attitude towards the world culture. Above all its aim is to make a correct interpretation and evaluation of the world culture and art on the basis of clear-cut class criteria, relying on the Leninist principle that there are two cultures in a society with antagonistic classes. In our country only the revolutionary, democratic and progressive art, of the past and of the present, occupies the pride of place. This Marxist-Leninist stand is a great help not only in the artistic process, but also in the study and interpretation of the various cultu-

ral phenomena in the broad sense of the word.

In the treatment of these problems our Party has made unequivocal evaluations of the great representatives of the world literature and art, science and culture, who open up new horizons for mankind and encourage the intellectual development, in general. We have always devoted great attention to the spread and popularization of their works and achievements, and will continue to do so in future. At the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Ramiz Alia, said: «Wouldn't it raise the cultural level of our youth if we publish and reprint the masterpieces of the great writers, instead of translating and publishing quite a number of books with limited artistic values?» And he set the task that, at the present stage of the development of our country, our future specialists should have contacts «with the contemporary achievements of sciences in which they are interested, with the modern technologies of their application, with the best technique of scientific research»². And this, he stressed, must be done in the process of their qualification.

In conformity with these duties which arise from the present cultural development of the country, our school, our translations and our cultural activities are devoting the attention and giving ample space to the works of Homer and Shakespeare, Byron and Goethe, Balzac and Brecht, Leonardo da Vinci and Beethoven, Darwin and Einstein, and so on. Biographies and popular publica-

tions on the life and activity of distinguished personalities of world fame have been put into circulation. Great possibilities have been created for this good work to continue on a broader plane and at the required qualitative level. The invaluable series of the works of the classics of Marxism Leninism-Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, began to be published from the time when the foundations of the new Albania were laid. They constitute the basis of the revolutionary thought and action of our Party and people and have served as a guiding compass in all the artistic, cultural and scientific life of the country and will remain so in future. This important problem of a great extension and a variety of aspects, is by no means an exclusively cultural phenomenon — which is beyond the range of this article. It will be the object of still more profound studies by different branches and disciplines of learning.

We have used the great values of the progressive world art and culture for the formation of healthy ideological and aesthetic tastes, capable of withstanding the influence of the bourgeois and revisionist art, culture and way of life and of combating the different leftovers of the past in the people's consciousness. Seeing everything with a critical eye and in conformity with the requirements of the present period, we put them in the service of the development of our new culture, literature and art, the development of democracy and the cultivation of lofty civic qualities, the enhancement of humanism and the popular spirit. Although the foreign literature and art of socialist realism,

with their new qualitative elements of the form and content and with their best artistic achievements, constitute one of the factors which exert a positive influence in the formation of the method of socialist realism in our literature and arts, this foreign experience has not in any case been used as a model of imitation. This has led to our present-day literature, art and culture having their original freshness, which is one of its striking features. It is capable of conveying to the reader the living aesthetic and artistic experience, the ideas which are conceived in the contemporary and historical Albanian reality.

Our interest in the world culture extends to another plane. Both in the past and today, many foreign writers and artists, scholars and politicians have often turned their attention towards our country, have taken an interest in various aspects of our life for their own aims and purposes. By examining their works in a scientific manner, by distinguishing between what is objective from what is tendentious in their works, our new science refutes the anti-Albanian and anti-socialist aims and informs the scientific and cultural opinion correctly about the real

essence of our processes, supports and delves deeper on the correct theses and, collaborating with the foreign activists of culture and science who treat the Albanian problems with sober objectiveness, takes the lead in the solution of these problems. In due proportion, our new science collaborates also on important problems of the foreign culture which have no direct connection with our culture. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «We do this in order to serve the world culture.»⁴

With this broad range of interests in the great culture of mankind and in collaboration with it, our culture is sternly opposed to anything decadent and reactionary which comes from the degenerated bourgeois and revisionist culture of our time. This culture, which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists use in order to benumb the masses, to take the cutting edge of the social and political consciousness of the masses, to reduce their spiritual world to a primitive state, has nothing in common with true culture. By negating and opposing it, the Albanian socialist culture creates original values and, at the same time, supports the progressive cultural forces in the world, encouraging everything that resists

that culture in the name of the cultivation of a culture which serves the continuous development and progress of the man and society.

Relying on the Marxist-Leninist platform worked out by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our socialist culture has correctly determined its relations with the trends and currents of world culture in different historical stages. Keeping clear of the unartistic and anti-cultural winds of cosmopolitanism, rejecting any vulgar concepts and sectarian practices, our socialist culture, literature and arts have gained more and more vitality. In this way we offer the other countries a culture, literature and art of a high ideological and aesthetic level with the same internationalist generosity with which we take from them, for the sake of the enrichment of the world cultural treasury with authentic stable values.

1 *Ramiz Alia*, Enver Hoxha and his Work Live and Will Live For Ever, pp. 12-13.

2 *Enver Hoxha*, About Science, vol. 1, p. 223.

3 *Zëri i popullit*, March 4, 1988.

4 *Enver Hoxha*, About Science, vol. 1, p. 393.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE ROLE OF THE MASSES

OMER HASHORVA and ZAMIRA ÇAVO

The stimulation and support for the creative initiative of the masses is a permanent requirement of the Party line, a requirement which is linked with the idea that socialism is the work of the masses, and with the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, as an expression of the broadest democracy.

ALBANIA IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHERE GENUINE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY EXISTS AND DEVELOPS UNINTERRUPTEDLY. THIS GREAT VICTORY IS ONE OF THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR PEOPLE, AND LIKE THE OTHER VICTORIES, IT IS CLOSELY AND INSEPARABLY LINKED WITH THE NAME AND IMMORTAL WORK OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY GENUINE DEMOCRACY. A SOCIALIST COUNTRY CAN EXIST AND DEVELOP ONLY BY ENSURING THE REAL PARTICIPATION OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES IN THE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNING OF THE COUNTRY, BY EFFICIENTLY MOBILIZING THEIR CREATIVE ENERGIES AND INTELLECT.

The question that our people should take their destiny in their own hands and govern the country was solved during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. The establishment of the people's state power, which carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of social ownership constitutes the main factors and conditions which guarantee the existence and development of genuine socialist democracy, and the highest level of freedoms, rights and real equ-

ality for the broad working masses.

The very important conclusion that the broadest and most complete democracy for the working masses is indivisible from the dictatorship of the proletariat, that its existence is a fundamental condition for safeguarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is an absolutely decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people, which it has supported with ample arguments on the basis of the revolutionary experience

of our country and of the other countries, retains and will always retain its importance for our Party and people. These Marxist-Leninist teachings have always served as an instrument in the hands of our Party and people against the transformation of the process of the construction of socialism in Albania into an administrative-bureaucratic process, so that it always remains a live activity of the working masses led by the Party.

They constitute that sound theoretical ground on which our Party has based its work in fighting and exposing the viewpoints, theories and practices on the «direct democracy of the producers», «pluralist democracy», «democracy for all», etc., professed by the modern revisionists, who have always tried to oppose socialist democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat, preaching that socialist democracy can develop only by

eliminating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's work and thought, the teachings on the maintenance of a correct ratio between centralism and democracy, between rights and duties, remain always important and valid. The Party has stressed that we are for centralism, provided it is a democratic and not bureaucratic centralism, that we are for the creative initiative of the working masses and not for corruption and liberalism.

If democracy and centralism have been correctly harmonized in all stages of the socialist construction in our country, this is dedicated to the directives of the Party, which has known how to fight both manifestations of exaggerated centralism which inhibit the revolutionary initiative of the masses and liberal tendencies that lead to anarchy and corruption in the state power.

It is from these teachings that the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia proceed when they point out the need for a dialectical understanding of the dynamic ratios between centralized leadership and the line of the masses, for combating backwardness in the method and style of the work of cadres who do not properly respond to the creative initiative and revolutionary drive of the masses. On these teachings are based the directives of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia on the correct combination of the interests of the state with the rights of citizens, democratic centralism with the active participation of the masses in governing the country.

A distinguishing feature of our socialist system is that the greater the rights deriving from socialist democracy, the greater the state, social and moral duties of the social groups and individuals. There can be no progress for the individual outside the progress of the affairs of the state and society. If economy as a whole does not develop, the well-being

of the masses or of individuals cannot be raised. Imbued with this new concept, which stems from the nature of our socialist order, our man is irreconcilable to indifferentism and passivity, intolerant of any damage to the socialist property and merciless with anyone who threatens our socialist victories.

In his book *Our Enver*, Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses, «With his powerful feeling of love for the people, and relying on the theory of Marxism and revolutionary experience, Enver Hoxha came naturally to the basic idea that it is the masses who will build the new society, will carry socialism forward and will hand on the new state of socialist democracy from generation to generation... It has been formulated very clearly in the saying: «Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious,» which is a Marxist synthesis of importance for the fate of the revolution.»¹

The Party considers the ever growing decisive role of the masses of the people in socialist society, their broad participation in governing the country, as an expression and main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy, a great motive force of the deepening of socialist democracy, a great motive force of our society which propels it always forward. The fact that the entire life of our country, the organization and leadership of the state, education, culture, and defence, is built in such a way as to ensure and require the active participation of the masses, is a living reality. Another fact is that the question of the role of the masses in Albania has never remained an abstract question but has been solved in practice through the activity of the collective, the mass organizations, the people's councils and all elected organs. The fundamental factor in this remains the strengthening of the leading role of the Party as the decisive factor for the development of socialist democracy, the constant en-

hancement of the active role of the masses organized in the construction of our socialist society and the defence of the victories achieved up to now, a factor which protects our state power from the many negative degenerating and destructive influences of the present-day world such as the bourgeois and revisionist practice of self-administration, political pluralism, reformism, restructuring, etc.

Considering the masses as authors and actors of history, as the bearers of progress and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism, the Party has always supported their primary role and defined the concrete ways they should follow to play this role properly.

The Party has considered the control of the masses from below, and especially the working class control under its leadership, as one of the main aspects and most important directions of the development of socialist democracy, a powerful weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

Bureaucracy is a way of thinking and action opposed to the interests of the people; it is the enemy that saps the people's state power from within, paralyzes democracy and the initiative of the masses. Implementation of the teachings of the Party in the struggle against bureaucracy is a must for the present, the best means to avoid this danger because the threat of bureaucracy remains as long as the state exists.

In the process of the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, the Party further elaborated a number of teachings on the circulation of cadres, on their participation in physical labour alongside the workers and peasants, on the working class control and the establishment of a correct ratio between high and low wages, teachings which are permeated like a red thread by the idea that the Party and the state power must be linked like flash to bone with the people.

For the enhancement of the role of the masses and the deepening of socialist democracy, special importance is attached to the method of consulting the masses, of informing them systematically and of drawing their opinion. This has now become an integral part of our revolutionary practice. The Party once again stressed at its 9th Congress that the Marxist-Leninist principle on the decisive role of the masses should never be transformed into a general abstract question. It has been guided by the principle that the masses must be systematically consulted in a warm comradely spirit, not only on laying down new tasks and carrying them out, but also on problems of policy and culture, by explaining both big and small problems to them. The entire present-day development of our country proves that the consistent implementation of the teachings of the Party are vital. It also proves that the better informed the masses are on the situation, on

the difficulties of the tasks they are faced with, the more conscious they become of the role they must play, the more active becomes their participation in governing the country, in solving problems and accomplishing their plans and tasks.

The Party has always forcefully stressed and consistently applied the great principle of reliance on the masses for checking up on the correctness of decisions, directives and experience in the solution of various problems in practice. In conformity with these teachings, our Party has never reconciled itself to and has resolutely attacked the bureaucratic and conservatory tendencies which make a fetish of everything transmitted from the apparatuses, of one-sided schemes and practices which do not respond to the new tasks and conditions, do not conform to the directives and great revolutionary ideas and become an obstacle to their implementation.

The masses can play their role only

when they have initiative, when they create. The stimulation and support for the creative initiative of the masses is a permanent requirement of the Party line, a requirement which is linked with the idea that socialism is the work of the masses, and with the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, as an expression of the broadest democracy.

In conformity with these teachings, the Party has always considered the revolutionary movements and actions which have begun all over the country as the most suitable method for the mobilization of the broad working masses in solving the great problems the socialist development raises for our country, as one of the most important means of putting the great material, scientific and intellectual potential of our country and people to the benefit of the construction of socialism.

1 Ramiz Alia, Our Enver, Tirana 1988, p. 387, Eng. ed.

CRITIQUE OF THE ANTI-MARXIST CONCEPTS OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS ON CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by VASILLAQ KURETA

Socialism is inseparable from contradictions. To negate contradictions in process. On the contrary, contradictions in socialism have an objective character in development. The contradiction in itself is not an inhibiting factor in the development of various kind which emerge in the course of the struggle between objective and subjective factors, as well as other factors.

BEGINNING FROM THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE REVISIONIST SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY TO OUR DAYS, THERE IS AN APPARENT LARGE-SCALE ACTIVITY INTENDED AT THE THEORETICAL DISTORTION OF THE MARXIST THEORY ON CONTRADICTIONS. AFTER THE 20TH CONGRESS THE SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS CONSIDERED THE EXISTENCE OF CONTRADICTIONS AS A SHORTCOMING OF SOCIALISM. THEY CONDUCTED A LARGE-SCALE PROPAGANDA TO THE EFFECT THAT PEACEFUL METHODS MUST BE USED FOR THE SOLUTION OF ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY, AND THAT THE USE OF THESE METHODS IS LINKED WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PEACEFUL GROWTH OF CAPITALISM INTO SOCIALISM, THESE CONCEPTS WERE AN OPEN SUPPORT FOR THE THESES OF THE 20TH CONGRESS, AND ESPECIALLY THE THESIS OF THE PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.

The views of the Soviet revisionists assumed a new development from the beginning of the eighties to this day. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that the capitalist Soviet Union is going through a deep-going crisis in all directions, a period of failures in all fields, with such social ulcers as unemployment, alcoholism, banditism, bureaucracy, exacerbation of antagonistic contradictions extending to all fields of life, etc., becoming ever more acute. In these circumstances, the new rulers sought from the philosophical front better «theoretical» support for the implementation of their revisionist policy. In particular, they

demanding of their philosophers that they should go from abstract theorizing on contradictions over to their concrete analysis so as to serve better the class policy of the Soviet bourgeoisie. Thus was confirmed what Comrade Enver Hoxha said, to the effect that the capitalist reality of the Soviet Union would erode the theory of the developed socialism of the Soviet revisionism and tear down its mask. The revisionist rulers in the Soviet Union insisted on an adaptation of the category of contradictions to the processes and phenomena of the Soviet society. The 27th Congress of the revisionist Soviet Communist Party, criticizing the work on the philosophical front and that of social studies, in general, for lagging behind in coping with

problems posed by life, set them the task of gearing their work «to the solution of the problems of contradictions in the conditions of socialism.» This was a direct demand for the Soviet revisionist philosophy to contribute to the implementation of the revisionist policy and, more precisely, the «restructuring» of the Soviet society.

1. ON THE PLACE AND ROLE OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM

Marx and Engels have proved with scientific argument that the source of movement of objects and phenomena in nature and society are the contradictions which lie in the very essence of the object or phenomenon. The Soviet revisionist philosophers, for their political and class needs, run counter to this fundamental concept of the Marxist dialectics. In revisionist literature we come across different views which negate this role and function of contradictions in the phenomena of socialist society. Thus, beginning from the end of the fifties, the idea was worked out that contradictions do not belong to the essence of socialist society, its base or state order, that contradictions are linked only with the historical past,

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IONISTS ON THE PROBLEM

socialism means to be a supporter of the inhibition of the historical character and they stem from the very dialectics of its process of historical development, but the its solution, under the impact of

or with external conditions or shortcomings in individual links of the system of relations of production and the state apparatuses.

The Soviet revisionist philosophers claim that «not the struggle of the opposites, but their unity is preeminent and absolute.»¹ According to them, this occurs because in socialism «the dialectics of contradictions gives its place to the dialectics of harmony,» which excludes social contradictions.² Also, they claim that, «...unlike capitalism in which unity is relative and antagonism absolute, in socialism unity assumes an absolute character»³. Some revisionist authors adhere to the view that the law of the unity and the struggle of opposites in socialism loses «the opposites and the struggle,» and, as imperialism is deprived of unity, so the struggle of the opposites is excluded in socialism.⁴

Some others claim that the Leninist thesis on the relative character of the unity and the absolute character of the struggle of opposites is not applicable to socialism, because «it has to do only with such a class society in which antagonistic contradictions assume the character of mutually exclusive social opposites.»⁵ In Soviet literature there is a widespread view that the motor force of development of socialist society are

not contradictions, but «only unity and cooperation.»

Socialism is inseparable from contradictions. To negate contradictions in socialism means to be a supporter of the inhibition of the historical process. On the contrary, contradictions in socialism have an objective character, and they stem from the very dialectics of its development. The contradiction in itself is not an inhibiting factor in the process of historical development, but the difficulties of various kind which emerge in the course of the struggle for its solution, under the impact of objective and subjective factors, as well as other factors.

In socialism, too, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «development is a relatively long process which takes place through the struggle of the opposites,» and the development of socialist society goes through «the emergence and evercoming of different contradictions.» that is, of an antagonistic and non-antagonistic character. «In socialism, too,» says he, «although private property has been eliminated and society develops in a conscious manner, here, too, because of the fact that people live and work in different conditions and circumstances due to the existence of essential differences between friendly classes, between city and country, between

manual and mental labour, etc., we come across different aspirations, interests and thoughts, a number of contradictions.»⁶

Socialist society is a living organism which moves and develops without interruption. A distinctive characteristic of it is constant perfection and ascent. During the whole historical process of the emergence and development of socialist society, as historical experience shows, there exist contradictions which emerge and are resolved continually. These contradictions, which have both an antagonistic and non-antagonistic character, are found in all fields of economic, political and ideological life. In socialist society, in which the social relations of production, due to their essence, are freed from oppression and exploitation, non-antagonistic contradictions are characteristic. However, due to various causes and reasons, in socialist society, even after the construction of the economic base of socialism, there exist also contradictions of an antagonistic character. In the conditions of socialism, too, contradictions are always a relationship of the opposites, of the unity and struggle of the opposites.

Marxist dialectics has proved that the unity and the struggle of opposites are in a rigorously defined dialectical relationship. So, to restrict

the terrain of the struggle of the opposites and, more so, to negate it, means to negate contradictions themselves.

The thesis of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy that the struggle of the opposites and only it is the source of self-movement and self-development is well-known. However, one is justified to ask: is the unity of the people ceaselessly strengthened in socialist society? This cannot be negated in the least. This unity is a vivid reality in our socialist society. But this is another question. This unity is the result, the consequence of the solution of contradictions through the struggle of the opposites, through the class struggle. This struggle of the opposites, this consistent class struggle, strengthens cohesion, union and unity, because it eliminates anti-unity phenomena, and widens the range of common interests amongst people of socialist society. Separated from the struggle of the opposites, from the class struggle, unity cannot be achieved, cannot be defended and, more so, cannot be developed further.

Their anti-Marxist aim of distorting the Marxist-Leninist philosophy on this question has impelled the Soviet revisionists to alter the meaning of the law of unity and struggle of opposites in socialism. They demand that this fundamental law of dialectics should be formulated as «the law of the unity of contradictory aspects and tendencies.»⁷ According to them the law of the unity and struggle of the opposites does not operate in socialism and communism. According to them, this occurs because now the transition from the pre-history of mankind to its history is taking place. Consequently, they conclude, there is also a transition from the law of the unity and the struggle of the opposites to the law of the unity of the contradictory aspects, without the struggle of the opposites. The law of the unity and the struggle of the opposites, according to

them, is «a special undeveloped case of the law of contradictions.»

According to the Soviet revisionist philosophers the laws of dialectics, hence, this law, too, were formulated by Marx and Engels, «utilizing the material of the history of antagonistic formations,» that is, in conditions in which socialist society did not exist. In this manner, according to them, the laws of dialectics reflect the level of concrete social relations and the degree of man's knowledge.

Actually it is not at all true that what Marx and Engels discovered holds only about antagonistic formations. They discovered the general character of this fundamental law of dialectics. The law of the unity and the struggle of the opposites operates in nature, in society and human thought, operates in all socio-economic formations. The specific character of its operation in socialism by no means negates its universal character. On the other hand, why do they disregard the contribution made by Lenin and Stalin in working out its content in the conditions of the construction of socialist society? These pseudo-philosophers need the distortion of history and sophisticated speculations in order to peddle their revisionist concepts.

Absolutization of the unity of the opposites, its separation from the struggle of the opposites, and negation of the opposites and the struggle of the opposites in socialist society, as the Soviet revisionists do, have their source in their attempts at creating a philosophical basis for their political and ideological opportunism, for their negation of the class struggle and the revolution.

2. ON THE CHARACTER OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The question of the character of contradictions in socialist society is a very delicate problem for the So-

viet revisionists. The socio-economic reality in the Soviet Union is full of deep-going contradictions of an antagonistic character. The process of the bourgeoisification of Soviet society in all its aspects has already been completed. Phenomena and ulcers typical of the capitalist society, such as crisis, unemployment and exacerbation of social conflicts are already deeply ingrained in Soviet society. Class polarization is going on ceaselessly, and the corruption of the state and party bureaucracy, and the bourgeois class itself that rules there, are assuming ever larger dimensions. On the other hand, the revolt of the oppressed masses is constantly increasing and rising. From this aspect, the «theories» of the Soviet revisionists on contradictions in socialism refer to a society which is not socialist in the least. This represents a real contradiction which makes easier the exposure of these «theories» which try to cover up this capitalist reality, and to justify the revisionist policy. Although associated with Marxist phrases and references to Marx and Lenin, their «theories» are in complete contradiction to Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice.

The distortions and «theories» of the modern revisionists on the character of contradictions in socialist society are based on their thesis that allegedly the period of transition ends with the construction of the economic base of socialism. This thesis was confirmed also by the 27th Congress and the program it adopted.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have explained scientifically the historical bounds of the extension of the transition period and its content. Based on this concept and historical experience, Comrade Ramiz Alia points out that «the period of transition begins with the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ends with the liquidation of classes and the dying away of the

state, with the establishment of the principle 'to each according to his needs'.» The establishment of socialist society is a process which goes through some stages. Every stage has its concrete contradictions which characterize it. In this historical process of development, as the classics have foreseen and our experience has proved, there is a historical stage after the achievement of which private property is liquidated together with the exploiting classes, and the economic base of socialism is built.

After this, socialist society is built in the conditions of the existence of friendly classes. Although their existence constitutes the fundamental feature of socialist society, it is not yet transformed into a communist society. Hence, there exist the remnants of the overthrown classes which are still active, there exist the leftovers of alien ideologies in people's mind's, the bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure continues to be exercised on people and there is still a possibility for the emergence of hostile elements and groups which, as historical experience shows, is not an abstract, but real possibility.

So, this stage also has its concrete contradictions which characterize it. Here the theoretical problem emerges: what is the character of the contradictions that underlie the historical development of socialist society after the completion of the stage of the construction of its economic base? What type of contradictions characterize socialist society in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society?

According to the Soviet revisionists, after the construction of the economic base of socialism, the complete and final construction of socialist society takes place. In these circumstances there can be no longer question about antagonistic contradictions. «The experience of the Soviet Union,» writes revisionist Butenko, «shows that with the new qualitative achievements in the development

of socialist society there is a distinct historical period in which socialism realizes its complete and final victory, in which the social and political unity of society is achieved. Precisely with this new qualitative state is linked the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the entire people. In this state there are not, nor can there be, social contradictions of an antagonistic character.⁹» Negation of antagonistic contradictions, peddling the present-day capitalist reality in the Soviet Union as «socialist,» is done in order to divert attention from the deep-going antagonistic class contradictions that erode contemporary Soviet society, and to justify the negation of the class struggle.

The Soviet revisionists try to present their negation of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society after the construction of the economic base of socialism as a view of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. «To the question whether, in the conditions in which socialism has been built, contradictions of an essentially antagonistic character can exist, the classics of Marxism-Leninism, as is known, have given a negative answer,»¹⁰ write J. Grani and M.B.Sapunov. As an argument for this view they bring an assertion of Marx's who says that «...the bourgeois relations of production are the final form of antagonism in the social process of production.»¹¹

There can be no gainsaying of the fact that socialist relations of production are free from any kind of oppression and exploitation of man by man. They rest on socialist property and, for this reason, characteristic of these relations of production are non-antagonistic contradictions. Marx, too, underlines this in his above assertion, making a distinction from all the former forms of relations of production based on private property. Marx has never said that socialist society is free from any antagonism. He has also underlined the

idea that socialist society «immediately after emerging from capitalist society, in every aspect, economic, moral, or mental, still retains traces of the old society from which it has emerged.»¹² Historical practice shows that these traces linger on for a long period even after the construction of the economic base of socialism, that during the period of transition to communism there exists the possibility of the emergence of new bourgeois elements and the possibility of the restoration of capitalism.

Proceeding on the capitalist road, the Soviet society is being more and more gangrenized and the ulcers of capitalism and the contradictions eroding it are becoming ever more acute. Beginning from the eighties this has forced the Soviet leadership to speak ever more frequently about «negative phenomena» and «social ulcers». On this basis, making use of demagogy in order to cover up their capitalist reality, they have come out with Gorbachov's theory of «restructuring Soviet society» and called on the detachment of their philosophers to justify their revisionist policy.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeding from the fundamental principles of scientific socialism and the dialectical analysis of the phenomena of our socialist revolution, worked out a view which is in complete opposition to that of the Soviet revisionists, that even after the construction of the economic base of socialism, indeed during a relatively long period of time, up to the transition to communism, there exist social contradictions not only of a non-antagonistic, but also antagonistic character. Despite the liquidation of private property and exploiting classes, there exist and operate important factors and causes of various kind, internal and external, which condition the existence of two types of contradictions, non-antagonistic and antagonistic. The existence of contradictions of an antagonistic character after the construction of the

economic base of socialism is linked with the existence of the remnants of the overthrown classes which aspire and struggle to resume power. In furthering their aims they are actively assisted by the international bourgeoisie and reaction.

Besides, because of the operation of many objective and subjective factors, in the consciousness of our people linger on leftovers of various ideologies of the past: feudal, religious, patriarchal, and petty-bourgeois, as well as influences of new forms of the bourgeois ideology and world outlook. In their essence, variety and hostile character, they are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable to the ideology of our socialist order, representing an ideology which is in antagonism to our ideology and, hence, pose a serious threat of degeneration. During the period of the construction of socialism, as historical experience shows, there exists the possibility of the emergence of hostile elements and groups and, if a consistent struggle is not carried out, of a new bourgeois class; there exists the possibility of the restoration of capitalism.

Summing up the historical experience of the construction of socialism in our country, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counter-revolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between

country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc., which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and all-round pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.»¹³

Antagonistic contradictions do not emerge from the essence of socialist relations of production, do not pervade all the pores of socialist society, as occurs in capitalist society. They are totally alien to the nature of socialism. These contradictions are solved in the framework of the existing order, by consistently waging the class struggle, by continually strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat which mercilessly suppresses all the enemies that raise their hand against the revolution and socialism. There will be antagonistic contradictions through the whole period of the construction of socialism and they will be completely liquidated only in communism.

During the transition period a number of contradictions emerge and are solved. Characteristic of socialist society, of the whole transition period, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism and historical experience have proved, are non-antagonistic contradictions. This is explained with the fundamental fact that social property unites people and classes, broadens the sphere of their common interests and the development of socialism itself restricts more and more the sphere of various opposed interests. This is an objective process and a complicated one, too. On the other hand, the existence of antagonistic alongside non-antagonistic contradictions during the whole transition period from capitalism to communism calls for the definition of the place, extension and role of these two types of contradictions.

Antagonistic contradictions have their place and extension also in the phase of the complete construction of socialist society. Although in regard to their extension antagonistic contradictions are more limited than non-antagonistic contradictions, they are no less important as to the role they play and the sphere in which they operate. They emerge in the economic, political and ideological fields. The question is about not confusing the variety of expression of these two types of contradictions with the directions and fields of their objective manifestation.

For the analysis of these contradictions one must know not only their quantitative but also their qualitative aspect. The actual historical reality and historical experience show that «...the enemy wage their struggle in all directions. They combat us in the ideology, and in the economy and in politics.»¹⁴

3. THE FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM

The question of the fundamental contradiction is a question of world outlook significance, of major theoretical and practical importance. As such it does not represent a merely methodical problem, but also a problem of principle.

When the question of the fundamental contradiction of socialist society is posed, one cannot fail to take account of the place of socialism in the socio-economic formation of communism.

It is a known fact that immediately after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat a fierce struggle sets in between socialism, which is emerging and developing, and capitalism, which is being liquidated. This struggle poses the problem of its final historical term. The Soviet revisionist philosophers capitalize a great deal precisely on this

question. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have made it clear and the historical experience of our country, as well as that of the countries in which capitalism was restored, has shown that this struggle goes on in socialism, too, and ends only with the final transition to classless and stateless society, the communist society. Only on this theoretical and practical base can the question of what is the fundamental contradiction of socialist society be solved, and what features characterize it and when it is resolved.

The Soviet revisionists have expressed many different opinions about the problem of the fundamental contradiction in socialist society. Among them is the opinion that the «socio-economic formation of communism has no fundamental contradictions of its own and in this it distinguished itself from all other social formations.»¹⁵ The supporters of this view take conflict and revolution as the main and sole features for the definition of the fundamental contradiction. As long as the transition from socialism to communism is not done through conflict and revolution, then, according to them, socialism has no fundamental contradiction of its own. Actually, conflict and revolution are features of the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society, which Marx and Engels have clearly determined, showing also their base. However, this does not mean that the new socio-economic order that emerges after the socialist revolution has no fundamental contradictions of its own.

Negation of the fundamental contradiction of the socialist society is, in the simplest of cases, an open metaphysical stand, a negation of the social movement towards communism.

Apart from the opinion which negates the existence of fundamental contradictions in the socialist society, in Soviet literature there are also different opinions which admit the existence of these contradictions but which do not precisely specify what

this contradiction is, but identify it with other non-fundamental contradictions of socialist society.

The fundamental contradiction is that which gives society its physiognomy during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism. The fundamental contradiction is present in all the phases of the emergence and development of the socio-economic formation of communism, determining its fundamental direction of development. It determines the existence of all the other contradictions, pervades them and actively influences them.

Lenin has accepted it in theory that the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism is a struggle «between capitalism that is dying and communism that is being born.»¹⁶ The historical experience of the construction of socialism in our country proves best that the fundamental contradiction during the transition period is that between socialism and capitalism, that is, between socialism that grows, develops and continually matures to rise to communism, and capitalism which is vanquished but must be liquidated in all fields of life, precluding any possibility for its restoration.

Summing up our experience of socialist construction, as well as the world experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «We must always bear in mind that we are in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. This means that during this period capitalism and socialism are locked in irreconcilable struggle. This struggle continues throughout the transition period which is not known how long it will continue, but which will continue still for a long time.»¹⁷

However, with the construction of the economic base of socialism, that is, with the liquidation of capitalist relations of production and the establishment of socialist relations of production can it be said that the fundamental contradiction has been solved? Does the construction of the

economic base of socialism coincide with the global solution of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism? It is remarkable that in the Soviet revisionist literature, especially from the end of the Soviet revisionist literature, especially from the end of the fifties on, the opinion has been expressed that this contradiction is fully and definitively solved with the construction of the economic base of socialism.

The view that «the question of which will win» is definitively solved with the construction of the economic base of socialism did not withstand the test of time and historical practice. This is shown best by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. If we were to accept the view that, with the construction of the economic base of socialism the question of the complete and final triumph of socialism over capitalism is solved, then how can the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, which came about not as a result of an outside aggression, be explained?

Referring to this negative experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and the other revisionist countries the capitalists wrenched the power from the hands of socialism. Why? Because the class struggle died down and peace between socialism and capitalism was established instead.»¹⁸

The ceaseless development and constant deepening of our socialist revolution on new paths set a number of problems which were directly connected with the solution of the contradiction between socialism and communism. On what road should our socialist revolution be developed so as to prevent a turn about? To what measure is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the question of which will win with the construction of the economic base of socialism solved? The first conclusion that emerges from the analysis of these problems and from historical practice, always proceeding from the theoretical thought of our

Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is that the solution of the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism has its history, has the phases through which it goes. The construction of the economic base of socialism is only a phase, but not the last phase of its solution. Our practice of socialist construction proves best that the construction of the economic base of socialism does not coincide with the solution of the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism, that after this victory there exists the possibility of the restoration of capitalism, too.

During the complete construction of socialist society a number of problems have to be solved which have to do with the triumph of the socialist revolution in the ideological field. Their solution is very complex and calls for a long time. The class struggle that develops on the ideological front at this stage, is a component part of the solution of the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism. This class struggle on the ideological front is inseparable from the class struggle on the political and economic front. Our historical experience of socialist construction showed that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 5th Congress of the Party, «...as long as the complete triumph of the socialist revolution has not been secured on the field of ideology and culture, the gains of the socialist revolution in the political

and economic front can not be safe and guaranteed, either. Hence, the struggle on the ideological front, for the complete defeat of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in the last analysis, has to do with the question whether socialism and communism will be built and the restoration of capitalism avoided, or the door will be flung open to the spread of the bourgeois ideology and the retrogression to capitalism will be allowed.»¹⁹

The experience of the revolution and socialist construction indicates that the class struggle develops on all fronts and has to do directly with the question whether socialism will continue to be built or it will degenerate and be overthrown. It shows that a fierce struggle develops between socialism and capitalism and, regardless of the field it develops in, political or economic, ideological, cultural, or military, in the last analysis it is «a struggle about the question whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be maintained and strengthened or it will degenerate and be overthrown, as it happened in the Soviet Union and some other countries. Our Party bear, always in mind this vital lesson of Marxism-Leninism which has been fully vindicated by life»²⁰

When we speak about the struggle between socialism and capitalism during the stage of the complete construction of socialist society this does not mean that capitalism exists as a concrete road which is in com-

petition with socialism. Hence, it is important to understand the process of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, its manifestation in the concrete stages of the development of the socialist revolution. The struggle between capitalism and socialism develops both on the internal front and on the external front. On the internal front, this struggle begins with the overthrow and liquidation of the exploiting classes, with the establishment of socialist ownership over the means of production in city and country, with the elimination of exploitation of man by man, and goes on with the struggle against all remnants of the overthrown classes, against all the blamishes and leftovers inherited from the old order in all fields of life, against the new enemies that degenerate and emerge in the socialist society, so as to carry the socialist revolution always forward.

In this manner, to the measure the fundamental contradiction is solved, to the measure the ceaseless socialist social development is carried out, the process of transition to the communist society also takes place. That means that the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism is solved gradually piecemeal, until, in the process of the development of socialist society, its complete and definitive solution is reached. This complete and definitive solution coincides with the transition of socialist society to communism.

1. See J. Harin, Marxist social dialectics, 1985, p. 271.
2. Ibidem.
3. J.V. Dudisnki, Socialist Cooperation — the Basic Tendencies of Development, 1976, p. 140.
4. P. Rachkov, Socialism as a Form of Social Dialectics, 1985, p. 171.
5. V.S. Sutyagin, A.S. Sutyagin, Peculiarities of the Contradictions in Socialist Society and Ways of Overcoming. Moscow 1972 p. 33.
6. Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1970-1971, p. 105, Alb. ed.

7. S.A. Stepanian, Dialectics of Present-day Social Development, 1966, p. 29.
8. Ramiz Alia, Speeches and Conversations 1986, 2, p. 98, Alb. ed.
9. Voprosy filosofii, No 2, 1984, p. 133.
10. Y. Granin, M. Sapunov, Antagonisms and Contradictions of Present-day Social Development, 1986, p. 34.
11. K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 14, 1st Alb. ed.
12. Ibidem.
13. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 136, Alb. ed.

14. Ibidem.
15. V.S. Sutyagin, A.S. Sutyagin, op. cit. p. 51.
16. V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 562, 1st Alb. ed.
17. Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1974-1975, p. 201-202, Alb. ed.
18. Ibidem, p. 202.
19. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 228, Alb. ed.
20. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 103, Alb. ed.

SERB NATIONALISM AND THE DANGERS OF THE BALKANIZATION OF YUGOSLAVIA

by Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI

AS THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN STRASBURG WAS RECEIVING A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE NATIONAL SUPPRESSION OF THE ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA, THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR OF SERBIA MOUNTED THE TRIBUNE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HIS REPUBLIC IN ORDER TO RELAY A SENSATIONAL DISCOVERY. ACCORDING TO HIM, ONLY 12 HOURS BEFORE THE EUROPEAN DEPUTIES TOOK THEIR SEATS IN THE PARLIAMENT, PRECISELY AT 22.30, WHEN ALL THE ALBANIANS WERE INSIDE THEIR HOUSES AS THE LAW ON THE STATE OF EMERGENCY ORDERS, IN THE MAIN SQUARES OF PRISHTINA SOME LEAFLETS WERE FOUND WHICH HAD SHOCKED EVER THIS SERBIAN CHIEF OF POLICE. THEY WERE NOT JUST SIMPLE POLITICAL PROCLAMATIONS, AS SOMEONE MIGHT SUPPOSE, BUT REAL TERRORIST MANIFESTOS. ACCORDING TO THE SERB MINISTER, THESE LEAFLETS, WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTED TO THE ALBANIANS, MADE APPEALS FOR MURDER, ARSON, SABOTAGE AND OTHER SUCH DESTRUCTIONS. TO COMMENT ON THE NEWS, WHICH MUST SHOCK THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, JUST AS IT HAD SHOCKED BELGRADE, A JOURNALIST, WHO WAS PRESENTED AS THE BEST INFORMED AMONG HIS COLLEAGUES, APPEARED ON THE TV SCREEN, SAYING THAT THOSE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE SERB RULE IN KOSOVA ARE NOT DEMANDING NATIONAL RIGHTS, OR DEMOCRACY, OR EQUALITY, NOTHING IN THIS LINE, «THEY ARE 'FUNDAMENTALIST TERRORISTS',» HE DECLARED QUITE SERIOUSLY.

This farsical staging is full of banal inventions lacking in imagination, so much so that all this sounds ridiculous. But what can be clearly understood from it is that the Yugoslav leaders are at a loss, trying to grasp anything in order to defend and justify their policy towards

Kosova, especially now that they have been exposed and condemned by the broad international opinion. It is interesting to notice the summersaults of the Yugoslav propaganda, to follow the theses they propose in an effort to prove that the events in Kosova are the result of foreign inter-

ference. At one time they said that all this is instigated by Albania. Seeing that this propaganda thesis did not hold good, they changed tune saying that Albania is in cahoots with Saudi Arabia and the American CIA, which, as Belgrade insisted, were plotting to destroy Yugoslavia. But this thesis, too, was soon discarded, not only because it cut no ice, but also because those who had fathered it had forgotten that America has the dollars and Saudi Arabia has the oil Yugoslavia needs so desperately in this period of crisis. So, another thesis was dished up: the events in Kosova had been organized by international Mafia and drug traffickers. Indeed, a book was written about this, and Belgrade hastened to give it wide publicity. It was calculated that this new invention would shake the whole world, but it emerged that people with common sense could not see what advantage could the Mafia and drug rings possibly get from the destruction of Yugoslavia.

When this underhand trick failed to yield the desired result, someone within the Serb staff which directs

the campaign against Kosova, had the light to invent another external factor, which «manipulates» the masses of Albanians there. And this had to be the Muslim fundamentalists! Why shouldn't this new variant of foreign interference be accepted, after all? Aren't the Albanians of Yugoslavia Muslims? Isn't it true that the whole of Europe stands in fear of the fanatic terrorists of the Middle East? Why shouldn't this psychological moment be used?

Some might ask: How is it that the miners, peasants, intellectuals, the pupils, women, children, a whole people, became terrorists overnight? But hasn't the great master of fascist propaganda Goebels said: «Lie as much as you can, because some will stick»?

Chauvinistic fever causes strange delirium. But this once is giving birth to monstrous plans. It is growing more and more clear that the Serb authorities in Belgrade want to find any justification in order to excuse themselves for the murder of scores of young boys, girls and children of Kosova, and not only this, but they also want at all costs to encourage and provoke various cases of murder, arson and sabotage, with which they hope to show that the struggle waged by the Albanians for the defence of their national and democratic rights can be described as terrorism. The premeditated provocations, co-ordinated with the launching of a definite propaganda thesis, fall within the routine practice of the Yugoslav organs. This has been proved on much more than one occasion.

One excuse was needed to open fire, to shoot to kill, among the Kosova demonstrators, and the excuse was found in the policemen, one Albanian and one Serb, both of them from Kosova, who were found dead. In the present case Belgrade was obviously not interested in having them from Bosnia, Slovenia or Croatia.

And now that the need arises of defending the thesis of Albanian ter-

rorism, as if on orders fire breaks out at some place, cables are cut at some other place and so on. Sabotage acts began in the northern republics, too, as was the placing of a bomb in the offices of the Serb correspondents in Osjek, although in this specific case nothing was said as to who planted it and the Albanians were not directly incriminated, although the Serbian Belgrade had «warned» that such acts could occur all over Yugoslavia under Albanian authorship. Maybe the incident of Osjek is an act which falls within a different plan aimed against some other nationality.

The Albanians are not and have never been terrorists. Their centuries-long history, with its tragic and glorious aspects, has taught and convinced them that terror is not the best road of defending their rights. In Kosova they made their claims in public, according to every norm and practice legally accepted in Yugoslavia. They opposed the constitutional changes, which limited their autonomy and denied them many national and democratic rights, and they did this at regular meetings organized by the local party and state organs; they opposed all these with regular petitions which were accepted by the supreme federal organs; they opposed all these in the press, speaking openly at the meetings of the Central Committee of the LCY, at the regional assembly, at the republican and federative forums. They used the legal roads for an open, equal and civilized dialogue, but they were crushed under the tanks.

The Albanians want law and democracy because they want their just demands to be heard by all the peoples of Yugoslavia, by the entire public opinion of the world, which is in a position to judge whether or not they are in the right. The Serb leadership, which has taken the bit between its teeth, is trying to put all this into illegal channels because it

fears open confrontation and dialogue, because it is afraid of democracy, because it wants no witnesses to the crime and wants to justify the suppression.

The process which is taking place in Kosova at present reminds one of the darkest period of old Yugoslavia. All those who opposed the constitutional changes at public meetings and who have said a word or two in the legal press, a thing which has very much put out the authorities in Belgrade, are considered to be criminals, are thrown into prison or sacked. A real massacre is going on against the Albanian intelligentsia and against all those who have publicly exposed the national oppression, or who have defended human rights.

Adding insult to injury, obscure chiefs of police like Rahman Morina, men without a backbone like Hysamedin Azemi, henchmen who have lived by offending their own compatriots like Ali Shukriu, and some mumified creatures like Sinan Hasani, who could hardly fit into any epoch, are hailed like pachas, are received into the palaces of the rulers of Belgrade, like the erstwhile vassals of Serbia.

The greatest irony and comedy is that the individuals are presented to the world as the authentic representatives of the Albanians, as a proof of the rights which the Albanians have to occupy the highest state and party posts in Yugoslavia, indeed as the most perfect model of the new leader with broad vision, not only for Yugoslavia but also for the whole of Europe. What can be said to all this? It emerges that it is the great good fortune of Yugoslavia to have such fine men in its leadership, especially in the present time, when it wants to discard all the old Balkan traditions and to join civilized Europe, when it strives to put itself at the head of the new nations in order to replace the old orders.

Belgrade may hatch up many poli-

tical schemes, churn up as many propaganda theses as it likes, take police actions and adopt military measures. But violence and propaganda will never help to calm down Kosova, its problems cannot be solved in this way. A people who were born to and know how to die in the fight for the defence of their national rights, who have known how to resist and emerge victorious over the centuries-long efforts of invaders of all descriptions to assimilate them, a people who are conscious of their history, traditions, culture, originality and identity, cannot be reduced to their knees or to submission. Their moral strength is much more superior than any number of tanks and police force sent by Belgrade. Only the establishment of justice and democracy, the banning of national discrimination and the respect for the democratic order can bring calm to Kosova, can restore confidence and understanding which are essential conditions for normal civilized co-existence among the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Those who direct the destinies of the country in Yugoslavia must have understood by now that our time is not like the time of the conquistadors and colonizers, of the exploitation and assimilation of other peoples. We are living in the epoch of awakening on all continents, of the national and social awareness of all peoples, of the democratization of relations among nations. To go against the current, as is actually happening with Yugoslavia, not only is anachronistic but is also very dangerous.

The national policy which is pursued in Yugoslavia — and not only the pre-War Yugoslavia, but also the Yugoslavia of our times — is the main source of the misfortunes which have occurred there. The fact is that the failure of the new Yugoslav state, the great tragedies which happened there during the fascist occupation, were the result of the

policy of national oppression pursued by the Serb bourgeoisie and monarchy. The grave situations through which it is going today must be imputed, in the first place, to the revival and emergence on the Yugoslav political scene of the old Serb nationalism, known for its aggressive nature, for its hegemonic and dictatorial tendencies.

Now it has begun the march to establish its domination over the whole of Yugoslavia. Whether it will achieve this by sending fanatic Serb demonstrators to the disobedient regions in order to overthrow the «leadership of bureaucrats», as they did in Vojvodina and in Montenegro, or by dispatching special police units and army tanks in order to fight the «separatists» and restore order, as they did in Kosova, this has little importance. Political motives can be found and created. The propaganda campaign aimed at describing the Slovenes as «separatists» and «anti-Serbian» is growing to a new pitch with each passing day, just as more and more efforts are made to encourage the propaganda against the «bureaucratized leadership» of Croatia, or the «venal» leadership of Bosnia.

Haven't the Croats and Slovenes made the same fatal mistake as the Albanians by opposing the ultimatum demands of Milošević for the calling of a special congress of the LCY and for rejecting the constitutional concepts of the Federation, built according to the principles of AVNOJ? Speaking at the CC of the LC of Serbia about the next congress of the LCY, Milošević declared without mincing his words: «Those who think that Serbia, after becoming a unified state, will back-pedal to the defence of the status quo and will be against the changes of the constitution of the year 1974, are mistaken.» So it is obvious that the Serb nationalists know what must be done to extend their domination over the whole Federation, and what means to use and

when to time it. But what they do not know yet is the way in which they will keep their rule. Adventure, whatever its nature, always leads to the unknown, always is irrational.

The nationalist euphoria which has engulfed the present Serb leadership has misted their reason and logic. They think that force and violence can resolve everything, that absolute power can provide a solution to all problems. But they have not calculated how many prisons they will need to jail all the opponents of Great Serbia, how many policemen to disperse the demonstrations, how many soldiers to enforce order in the outskirts of their empire. They fail to see what kind of effectiveness can be achieved from an industry which is based on the strength of the stick and compulsory work, as they are actually doing in Kosova; and above all they fail to see the consequences which follow from the ideology of national hatred, the political confrontation with everyone and on everything, which they are practising; or the consequences that might follow after the changes which they plan to introduce in the relations of their country with the outside world.

Yugoslavia is a multi-national state, made up of different peoples, whom history has compelled to exist together under the same shelter. The problem is now raised: how they must live. The alternative presented by Milošević and his Serb nationalists spells catastrophe. It takes no great brains and suppositions to see this. The signs of what might happen can be seen right now in the general exacerbation of conflicts and in the many crises which have swept the whole of Yugoslavia.

A few days ago, the president of the LCY, Stipe Šušteršič, declared in Zagreb that «Yugoslavia cannot be imagined with democracy established only in some of its parts, while there are shots and bloodshed in the rest of it.» He is completely justified in

saying this, and what he says is an irrefutable truth. But this is only half of the truth. The other half is that, if the Albanians will not have the same rights as the other nations, then Yugoslavia will not be in line with AVNOJ, for which it says that it will fight. If they fail to repair the injustice which has been done to Kosova, that injustice is bound to spread, if not today, tomorrow, through to his Croatia, and to the whole of Yugoslavia.

The fundamental condition for the existence of a multi-national state and the only basis for its progress is the

equality of nations and their consensus on the solution of common problems, political and economic democracy, the liquidation of the risk that one nation might have hegemony over the others.

A «Balkanization» of the multi-national Yugoslavia, owing to the central position it occupies in the Balkans, not only would spell misfortunes for its own peoples, but would also be a heavy blow at those processes of rapprochement and collaboration which have begun in this region, at those positive efforts which are being made for overcoming the

old quarrels and conflicts, which gave it its bad reputation in the past.

Instead of attacking the others for «interference in international affairs», for «failure to recognize the realities», and for «malevolence», the Yugoslav leaders would do well to reflect on the course on which they have put their own country, on the role of Yugoslavia in Europe, on whether it will fight for general peace and security, or will transform itself into a territory for interference and confrontation between the great powers, into a hot-bed of turbulences in the Balkans and beyond.

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WHO FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM IS UNCONQUERABLE

ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the CC of the PLA

Fifty years ago, on April 7, 1939, Mussolini's fascist armies invaded and occupied our country. This aggression was among the first fires of fascism lit up in Europe and in the world on its quest for other criminal aggressions against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The challenge the fascist aggression posed to our people was extremely serious. The enemy was strong in number and armed with the most modern weapons of the time and the international situation was very turbulent, but, in those grave days of their history, the Albanian people, although alone and without support, met their aggressors and fought them as they had always done with their enemies in the course of their long history. The shots that were fired at Durrës, Vlora, Shëngjin, Saranda and other places, right from the first day of aggression, showed Europe the road the Albanian people had chosen to win back their freedom.

This was only the beginning of the great National Liberation War, the glorious epic whose architect and organizer was the Communist Party of Albania led with courage and far-sightedness by our unforgettable and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. In this armed

struggle for freedom and independence, our people had their sure leadership which transformed it into a large armed uprising which eventually drove the fascist and nazi occupiers out of the country, overthrew the feudal and bourgeois regime and brought about the triumph of the people's revolution.

The liberation of the Homeland was achieved through the struggle of the people and only with their efforts. It was achieved with the blood of 28,000 of its finest sons and daughters, and the war of the regular National Liberation Army which numbered 70,000 partisan fighters in its ranks. The contribution our people made and the price they paid are among the largest of the anti-fascist coalition, compared with the size of the country and population of that time. The great and heroic war of the Albanian people nailed down 14 Italian and German divisions, which left 70,000 killed, wounded and prisoners in our country, without reckoning the losses they suffered in armaments and war material. The sacrifices our people made in their struggle for freedom were very great: more than 7.3 per cent of the population of the country was maimed, tens of

thousands of people were jailed or interned, 21 per cent of the houses of villages and cities were burned down or destroyed, more than one third of the livestock was lost.

The Albanians are a freedom-loving people who have never reconciled themselves to foreign occupation. At the same time they have always been a peace- and work-loving people. They have always wanted to live free on their land and from the fruits of their work. So, while never forgetting the lessons of their centuries-long history, the Albanian people cherish and defend the freedom and independence they enjoy today as the apple of the eye. There is no instance in this long history in which our people have oppressed or attacked any other people or country, and Albania and the Albanian people have never allowed, nor will they ever allow in the future anybody to encroach on their supreme national interests, their sovereignty and territorial integrity, or to interfere in their internal affairs and impede them on their road to socialism which they have chosen of their free will.

Led by the PLA, our people, who celebrate the 45th anniversary of the liberation

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of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution this year, are defending today their happy socialist life, and their freedom and independence, and building socialism successfully and with their own efforts, independent of military or economic blocs commanded by the superpowers and free from any condition or dictate on their part. The determined stand of socialist Albania in defence of freedom, independence and socialism represents a concrete and direct support for the cause of freedom and the independence of the peoples, just as the struggle and efforts of the peoples and sovereign countries for their national affirmation are of great assistance to the Albanian people. Albania has barred all possibilities for the presence of foreign military bases, troops, warships or rocket-launching sites of the superpowers on its territory

and will allow nobody to use the Albanian land as a bridge-head for aggressions on the freedom and independence of other peoples.

Defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples has become today a major imperative question, especially in the condition when the hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy of the superpowers is resorting to new tactics to further their notorious imperialist strategy. In a situation in which the peoples of the whole world call resolutely for a just solution of the more important international problems in accordance with their aspirations of freedom and self-determination, the imperialist superpowers monopolize the solution of such problems as disarmament or regional conflicts everywhere they flare up or exist in the world, and seek to use them to promote their own interests.

While opposing with de-

termination this policy of the United States and the Soviet Union bent on monopolizing world affairs, the peoples and nations are interested in concrete steps on the road of true peace and security, which is dependent on the great and irreplaceable role of the world community in international affairs. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out: «The Party and our people have always been on the side of those who oppose the aggressive and war-mongering policy of imperialism, against national oppression and capitalist exploitation, and against colonialism and racism. They have condemned and opposed the attempts of the imperialist powers and reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of others, violate the sovereign rights of the peoples, rob them of their national assets, and oppress and enslave them.»

CONTRIBUTION TO FRIENDLY FRANCO-ALBANIAN RELATIONS**ZËRI I POPULLIT**

The official visit of the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, to France was successfully concluded. The talks he had with the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, his meetings

with the prime minister, Michel Rocard, other ministers and outstanding French political figures, as well as the agreement concluded between the Albanian and French governments on civil

air transport, express the friendly relations, the traditional links and the effective cooperation existing between the two countries, as well as the new developments and broad prospects opened for

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these relations. Evidence of this is also the special hospitality given the Albanian delegation, and the great attention French public opinion, press and other means of information paid to this visit.

The visit of our foreign minister and the result of the talks represent a contribution to the strengthening of the active cooperation and dialogue between the two countries. The French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, described them as a new phase in Franco-Albanian relations. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1945, relations between the two countries have constantly strengthened, especially in the recent years, when steps have been taken in different fields of mutual interest. Delegations of high officials of the ministries of foreign affairs have been exchanged and important agreements on cultural, scientific and technological, economic and industrial cooperation have been signed.

In their European policy Albania and its government have paid special attention to relations with France. This stems, in the first place, from the old and traditional relations of friendship between the Albanian and French peoples, which extend over centuries.

Old ties of friendship make up a sound basis to carry forward bilateral relations forward in our times, which

is in the interest of both sides. The Albanian people have great respect for the French people, their patriotic and revolutionary traditions, their colossal contribution to the culture and art of mankind, and their struggle for progress and democracy. We recall here that the ideas of the outstanding French Enlighteners, their principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity nurtured also the minds and hearts of the great patriots of our National Renaissance. With these feelings, this year the Albanian people commemorate the bicentenary of the French Revolution together with the friendly French people and the other peoples of the world.

Friendship and cooperation between the two countries is in the interest of their peoples and rapprochement, better acquaintance and deeper understanding between them. In this context possibilities exist and new roads are being sought for bilateral cooperation, to extend it to ever broader fields of economic, commercial, cultural, technical and scientific cooperation. The high level of political dialogue and understanding, and the atmosphere of mutual trust which exists and was strengthened further with the visit of our foreign minister, call also for an ever higher level of relations in other fields so as to fully utilize the existing possibilities. «The desire and will of the govern-

ment of the PSR of Albania,» Comrade Reis Malile, declared in Paris, «is that they should be developed and concretized ever more. We see with satisfaction that this goodwill exists on the French side, too.»

As two European countries, France and Albania are concerned about the situation on the European continent, in the first place. They welcome and hail the constructive steps of each other towards the strengthening of peace and stability in Europe.

The strengthening of relations and cooperation between France and Albania also represents a contribution to the strengthening of relations and cooperation among European peoples and countries. At his meeting with our foreign minister, the French prime minister, Michel Rocard, declared that France hails Albania and its independent national policy, and its determination to maintain its authority and dignity. France values Albania's role in the Balkans, as the French foreign minister said, emphasizing that Albania has known how to conduct a bi-partite and multi-partite dialogue, which stands above military alliances with its Balkan neighbours.

The treatment, among other things, of the problems and situation in the Balkans was natural and understandable, as Albania is a Balkan country and France has well-

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known ancient links with the countries of the peninsula. During their talks, the two foreign ministers expressed their concern about recent developments in the Balkans and stressed the need for constructive steps to overcome difficulties. In this context, they expressed themselves for the protection of the rights of national minorities in the Balkans. At his meetings with the representatives of the French press, the Albanian foreign minister declared that the recent developments in Kosova, which have aroused the legitimate alarm of world opinion because of the savage repression of the Albanians, indicate that the most acute

problem of the Balkans is still that of national minorities. Pointing out at the grave situation in Kosova and the constant pressure of Great-Serb nationalism on the Albanian population in order to curtail its autonomy and rights, Comrade Reis Malile reiterated the well-known stand of Albania which is interested in the maintenance of peace in the Balkans and in national minorities serving as a factor bringing the peoples together, which is achieved by overcoming the existing differences and not allowing the emergence of other ones, as happened recently, when equality and the national and democratic

rights of a people were trampled upon with the tanks.

The visit of our foreign minister to France gave a fresh impulse to the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. It represents an outstanding and important event in the history of Franco-Albanian relations. Albanian opinion as a whole hails this visit and its results, convinced that proceeding on this road is a positive development which has importance for both sides, as well as for those positive and progressive processes which are so necessary in Europe and in present-day international relations.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TANKS*ZËRI I POPULLIT*

What should not have happened did happen in Kosova and Yugoslavia. Contrary to the will of the people, arbitrarily and through violence, the Assembly of Kosova was extorted the «endorsement» for the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia.

In a sinister atmosphere of mass jailings of Albanian cadres and intellectuals, and of political and psychological terror, and surrounded

by guns and tanks, and thousands of police and tens of thousands of soldiers, the Kosova deputies submitted to blackmail and raised their hands. For their part, the Albanian population, despite the state of emergency, came out into the streets and openly and fearlessly demonstrated with unanimous determination their complete rejection of the arbitrary and anti-democratic laws which limit the autonomy of their

region and impose the status of second-rate citizens on them.

Kosova is entering a new phase of its life, which is very similar to that of Ranković's time, when national hatred, arbitrariness and uncontrolled violence of Great-Serb chauvinism reigned supreme. However, with the coming into force of the new Constitution of Serbia, Kosova and the Albanians were not the only affected.

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Through it were affected the results of the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia, its idea of federalism, the right of autonomy of its nations, the recognition of their complete equality as a fundamental condition for their union in a single state, the confirmed practice of the non-formal consensus of the republics and regions in state regulation, etc. An act which will have grave consequences for the whole of Yugoslavia and all its peoples was carried out. Milošević's battle for Kosova was turned into the battle for wrecking the foundations of the AVNOJ and establishing the indivisible and all-powerful domination of the extreme Serb nationalism over the whole of Yugoslavia.

The foreign press is writing now about a split having occurred between the north-western and southern republics of Yugoslavia over Serbia's stand on the solution of the Kosova problem, as well as over the unitarian and centralist formulae which it offers for resolving the crisis that has the country in its grip. This is not a good thing, but it was bound to happen. It is fully clear that Kosova's fate is also the fate of the other regions and peoples of Yugoslavia, and that the Serb experiment in Kosova cannot remain isolated, because the appetite comes with eating. What is new in these events is that, from

what befell the Albanians, the others, too, became more aware of the fate awaiting them.

After the curtailment of Kosova's autonomy, the Serb leaders and their press embarked on a campaign for the amendment of the whole Constitution of the year 1974, which, according to their requests, must be concluded in the end of 1990. Šolević plans to organize Serb manifestations similar to those of Novi Sad and Titograd in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Sarajevo to topple the «bureaucratized» leaderships that oppose Serbia. If it proved impossible to achieve these aims through manifestations, as happened in Kosova, the tanks, which have already come out of the barracks have no difficulty in turning westwards, too. Blueprints and practices are ready and being tested, and the Moisovs are just as ready to denounce imaginary plotters.

Nobody knows what will happen to Yugoslavia in the future. Much will depend on the ratio of internal forces, but, taking into account Yugoslavia's great, especially economic dependence on foreign countries, a great deal will also depend on the stand of its partners who have been only looking on up to now.

But what is well known is that the peoples of Yugoslavia will hardly want to reconcile themselves to the

Serb hegemony and voluntarily renounce those national and democratic rights for which they rose in their National Liberation War. This is being shown by Kosova today, and this will be shown by others, too, in the future.

It is beyond all doubt that Kosova's Albanian population see the limitation of their autonomy and their national rights as a great loss and a grave injustice done to them. This they have clearly and publicly denounced, just as they have clearly and publicly expressed their determination not to put up with the insults, discriminations, threats and blackmail they are subjected to. Their indignation and revulsion are great, just as their moderation and coolheadedness, which have kept up their morale and sound judgement, and taught them how to fight for their rights and defend them with success.

For purposes of propaganda, or just to get it over with, for purposes of demagoguery or deception, in Yugoslavia today there are people who say that, despite the amendments made to Serbia's Constitution, the essence of Kosova's autonomy remains, and the national rights of the Albanians will not be affected, etc.

Up to now these are only general formulations, and nothing has been said concretely whether education in the national language, use of the Albanian language in ad-

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ministration and means of information will be allowed as up to now, whether the Albanians will be permitted to develop their original culture, cultivate their historical traditions, maintain their mode of life, etc., whether the ratio of the population size will be regarded in employment and representation to the legislative and administrative organs, whether the Albanians will have the same juridical rights as the other peoples of Yugoslavia, etc. In a word, the question is whether the Albanians will be masters in their own house or they will be subject to

the Serb dictate in everything.

We must wait for some time to see. But if we go by what is written in the Serb press, the barometre is set at storm. Its pages are full of savage chauvinist demands which are in open contradiction to the promises made about the respect of the autonomy.

The changes in Kosova have made the situation even tenser and more complicated. Those who exacerbated Kosova's wounds took upon themselves a grave responsibility before the peoples of Yugoslavia and the whole world. Much work

and many efforts will be needed to heal them, if they can ever be healed. Yugoslavia's ulcers, however, cannot be healed by means of the policy which is pursued towards the Albanians and the other peoples of Yugoslavia when chauvinist madness has been substituted for political wisdom, when the political means for the solution of national and social conflicts are replaced with the tanks, when public opinion is made light of, and when the ambition for domination and hegemony over the other peoples and nations is turned into a destructive obsession.

**THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE
TRENDS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT****ZËRI I POPULLIT**

The problem of the European Economic Community (EEC) is among the most acute in the whole international policy. It attracts the attention not only of official circles, but also of broad opinion. The debate about it becomes ever fiercer the closer it comes to the end of 1992, which is envisaged to mark a qualitative step towards the deepening of the economic integration of West Europe. This poses problems for the member states, but

also for the other states that remain outside the Community. This also explains why there is keen interest in knowing the trends of its development. Their knowledge is essential in order to cope with future development through precise replies.

The European Economic Community is an international organization and, as such, it has certain rights and assumes certain obligations (on the basis of international law) towards other

states only if it is recognized by the latter. Most states today have recognized the Community, have concluded international juridical treaties and even exchanged diplomatic representatives with it. The actual recognition of the Community by the COMECON member states in June 1988 is considered an important development in this direction. It is understood, however, that states are not obliged to recognize the Community, it is their

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right to do or not to do so.

Nevertheless, taking account of further developments, the political circles of the Community consider it advisable, if not necessary, for the states to decide in favour of recognition. Since the end of the transitional period (after 1970), only the European Economic Community is vested with competences and responsibilities in the field of foreign trade (Art. 113 of the EEC Treaty). The exclusive character of these competences has several times been emphasized also by the European Court of Justice based in Luxemburg (organ entrusted with the interpretation of the norms of the Community). This means that the internal norms of every member state bearing on foreign trade now are determined on a Community level, whereas treaties with third (non-member) states are concluded only by the Community on its own behalf and not by the member states. Here a reservation is made, a door is left open: if the question is about former treaties (concluded before 1970) on foreign trade, the Community may decide (although this is not categorical, either) to authorize the member states to prolong the life of these treaties. These states, however, have not the right to conclude separately new treaties or alter the content of former ones. In other words, the treaties con-

cluded before 1970 remain frozen in their existing condition.

On the other hand, it is emphasized that the legislation of the Community (the whole of norms which make up the juridical base of the Community and regulate its activity) is geared to the further extension of the competences of the Community both on the internal and on the international plane (always in the field of foreign trade). So, here we have to do with a long process during which the Community has for years on end consistently expanding its competences, indeed has managed to work out provisions of a general character included in its founding treaty, always in the direction of the extension of its competences. In these circumstances, the problems bearing on relations in the field of foreign trade are coming more and more under the exclusive competences of the EEC. The year 1992 will mark a deepening and improvement of this process. This sort of term was not provided for in the text of the Treaty, it is the result of the agreement concluded by the member states in 1985 on lifting many «national» barriers which continued to exist even in the end of the transitional period (after 1970). So, the aim of the EEC members is that the year 1992 should give a fresh impulse to the Commu-

nity as a «supra-national» body.

Treaties of economic cooperation (which should be distinguished from those on foreign trade), even with very broad provisions (for such cooperation), in the practice of the Community are still considered permissible for the member states, but only to the extent they do not bear on fields or activities which come under the competences assumed by the European Economic Community. The member states should submit these treaties to a compulsory procedure of consultation with the Community and the other member countries, but still it is accepted that the individual states have the possibility to conclude such treaties. The framework and limits of these treaties go on shrinking along with the going over of competences to the Community. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the conclusion of a treaty of cooperation with a member state of the Community does not imply the elimination of the consequences ensuing from the going over of competences to the Community. Such a treaty gives nothing more than a member state is in a position to give (conditioned as it is by the rules of the Community). It is even questioned whether this practice may continue in the future. Actually, this kind of treaty has been criticized by

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specialists in Community legislation and, it seems, the only reason why it has been allowed has been that it has served as a means for keeping a certain level of economic relations with the COMECON countries. This represents a juridical anomaly, so it is envisaged to be abolished altogether when agreements with the COMECON with expire. This, too, as is emphasized, is a reason for the recognition of the Community.

However, according to experts, recognition does not necessarily mean establishment of diplomatic relations with the EEC. Recognition, according to them, may be limited to a definite range of problems and combined, for example, with the conclusion of an international juridical treaty on foreign trade with the EEC. And such a treaty will be important and necessary as the EEC treaty envisages the creation of a common inner market, beginning from 1992. So, from this date on the Community will really be an economic organism endowed with an, on a whole, unified economic legislation (body of norms).

Among the EEC member countries German opinion stands out as the more advanced in favour of the Community among all the countries of West Europe. There is an evident reason for it: the German economy is the strongest and in constant ex-

pansion. Whereas in the other countries: France, Italy, Britain, etc., there is some hesitation, even cries of alarm («we are late, we are not yet ready for the great turn»), in the Federal Republic of Germany the year 1992 is expected with a feeling of calm and self-assurance. In the beginning of November last year, the president of the French industrialists, when interviewed by the correspondent of the radio «Franco-Internationale», joined in the general chorus by declaring that «United Europe is a wonderful thing», but also expressing some concern («we should be vigilant»). In German business circles there is often talk about the French anxiety about their enterprises falling into the hands of their German counter-parts. Fears grow when it is known that the economic supremacy of West Germany would enable it to carry greater political weight in the affairs of United Europe.

Understandably, the other members do not sit with folded arms. This means that the internal processes of the Community will be complex and contradictory, and characterized by capitalist competition, with the major EEC members trying to secure dominant positions in this field or that, and the minor members trying to resist and counter-act. Apart from this, it is hard to imagine that in the future the mem-

ber states will keep strictly to the Community rules and renounce any manoeuvring in the field of commercial exchanges with the world outside the Community. An economy geared to profit will always be in search of devious ways and back doors. Pragmatism will permanently occupy its place in the ideological arsenal of the capitalist world. This is shown, among other things, by the visits some of the main leaders of West Europe paid to Moscow last summer: the West-German chancellor Kohl, the French president Mitterrand, the Italian prime minister De Mita. All of them signed separately whole packages of bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union at a time when in their countries the campaign for the community was going on full tilt in clearly exalting tones.

One cannot fail to take into account also another aspect, the relations of the European Economic Community with other countries, the «foreign world», especially the two superpowers, but also Japan. Here, there are two sorts of interests: economic and political. Concern is growing that «Europe» (and with this are meant the major European countries) is destined to decline into a second- or third-rate entity if it does not set out on the road of economic and political integration. In this connection forecasts are often too ambitious, even utopian.

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The European states are supposed to be going towards a confederal form of government, which is the ultimate objective. It is accepted that the way is a long one, full of internal and external contradictions, but this idea, it is said, represents the only solution possible. Hence, although far off, it is fully realizable. In order to make it more «credible», its realization is adjourned sine die, to whole decades, some setting the middle of the coming century as a term, some others even the end of the century. One thing is certain, that «United Europe»

represents an advanced phase of inter-imperialist contradictions. This stems from the nature itself of the system and the trend towards internationalization and concentration of capital, with the multinational companies struggling for the expansion of their markets and the elimination of border barriers. It marks a critical point, when some powers make desperate efforts to re-emerge on the stage as first-rate factors in the world economy and policy.

This is, in the final analysis, the reason for the existence of the European

Economic Community. So, it may be expected that, although with inner contradictions which are inevitable, the Community will assume more concrete forms and more pronounced supra-national features, emerging as a community not only political, but also economic. As to what degree this will be done, that remains to be seen. However, in this process the Community comes out as a reality which cannot be ignored and as an important factor in the field of international economic relations with consequences in the political field, as well.

CEREMONIES OF PEACE DO NOT COVER UP MEANS OF WAR

ZERI I POPULLIT

The propaganda noise that is made from time to time about the nature and role of the NATO military bloc is a favourite practice of the policy of the United States of America. In particular, the ceremonies which took place on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of NATO were intended for this purpose. On this occasion a torrent of speeches and statements flowed about the allegedly «peaceful» role of the American military forces and weapons stationed in Europe. President Bush decla-

red that «just as forty years ago the American troops are stationed in Europe for the sole purpose of defending democracy», solemnly more re-emphasizing the «pledge of the USA to defend the freedom of the western democracies.»

The speeches about the role and mission of the American forces in Europe took place not because ceremony, but because the interests of Washington's current policy in the NATO bloc countries called for them. The decades since the emergence of the

NATO military bloc have shown the European peoples that the American troops and weapons stationed in Western Europe serve the policy of hegemony of the «big brother» on the European continent. This has made the European peoples see with anger the American troops and bases, the same as the Soviet troops and bases. US President Bush tried to convince European opinion and his allies that in this period of so-called détente in East-West relations «NATO has transformed the

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most modern weapons of war into instruments of peace». This is a downright lie and the transformation Bush boasts about is only a self-assumption. Does the fact that precisely on April 4, when ceremonies were being held and hands were clapping about the «peaceful» mission of NATO, the troops and weapons of this military bloc started their largest-

scale sea exercises in the Mediterranean region speak of this? The same demonstration of force is being made in the Gibraltar Straits at which the NATO capability to occupy and control the strategic sea-routes to the Mediterranean is being tested.

A 40-year long experience is proving ever more convincingly that the military

blocs of NATO and Warsaw Treaty, led by the two superpowers, exist and operate against the interests of the European peoples. Hence, the dissolution of these military blocs emerges ever more to the fore as a fundamental condition for eliminating the divisions and splits in Europe, and easing tensions on the European continent and throughout the world.

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