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**◀ COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA DURING HIS VISIT TO THE EXHIBITION OF FIGURATIVE ARTS WHICH WAS OPENED IN TIRANA ON THE OCCASION OF THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND.**

*The military parade and the enthusiastic manifestation of the working people of the capital on the occasion of the great festivity of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.*





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# RAMIZ ALIA

## THE CREATOR AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS FACTORS OF DEVELOPMENT

**Speech delivered at the ceremony of  
to the working people of science**

Dear comrades,

It is a special satisfaction for me to participate in this beautiful ceremony, in which some of the most outstanding creators and scholars of our country are honoured with the Republic Prize and other high distinctions, awarded in the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of our People's Revolution. On this occasion, I convey to you the greetings and congratulations of the Central Committee of the Party on your fruitful work for the good of the people and our socialist Homeland.

The Republic Prizes and the titles which are awarded to you are not only a well-deserved appreciation of your work, an honour which the society and the state confer on you for what you have done, but also a tribute which is paid to the whole of our socialist culture, our new science, our revolutionary literature and arts. Therefore, by congratulating you, we congratulate the whole intelligentsia of our country, the specialists and scholars, the writers and artists, the teachers and innovators, who, together with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, have always made their great contribution to the all-sided advance of the new Albania.

Epoch-making overthrows and changes have occurred in our country in the years of the people's state power. Socialism restored the national dignity and opened the road of modern civilization for the Albanian. It is in this social system that our people fully displayed their vitality as a nation, their ancient culture, their respect for themselves and for the others, the spirit of progress and their resourceful spirit. In 45 years they were able to refute the whole of the insulting attitude and to discard all the mud that had been thrown at them in the past.

Only in the epoch of the Party could our Homeland occupy the place it deserved in the midst of the community of peoples. If Albania had not entered the

road of socialism, we wonder what its fate would have been. Many anti-Albanian scenarios have existed in the European diplomatic chancelleries of the neighbouring countries; many bargains had been struck to the detriment of Albania even in the years of the anti-fascist world war; many old dreams and ambitions, many empire mentalities which inspired these scenarios and plans continue to circulate to this day.

The socialist epoch is one of our true and all-sided revival. In 45 years we have liquidated the economic backwardness and ignorance, poverty and other ulcers of the past. The setting up of contemporary industry and the perfection of its structures, the establishment of the cooperativist order in and the modernization of agriculture, the electrification of the whole country and the spread of education and culture among the masses, the emancipation of social relations and the extension and deepening of socialist civilization, these are only some of those majestic victories achieved in the period which the people simply call the epoch of the Party.

It is especially the merit of the Party that, in all these transformations, it gave priority to the training of the intelligentsia, specialists and cadres that the country needed. Our country, which entered the 1950s, with a virtually illiterate population today has a whole army of educated people, who serve the Homeland with competence in all fields of social activity. Over 70 000 is the number of cadres with higher schooling including doctors and agronomers, engineers and teachers, architects and geologists. They have merged from and been formed in the bosom of the people; they are linked like flesh to bone with the people and socialism.

Our achievements in all directions confirm the effectivity of the socialist road, for which our people have fought resolutely and continue to do so. Of course, we do not consider our country to be «a paradise on earth», where everything is solved to perfec-

# VE THINKING RESS - DETERMINING HE ALL-SIDED OF THE COUNTRY

## the distribution of the honorary titles and technique, arts and education

tion and where life is plenty of good things. But, at the same time, we cannot fail to affirm the majesty of what socialism has brought to Albania, that great leap which our society has made in the years of the new life. In this manner, we make an objective evaluation of the history and gather strength to proceed forward. We appreciate the gigantic efforts of our people and honour the self-sacrificing work of those generations which built the new Albania. In this way we express our gratitude to the wise and far-sighted leadership of our Party of Labour and our great teacher and unforgettable Enver.

Our whole people are now working intensively to carry out the tasks laid down by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. The thinking of the masses is gathering momentum and numerous initiatives have burst forth everywhere. People think hard to find the most suitable ways for the solution of problems of our time. People everywhere speak in a party spirit and make valuable proposals to help the economy to advance, to extend our socialist democracy further and the strengthening to the people's state power.

All this activity is an expression of the vitality and boldness of our Party, which has not permitted and will not permit bureaucratic sclerosis, getting accustomed to weaknesses and shortcomings, indifference and routine to strike root among us. It is a testimony of the greater creative role of the masses, their participation in all the government of the affairs of the country, and the support which the Party and its ideas find among the working people.

In all these developments, the intelligentsia, the specialists and innovators, play a conscious role. They have put the shoulder to the problems of the advance of socialism. Everywhere, in all sectors, there are new and powerful talents and personalities who have created dignified things for our time. The Republic Priz-

es and the other distinctions which are awarded today represent only one fraction of all this fruitful activity.

Each passing year bears witness to our progress in education, arts and science and the rapid growth of the economic potential of the country. Only in the current year, the national income has increased by nearly 10 per cent. But our future tasks for the industrial growth and the advance of agriculture, or the growth in education and culture are still greater. Many problems require new solutions, in conformity with the present socio-economic conditions of the country. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee drew attention to these problems.

We are confident that we will successfully tackle all the tasks that await us. Our country is rich in underground and other material assets, which are continuously renewed in quantity and quality. But the national wealth is increased through the efforts of the working class and the peasantry, the technical and creative intelligentsia, all those who have put their knowledge, abilities and forces in the service of socialism. The guarantee to march steadily forward is in the Party, which guides us with its revolutionary ideology, vitality and ability to respond to the requirements of the time for non-stop development.

In our days science, technique and technology advance at lightning speed. New developments in these fields multiply within a very short time. In our country, too, the scientific thinking and the technical progress have become determining factors for the all-sided development of the country, especially for the strengthening of the economic potential and the increase of its fruitfulness.

In this aspect, the creative work and studies, and not only in the applied sciences but also in the theoretical ones, must necessarily be considered with an eye to



their practical productivity and fruitfulness for the socialist construction and the progress of the country. If in some field crops and in livestock-farming and in some sectors of industry we still have unsatisfactory productivity, indeed a low one, should the scientific institutions and centres, the specialists and innovators who have to do with these branches and sectors, not see this problem with a greater sense of responsibility?

We have creative people who carry out extensive and fruitful scientific work. But there is a number of people who often see their activity in the higher schools, in research institutions and other creative centres from a narrow angle, almost as a way of getting a degree or a title for themselves. Degrees and titles, as such, are useful, but not when they are secured through dissertations which are covered with dust in archives. The progress of the country needs studies which provide solutions to the problems and open the way for the rapid growth of the economy, culture, the defence of the country and other spheres of our social activity.

The studies which are linked directly with production and those carried out in natural and technical

sciences will continue to have priority. But, as in the past, now, too, the Party devotes special attention to the advance of social sciences, especially those studies which are connected closely with the present developments and with the prospects of socialist society, as well as those that have to do with international issues.

This is linked with the fact that in our struggle for the socialist construction problems that require solution keep cropping up, especially in the field of the relations in production and social problems. These are due to a number of economic, political and social factors. Above all, the important thing is that we find solutions that respond to our communist principles.

Socialism in Albania has overcome and challenged numerous problems, but still it continues in search of new solutions, because it is a new society. On the other hand, we must be aware that we have made many achievements, but we also have passing difficulties of growth, we have new contradictions which accompany our rapid advance and cannot be avoided. Therefore, we must take well-studied steps so that

the present should be in conformity with the demands of the future.

Seen from this aspect, the duty of our social sciences is not merely to show that the Party has acted correctly in this or that situation in the past, but, in the first place, must help it to shed Marxist light on the problems that emerge and to define the orientations which must be given according to the objective needs arising from our developments.

Our social and political thinking today has the reliable support in Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is a great advantage for them, therefore, they must tackle some of the more acute problems of our present reality with greater boldness. The Party has made criticism, especially of our economic thinking, because there are many and many problems which wait solution in this field. And we must not permit the same situation to be created in our philosophical thinking, too, including those questions which have to do with the course of social processes, with the education of different categories of people, with leadership, with the literary and artistic creativeness and other such affairs.

In the field of social sciences we must say our word still better and with stronger arguments, with greater depth and scientific rigorosity, and this has to be done especially about the present international developments. We must intensify our polemics with the alien bourgeois and revisionist views. It is our duty to Marxism-Leninism to defend it consistently and develop it in a creative manner. This is our internationalist duty towards the question of the proletarian revolution. It is up to us to intensify and strengthen this work, to raise it to a higher level and make it more powerful in attack.

If we put the stress on current problems, this does not mean that we will undervalue the other Albanological studies of the history of our people from the antiquity to our days, the Albanian language and culture, which have already affirmed themselves.

The Party has highly estimated studies in these fields, because now we have a good tradition in them. Nevertheless, in these problems, too, the volume of work must be greater and things must move faster, whereas the phenomena that are taken up for study must be analysed more deeply and with a broader view. We must not forget that there are circles in the world which have unearthed all kinds of hypotheses that connect the Albanians to all kinds of genetic trunks, but not to their authentic trunk, to the Illyrians. The duty of the linguists, historians, archaeologists and ethnographers is to use scientific argument to defend the truth about our history and culture, about its identity and originality.

Our literature and arts, the artistic creativeness and activities have always been dear to our people. They have enriched and beautified their spiritual world. The writers and artists have been and are loyal aides of the Party in the work for the communist education of

our new man. Production and activity in this field have increased steadily.

The Albanian literature has a particular tradition: in the course of time it has been a call and a weapon of struggles for freedom and independence, and for a better future for the people, and has remained so. The whole legacy that has been preserved from the earliest writers, from Barleti and Bardhi to Migjeni, has had a strong commitment to the destinies of the country. It is not an accident that many Albanian writers and scholars of our National Renaissance ended their lives by the dagger, the poison or the bullet of the enemy. And this happened not simply because they were dedicated scholars and talented and inspired creators, but also because they were active fighters for the national cause; patriotic ideologists and politicians with a revolting spirit.

In our time, too, a whole generation of writers began their activity with words for partisan songs and poems for the fallen comrades. Later on, others placed the heroic struggles of the Party and the people, the gigantic efforts of our working people for the socialist construction of the country and the flourishing of the Homeland, for the defence of its freedom and independence, in the centre of their work.

There can be no serious and consistent creativeness without a powerful civic commitment. The bourgeois aesthetes try to present political and ideological commitment as a painful burden on art. They say: either partisanship or quality. But ideological partisanship and artistic quality do not exclude one another. Experience shows that ideology and art have merged into one in all works of real artistic value.

Communist partisanship is a basic requirement not only for literature and arts. It permeates our whole life. There is communist partisanship from the leading, educational, scientific and juridical activity, to the economy. It is there, in the contents of our socialist reality. There must be partisanship in social and foreign policies, in all the state activity of our country.

Our literary and artistic creativeness must give reflection to the epic nature of the time of the Party, the militant spirit of the masses, the grandeur of the actions of the communists and the people to carry always forward the cause of socialism in resolute struggle against difficulties and the pressure of the enemies who strive to put us off the right road.

A truly realistic art cannot be created only with boldness. Socialist realism is a broad method, but the utilization of its potentialities requires talent, scientific knowledge of the life, society, the psychology of the people and the spiritual changes that occur in it; it requires inspiration and that kind of optimism which is innate in the contents of our progress and is so very necessary to respond to the challenges of the time.

Dear comrades,

The socialist construction and the all-sided advance of the country require maximum mobilization, constant readiness and vigilance on our part to defend the sup-

reme national interests, the sovereignty, independence and the territorial integrity of our Homeland, to put all our physical and mental energies in the service of the people and socialism, to work in a communist manner and to make higher demands on ourselves.

In our struggle for the progress of socialism, any solution we would have to adopt to the needs of the new problems that arise, any measure we would have to take to overcome some weakness or to correct some shortcoming, should stem from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and should respond to the conditions of Albania. Our Party has been and is confident that it is possible to march on the socialist road only if we rely on the proletarian ideology. Any other prescription spells death for the state of the working class and for the destinies of socialism.

We lay particular stress on this issue, because we bear in mind what is occurring now in the Eastern countries. The bourgeoisie and the opportunists there are working with united forces and with common tactics and strategies to wipe out socialism as a social order. With demagogical slogans about democratic freedoms and rights, which are not meant for the working masses but for anti-popular individuals and given strata; under the pretext of «correcting mistakes» which they themselves have made, they are actually re-establishing the laws of society of the capitalist type, with all the consequences that follow from this.

With their diversionist activity for more than 30 years, the revisionists laid the red carpet for the counter-revolution. After putting their countries in a grave economic and social crisis, they finally handed over state power to the forces of reaction, thus carrying through to the end their counter-revolutionary mission. In the Soviet Union they declared that the part of state property in the economy should decrease to 30 per cent, against 85 which it occupies today, in order to make more room for the shareholder and individual property, which is nothing other but private property. Elsewhere some revisionist parties changed even their names, discarded the communist symbols, publicly denied Marxism-Leninism and are actually seeking asylum in the Socialist International.

The all-round deep crisis of revisionism has been a great assistance to reaction and has made it more aggressive and cynical than ever in the struggle against socialism. The bourgeois ideologists are trying to attribute to the socialist social order whatever despicable and hated thing there is in world history. They want to prove at all costs that the masses should imagine it as a society which allegedly is incapable of coping with the tests of the new times.

The bourgeoisie poses as if, by warning the world of the evils of communism, it is not worrying about itself, but about the proletariat and the peoples. Its aim is to stamp out the revolutionary aspirations, to convince the masses to accept capitalism as the best alternative, and to channel their energies

not towards the overthrow of this order, but towards making it immortal.

In this euphoria, reaction is trumpeting high and low that socialism is over now. But the end of revisionism is not the end of communism.

Restoration and retrogression are known phenomena, which have repeated themselves in the history of the transitions from one social and economic order to another. Many and many uprisings against the slave-owners won but were defeated after some time. The bourgeoisie in France had to make three revolutions to establish its power finally. The periods of the restoration of the monarchy are among the most bloody years in the history of that country. The European Renaissance is full of revolutions and endless wars.

If the history of mankind prior to the establishment of socialism has seen retrogressions, and that at a time when the transition from one social order to another was not accompanied with changes in the character of ownership and the type of state (as the rule of the minority over the majority), with the emergence of socialism the factors which tend to drive backwards are much more numerous, because this new order brings a radical change in the relations in production and the nature of the state.

But such deflections in life cannot break the universal law of development of human society, which tends to move forward towards progress. Retrogressions cannot continue for a long time. Since there is capitalism and imperialism, there will be exploitation, social injustice and oppression of the peoples. And as long as there is exploitation and oppression, there will be revolutions and struggles for freedom, there will be socialism and communism.

The present development of events in the Soviet Union and in the countries of the East is corroborating more and more convincingly the correctness of the line of our Party and the Marxist-Leninist thinking of Enver Hoxha. Thirty years ago they warned about where revisionism would lead up to, which Gorbachov's perestroika has now hastened to bring about. A system which lost its popular character, which departed from the socialist ideology and which was rotten with bureaucracy and corruption would certainly have this logical end.

The merit and the salutary far-sightedness of our Party lies in the fact that it did not limit itself to the criticism and firm struggle for the exposure of the opportunist betrayal. Our Party saw the first signs of the emergence of revisionism and from that moment drew a clear demarcation line with it, dissociated itself from the Soviet Union and its camp and drew lessons from their negative experience, adopted measures to ensure that Albania would never depart from the road of the revolution and socialism, that the state retained its popular character and the Party always represented the vital interests of the working masses.

No one donated us our freedom and socialism. We have won them at the cost of much bloodshed and sacrifices; they are the fruit of the thinking and toil of our people. That is why we have cherished and



will continue to cherish them like the apple of the eye. We will consolidate and carry them ahead with determination, on the socialist road which our sovereign people have chosen and on which our glorious Party of Labour is leading us.

Dear comrades,

Our progressive and hard-working people, our Party and Government, appreciate the creative activity of our talented men in all fields where they work, from the laboratory of the researcher to the experimental plots in the fields, from the home studies to the school auditoriums, from the design bureaus to the construction sites of different projects, from the studios of sculptors and painters to the stages of amateur artists and film sets. They see all this as a work done with passion, with physical and mental, intellectual and emotional tension; they see it as something which requires



*In the morning of November 22, in the hall of the People's Assembly, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers organized the ceremony for the distribution of the Republic Prizes and other high distinctions to the working people of science and technique, arts and education.*

*Those present in the hall received the entrance 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 with applause and ovations.*

*The ceremony was opened by the minister at the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha.*

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

*Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with interest and was punctuated by ovations and cheers for our Party of Labour.*

*In this joyful and enthusiastic atmosphere, the Republic Prizes, the titles «People's Teacher» and «People's Artist», «Honoured Teacher» and «Honoured Artist» and the decoration «Distinguished worker of*

*toil and sweat, but which does not admit of tiredness and never backs down before fatigue, because it is a kind of work which has in itself the great joy of creating for the people, for the Homeland and for socialism.*

*The Party has striven and will strive again and again to create the most suitable conditions for those who create these valuable works and to encourage them to use all their talent for the good of the people. A clear expression of this are also the prizes and distinctions which were distributed today at this very beautiful and cordial, warm and encouraging meeting which stimulates everyone in all directions.*

*Congratulating you once again for the prizes and distinctions with which you have been honoured, allow me to wish you a happy celebration of the great 28-29 November festivities!*

*Long live our people's intelligentsia!*

*Long live our glorious Party of Labour!*

*science and technique» were distributed.*

*Amidst the enthusiasm of the gathering, Comrade Ramiz Alia came down to the hall and met the newly honoured scientists and artists and congratulated them cordially.*

*In the context of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, in the afternoon of November 25 the Presidium of the People's Assembly organized the ceremony of the awarding of the titles «Hero of Socialist Labour» and other high decorations to districts, collectives and outstanding workers on the front of industrial and agricultural production, the construction of major projects of the Five-year Plan and other fields, in the hall of the Palace of Congresses in the capital.*

*Comrade 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, delivered the speech of the occasion.*

*Amid the rejoicing of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia handed the titles «Hero of Socialist Labour» and other high decorations to Party and state leaders, veterans of war and work, outstanding workers and cadres of various sectors. Comrade Ramiz Alia met, had cordial talks with and wished them further successes at work and joy and happiness in their families.*

# THE 45<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

## COMMEMORATION

*- Comrade Ramiz Alia and others*

In the morning of November 28, at the Palace of Congresses in the capital, the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the Party Committee of the district

of Tirana organized a commemorative meeting dedicated to the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

The participants greeted with applause the coming 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, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myjtiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra,

## On the non-stop Comrade Adil

Comrades,

These days the Albanian people are celebrating the glorious jubilee, the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, of the decisive victory which brought the most profound changes in their history.

The Novembers have been the months of climactic events in the struggles of our people for freedom, profound changes in their history.

November 1912 gave the Albanian people the independence they had dreamed of after almost 5 centuries of enslavement. November 1941 is linked with the event which was going to bring with it the radical change in the destiny of our people — the creation of the Communist Party of Albania, while November 1944 marked the birth of the new Albania which we enjoy today.

Although they belong to different historical periods, the outstanding anniversaries which we are celebrating are closely linked with one another. In both these periods, the Albanians, few in numbers and poor in means, but indomitable in their freedom-loving and progressive aspirations, have battled numerous and powerful enemies. The road to

achieve the victory has been exceptionally difficult. But this has never frightened the Albanian people. History had taught them that those people who do not fight are wiped out, because no one gives you freedom, which must be won through efforts, through struggle and sacrifice, without pinning your hopes on others. Our National Renaissance which was crowned with the proclamation of independence, and the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War proved this very clearly. Our people fought, therefore they were not wiped out, but triumphed and emerged in the light.

We celebrate these glorious anniversaries with justified feelings of pride in our past. The Party has taught our people to prize this glorious history, to set a high value on the progressive, revolutionary, patriotic traditions which the centuries have left us as a heritage, to discover in them those lessons which are necessary to build the present and the future.

The great act of Ismail Qemali and other outstanding patriots who 77 years ago, on November 28, 1912, raised the flag in Vlora and declared the national independence, crowned the gigantic efforts of our

people, challenging not only the Sublime Porte, but also the ambitions of imperialist powers and neighbouring chauvinist monarchies at that time to perpetuate the foreign domination in our Homeland, to partition and wipe Albania from the political map of the Balkans.

History has known Albanians not only as men of the rifle, but also as men of thinking and culture. Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Our land has given birth to outstanding men of the rifle and the pen. Our people have brought forth fighters and strategists, philosophers and politicians in whose breasts the revolutionary spirit was seething and who strove with all their means to liberate the Homeland from the countless hordes of external and internal enemies. «From this standpoint, too, our people have always stood higher than their enemies and oppressors and all those who have tried to present them as barbarous and without culture. The people who fight for their just rights, for the defence and development of their language, school, culture and progressive national traditions, are not barbarous and without culture, but this description applies to those who try to deny them

# THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH

## PLANNING MEETING

### *Party and state leaders attending -*

Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, Vangjel Çërrava, member of the Central Committee of the Party and head of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, vice-chairman of the Presidium of

the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu, members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government.

Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto

Çami, delivered the opening speech.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani.

## Road of socialism Çarçani's speech

these things, to denigrate and oppress these rights, under whatever pretext.

The proclamation of independence in 1912 was a great historic victory, but not complete and guaranteed. Many years were needed for Albanian society, going through numerous popular movements, to reach the point when, under the leadership of the communists, the greatest and most profound revolution in its history that established the people's power, and opened the new epoch of the construction of socialism in Albania, was carried out.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War was the most brilliant period in the glorious history of our people. From the stand-point of its content, the tasks which it presented and accomplished, the breadth of the popular participation in it and its consequences, it marks a great qualitative advance, a marked historic victory. The key to this victory was the leadership of the war and the revolution by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, enlightened by a scientific world outlook and firmly linked with the people.

In the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Albania drew up a

program which presented the solution to the imperative problems which the historical moment had presented: the liberation of the Homeland, the triumph of the lost freedom and independence, and the establishment of a social order which would make people masters of their own destiny and open to the country the road of progress.

The Communist Party of Albania saw in our people, with their marvellous patriotic and militant traditions, in their unrivalled vitality and endurance and their inexhaustible creative genius, the base, the decisive force which would wage the war against the occupier and carry out the revolution. In those years Enver Hoxha wrote: «The new era brought to light the factor people, brought them out on the tribune of history stronger than ever.»

Appreciating the attitude towards the people as an issue of profound ideological and political significance, the Party aroused in our people unshakeable confidence in their own strength, the conviction that their struggle against the occupiers was a decisive factor which would lead to the liberation of the country and determine the future.

On this basis the Party organized

the political unification of the whole Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, which became the foundation of the new national unity beyond comparison with all the previous periods in the history of our country in regard to its nature, content, breadth and depth. This was not a unity of chiefs but a direct unity of the broad popular masses from below, under the undivided leadership of the most loyal representative of their interests, the Communist Party of Albania. In this unity of the people around the Party, which represents one of the greatest victories of the people's revolution, and which after the liberation of the country, in the period of socialist construction, was further strengthened in the process of the class struggle and in conformity with the tasks of the time, lies the inexhaustible source of the invincibility and progress of our socialist Homeland. Therefore, we must safeguard it like the apple of our eye and strengthen it constantly.

From the ranks of the people and with their all-round support in the heat of the general armed uprising, under the leadership of the Party, the National Liberation Army was created. By the end of the war, it

numbered in its ranks about 70,000 partisans, which, in proportion to the population, speaks of the exceptionally broad participation of the Albanian people in the Anti-fascist war. Fighting with great self-sacrifice and bravery, it liberated the entire territory of the country with its own forces and brought the people to power. This constitutes a very special and very important feature of our National Liberation War.

The Albanian people's Anti-fascist National Liberation war was conceptualized by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and became a reality as an active component part of the great historical trend of the time, the people's anti-fascist war. In this context the Party gave special importance to collaboration and fraternization with the neighbouring Balkan peoples.

The Albanian people honourably fulfilled their obligations as equal participants of the world-wide anti-fascist coalition of peoples, sacrificing for the victory over fascism 28,000 martyrs, hundreds of whom laid down their lives outside the borders of the Homeland. They made this sacrifice in the name of the freedom of the people and their Homeland, in the name of the liberation of the peoples and the final victory over fascism in a high internationalist spirit. In proportion to its area and the number of its population, Albania is one of the countries which suffered the greatest human and material losses.

It is a great merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that right from the outset, in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country, they linked together the question of national liberation and that of the establishment of the power of the insurgent people and blended them into a single cause. In the heat of the armed struggle, one after another, the foundations of the state power of the foreign occupiers and the reactionary ruling classes were smashed and a new state power was created. Passing through some principal stages that are also an excellent example of the political strategy and tactics of our Party in the years of War —

from the Conference of Peza, to the meeting of Labinoti, the Congress of Përmeti, and the meeting of Berati, by the end of War, immediately after the triumph of November 29, 1944, this new power began to perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which opened the road of socialism before the people and the country.

However, the question of state power remains the key question throughout the whole historical period of socialism. Therefore, the Party has always demanded that we always safeguard and strengthen the people's state power, making it more and more democratic and, especially, not permitting the dangerous corrosion of bureaucracy to damage it. The teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on this question and the orientations and tasks given by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee are of vital importance. We must always have them in the centre of our attention and put them into practice step by step.

In celebrating the glorious anniversaries of November we will remember not only the victories achieved but also the sacrifices that had to be made and the blood which has been shed by generations after generations on this soil, for our beloved Homeland.

Our greatest honour is addressed to the heroic partisan fighters who spared nothing for the liberation of Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, it belongs to the immortal heroes who shed their blood for the new Albania which we enjoy today. The present generations and those that will follow will be grateful and will bow with deep respect to the memory of their sacred deed. Through the centuries they will remain torchbearers on the road of the freedom, independence and progress of the Homeland.

Today, when we celebrate the 45th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, the birth of the new Albania which we enjoy today, the Party and the entire people turn their minds and hearts

with love and profound respect to the great unforgettable leader, the founder and leader of the Party, the inspirer, organizer, and glorious commander of the National Liberation Army, the architect of the socialist construction of the country, Comrade Enver Hoxha. His ideas, teachings and majestic works are embodied in the steel foundations of socialist Albania, therefore they will live for centuries.

Comrades,

When Albania entered a new course of development 45 years ago, great complex and difficult strategic tasks had to be solved by the Party and the people. Profound political, economic and social transformations had to be carried out with the aim of overcoming the centuries of inherited backwardness as quickly as possible and setting the country on the road of socialism; the political independence won had to be consolidated and the conditions created for the all-round material, cultural and spiritual emancipation of the whole society; the productive forces had to be developed on a broad front, the structure of the economy had to be transformed and the social productivity of labour raised. It was not easy to cope with these tasks successfully. They required complete solutions, thoroughly considered and with clear prospects.

From their historical experience our people were convinced that the road for the solution of these vital tasks was that which the Party had shown them, the road of socialism. Life showed that socialism has proved to be the system with the best results in the history of our country.

Looking back over the course traversed during these 45 years of people's state power, we see the vigorous development of the country in all fields. Our socialist economy today gives a social product 25 times greater than the social product before Liberation. The colossal investments which have been made in industry, agriculture, transport, in the sectors of education and health and other fields have served to set



up a sound material-technical base. The rapid material and social development has ensured that of each two inhabitants one is employed or on a pension and of each three or four persons one is attending school.

The essence of the economic policy worked out by the Party for development on the socialist road is the industrialization of the country. At each stage of our socialist construction, the aim of the program of industrialization has been to utilize all the natural assets in the interests of the people and the progress and independence of the country by effectively using the great

human potential. «If today we have a multibranch, complex, heavy and light industry, based on the assets of the country, which meets most of the needs of the economy; a unified energy system and a positive energy balance; a harmonious development of industry with agriculture; and a mature working class distributed over the whole territory of the country up to its most remote corners, all these result from the far-sighted policy of industrialization consistently applied by the Party under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha», Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out.

Today industry turns out 60 per

cent of the total social production, creates about half the national income and 2/3 of the export products. Now eight to nine million tons of minerals and combustible materials are extracted and processed each year compared with some hundreds of thousands of tons four decades ago. These developments have raised our Albania to a new, higher stage.

Occupying the central position in the economic policy of the Party is the agrarian problem which the Party has always conceived as a whole series of political, economic and social solutions. The socialist collectivization of agriculture, which represents one of the greatest his-

toric victories of our socialist construction, is the pivot of these solutions. The setting of the peasantry on the road of socialism was of vital importance, not only for the development of agriculture and the construction of the new life in the countryside, but also for the fate of the construction of socialism in the whole country.

The cooperativist order has affirmed itself completely and has convincingly displayed its dynamism and inexhaustible vitality. The experience of the socialist transformations in the countryside is a vivid example which proves the correctness of the course pursued in socialist Albania, and is the opposite of all the revisionist practices of the restoration of private property and capitalism in the countryside.

The collectivization of agriculture, which was carried out cautiously and with the free will of the peasantry, received a vital impulse and was strengthened with such majestic works as the large-scale land protection and irrigation schemes, the more than doubling of the arable area, the creation of large plantations of fruit-trees and the intensification of agricultural and livestock production. About 1/3 of the capital investments have been used directly for the needs of agriculture, apart from the large funds used for the setting up of industry in the service of agriculture, especially the chemical fertilizers industry. All these things have transformed the landscape of the country and have radically altered the appearance of our agriculture and our countryside. As a result of the correct and far-sighted policy of the Party, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry has grown steadily stronger. Our patriotic and industrious peasantry has deserved every contribution and support from our society and will continue to do so in the future.

Now we have an advanced mechanized agriculture which uses chemical fertilizers on a large scale, which is based on advanced science and technology and which year by year is becoming more independent of the vagaries of the weather and

natural calamities. For more than a decade, our socialist agriculture has achieved high yields of contemporary levels in many of its products, it produces all of the bread grain and main foodstuffs required by the people, produces raw materials for light industry and the foodstuffs industry, and day by day is extending the possibilities for exchanges with the external world.

The system of cooperatives in our country which is completely affirmed and has proved inexhaustible dynamism and vitality, is advancing on an innovative course. The combination of economic relations of the property of the group with state property, the priority intensification of production in extensive zones, the introduction of industrial activity and the adaptation of productive structures to natural conditions are processes which are developing in favour of increasing the productive potential in agriculture. The collective garden, as an original course, constitutes another step forward in the use of the superiorities of the socialist property in agriculture. The more complete harmonization of economic methods in planning and management has given new impulses to the development of agricultural production and raising its efficiency. The stability of the population in the countryside on the basis of economic conditions, its urbanization and the raising of the material and cultural level of the life of the peasantry have become powerful factors of progress for the whole life of the country.

The experience of socialist transformations in our countryside is a vivid example that proves the just path followed, which counterposes to all the revisionist practices of the restoration of private property and capitalism in countryside.

The entire social and economic policy of the Party and our state has been guided by the great permanent aim of ceaselessly raising the well-being of the people in order to fulfil their material needs and requirements of schooling, culture, health services, etc. As a result, during these 45 years the life and well-being of our people has changed radically. Our people are not

wallowing in plenty, but they enjoy the fruit of their toil and have their present and future guaranteed. For all that they have created they are not indebted to anybody. For us who have lived and enjoy each day all the numerous blessings of socialism they seem quite ordinary. But they are colossal and of proportions which in all fields mark profound changes in comparison to the past. Before Liberation Albania had fewer than 1 million inhabitants but they could barely get enough to eat and lived in endless want and privation. Today we are more than 3 million and we secure everything necessary for a normal life which is becoming continuously richer and more prosperous. The developed countries required more than two centuries to double the life expectancy of the population. Socialist Albania achieved this in less than five decades. In the past people were born and grew up without going beyond the borders of the village or the surrounding district, while today the entire Homeland has been transformed into an economic and social ensemble which gives and takes in all corners of the country. Within just one day more than half a million people travel by the national means of transport. The electrification of the entire country, even to the most remote corners of it, the provision of adequate drinking water in town and countryside, the free health service and the emancipation of family life, the full system of social security in town and countryside, and so on, will remain monuments to the epoch of the Party.

All this harmonized and dynamic development of the economy and other fields of life has exerted an influence on the positive development of the demographic process. Albania does not suffer from the phenomenon of the ageing of the population and the consequences which result from it. On the contrary, the population of our country is maintaining its high rate of increase and its mean age does not exceed 27 years. Today the indices of the physical development of the youth are gained a year earlier than they were a decade ago.

All-sided radical transformations have taken place in the fields of culture and the social and spiritual life of the people. Instead of ignorance when more than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, instead of outdated customs and mentalities which enslave women, etc., we have an extensive network of schools of all categories, of libraries, of houses and hearths of culture, of scientific and technical institutions, and now the country is moving towards the achievement of secondary schooling for all. The Albanian woman has been emancipated and has become a great force in our social life. A whole army of the people's intelligentsia has been created with more than 70,000 cadres and specialists with high education and with more than 300,000 others with secondary vocational education in its ranks. In the fundamental indices of these fields the high levels achieved in our country are comparable with those of a number of developed countries in the world.

That is what socialism has given our people. Every good thing they enjoy today is linked with the socialist order. Their aspirations for new higher development, for a better, more cultured and more prosperous life in the future are linked with it. The 45 years of experience of Albania are the most vivid testimony to the vitality of socialism.

The victories recorded in these 45 years of the social and economic development of the country assume even greater dimensions and values if we bear in mind that they have been achieved with our own forces, relying on the internal material, financial and human potential, on the knowledge and creative thinking of our marvellous working people. The consistent application of the principle of self-reliance has made our socialist economy more and more capable each day of marching on its own feet and has ensured the country of genuine independence and sovereignty. This course has enabled our people to successfully withstand all the pressures and denigrating influences of the capitalist and revisionist world and to march

unwaveringly on the road of socialism.

The conception and practical application of the principle of self-reliance, which Albania follows in all fields, does not intend to result in self-isolation or autarky, as it is presented by those who do not know or do not want to understand the reality of our country, proceeding from predetermined prejudices against socialist Albania. On the contrary, life has demonstrated that our self-reliance has not hindered our country, but has created conditions for the continuous increase in the volume of exchanges, and economic, cultural, technical and scientific cooperation with different countries, with which we exchange 1/10 of our social product. We will continue on this course in the future too, but we will never accept forms and practices of economic relations which infringe our political independence and the socialist social order and lead to subjugation and the loss of our national sovereignty.

Our victories and achievements in all fields of productive and social activity are being further increased and enriched in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of Liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution. The great mobilization and enthusiasm at work which have burst out everywhere, the revolutionary initiatives and movements which have been undertaken to increase production and its efficiency to reduce the time required to build and bring into use new economic and social-cultural projects, to increase exports, etc., are being materialized in a series of concrete results. Compared with a year ago, this year the social product is expected to increase about 7 per cent, the national income more than 10 per cent, the product for society 12 per cent, the volume of foreign trade 25 per cent, the turnover of goods 6 per cent, and so on.

The achievements of this year and the entire period of the 8th Five-year Plan constitute a powerful basis for new all-round developments in the future to raise the economy, the culture and the well-being of the people to higher levels of pro-

gress, emancipation and prosperity.

Our country has large natural resources, putting them into economic circulation at more rapid rates and the completion of the cycle of the processing of raw materials constitute the main directions of the progress of our industry in the future. In order to fulfil the growing demands of the people, especially the industries producing commodities for mass consumption will assume more rapid quantitative and qualitative development. Industry will cope with greater tasks to ensure the sources of accumulation, to expand export and to raise the productivity of social labour.

The experience gained, the material-technical basis created and the dynamism of economic relations create possibilities to speed up the development of agriculture and to increase its intensification in all zones of the country. Further steps will be taken to improve the structure of production, adapting it better to the natural conditions and the human potential in the countryside. A special aim will be to speed up the development of livestock farming, to increase the effectiveness of labour in agriculture and to bring about qualitative changes in the structure of the people's food. The progress of agriculture will be one of the most powerful pillars for the independent development of the entire economy.

The development of the productive forces and the emancipation of social life will be based on and preceded by the expansion of building and all forms of transport and essential services, and qualitative advances will be made in the fields of education, culture and science. The intensification of the economy and the increase of the scientific potential will require productivity and quality at work, creativeness and economic and social effectiveness.

With its economic and social policy, with the perfecting of relations of production, the development of socialist democracy and the narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside, our country, under the leadership of our Party of Labour, will march for-

ward unwaveringly towards the strategic objective of the complete construction of socialist society.

Comrades,

The tasks facing us today in order to carry the socialist construction of the country further forward, in accord with the actual stage of development, assume a special meaning, importance and urgency in the present international conditions, especially in connection with the events of recent years in the Soviet Union and some other countries of Eastern Europe where they are openly moving towards the full restoration of capitalism in the economy and the superstructure.

Decades ago, at the time when the revisionists imposed their course on the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha had made clear that this course would destroy the socialist relations and lead to the restoration of capitalism, to crises, defeats and grave disappointments. Today, even those who adopted a sceptical attitude towards those analyses of our Party are obliged to admit that the Party of Labour of Albania was completely right. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in those countries it is not communism, it is not the doctrine of Karl Marx which has failed, but on the contrary, it is their departure from the socialist road, the replacement of the proletarian ideology with the bourgeois ideology which has led to their all-round disintegration.

The Party has seen the struggle against revisionism, not simply as a theoretical polemic, but as a profoundly practical question which has to do with the fate of socialist society itself. Hence, it has never limited this struggle just to the criticism of revisionism, but draw lessons and gained experience from what happened in the countries in which the revisionists came to power, and took measures to ensure that a similar tragedy was not repeated in our country. This is the outstanding merit of our Party. And we are acting in the same way to-

day. Recent events in the countries of Eastern Europe strengthen our belief in the correctness and vital importance of this stand.

Our concept of the socialism we are building has never been and is not rigid. We have always seen our socialist society in continuous dialectical development and renewal.

The guarantee of marching forward in the brilliant road of socialism has been and remains the Party. The 45-year-long experience of socialist Albania proves it to be true that the existence of the Marxist-Leninist party, its indivisible leadership and monolithic unity of the people round the Party are the decisive factor for the existence of a genuine socialist order, the principal guarantee for the construction, defence and unceasing development towards higher summits. Albania did not experience the revisionist tragedy, because putting into practice in every step the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party was guarded always revolutionary, pure in proletarian principles and strong, as it never was allowed to weaken and won its leadership in the whole life of our socialist society and always the Party remained sound and animated continuously its links with the masses.

One of the fundamental problems of socialism is the constant development and deepening of socialist democracy, the ever broader and more effective participation of the masses in the solution of social and state problems, in working out policies and taking decisions, in exercising control over everybody and everything. While drawing the proper lessons from what has happened in the Soviet Union and some other countries, in which bureaucratic distortions and the elimination of the masses from running the country opened the way for revisionism and led to the degeneration of the socialist state, our Party has waged a resolute struggle against this great danger. But we do not consider it as something which is overcome. In the process of this development, something becomes obsolete and a hindrance, new problems which can-

not be resolved with the former methods and forms emerge, other possibilities which did not exist before are created and new broader horizons open up. Therefore we do not make a fetish of anything and do not hesitate to change what has to be changed. On the contrary, we have been and are always seeking new solutions which respond better to the changes that take place, requirements of the time and new conditions and possibilities that are created. But we make these changes, and always will make them, within the framework of our socialist system and principles, never outside them, never on the road of revisionist reformism or capitalism. We have unshakable confidence in socialism, as the most just, most democratic and most humane social order, capable of responding to all the challenges of history, of solving all problems on the basis of socialist relations, and which opens up unlimited horizons for advance in all fields. Consider this as something over and done with. The struggle against the evil of bureaucracy, to open up new horizons for the development of the democracy of the masses, and the strengthening of the links of the Party and the government with the people remains permanently on the order of the day. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party forcefully drew attention to this. It opened before us a broad field of activity to develop the process of democratization of social and state life further.

Our socialist economy, too, has developed and is developing on new and original roads. It has been adapted to the conditions of the country and the needs of the people. The socialist relations of production have opened up broad prospects for the development of the productive forces. But contradictions arise, too, contradictions which must be overcome in time and in the right way. It is fundamental that the relations of production should be as stimulating as possible, make people more and more interested in work and production, and harmonize the general interests of society correctly with the interests of the group and of each worker, eradicating purely ad-



ministrative methods in the management of the economy, and replacing them with economic methods.

We see the present and the future of our socialist society in ceaseless dynamic change and development and in the continuous seeking for new solutions to problems that arise. Our Party has made it clear that only on the major issues of principle, which have to do with the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our socialist Homeland, with the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party in the whole life of the country, with the protection and strengthening of the socialist property and our people's state power, with distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work of each person has there never been, nor will there ever be, any change or concession in our positions. In all these basic directions, the Party and our people will always maintain keen vigilance and consistently wage the class struggle against anything that obscures, weakens or infringes in the least the principled positions and lofty interests of socialism and the Homeland.

Comrades,

On this great anniversary we cannot fail to speak about the foreign policy of our Party and state which has been and is one of the main basic factors of the successes and victories our country has achieved in these forty-five years of its free life.

The foreign policy of socialist Albania is a policy born from the people's revolution, which led not only to national liberation, but also to social emancipation, a policy which has emerged from profound freedom-loving aspirations nurtured for centuries, from the powerful anti-fascist and democratic spirit which characterized the resistance of the peoples during the Second World War, and from the ardent internationalism of communists.

It is a policy which was moulded and matured in the titanic efforts of our people and Party, with the great Enver Hoxha at the head, to cope with the pressure, plots and blockades of international reaction, which did not want to reconcile itself to the establishment of the

people's state power in Albania and sought to turn our country into an obedient and submissive vassal of the imperialist great powers. Its content, its aims and directions are closely linked, also, with the socialist social system established in Albania. Without or apart from socialism, it is not only inconceivable, but also inapplicable. Without socialism, freedom, independence, national and popular sovereignty would not express a reality, but would be empty words.

To ensure the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the complete and unconditional exercise of national sovereignty, protection of the gains of the people's revolution and the peaceful work of our people has always been at the centre of our foreign policy, its main aim and its fundamental objective. Our attitudes towards world events and our concrete activities in the field of international relations have been determined from this line, as have our evaluations and judgements of the various problems of our time.

We have thought and we have proved that we can live, create and defend ourselves with our own forces, with our own work and toil, without incurring debts or obligations to anybody for anything.

We have not entered the political, economic and military integrations which are so in vogue today, not because of any particularism, but because we have not wanted to limit our sovereignty and independent judgement, or have our activities hampered by various contractual conditions. We have opposed these integrations, proceeding from our strong conviction that any integration and cooperation of peoples, in any field whatever, can be done only by fully free, sovereign and equal states, and not on the basis of hegemonist and expansionist policies.

The presence and the decisive role of imperialist powers in these integrations suffice to make clear to us what rights the other partners enjoy, how much their opinion is listened to, and to what extent their interests are taken into consideration.

When we oppose the aggressive policies of the superpowers, the

neo-colonialist methods of the exploitation of peoples, such as enslaving credits and loans, the discriminatory and exploiting system established by big capital in international economic relations, we are accused of following an isolationist policy. If with isolation they mean our refusal to become caught up in these mechanisms, we shall re-assert with force that socialist Albania does not and will not accept such chains.

Of course this resolute stand of principle has compelled us to make sacrifices, because that is how the world has been and is, full of threats and pressures, full of dangers and surprises. But the price we have had to pay is very small, compared to the great strengthening of our sovereignty, the defence of our Homeland and our socialist gains that these sacrifices have brought.

Albania has always wanted friendship and cooperation with all countries, but in freedom and complete equality, respecting the sovereignty and the right of each to choose the social system it desires, freely and without interference, the well-known and universally accepted principles of peaceful coexistence.

We have supported the undeniable right which every people have to live free, independent and sovereign in their country, not only as an ideological concept, but also because what we want for ourselves we cannot deny to others.

Albania will always be on the side of those who defend their freedom and independence threatened by imperialist aims, just as it will always be in solidarity with the revolutionary, liberation and democratic forces in the world, with all those who are against war and for peace.

Proceeding from this principle, from this basic criterion, we have seen and judged the events in Europe. Albania has been against the division of Europe into military blocs, against the presence of foreign bases, the global confrontation and the cold war, against the creation of exclusive economic unions. These divisions and splits have caused the peoples great harm. They have kept them under permanent tension, un-

der general insecurity caused by the unrestrained rivalry and aggressiveness of the superpowers on our continent, under the terror of atomic war.

The events that have taken place recently in Eastern Europe have created a confused situation which makes the established equilibrium even more fragile than it was before.

As the changes that are taking place are the result of the ideological and political degeneration that occurred in these countries in the sixties, one cannot tell what internal or external results they may lead to. They have created all sorts of illusions and euphoria both in the East and in the West. But one thing is known: in collision with the reality illusions quickly turn into disillusionment and euphoria into despair. The dangers which result from the creation of unstable situations in these countries may have harmful consequences not only for their peoples but also for international relations.

It is very desirable and in the general interest that confrontation in Europe should be replaced by all-round cooperation. However, if this cooperation is loaded with demands and conditions for changes in the policies and economic systems of various countries, it will still be a confrontation, although with another name.

As a Balkan country directly interested in the stability of the Peninsula, we have followed the developments in this region with special attention. We note with satisfaction the general desire for the establishment of a fruitful dialogue between its countries in order to utilize the many existing possibilities for the establishment of cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, and the strengthening of peace and security in our region.

The process which has been initiated is promising and, for its part, Albania will spare no efforts to ensure its unceasing advancement, despite all the existing difficulties, of which we are aware. We hope that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which has been set for the coming year in Tirana, will make a new contribution

to the rapprochement, friendship and extension of cooperation among our peoples.

Just as it is interested in the strengthening of multilateral Balkan cooperation, socialist Albania is also interested in the strengthening of good neighbourliness with all the countries around us, in building up mutual cooperation, understanding and trust with them. In this spirit, we have seen among others the Adriatic Initiative and have expressed our interest in it.

Likewise, we have been guided by this same spirit also in our efforts to establish with Yugoslavia relations as normal as possible, although unfortunately they are not so. The anti-Albanian campaign that has been going on for a long time prevents the Yugoslav leadership from taking a wise and objective view of the realities of the present time, which cannot accept the existence of national inequality and the lack of desire of good neighbourliness.

The solution of the problems of Kosova, not by means of violence and tanks, but on the basis of the complete respect of the inviolable national and democratic rights of the Albanians, not through killings and imprisonments, insults and discrimination, but through dialogue and the respect of the will and desires of the people, would contribute greatly to overcoming the many grave difficulties in which Yugoslavia finds itself, to the strengthening of its stability and its progress, and the strengthening of the trust of its neighbours in its foreign policy.

The international situation today is unstable and continuously changing. Our Party has always instructed that we must follow these developments carefully and draw the proper conclusions in order to act in the interests of the defence of freedom and independence of the Homeland, and the peaceful labour of our people.

Remaining loyal to the principles of our foreign policy, from which we have proceeded hitherto and which have brought us all these victories, socialist Albania will awlays remain an active participant in the struggle for the strengthening of international

peace and security, a resolute supporter of all democratic and progressive processes in the international relations between states and peoples.

Comrades,

While celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, we look to the future with optimism. The historic achievements of these 45 years have created a healthy situation in every direction. All the necessary conditions and premises exist to carry the socialist construction of the country ahead and to raise it to a higher level, to make our beloved Homeland more beautiful, more developed and more powerful, to make the life of our people better and happier. The guarantee for this are our Party of Labour, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, which consistently follows and creatively develops Marxism-Leninism and, the teachings of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha; our marvellous hard-working, patriotic and indomitable people, united to a man round the Party; our people's government closely linked with the masses, which is being constantly strengthened and democratized. Our country today has a powerful defence and a healthy consolidated and stable socialist economy, capable of coping with all the problems emerging from the dialectical development of our society and to set ourselves new and greater objectives. Nothing can stop us on our course.

Let us mobilize all our forces and physical and mental energies to honourably fulfil the tasks ahead of us, to enter the last year of this five-year plan and the coming five-year plan prepared in every way to achieve new successes and victories.

Happy great celebrations of November!

Long live the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head!

Glory to the immortal revolutionary work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

# MILITARY PARADE AND ENTHUSIASTIC MANIFESTATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and State leaders attending

November 29. The Martyrs of Nation Boulevard in Tirana saw the grand military parade and the manifestation of the working people of the capital on the occasion of the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution. Thousands upon thousands of people of different ages and professions had lined both sides of the avenue.

At 10 o'clock the place resounded to the stormy applause and cheers of the people when they saw the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and state leaders mounting the tribune at the foot of the building of the Council of Ministers.

Members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, People's Heroes and Heroes of Socialist Labour, vanguard workers and cooperativists, leading cadres of central departments and mass organizations were also present.

Attending were also delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties, friendship associations with Albania, friends and well-wishers of our country, and compatriots living in various countries of the world, who had come to participate in the festivities on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the country and the triumph of the

People's Revolution. Titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania were also present.

After the command was given, the armymen standing in the avenue down to the square in front of the «Enver Hoxha» University stood to attention, presenting arms. The alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chief of the General Staff of the Army, Comrade Kiço Mustaqi, presented the force to the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and minister of People's Defence, Comrade Prokop Murra, who congratulated the troops of the parade on the occasion of the celebrations. The avenue rang with the powerful «hurray», an expression of firm readiness of our whole People's Army to carry out any task which the people and the Party entrust to them.

The brass band executed the National Hymn. Then, Comrade Prokop Murra delivered the speech of the occasion and congratulated those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers

Among other things he said: Today the Albanian people and their armed forces celebrate one of the most memorable days in our national history — November 29, the day of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, I congratu-

tulate you and wish you a happy celebration!

Our people, he continued, come to the November celebrations united more closely than ever around the Party and more optimistic about their future.

The years of socialism have and will always have the value of a great historical testimony for us. They prove in theory and practice what a free and sovereign people can do in their own country, when they have confidence in their forces and march firmly on the road of their national and socialist ideals.

The positions of socialist Albania in the international arena has risen continuously, affirming itself more and more powerfully. With its correct and principled policy Albania has condemned the aggressive policies and actions of the superpowers and the reactionary forces of all hues. It has backed up the just popular struggles for freedom and independence. Ours is a policy of peace and cooperation with all those who respect our freedom, national independence and sovereignty. It is a policy of good neighbourliness built on the basis of known principles. We are of the opinion that the road for the solution of problems does not go through confrontations and the use of force, but through constructive dialogue among equals.

Winding up, Comrade Prokop Murra said: The present international situations are fluid and fraught with class tensions of extensive proportions. They require that we shar-



**pen our vigilance and increase our fighting readiness, strengthen the unity around the Party, and step up efforts to accomplish the plans and of ceaselessly strengthen the defence of our socialist Homeland.**

The military parade began to the tune of marches played by the brass band. Opening the parade, in the place of honour, was the square of veterans who represent the army of former partisans, those who made the great National Liberation War and brought the so much desired freedom. Next, after the veterans, the square of students of the «Skanderbeg» military secondary school, the sapplings of our army, approached the tribune.

Ovations continued with mounting enthusiasm as the square of men from the United Higher School of Officers, which bears the name of the legendary unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, ap-

proached the tribune with the rhythmical thumping of their elegant steps.

After the rectangles of the armed school youth, the youth of the book and labour actions, the youth of knowledge and skill in defence of the Homeland, more compact groups followed. There were those made up of officers who study at the Military Academy — the highest military and scientific institution of the country, to be followed by the units which bear the name of the 1st Partisan Assault Brigade, the 5th and the 6th «People's Hero» Brigades. They carried the army banners, which yesterday inspired the partisans in the bloody battles against the enemies and traitors to the country, and which inspire their successors for more victories, in the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, implementing the teachings

of Marxism-Leninism in the field of defence in a creative manner, gave the army from the beginning a clear political, ideological and military orientation. They worked to ensure that the army grew in strength and always remained pure like the units that were tempered in the flames of the war, remaining an army of the new type, loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat, a reliable shield of the state of the people in power and of the victories reaped at the cost of so much blood, sacrifices and toil. The Party has been and remains the brain and the heart, the life-giving force of the army.

The rectangle of air-force pilots and sailors filled the avenue. Our naval fleet has grown with surface and submarine means, to make our territorial waters inviolable at any time.

Another compact block of soldiers: the border guards, the vigilant eye

of the people, watching over the safety of the freedom of our land.

Then followed the guards, police and the students of the higher school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the volunteer forces coming next. They had arrived from the construction sites, the production enterprises and the fertile fields as a great irreplaceable force for our defence.

Next there were the boys and girls marching shoulder to shoulder, holding automatic rifles. They were the future engineers, artists, doctors, agronomers and scientists. They are preparing to put the shoulder not only to the tasks of production and the economic development of the country, but also to give everything for the defence of our new life.

The echo of the powerful marching steps had not yet died down, when the manifestation of the working people of the capital began. They approached the tribune, carrying red banners in their hands. Meanwhile, young pioneers of Enver mounted the tribune, bringing flowers of gratitude for Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders.

The interminable lines of working people expressed their unbounded love for the Party, their steel unity around the CC of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, their devotion to socialism, as the most advanced social order which has ensured historical victories for the Albanian people, which could be read in the slogans: «PLA — the vanguard of society and the bearer of progress», «The strength of Albania lies in its people and the strength of the people lies in their unity around the Party», «Democracy and human rights are the attributes of socialism».

A group of dancers, wearing very colourful national costumes, created a joyful atmosphere in front of the tribune. The popular manifestation came to the end when a group of youth executed some exercises with flowers, whereas the artistic group of the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances, followed by the girls of the teachers' training school of Tirana, formed a beautiful big star in front of the tribune. In a moment, the whole place was inundated by young

pioneers of Enver, who enlarged the star with their waving red scarves, accompanying every movement with cheers for our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who greeted them all the time with great warmth.

This brilliant, warm, sincere manifestation was another occasion for our people to express, as always, their respect, to give their revolutionary greetings to their friends and to the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive and democratic forces in the world, to express their support for the principles of the foreign policy of our state. The manifestation expressed all these feelings through such slogans as: «Let us change the Balkans into a zone of peace and fruitful cooperation in the interest of all its peoples», «Revolutionary greetings to the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive and democratic forces which fight against national exploitation and social oppression», «Down with the imperialist superpowers: the USA and the Soviet Union», «Perestroika — a capitalist theory and practice», «Long live proletarian internationalism».

## RECEPTION AT THE PALACE OF BRIGADES

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers gave a reception at the Palace of Brigades in the evening of November 29.

Those present applauded the coming into the reception hall 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.

Present were also members of the Central Committee of the Party, the

Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government.

Delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties, friendship associations, and friends and well-wishers of our country, compatriots living in various countries of the world, and titular heads of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania, who were present in this reception, expressed their congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland to Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade Rita Marko greeted those present.

Among other things he said: In such

memorable days and events like these we draw the balance of our achievements and look forward towards new ones. Successes in the socialist construction of our country are a tangible reality for everyone.

Our social system, he continued, has shown its superiority in all directions. With the Party and the people's state power, which the people themselves chose of their own free will, Albania will continue to flourish and advance uninterruptedly on the road of socialist construction.

We watch the developments in the world very attentively, said Comrade Rita Marko. The situations are complex. The events which are occurring

in the countries of the East have drawn the attention of the whole of Europe. From the ideological point of view, the stand of our Party towards these processes is known. At the same time, it is our wish that these countries strengthen their national independence and freedom, and ensure their sovereign development without the interference of imperialism and other reactionary forces.

Our country opposes any plot that the superpowers hatch up to the detriment of the peoples, the cause of peace and international security. As always in the past, it will support the efforts of the peoples for the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations and will consistently follow the policy of friendship, peace and coo-

peration with all the other countries on the basis of respect for freedom, independence, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. The policy of good neighbourliness with the peoples and countries of the Balkans, of rapprochement and friendship does not change. We will continue all our efforts for strengthening the spirit of understanding and mutual accord and for the extension of relations between different states.

*The reception passes in a very joyful atmosphere.*

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*On the day of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Home-*

*land and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the whole Albanian people commemorated with deep respect and gratitude the glorious deed of their best sons and daughters who gave their lives for the happy days we enjoy in the epoch of the Party. On this occasion, working people from different work and production centres, veterans of the war and work, deputies and councillors, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, armymen, young men and women, pioneers of Enver and leading cadres of the Party and the state and the mass organizations paid homages to and laid wreaths and bouquets of flowers at the martyrs' cemeteries in the districts.*

## WREATHS AND HOMAGES

On November 28, on the eve of the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the people of the capital commemorated the martyrs who fell for freedom with profound respect. Hundreds of working people from work and production centres and institutions, veterans of the war and work, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, armymen, young men and women, and pioneers of Enver went to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation, where they paid homages with respect and gratitude at the graves of those sons and daughters of the people who poured their blood and laid down their

young lives at the altar of freedom, at the foundations of these happy days we enjoy today.

Those present at the Cemetery received with applause the coming of Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders.

Wreaths were laid at the «Mother Albania» monument. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Ramiz Alia and Adil Çarçani laid wreaths with the inscription: «Glory to the martyrs». Wreaths were laid also in the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence, the Party Committee and the Executive Com-

mittee of the People's Council of the District of Tirana.

As the brass band executed the national anthem, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders observed some moments' silence in raised-fist salute to honour the memory of the martyrs.

Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a bouquet of flowers at the grave of the unforgettable beloved leader, the legendary commander and architect of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Party and state leaders laid bouquets of flowers at the graves of Comrades Hysni Kapo, Gogo Nushi and Qemal Stafa.

## FESTIVE CONCERT

On November 28, at the Palace of Congresses of the capital the Committee of Culture and Arts and the Executive Committee of the district People's Council organized a festive

concert on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

Attending the concert were van-

guard working people from work and production centres and institutions, veterans of the war and work, people of art and culture, and others. They received with applause the

coming 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.

Delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties, friendship associations, personalities and friends of Albania, and compatriots living in different countries of the world, who had come to participate in the celebra-

tions of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, also saw the concert.

Attending were also titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Artists of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, of the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances, of the National Theatre and amateur artists gave a

concert with songs, dances, instrumental pieces which they interpreted with a high artistic level. In the concert poems dedicated to the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, to the unforgettable beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to our beloved Albania, to partisan heroism, the new and happy life in our socialist Homeland, and to our wonderful youth, were recited.

## NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF FIGURATIVE ARTS

On November 27, on the eve of the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, at the Gallery of Arts in the capital, the opening ceremony of the national exhibition of Figurative Arts was organized by the Committee of Culture and Arts and the League of Albanian Writers and Artists.

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 leaders had come to participate in the opening ceremony.

Also present were delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties, friendship associations with Albania, foreign personalities and friends of our country, and compatriots living in various parts of the world, who had come to Albania to participate in the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was received with applause as he entered the place. He greeted those present at this ceremony.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Prof. Alfred Uçi. Among other things, he said that most of the works presented in this exhibition carry the clear ideological message of the Party, which reflects the creative socialist reality, the fresh feelings and optimistic spirit which inspires the people in the struggle for carrying forward the cause of socialism in Albania. The epic grandeur and the historical drama of the country, the beauty of the life in our Homeland, heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the masses under the guidance of the Party, the joy of socialist changes and the non-stop advance, have been expressed with a sincere reality, full of emotions and artistic skill. The social and aesthetic ideal which inspires the artists gives new strength to their originality and enriches their styles, inspires them to search for new techniques and solutions, which make this activity an expression of the whole range of aesthetic phenomena of our reality.

Comrade Adil Çarçani cut the inauguration ribbon.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades present visited the exhibition which has about 400 works of different painters, sculptors and artists of applied arts. The variety of themes has been embodied in rich means of expression and an understandable figurative language reflected in universal forms. A number of works in this exhibition treat the figure of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, crucial moments in the glorious history of our people, the National Liberation War and the socialist construction, and the rich world of our man. All this is achieved in warm tones of colour and clear forms permeated by pleasant artistic feelings.

As he visited the exhibition, Comrade Ramiz Alia stopped in front of different works, inquired about their authors and congratulated them on the good ideological and artistic level of their creations, their broad horizon and innovative spirit. Addressing himself to the People's Sculptors Kristaq Rama and Muntaz Dhrami, he said:

«We saw beautiful works here. Congratulations. It is a good thing to see many new talents participating alongside with the recognized artists.»

# SIDE BY SIDE WITH T IN THE VANGUARD OF THE SOCIALIST CO

## From Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at the meeting of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

The trade-unions have a great role in running and developing the country, in building socialism and defending the victories achieved. They represent a powerful militant organization, and both the working class and the whole of our society need them. Their place and role are determined by the special position and contribution of the working class, which is the decisive force of the socialist construction.

Our Party has appreciated and values the contribution of this militant organization of the masses as a political, educative and organizing factor of mobilizing the creative energies of the working men and the broad strata of the intelligentsia to serve the material and social progress and the prosperity of the country.

Our country is going through the phase of perfecting the economic base and the continuous democratization of social life; it is evolving towards a new stage. Demands for productivity, quality and efficiency are growing apace everywhere. The fundamental thing is that we must carry socialism forward with success and invigorate its motive forces and block all the paths that lead to the distortion of the revolutionary principles, by consistently implementing the line of the masses. The well-being of the people and the education of the working people make greater requirements on the internal developments, but the very rapid evolution of the political situations in the outside world and the wave of reformism which is sweeping the countries of the East, raise the absolute need for strengthening

the power of the working class, the defence of the socialist values, for affirming the superiorities of the new society, strengthening the national economy and, especially, for guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the Homeland. For us, independence means development. If Albania tailed behind the developments in Europe, that was so because it was not independent.

*Then Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some problems of the present world developments. He spoke in particular about the events that are occurring in the East-European countries. In conclusion, about these developments Comrade Ramiz Alia said:*

Our stand towards these events is known. The western propaganda is striving to discredit socialism and is carried away with euphoria. Any revolutionary, any true patriot can see in these events the consequences of the departure from the road of the people, the consequences of opportunism and of submission to the ideological and political pressure of imperialism.

In these moments, the attack on socialism is centred on such questions as democracy and human rights. And what they propose as a model, as the criterion of truth to judge these issues, is the concept the bourgeoisie has about them.

Our Party and our socialist state are active and staunch fighters for freedoms and democratic rights. Our concept of them is realistic: the freedoms and rights are conditioned by a series of objective and subjective factors, including the level of



# THE PARTY, INSTRUCTION

production and the economic potential of the country, democratic traditions and culture of the people and so on. They predominate really there where there is no national oppression and exploitation of man by man.

In socialist Albania freedoms and democratic rights are expressed in the complete national independence which our people have achieved and safeguard with firmness; they are embodied in the free and all-round growth of the personality of man, in the right to work and education; in social, economic and material justice which allows no privilege or discrimination on account of nationality, sex, region or social position.

There are foreigners who ask: Will Albania be involved in such processes as those which are occurring in Eastern Europe? We have the clear-cut and categorical answer: No, it will not. Why? First of all, because Albania is not the East. Albania and Eastern Europe have followed different ideological, political, economic and social roads of development. Therefore, their problems are not and cannot be identical. The crisis which has overrun the Eastern countries is a crisis of a given community, the so-called «socialist community». It is not the crisis of socialism as a theory and practice. As a consequence, the events which are occurring there do not affect us.

Socialist Albania and our Party of Labour have been and are independent and sovereign in everything. We won the freedom ourselves, with bloodshed and great sacrifice; we chose the people's state power and

the socialist road of our own will and no one imposed this choice on us; we have never tailed behind anyone, even when the others wanted to impose their line and views on us; we fought back and broke away from them, in spite of the fact that they were great, powerful and wealthy.

Socialism brought the Albanian people into the light. No other social order could have done what socialism and the people's state power have done for them. Albania grows and advances in all fields. Without going too far back in time and without mentioning many figures, we can say that actually social production is 8 times as large as that of 1960. Incomes per capita have increased, especially, by employing the people and keeping stable prices. Thus, if in 1960 a worker had to support 2.3 persons with his pay, in 1975 he had in charge 1.3 and in 1988 only 0.8 persons. I am not going to speak here about education, culture, the all-round social emancipation of our people.

Are there problems that we must solve? There are, both in the development of the economy and culture, and in deepening socialist democracy and perfecting the relations in production, in enhancing the role of the masses and their creative activity. But these problems we can solve on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings and in conformity with our conditions, experience and traditions. The prescriptions of the capitalist road, such as the perestroikas and bourgeois reformism, are unacceptable for us. They lead to economic and political dependence on

the great capital, to the order of exploitation and oppression.

The Soviet Union and the Eastern countries hope to secure the aid of international capital to get out of the crisis in which they have landed. But has capitalism changed and become generous? Not at all. Some working strata in Europe, which receive some crumbs from capital, perhaps feel its exploiting nature in a smaller degree, but this does not mean that oppression and exploitation have grown less. No one should forget Africa, Asia and Latin America, where billions of people are brutally exploited. It is from their very blood and toil that the American and European bourgeoisie secures the sources of accumulation and enrichment. No one should forget that many countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and others owe hundreds of billions of dollars to the big international capital. Debts are chains on the freedom of the peoples; they are the exploitation of their toil and sweat and a source of enrichment for the rich.

Capitalism gives nothing without interest. This is growing more and more obvious in the events of Eastern Europe. It is dictating what they should do, how they should reform their economies so as to pave the way for private property and foreign capital, and to hand state power to the anti-communist forces, etc.

We Albanians are not rich, but we are free and independent. And we treasure our freedom and independence above everything. We know we have much to do, because the

socialist construction, especially in the present international situations, is accompanied with many difficulties which raise new problems. But we have confidence in the vitality of our order and in our own forces. We see our goals clearly and we are convinced that everything we need, every improvement we must make, every new task that emerges will be coped with and solved in the socialist manner, without borrowing anything from others. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee once again confirmed this road.

*Speaking about the tasks put forward by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:*

The tasks which lie ahead of us are not easy. They require changes in the method of work, regulations, competences and nominations, in the system of remuneration and planning, in the rights and duties of the working people, and in the enhancement of their role. So, in the present time what we need is not just observations or affirming that improvements are required. Now more than ever before we need creative activity to make changes suitable to the present stage, so as to pave the way for perspective developments. The organs of state

power, the mass organizations and the communists must be active and outstanding fighters for this.

*After pointing out that the role and initiative of the masses for improving our socialist democracy must be strengthened, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the need to combat bureaucracy.*

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia continued: The Party has stressed that control by the masses, especially the working class control, is a powerful weapon against bureaucracy and any other alien manifestation.

In 1968, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the importance of this control for the destinies of socialism. He has said:

*«The leadership and control exercised by the working class over everything and everybody, over the cadres, the forums, the administrations and commissions, must be complete, decisive and without loopholes».*

The working class with its organization should struggle to strengthen our people's state power, and to raise the socialist victories to greater heights. It cannot wage this struggle with success if it does not establish its complete and rigorous proletarian control over everything and everybody, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said.

The factories, the plants, the social-cultural assets and all the national wealth have one owner — the working class, the working people. The workers should be informed how this wealth is used, on what the incomes accruing from the work of the people are used and where they are consumed.

*After speaking about the role of the trade-unions in the defence of the working class interests, which our state has guaranteed by law, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion:*

The Party has confidence in the working class and is inspired by it; it relies powerfully on the work of the trade-unions for mobilization of the working people, for urging their revolutionary optimism and throwing them into concrete activities to do and create things. I express my conviction that the trade-unions will tackle with fresh vigour the tasks and objectives deriving from the 8th Plenum, that they will carry out their tasks on all fronts: for the socialist education and emulation, the strengthening of the worker control, the fulfilment of the plan and the protection of the legitimate interests of the workers, the strengthening of all the factors of our political, economic and social development.



On December 11, 1989, in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses, the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania convened at a meeting to analyse the work done and the tasks emerging for the trade-union organizations in the light of the very important decisions and problems that were raised by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party.

The participants received with applause the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and

President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who attended the conference.

The report «We must enhance the initiative and strengthen the working class control on the accomplishment of the tasks of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party», was delivered by the president of the General Council of the Trade Unions, Sotir Koçollari. Among other things he said that the great interest of the working class and all the working masses in the problems arising from the study and implementa-

tion of the ideas and tasks of this plenum and from the instructions which Comrade Ramiz Alia gave in his speech, clearly show that the word, the teachings and the directives of the Party always express the aspirations of the people.

Many members of this forum and guests to the conference made contributions to the discussion of the report.

In the afternoon session, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. His speech was followed with great interest and was received with ovations.

# CORDIAL MEETINGS OF COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA WITH WORKING PEOPLE OF POGRADEDEC DISTRICT

On November 5, the people of the district of Pogradec, a city in the southeast of the country, gave an enthusiastic welcome to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who went there to take part in the proceedings of the 25th Party Conference of the district.

After the report of the 1st Secretary of the Party Committee of the district and the contributions of the delegates from the various fronts of the economy and culture, among the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

He greeted the delegates on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and wished success to the proceedings of the Conference.

After speaking about the socio-economic achievements, the results achieved in agriculture and, in connection with them, the improvement of the food supply for the people, the ideo-political education of the masses and the raising of the spirit of communist militancy, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized the need for strengthening the work of the Party and enhancing the role of the masses in the whole life of the country for the further deepening of socialist democracy.

Initiative and innovation, he said among other things, call for the further extension of democracy in production. The working people are the subjects of our plans, so conditions must be created for their thought and word to carry ever greater weight in our decisions.

In our society there are three kinds of interests: of the society as a whole, of the group and the individual. Any undervaluation of the interests of the group, the collective, not only reduces the effect of the motive forces of society, but also encourages narrow individual interests. Improvement of the methods of management, planning, financing, statistics and control, and freeing them from routine and methods which have already exhausted themselves, enables us to assess the concrete conditions as they are and keep into account the tendencies of development. At the same time this expands the scope of democracy in production, provides for the fulfilment of the legitimate interests of the working collectives and encourages the revolutionary initiatives of the broad masses.

I am speaking about democracy in production, but the Party must struggle to deepen it further also in the activity of the mass organizations and organisms of the state power in city quarters and villages, everywhere people live and there are vital problems to cope with.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on:

The call of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for raising the productivity of social work is related to the improvement of educational work and the deepening of socialist democracy. Frequently in planning, even implementing planned targets, when the question is about work productivity, it

is reduced to quantity only. Social productivity grows with the increase of the quantity of products, but it increases also through the improvement of their quality.

In conclusion he dealt with some important problems of raising work productivity.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's address was listened to with great attention and profound interest.

During his stay at Pogradec he paid visits to the wood- and food-processing enterprises of the city, at which he met workers, cadres and specialists, had cordial talks with them and gave them valuable recommendations about the further development of these sectors.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the family of the war veteran, Astrit Çollaku, the brother of People's Hero Reshit Çollaku, and to the family of People's Hero Kajo Karafili. He also went to the exhibition of fine arts which had been put on at the «Lasgush Poradeci» house of culture. Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the painters and sculptors of Pogradec on the high level of their works and, especially, praised their exacting artistic spirit.

On November 7, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to meet the miners of Alarup and the inhabitants of the Mokra Mountains.

At the sector of Vërdovec, Comrade Ramiz Alia was received with affection by the miners and workers of the Alarup mine.

Combustible materials and, in ge-

neral, minerals, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among other things, have great importance, especially, for export. We are trying for them not to be sold unprocessed, but with added value through metallurgical processing, etc.,

as in the case of copper and chromium.

The increase of export, which was by a third larger this year, has great importance. Self-reliance must not be understood that we must

produce everything locally. We exchange with the outside world about one third of our social product, but we can and must increase that amount further, because we need new technologies, more primary materials



and other things which we do not produce ourselves in the natural and economic conditions of our country.

The working class, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, is the vanguard of socialist construction, but

you miners are the vanguard of the vanguard. I voice my profound confidence that you will always stand on the forefront of the work and struggle for the enhancement of socialist achievements.

*The inhabitants of the region of Mokra received Comrade Ramiz Alia with great affection and enthusiasm. Thousands of people had come together at the centre of the agricultural cooperative of Pleshisht. Amid the great enthusiasm of the people of Mokra, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.*

*After stressing some of the more important successes of the epoch of socialism in our country, including the agricultural cooperatives of the region of Mokra, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on:*

*The whole of Albania is in progress. This year is coming to its close as we wanted it to, with results higher than in the other years of the present five-year plan. Reports are coming in every day about planned tasks being fulfilled and overfulfilled in agriculture and industry.*

*Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized that ever higher demands are being made on improving quality and intensifying work in all fields of social activity. Then, he continued:*

*In the present conditions, intensification of agricultural production cannot be confined to narrow regions or even in the plains only. It must be extended to the hilly and mountainous zones, too, relying on their natural conditions and assets.*

*After emphasizing some actual problems about preserving and reviving some good traditions in agricultural and livestock production, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:*

*The economic and social problems of the mountain regions call for special attention. Improvement of the well-being in these zones has an impact not only on the living of the peasantry, but also on the further development of the superiorities of the cooperativist system. The aim of the Party is that farmers and herdsmen of even the remotest zones should fully meet their needs through their agricultural and stock-raising economies and rely mainly on their income.*

*Intensification means that everywhere, both in the plains and in the mountains, more rational structures of production should be applied, that the maximum of material blessings be taken from nature, and that production for sale be increased not only in livestock-raising and fruit-growing and late growing vegetables, as is the case with the mountain regions, but also through better exploitation of forests, crafts and other auxiliary activities.*

*In conclusion Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some problems related to the strengthening of unity, the enhancement of the mobilization of people at work for raising socialist achievements to a higher level. He also spoke about present international developments.*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia's address was interrupted by frequent applause and enthusiastic ovations for the Party.*



*A warm talk of our beloved leader with working people of the district of Pogradec.*

# THE 45<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE «ENVER HOXHA» UNITED HIGH OFFICERS' SCHOOL

On November 8, 1989, on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party, the 45th anniversary of the founding of the United High Officers' School, which carries the name of the legendary leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the architect of the new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was celebrated.

Students of military schools were lined up on the large square in front of the school. Veterans, former cadres and students of the school had also come to attend the ceremony.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and General Commander of our Armed Forces, also came here.

Accompanied by the Minister of People's Defence, Comrade Prokop Murrà, Comrade Ramiz Alia passed in review the forces lined up in the square.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia mounted the tribune and, amid the great enthusiasm of those present, delivered his address.

I am very happy, he said among other things, to greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Defence Council on the occasion of this beautiful festivity and wish ever greater successes to you all: students, teachers and the whole effective of your school.

Your school, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on, has the great merit of having over these 45 years trained at a high level whole generations of officers who have made and are making an outstanding contribution to the strengthening and advancement of our Peo-

ple's Army. This school has formed not only able military cadres in regard to modern knowledge in the field of defence, but also men and women of a broad political and ideological horizon, with a high party spirit and ardent love of the country. Following the rapid and all-round development of the country and being under the constant care of the Party and the Ministry of Defence on which it depends, the United School has always worked on an advanced level, just as the other schools of the country, for the training of devoted and capable specialists, always ready to work and struggle for the defence and advancement of socialist Albania.

In our system, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on, the officer represents a special and important social figure. He is not only a military specialist, but also a party militant, an educator of the youth and a fighter for the new in human relations.

Our people send their sons to do military service not only desiring them to perform the sacred task of the defence of the Homeland, but also convinced that the army will teach them and form them as honest and loyal citizens of this country, will give them culture and many skills to advance in life.

In this sense the soldier is a reflection of the officer, of his knowledge, culture and behaviour.

The defence of the Homeland, the independence of the country and the gains of the people's revolution, he continued, is a sacred duty for all. But it is the duty above all duties for our People's Army and its cadres. The fulfilment of its mission, especially

in the current international conditions, is not becoming easier. Situations are very fluid, with new tensions and threats emerging constantly. Imperialism and the other reactionary forces have never renounced their expansionist and hegemonist aims, or their desire to rob the peoples of their freedom and independence and to submit and enslave them.

Proceeding from these strategic aims, large financial and economic resources have been invested for perfecting military technology. Obsolete weapons are quickly replaced with new ones, and combat tactics are constantly perfected and sophisticated. Our Party and state have been and will always be concerned about supplying our army with the necessary technical means and weapons so as to make our defence invincible. However, just as in the past, our principle today is and continues to be that man is the determinant factor. Hence, we must continuously strengthen and perfect this factor.

It is a great honour to me, said Comrade Ramiz Alia in conclusion, to inform you that, assessing the exemplary work of your school, the Presidium of the People's Assembly has decided to decorate the «Enver Hoxha» United Officers' School with the Golden Star of the Hero of Socialist Labour. I wish you to enjoy it and keep it with honour!

*Comrade Ramiz Alia's address to the effective of the school was frequently interrupted by stormy applause for the Party.*

*Those present broke out into powerful ovations when our leader infor-*

med them about the awarding of the high title of the Hero of Socialist Labour to their school. Amid the great rejoicing of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia pins the lofty decoration on the combat banner of the «Enver Hoxha» United High Officers' School.

Then, the command is given and the ceremonial parade begins. The General Commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia, greets with the clenched-fist salute. Then, he comes down on the

square and has cordial meetings and chats with the students, boys and girls, and the cadres of the school.

Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the cabinets of special subject matters and had a meeting with the cadres of the School. They informed him about the teaching work and the combat training of the effective.

In his talk with them, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some specific problems of the teaching process and

the combat training given in our military schools. Then, he spoke about some problems of the current international situation and stressed the need for the teachers and students to know them better. He said that we must be dialectical in all our work so as to respond to the current world developments in accordance with the mission the Party and people have assigned to our glorious army.

## THE 45<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA

On November 4, the country joyfully celebrated the 45th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania. Early in the morning, the streets of the city of Berat are filled with thousands of inhabitants, young men and women and pioneers of Enver. As 45 years ago, among them there are former delegates to this Congress. They talk together, recalling the events of those memorable days, when the first assembly of the women was convened, when they came from the battles of the partisan war, from the guerrillas, from the liberated cities and villages. At that time they were mostly young girls, but with maturity gained in the fighting for freedom.

On this occasion, the presidency of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania and the presidency of the district organization of women's union of Berat organized a commemorative

meeting at the «13 September» cinema hall.

Participating were former delegates, Heroines of Socialist Labour, women deputies and councillors, workers, specialists and vanguard cooperativists, activists of the women's organization and many guests.

Present were also members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrades Hekuran Isai and Lenka Çuko, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Chief of the General Staff of the Army, Comrade Kiço Mustaqi, and president of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and of Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, the delegate of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade

Nexhmije Hoxha, greeted the meeting.

Many assemblies have been held in the past, said she among other things, but history had never seen an assembly like this one, in which so many women from all over the country gathered to say their word as fighters for the future of the Homeland. They had every moral right to do so, because they came from the war in which they were fighting and had shed their blood like the men, from the cities and villages in which they had thrown their homes and hearts open to give secure shelter to the courageous partisans in illegality.

The Albanian women have always valued freedom, they have always been hardworking, have loved the light of education and culture. With their motherly love, they have raised and educated the generations with the ardent love of country, have cul-

tivated in them the wonderful qualities of the Albanian character. But only the ideals of the Communist Party and the National Liberation War inspired the dreams for revolutionary aspirations, which the Albanian women adopted unhesitatingly.

The women came together in that historic Congress only a few days after the formation of the first Democratic Government. Precisely in those days when the people were rejoicing over the fruit of their war, the state power which they were setting up at the cost of unprecedented bloodshed and sacrifices, the anti-Party and anti-popular elements, Koçi Xoxe and his associates, following the directions of the Yugoslav envoys, worked behind the scenes to prepare the ill-famed plot for the liquidation of the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in an effort to snatch the fruits of the liberation war from the hands of the people.

But, whereas the enemies were weaving the threads of their intrigues, in the hall where the congress was holding its proceedings, the Albanian women displayed all their love for and unbreakable unity around the Party and the Commander of the Liberation Army and gave their unreserved support for the new government.

The revolution and socialism, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha continued, gave the Albanian women everything they fought for. And they, on their part, following the glorious tradition of the war, spared nothing for the strengthening of the people's state power and the economic and cultural became a major force of progress development of the country. They and a powerful factor without which the development of the economy, science and culture, and

the whole life of the country cannot be imagined.

The degree of the emancipation of a society is gauged by the degree of women's emancipation. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the all-sided revolutionization of the life of the country, one of the most important factors, which has enhanced the role of women in society, has placed our new family on wholesome bases and has increased the participation of women in the political, social, productive and creative activities. For us, who emerged from a great backwardness, it is a source of pride to see that we have reached this level of emancipation within a short time.

The emancipation of women is a continuous process. The women and their organization must treasure the achievements they have made until today and go on working to carry the banner of emancipation to new heights.

Today, she continued, the world is in turmoil. The enemies of revolution have put the scribes of all hues to concoct slanders and pour venom against the socialist order. They want to present it as an order without a future and Marxism-Leninism as incapable of providing solutions to the problems of current developments.

In a noisy propaganda, the international bourgeoisie is trumpeting about the «abundance» in the capitalist society, is labouring to create the illusion that there is true freedom and justice there, but his is just an effort to cover up the exploitation and oppression of the peoples. The peoples know that it is their toil and work which increased the wealth of the multimillionnaires; they see that the bourgeoisie uses the words «freedom» and «human rights» as a facade to throw dust in the eyes

of common people, to cover up the exploitation and oppression to which the peoples are reduced. Women, more than any other members of societies there, are those who mostly suffer the consequences of capitalist ills. Mothers are always worried about the present and the future of their children, who are constantly threatened by crime and drugs and moral degeneration. No amount of talk about «emancipation and culture» of women in the bourgeois and revisionist countries can cover up the reality about the spiritual and intellectual enslavement of women.

*The speech of the occasion was delivered by the vice-president of the General Council of the WUA, Lavdije Leka.*

*On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the 1st Congress of AWUA, the General Council of the WUA put on a dinner at the «Tomorr» Hotel in honour of the former delegates and other guests.*

*Comrade Hekuran Isai, who spoke at the gathering, mentioned the revolutionary and patriotic spirit of the former delegates to the 1st Congress of the AWUA, pointing out that the teachings of the Party and of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, captured the minds and hearts of the women. The Albanian women today have become an irreplaceable active force on the road of the emancipation of our socialist society. A colossal victory of the Party line, he continued, is also the narrowing of differences in the educational, cultural and technical-vocational level of women and men. The emancipation of women is a continuous process which rises steadily parallel with the present stage of our development.*



# SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE: «GEOLOGICAL PROSPECTING, EXTRACTION AND PROCESSING OF SOLID MINERALS, OIL AND GAS»

On November 10, at the hall of the Higher Institute of Arts of the capital, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the Ministry of Industry of Mining and Energy, in cooperation with the scientific research and design institutions of these specialities sponsored the scientific conference «Geological prospecting, extraction and processing of solid minerals, oil and gas».

Participating were managers, working people and specialists of various sectors of geology, oil, gas, mines, metallurgy and chemical industry, working people of scientific research institutions, teachers of the «Enver Hoxha» University, leading cadres of central departments and other central institutions, and other guests.

The participants greeted with applause and ovations the coming 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 conference was opened by Prof. Eshref Puno, who among other things said that the conference held its proceedings at a time when the working people of geology, oil, gas, mines, metallurgy and chemical industry, like all the rest of the country, are fighting in a lofty revolutionary spirit for the implementation in practice of the tasks laid down by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and Com-

rade Ramiz Alia's programmatic speeches in the districts of Tropoja, Puka and Pogradec.

This conference, he said, will draw the balance of the achievements made so far and will map out the most effective ways to ensure the further development of these sectors at higher and stable rates. The increase in the effectiveness of production, the complex and more thorough exploitation of our country's mineral wealth, the putting into circulation of new materials, the extension of new ways of research and prospecting — these constitute some of the objectives of this scientific conference. Our specialists, he continued, are actually working according to the teachings of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the directive of the 9th Congress of the Party for discovering and making more extensive use of the underground wealth, for the further increase of reserves and for raising the effectiveness of our processing industries, etc.

He said that the conference is honoured by the participation of scholars, outstanding scientific figures from various countries of the world.

The plenary session heard four reports prepared by groups of authors, scholars, specialists and scientists of geology, oil, gas, mining, metallurgy and chemistry.

The report «Achievements and prospects of development of geological prospecting in our country», delivered by the director of the Institute of Geological Stu-

dies and Designs, in Tirana, Aleksandër Çina, pointed out that the geological service of our country is the work of the Party. It was created, has grown and was strengthened in the years of the people's state power. Today we have scientific research institutions, scores of geological, geophysical and hydro-geological enterprises and hundreds of teams and expeditions which, from one year to the other, have achieved better results in the development of geological prospecting. Only in the ten months of this year, they have carried out about twice as much drilling than the amount of work done in this field in the 3rd Five-year Plan, whereas in the 8th Five-year Plan the discovery of reserves of chrome and copper ores is greater than that of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Five-year Plans taken together. The high rates of the work for the discovery of reserves have ensured the rapid growth of the extraction and processing industries and prospects for long-term exploitation of these ores. From only two small oil fields, one copper deposit and one bitumen deposit that were known before Liberation, their number today has gone up to about 300. After speaking about the road of growth of the Albanian geological science in these 45 years, the speaker pointed out that the geological, tectonic, hydrological and metallogenic maps of the scale 1:200 000 for the whole territory of the PSR of Albania, many studies of a general character in the field of stratigraphy, tectonics and

seismotectonics, magnetism and mineral-bearing, alongside prognostic studies, have increased our degree of knowledge of the laws of geological structures and the mineral-bearing prospects of our country, thus becoming a reliable support for future work. Specific tasks, he continued, emerge for improving the methods of geological - geophysical - geochemical work, with the aim of enhancing their role in reading the geological structures and the factors on which the prospective zones and structures of oil and gas deposits depend. Complex prospecting and geological-prospecting work for discovering useful solid minerals have been centered on carrying out the planned tasks for the increase of reserves of copper and chrome ores, in general, and especially of rich minerals, without neglecting the efforts for discovering other poor mineral deposits.

The report, «Achievements in the minerals extraction industry and future tasks», delivered by the director of the Institute of Mining, Engjëll Hoxha, pointed out, among other things, that the extraction and enrichment of useful minerals from our rich subsoil has been, is and will continue to be a very powerful support for the further all-sided development of the other branches of industry. The extraction of chromium ore and its enrichment have increased respectively to over 1 million ton and 350 000 ton, copper over 1.7 million ton, iron-nickel about 1 million ton, coal 2 million ton, and its enrichment to about 0.8 million ton. Along with the steps forwards for the increase of production in the factories for the enrichment of these minerals, new sectors have been opened and have begun to come into production, complex studies and designs have been conducted

on fundamental subsoil work, for the perspective development of some chrome, copper, coal and other mines. Working for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party and the instructions Comrade Ramiz Alia gave in the districts of Tropoja, Puka and Pogradec, we are actually faced with the problem of designing and bringing into production, through stages, of the factories for the enrichment of chrome at Kam-Tropoja, Vlaha, and elsewhere, and the further improvement of the technology of some sectors of enrichment of copper in Fushë-Arrëz, Reps, Mjeda, Golaj, and the designing of enrichment factories at Përlat, Munella, and Rehova in the district of Korça, and so on.

In his report, «Achievements and ways of increasing the effectiveness of the technology of director of the Institute of Oil and Gas Technology at Patos, Tasi Rrapi, pointed out among other things that the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have considered the development of this branch of industry as something of extraordinary political and economic importance, for it is connected closely with the entire development of the country, the strengthening of the defence, the complete construction of socialism, relying on our own forces. A great success for our drilling technology, he continued, is the study, designing and completion, on our own forces, of the wells with a depth of 5 000 to 7 000 metres. A great positive influence in this was the extensive use of intensifying methods, which have been used for the exploitation of oil and gas deposits in conformity with the stage of processing.

The director of the institute of Metallurgical Studies and Designs at Elbasan, Bajram Muça, in his

report «Further local processing of primary mineral materials — an important factor for the increase of their economic effectiveness», said among other things that metallurgy and chemistry today have become the powerful support for the development of all the other branches of the national economy. They realize 46 per cent of the industrial output of the system of industry, mining and energy and constitute a considerable source of income in foreign currency.

After the plenary session, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders met a group of managers and specialists of geology, oil, gas, mines, metallurgy and chemical industry.

This conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia told them, is a very fine thing. The fact that there are so many reports and papers shows that there is a further development in the scientific creative thinking and the breadth of our geological work in our country. Whereas in the early years after the liberation, our country had only a couple of geologists, today we have hundreds and thousands of them. I have the impression that our geological thinking is slightly more advanced than that of other fields. This is due also to the fact that in this branch tradition is of an earlier date.

Geology, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, is connected with the mineral processing industry. In this field, the greatest problem is that of technology. What is required is that mineral processing should be more complete and thorough. In the next five years, the renewal of technology will have to be the main direction of the development.

Rational ideas and proposals were made here, he continued. But all these things cannot be done at once. Here, the scienti-

fic, technical and economic thinking must supply the competent answer as to where investments must be made, what fields must have priority and what can be put off for some other time. Advantage for the whole economy must be considered first. In this field sciences, including seismology, informatics and chemistry must be involved. These and other problems require more scientific boldness, a higher level of the collective thinking, which emerges from continuous debate.

Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated them once again on the reports of a good level which were delivered at the conference and wished new and greater successes to the cadres and specialists wherever they work.

The conference continued its work in five sections, upon the conclusion of which, it gathered again in the closing plenum session.

The conclusions of the conference were made by Comrade Besnik Bekteshi.

In this period of 45 years, he said, as the comrades pointed out here, the Party and the Government have devoted special attention to the rapid development of geology, by consolidating it because this is the branch which precedes the socialist industrialization of the country.

Under the solicitude of the Party and with the tireless creative efforts of the workers, specialists and cadres of this sector, the geological service has been strengthened and extended and now it covers the whole country. This service today is capable of solving the numerous complex problems of prospecting, designs and discovery with its own forces. In this sector we have a whole army of workers, specialists and scientists. Large investments have been made in the vital geological services. And this is understandable

because it is known that fuels and energy materials, as well as minerals have become, for a long time now, determining factors for the development of the productive forces of the country. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party for geology, «... the solicitude of the Party and the sacrifices of the people for this sector have begun to return to the economy in multiplied value.»

After speaking about the development of prospecting in the geological service, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi continued:

By strictly observing the order of priorities, our geological work has centered its efforts on the prospecting and discovering of minerals, especially the rich ones, such as chrome, copper, coal, iron-nickel, phosphorites, bauxites, and others, without neglecting poor minerals which require enrichment and which constitute a great reserve, especially for the future.

The use of complex methods of prospecting for oil, gas and other useful solid minerals is assuming a still greater importance. Today no drilling for oil and gas prospecting is done without using geophysical-geochemical methods.

In solid minerals, apart from the extensive use of complex surface and subsoil methods in the prospecting for and discovery of copper, polymetals, pyrite, bauxites and phosphorite ores, in recent times geophysical methods have been introduced more and more extensively into prospecting for chrome ore.

A major question of principle, which has assumed considerable importance, is the intensification of studies and experiments and the more fruitful cooperation among our oil specialists and workers.

In these 45 years, he said,

mining work has been raised to a higher level, responding ever better to the opening of new mines and their better exploitation. Work is going on today for opening 7.3 km long galleries in the mines of Klos, the opening of shafts 1000 m deep, and the building of the Bulqiza ramp, which is being done for the first time in our country.

Then, the speaker pointed out that in the oil and gas industry new successes have been achieved in the study of complicated problems which are encountered in the stage of exploitation. Great progress is being made, also, in mineral enrichment, which is a relatively new branch of our extraction and processing industry.

Along with oil and gas, and solid minerals and their enrichment, metallurgy and chemical industry are, also, growing vigorously. They have become a more and more powerful support for the development of the other branches of the national economy and turn out almost half of the industrial production of the system of industry, mining and energy and of its export.

Winding up, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi said: On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and of our leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally, I thank the thousands of communists and experts who study, design and extract from the depths of the earth all these minerals, oil and gas, and process them to put them in the service of the economy.

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

After the conclusion of the work of this conference, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi received the scholars and the outstanding scientific personalities from different countries of the world.

# SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE: «OUR TIME, LITERATURE AND THE LITERARY SCIENCE»

On November 13-14, in the framework of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana housed the Scientific Conference: «Our time, literature and the literary science», organized by the Academy of Sciences and the League of Writers and Artists of Albania.

Writers, artists, scholars and students of literature and linguistics, critics and other guests attended the conference.

Present were member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, prof. Alfred Uçi and others.

Attending the conference were also scholars and translators of the Albanian literature from Bulgaria, France, the FR of Germany and Italy.

The chairman of the League of Writers and Artists of Albania, Dritëro Agolli, opened the conference. In nearly half a century, he said among other things, a new society has been created in Albania. It has an advanced economy and culture, a vanguard way of life and morality, a society in which life and freedom have assumed one sole meaning. We began the building of the new Albania with that human potential which the past had left to us, whereas today the human potential is mainly of our own making, if we bear in mind that people under 45 years of age have been born in epoch of the people's state power. Our new literature the speaker continued, followed step by step and reflected the revolutionary changes of our life with great civic responsibility, revealing the unprecedented spiritual wealth of our people's life and the potential possibilities of the new man. In the

process of growth it was enriched with new genres and forms, has broadened its range and the horizons of contents, giving birth to new styles and ways of the reflection of life. It has become a modern literature in the true meaning of the word. In the course of development, our literature has been guided with far-sightedness by the Party and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. It has climbed new heights and has the courage to reflect the life of the society, the history of the country, truthfully, in all its breadth, relying strongly on the best national traditions and the progressive world experience.

A major achievement of socialism, Comrade Dritëro Agolli continued, is that it formed a creative intelligentsia linked like flesh to bone with the people, a new stratum which has never striven to rise above other classes as a privileged élite, but has been and is an active participant in every event of our society, in the same way as all the other working people of the country. They live with the problems of and are close to the people. That is why our literature has a marked popular spirit and a highly militant sense of duty.

The speaker then dwelt on the important mission of literary criticism and study for highlighting the values of literature. He stressed that in general we have a progressive, sound and correctly orientated critical thinking, but there are still numerous requirements which face our literary criticism, which should express its opinion about more profound problems and strive for greater clarity of argument.

Then, the floor was given to the member of the Academy of Sciences, the writer Ismail Kadare, who made a speech on «Today's literature and society». Among other things he said: The period of socialism in Albania is extraordinary for the great emancipation the Albanian people have ever achieved in all their history. Their culture and literature have experienced

an uncommon development in this period.

After speaking about the values of the early Albanian literature and that of the Renaissance and Independence, the speaker said that today's literature is connected with these three periods of Albanian letters and, with its indisputable values, unites all their best aspects. Apart from other things, this fact shows that it has become a really national art.

The writer Ismail Kadare stopped more particularly on the stages through which our literature has passed and the characteristics it has assumed in the different decades, pointing out both shortcomings and achievements.

He spoke about the tasks facing literature and arts for implementing Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions for a qualitative growth in struggle against getting accustomed with the average and the mediocrities, which do not assist the development of socialist literature, but are universal diseases of all literature and have been born with it and will always accompany it. The fact that our socialist state sponsors the development of really great art against average levels is significant and the writers and artists must know how to appreciate this.

After saying that the Albanian literature is a great national spiritual heritage of the nation, and part of the consciousness, dignity and freedom of the Albanian people, he pointed out that wherever this literature is created, in the first place here, in the motherland, and then outside the Albanian state borders, there where the Albanians live in their own territories, it bears the dramatic stamp of one of the most ancient peoples of the European civilization. The Albanian writers have made their choice long ago: total commitment on the side of their own people and all the peoples of the world who march towards progress.

Our literature of today is one of the most emancipated in this region of Europe. In the last two centuries the literature of the Balkan peoples has gone through many tests. Some of them have been so severe that they have caused considerable distortions in them. A result of this is chauvinism, this mortal sin of literature. We have seen and still see how chauvinist Balkan writers and academics have used fine words, titles and degrees to cover up their barbarous nature and dark hatred, malice and jealousy of other peoples and cultures.

It is an exceptional merit of Albanian letters, a merit which has its source in the culture and nobility of the Albanian people, to have avoided falling to such low and vulgar levels. Our literature can take pride in many things, but one of its first commendable things is without doubt that it has always been attached to the people, and together with them and in an inseparable manner, has shown its love and respect for the other peoples and the whole of progressive mankind.

Docent Dalan Shaplllo submitted the report «The novel in face of new social developments». The road of growth of our novel, said he among other things, is obvious from the level of the present Albanian literature, which inherited very little from the national tradition. A marked change occurred and the advance is more than evident so much so that today we can speak of the stage of consolidation of the Albanian novel, of a number of outstanding literary individualities, of the search for a wider range of problems, specially contemporary ones, of the variety of forms and a great wealth of poetical forms by known authors who have a rich experience, as well as the younger ones who are coming out with their first works.

Speaking about some main trends in matters of contents, he stopped especially to dwell on recent novels such as «Concert at the end of winter» by Kadare, «All rivers flow» by Laço, and «I would not sell my soul» by Xhuvani. These novels treat

a wide range of social and political problems, with analyses of the individual and with psychological insights. After stressing that our novel in general must treat a broader variety of themes and problems, and stronger conflicts, which the authors must not only observe and touch up lightly, but should penetrate the whole depth of social and psychological problems, the speaker mentioned some questions that the present time raises for the novel. The Albanian novel of today has ideo-aesthetic requirements which stem from the social development of our country, the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of events, the psychology of the modern man, the dynamics of life and the problems which mankind is faced with and which are also reflected on our life.

In his report «Poetry as an artistic consciousness of our epoch», the writer Nasi Lera stressed, among other things, that it is not a simple accident or a whim of poets that the lines and verses of the Albanian poetry carry so much love for the land, for freedom and for the mountains; the bold metaphors connected with bloodshed, rifle-shooting and self-sacrifice are not just speculative figures of speech; the moving away from the acute problems of society, the love lyrics and poems on nature are not just a comfortable way of escape for the poet. All these are united together by the civic, patriotic and national consciousness of our poets, irrespective of the place and events from which they have received the powerful poetical urge.

When, in the second half of the past century, in most of the European countries the realistic novel reached its culmination in our country it was the poetry which scaled the highest peaks. It took upon itself the heavy and noble task of awakening the national consciousness, thus creating one of the most solid traditions in the field. By following up the achievements of our poetry and analysing its motives, we come to a very important conclusion: the Albanian poetry has always spoken in the name of the new life and the future. It is not easy for anyone to

speak about the future; this is not easy for anyone to speak about the future; this is the privilege of the man who can reflect it with art, who is poet to the degree of actually seeing the future, of feeling it and making it part of his civic and poetic aspirations.

Prof. Koço Bihiku delivered the report «Literature and literary science in the present phase».

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The second day of the Scientific Conference continued with round-table debates in two sessions, held at the boulding of the League of Writers and Artists.

In the session «Children's literature at the present stage», ideas were expressed about the further development of this kind of literature.

In the session «Problems and trends of the present development of poetry» there were many contributions to the debate by experienced poets, writers, critics and the new generation of students. The fundamental spirit of the debate was about how the Albanian poetry, which has a very rich tradition in the method of socialist realism, should advance, be emancipated and get closer to the people.

The plenary session of the conference was held in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses.

Foreign scholars, Prof. Christian Gutte (France), Prof. Italo Costante Fortino (Italy), Marina Marinova (Bulgaria), Dr. Robert Elsi and Giuseppe de Siatì (FR of Germany) also greeted the conference. They thanked the sponsoring committee for inviting them to this event and evaluated the work of the conference and the progress of Albanian literature. They promised that they would do a more fruitful work to make this literature better known in the world and among the other peoples.

The closing speech was made by the director of the Institute of Linguistics, Prof. Androkli Kostallari.

# PROBLEMS OF THE ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY

*by Prof. HEKURAN MARA*

The economic and social achievements of Albania in the construction of socialism are admittedly great. They have put their hallmark on the epoch of the people's state power. But history is an endless flow in perpetual movement. And one victory has always served as a source of encouragement for new victories and for exploring new horizons and spaces for action.

The construction of socialism is accompanied with problems that crop up in the course of the advance and the growth of the economy, and with the need for structural, quantitative and qualitative changes which had to be made in the process. The solutions to them have been found by operating with the basic principles of socialism which are implemented in a creative spirit, according to the science of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

It is through this policy that the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland have been defended and consolidated, that national solidarity has been further consolidated, the construction of socialism has proceeded with success and has been defended against the bourgeois-revisionist pressures to disintegrate it.

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The 8th Five-year Plan which was endorsed at the 9th Congress of the Party represents a complex programme for the country's economic and social development in the period 1986-1990 and later. It comprises a series of tasks such as:

*HEKURAN MARA: Vicepresident of the Academy of Sciences.*

— ensuring suitable rates, ratios and structure of growth of the economy so as to guarantee the dynamic increase of social production, the national income, accumulation and consumption and the expansion of the productive and non-productive spheres;

— raising the productivity of social labour and the contribution it should make, as a primary factor, to the extended socialist reproduction;

— raising the effectiveness of social production, increasing the use of the energy resources and other renewable and unrenovable sources;

— improving the quality of products and goods on the basis of the achievements of contemporary science, technique and technology;

— increasing exports as an indispensable condition for coping with the growing demands of import;

— uplifting the material well-being and the cultural level of the working masses, etc.

The implementation of these tasks in the desired direction as planned beforehand, is so important in the development of our economy that its results will be felt even after the 8th Five-year Plan is completed. These tasks will occupy a conspicuous place in the next five-year plan.

We would not be wrong or exaggerating if we admit that the key to the successful solution of these problems lies, in the first place, in the growth and development of the productive forces, in the use with greater effectiveness of all the human, material, scientific, technical and technological factors of production which are available in the country and

which will be increased in future. Of course, the level of development of productive forces constitutes the material basis indispensable and decisive for the advance of our socialist society in all walks of life. However, Marxism-Leninism teaches us and our own experience of socialist construction has convinced us that the productive forces and their quantitative and qualitative growth are in constant unity and interaction with the relations in production. They show that this development should be accompanied with improvements in specific aspects of the relations in production, bearing in mind that the latter are more slow to advance than the productive forces. This task was laid down also at the 9th Congress of the Party. There Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out: «Our Party has always been careful to ensure that the quantitative and qualitative development of productive forces is accompanied with improvement of various aspects of the relations of production.» The socialist relations in production, or as they are otherwise called, the economic relations, have two aspects: the social-economic and the organizational-economic aspects. The essence of the former represents the relations based on economic interests existing in society between the collective and the individual. It has to do with the appropriation of the means of production and the final product and with distribution and exchange. Thus, it represents the relations of ownership and so forms the basis of social order. The other aspect represents the forms and methods of organization and manage-

**The present level of the economic growth and the technical-technological problems which require solution put greater emphasis not only on the need but also on the possibilities for extending the economic cooperation and relations with the other countries through foreign trade, on the basis of the known principles of equality and mutual advantage.**

ment of the economy in given conditions of the technical-technological development of the material factors of production and the level of the human factor.

The socialist character of the social-economic aspect is unalterable. It will not change as long as the state and cooperativist ownership of the means of production exists. This ensures the continuity of reproduction. As the state and cooperativist ownership develops, this aspect can be further perfected. The organizational-economic aspect is subject to alterations. It can and must be perfected from time to time, without going beyond the bounds of the former aspects and always retaining its social and class contents intact.

It is the subjective factor which determines the concrete organizational and economic forms of the socialist relations in production, and this only after the social-economic contents of these relations are examined and consciously accepted by the human factor. It is again this factor which changes them towards perfection. Therefore, it is important that the subjective, i.e. the human, factor should become conscious before it can undertake to carry out the slightest changes for the improvement of particular organizational and economic aspects of the relations in production. This process goes hand in hand with the advance of the material factor. All those who deal with the organization and management of the economy, the organs of the Party and the state, leading cadres, engineers, economists, financiers and working people, whether in the enterprises

and the agricultural cooperatives of a national or local level, must be made aware of and accept the need for the organizational-economic improvement of the relations in production.

Today it is an illusion to hope that the creative economic thinking in connection with the improvement of the relations in production can develop if it is not completely integrated into the most advanced scientific, technical and technological thinking. This is so because the organizational-economic changes of various aspects of the relations in production must always go hand in hand with the new technical and technological developments, or must precede them.

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As always, and especially at the 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee, the Party has demanded that economic problems should find economic solutions, that the method of economic management should be strengthened in all the levels of social production, by still better using the economic mechanism along with the method of administrative management.

Let it be said from the start that both in theory and in practice it has been proved that in the conditions of our socialist economy, we cannot use purely economic management or purely administrative management. The use of both methods of the economic management are objectively necessary. The question is how to best combine and harmonize them so that the entire economic machine works well.

Experience is convincing us that the functioning of our economy according to plan depends on such major elements as prices, wages, distribution, the market, material-technical supply, management of the enterprise, finances, credits, monetary circulation and so on. All these elements, which find reflection in a harmonized way in the plan, should function and be used mainly as economic levers and methods. They should have priority over administrative methods. But for this to be done, the economic laws and categories of socialism should operate as such in all the cogwheels of the planned economy. They should not only be proclaimed and admitted as theoretical postulates, but most efficient measures should be taken to make them a reality.

The single plan of development of the economy and culture constitutes the decisive means for co-ordinating the functioning of all the elements of our economic mechanism, for the integration of the economic methods of management with the administrative ones. Here begins the conscious regulation and co-ordination of all the economic processes, which determine the directions of the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the relations in production. In this way, the requirements of the country are adapted to the material and human resources which must be used for their satisfaction, for matching production with consumption and accumulation, for harmonizing the economic interests with the ratios of development in all levels and stages of social produc-

tion, depending on the aim of its development.

What is required today of planning is further perfection of the two major inseparable problems: the better harmonization of the rights, responsibilities and interests of all those subjects or bodies which draft and endorse the plans, with the drafting of mobilizing plans according to the real possibilities, in order to finally increase the guarantee for their fulfilment.

It is known that the planning subjects in the system of the management of our economy are arranged according to a definitive hierarchy. They begin from the government and its specialized organ — the State Planning Commission, and continue with the ministries and the organs of the state power in the districts, to end with the lowest level in the enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, workshops, sectors and brigades. Each subject, according to the place it occupies in this hierarchy, defines the tasks and material means, the human and financial resources which must be used for achieving the final objective.

In the drafting and endorsement of the plan in all its elements to the smallest detail; any effort of planning subjects to define the circle of the tasks and the range of means beyond the limit which their powers allow them, especially in the conditions when the economy expands continuously and its connections are complicated and the items of production increase immensely, could lead to an incorrect image of the real economic processes, to the drafting of unobjective plans, to swelling the administrative apparatus of management and to restriction of democracy, initiative and self-action of the base.

All these, in the final analysis, reduce the possibility for the fulfilment of the plan which, in turn, weakens the guarantee of the plan as a whole.

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The planned regulation includes all the elements of our economy and follows all the stages which the social product scales. But, as is known,

part of this product assumes the form of commodity, while the rest is actually produced as real commodity. In these objective conditions, the mechanism of our economy cannot work without using the lever of the commodity-money relations, the law of value and all the economic categories which they generate.

It is also a known fact that the modern revisionists defend in theory and implement in practice the view according to which the socialist economy, also, is a purely commodity production one. On this basis, they proclaim the market and profit as the basis on which the whole economic mechanism should be built. In this way they wipe out all distinctions between the socialist economy and the capitalist one.

The Marxist-Leninist economic theory and the historical experience of the construction of socialism have shown that the only correct scientific opinion on this question remains the one which accepts that the socialist economy cannot do without the commodity production and the law of value with their specific social and economic contents and their restricted sphere of operation. To claim the opposite means to lay the way open to bureaucracy and voluntarism and even to economic adventurism. The economic thinking of our country, the economic policy of our Party and our socialist practice consistently stick to this view.

Nevertheless, within this correct viewpoint regarding the law of value, there are two questions which should be put rightly, both for their theoretical interpretation and for their implementation in the practice of the socialist economy. The first question is: which are the basic features of the law of value that operate also in the socialist economy and, second: which are the concrete forms that restrict the operation of this law?

What is essential for the law of value manifests itself in three paradigms which comprise the following concepts: commodities are exchanged on the basis of equivalence: the distribution of the labour and means of production among the branches of the economy is adjusted according to the ratio price-expendi-

ture, and the price is an expression of the value.

One of the weak points of the law of value, which cannot operate in our socialist planned economy lies in its second feature. It has to do with the spontaneous adjustment of proportions of production and commodity circulation. The differentiation among the producers is done by means of the mechanism of value and the market. In this case we have to do with the commodity production based on private ownership. This is the first and major limitation of principle of the sphere of operation of the law of value in our socialist economy, in which commodity production is based on the social ownership and, consequently, the means of production and the labour power are not real commodities.

The other two features, namely equivalence and price, remain two strong aspects of the law of value which must be taken into consideration by the socialist economy. Nevertheless, we must not forget that the use of equivalence and price here is regulated with plan. This constitutes the second restriction of the sphere of operation of the law of value in the socialist economy.

The opinion about the limited operation of the law of value in the socialist economy is correct both in theory and in practice. It does not make this law an absolute category, as the bourgeois and revisionist economists claim, nor does it undervalue it or negate this reality of the socialist economy.

The experience of more than four decades has convinced us fully that our economy and its mechanism can not function properly without calculations, without rigorous control and economic pressure on the labour expended for the production of goods and commodities and on the income ensured from them in different ways. Otherwise, if we were to proceed blindly, with guess-work and only on the basis of empiricism, or if we were to make mistakes in our calculations, consequences would be grave, because that would open the way to spontaneity which, in turn, unavoidably leads to damage, distortions and difficulties of an economic, po-



litical and social character. Therefore, the exact calculation of the social labour expended in production, the complete replacement of the expenditure of social labour and the stimulation of efforts to save it, the economic stimulation of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives to work better, and the economic pressure which must be exerted on those who do not work well, cannot be imagined or achieved in our economy without using the equivalent exchange through the lever of value and its universal form, which is the price.

From this correct stand the question can be asked; do we always take account of the requirements of the law of value, especially those which are applicable to our economy? Practice compels us to admit that these requirements are not kept into account as they should.

Theoretical arguments and all empirical evidence shows that, to calculate and determine the complete cost, as the first part of value which is included in fixing the price, in fact, rigorous scientific criteria must be observed. They could and should be further improved in calculating and defining the second part of the value which is included in the formation of the price (the product for society). These criteria must be elaborated on a more scientific basis so that the price should be approximated as closely as possible to the value and the time spent by the society for the production of a given good and commodity. Only in this way can we arrive at a scientific model for the formation of the price and to proceed from this to the exact calculation of the time spent, the exchange on an equivalent basis, and the realization of the whole amount of the socially necessary work put in production.

The size of the product for society, as the second part of the value included in price formation, must be calculated directly on the basis of the full cost of the product or commodity. The size of the product for society in the whole economy is determined on the basis of the amount of accumulation needed for extended

reproduction over several years (one five-year period or more).

The other question which calls for solution in creating a scientific model of price formation is how to determine the amount of the product for society (the net income of the enterprise) in various branches of the economy. We think that we must stick to the following criteria to solve the problem:

The net income of the enterprise (planned for the whole branch) must be sufficient to cover all the needs for the increase in the means of circulation within the branch, the possible losses planned for the enterprises of the given branch, and part of the centralized investments which are made especially for the extension of the existing productive capacities, for building new production lines and workshops. The size of the enterprise net income should also provide for the creation of the special fund and for the part deposited in the budget.

But it is known that price in socialism is such an economic category which is used not only in its simple economic-social function of the calculator of the expended labour. It has many other functions simultaneously. It serves and is used as one of the powerful levers for the distribution and redistribution of part of the social product and of the national income. It encourages production of those commodities and goods in which the economy and the working masses are more interested. Besides this, it harmonizes the demand with the offer, so that the real wages and income of the working people are raised, and ensures that the economic relations in industry are compatible with those in agriculture and the incomes of the rural workers are raised to the level of the urban workers.

To enable the price to carry out all its different social and economic functions actively and simultaneously in all fields in which it operates we have accepted the viewpoint that, in our socialist economy, the price can be abstracted from the value in a conscious manner. This is a correct approach, provided that abstraction of the price from the value

is not pushed beyond a critical point at which the economic significance of price is not lost. The bottom price level, which is equal to the mean branch cost, in addition to a necessary net income — at its minimum — can be accepted as the critical point.

In practice, however, we have cases when the wholesale price of a given commodity is determined under the level of what it described as the critical point: this phenomenon becomes preoccupying for the economy if the retail price is lower than the cost and the loss is made up for with dotation in both cases.

In our economic literature on retail sale prices, we often have to do with two notions: that the price in the socialist economy is fixed and that the price is stable. The problem here is not about the choice of terms, but about the interpretation of them or the meaning which is attached to them, as well as about the conclusions which are drawn from this situation in practice. In the first instance, the conclusion is reached that once the price is fixed it becomes a taboo, or that it can only be reduced. In the second instance, the conclusion is reached that the price remains in power for a given period of several years, so that during this time the standard of living of the working masses could be maintained. And, in the opposite case, if the objective economic need arises for this price to be changed and raised, this can be done provided that complete or partial compensation is made for in the workers' pay or for part of it, or the ratio of prices within the same group of commodities is changed. Our opinion is that the second conclusion is more justifiable, since it creates the possibility for the price to reflect the real processes in the economy in a more resilient manner. In the end, we must say that the second conclusion opens the way for and serves as a greater stimulus for the extension of the range of goods and for the improvement of quality, which completely justifies the different prices for goods of different quality.

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The method of separate accounting in the economic management of the enterprise occupies an important place in the mechanism of our economy. Nevertheless, practice shows that this method needs to be further strengthened so that it loses some of its formal character and is transformed into a simple technique of economic accounting. In this context, it has often been said and required that the economic responsibility of the enterprise must increase in pace with its initiative and interests. It is true that after the 9th Congress of the Party a number of measures have been taken in this spirit. But there are still some problems which remain to be solved, and this can be done by improving the existing regulations.

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One of the laws of the extended socialist reproduction is the priority of the first subdivision (group A) over the second one (group B) of the social production. To see whether or not it has been respected and implemented, we must examine a long period of time. If the growth rates in the first subdivision result to be higher than those in the second one, it means that the law is respected, that heavy industry has had precedence over the light industry. It is in this way that a multi-branched structure of social production has been created in conformity with the conditions and possibilities of our economy.

As for the future course of this ratio of growth between the first subdivision and the second one, we think that the following specific features should be taken into consideration:

1. In the present conditions of our economy, most of the product given by the first subdivision — 87.2 per cent in 1987 — consists of material objects of work (primary materials, fuels and semi-finished products), and only 12.8 per cent of it is made up of work tools and implements. The volume of production and the growth rates in this subdivision are conditioned by the internal requirements of the economy for its products, which

arise in the direct process of the extended reproduction and by the demand for them on the international market, where these products are exchanged for work tools, other objects of work and consumer goods which cannot be manufactured within the country.

2. Since the aim and advantages of the priority development of the first subdivision are determined by the possibility of indirectly fulfilling the needs of the extended reproduction with these products through the newly created increased value, it results that the local manufacturing of them should be raised to a higher level through the extension of the industry which produces energy, and the primary mineral and agricultural materials.

3. Any extension of the first subdivision should necessarily be accompanied with extensions in the second one, or with the increase in the import of finished consumer goods or of primary materials needed for the increase of their local production. Otherwise, the final aim of the socialist production is lost and the maintenance of the level of well-being and the all-round development of the working people become an aim in itself.

In this context it is logical that we must continue to give first place to the development of the first subdivision; must maintain a correct ratio in the development rates of groups A and B, accepting the objective fact that at given intervals (lasting for one or some years) the development rates in group B will be higher than those in group A, whereas when the development of group B lags behind that of group A, then the growth rates of group B must, as a rule, be higher than those of group A.

As the 9th Congress of the Party has instructed: «In this five-year plan the branches of the light and food-stuffs industries will also be developed with priority.» This means that the time has come for us to devote more and more our attention to extending group B, i. e. the light and food-stuffs industries which produce consumer goods. As for the ratio and rates of growth in groups A and B, we think that improve-

ments are possible in the methodology of calculating the products included in both of them, so as to avoid internal circulation which artificially inflates the volume of production in them and which creates an unrealistic image of the weight it has in the total industrial production.

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An element which has great weight in the mechanism of our economy is the sphere of circulation of products and commodities. To ensure the harmonization of the volume and structure of production with the volume and structure of the real requirements for consumer goods in general and for groups of specific goods, first, it is essential to ensure a balance between demand and offer, between the purchasing power of the population and the stock goods and the service available. Apart from this, the standard of living depends largely on the stability of the market, the currency circulation and the buying power of money.

A problem which calls for greater attention in the circulation of consumer goods is the incomplete harmonization of offer and demand, the rates of increase of people's income and the increase of the social product, the national income and the goods circulation.

It is advisable that a good control should be exerted on the indices which have to do with the increase in the money income of the population and the amount of money in circulation, the savings deposits and the goods circulation paid for in cash. The slightest disagreement which might arise from discrepancies in them is a potential threat to the emergence of inflation — be it of a special kind, unlike that which occurs in the capitalist economy.

Inflation and its classical capitalist form with the reduction of the nominal value of the currency, with the rise of prices for consumer goods and the higher cost of living, and with the redistribution of the national income to the advantage of a given class — the monopoly bourgeoisie — is not in the nature of our socialist economy and cannot operate in that way.

However, practice shows that if there are marked disproportions, which go beyond a tolerable limit, between the increase in the people's purchasing power and the rates of increase in the volume of goods circulation for cash and paid services, it is probable that some negative phenomena will emerge in the socialist economy. Although temporary and transient, they are undesirable and inhibitive.

The increase of deposits in savings banks is a normal phenomenon among our working people. It is an expression of the political confidence they have in the state and the social order; but, to some extent and for given population groups, it is also an expression of the demands they have, as for example the demand for durable goods, which the family can afford only after a long time of saving; and lastly, the increase in savings deposits is an expression of the greater well-being of the working people, because they can put aside money after fulfilling the essential daily requirements. But any unnatural increase in the rates of deposits must always be considered with due seriousness.

It is known that deposits in savings banks, as a rule, constitute a potential purchasing power put aside by the people, which can be spent at any time for a given purpose. Therefore, the abnormal increase of them is an undesirable signal for the economy. Apart from this, in our practice, savings deposits, especially those without a definite term of withdrawal, are not reckoned with as a potential purchasing power and are not taken into consideration when we calculate the speed of money circulation. This practice has no scientific argument to support itself: So, in planning the quantity of goods put into circulation and paid services to cope with the people's purchasing power, we must also provide for the gradual covering of part of the purchasing power represented by the savings deposits, apart from that amount which is used for credits and which is covered with by the means of production. Likewise, when calculating the speed of money circulation, and in order to make it as realistic as possible, we must include in it the savings deposits.

The undesirable manifestations which are connected with the people's purchasing power and the circulation of money have their source in the sphere of production. The key to prevent their emergence or to stop them from becoming worse, must be sought there. For this purpose it is important to follow these main short and long-term directions:

1. To guarantee the fulfilment of the plan in all the branches of the economy so as to maintain the correct proportions determined between the increase of the social product, the national income, the income of the population, the goods circulation for cash and the paid services.

2. To adopt every necessary measure to prevent working people from getting such income as cannot be covered with the respective product and the required quantity and quality of it.

3. To gradually ensure that the annual quantity of goods or specific groups of goods that are put into circulation should increase more rapidly than the annual income of the population.

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Although economic and social development in Albania relies on our own forces, our national economy has never been an «isolated island», which has nothing to do with the international division of labour and the world economic relations which exist on this basis. On the other hand, our socialist economy has never conditioned its existence and development on the relations with the foreign markets to the extent of making itself an appendage to these markets or a segment of them, by losing its independence and its social-class nature.

The present level of the economic growth and the technical-technological problems which require solution put greater emphasis not only on the need but also on the possibilities for extending the economic cooperation and relations with the other countries through foreign trade, on the basis of the known principles of equality and mutual advantage. That is the reason why the 6th Plenum of the CC of the Party put forward a number of tasks for in-

creasing the effectiveness of our foreign trade, for increasing exports so that imports could also increase, by a more skilful operation with the new processes which occur in the world market, without forgetting that, as long as the monopolies make the rule, in these processes there are elements which resemble rather a poker game than the hypotheses and models proposed by the classical political economy.

The entire activity of our foreign trade has been and remains a direct continuation of the internal economic policy, the reflection of the internal situation and the needs of our economic and social growth. This inseparable link, this close and mutual conditioning between them has been ensured and continuously implemented through the state monopoly of the foreign trade and currency. The exclusive right of our socialist state to control import-export and foreign currency transactions remains one of its unalienable attributes in the management of the economy according to a single, general and centralized plan, and in protecting the economic independence of the country against the political and economic pressure of outside capital.

With the present volume of our foreign trade and the growing diversification of the structure of our import-export goods, it is reasonable that the state monopoly of them can be realized apart from the specialized organs of the ministries covering them, also, by the enterprises of other ministries which are producers of export goods. The direct export of these goods by the producers themselves, on the basis of the state general plan and the trade and foreign currency balance, does not violate or endanger in the least the concept and the practice of state monopoly of the foreign trade and currency transactions. The essence of the monopoly of foreign trade and foreign currency does not lie in the fact that it can be realized by the respective ministry and its specialized enterprises alone, but in the fact that this field of activity, too, is directed by plan and in a centralized manner by the state, like all the other branches of the economy.

# TRIUMPH OF THE COURSE OF THE PARTY ON

**Prof. HARILLA PAPA JORGJI**

The policy of our Party and state to keep the countryside populated and even to increase its population has been carried out in a conscious, directed and planned manner. The Party has considered this problem not merely in its economic aspect, but, in the first place, as a problem of major political, social and strategic importance. This policy also shows the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order. Hence, the stability of the population in the countryside, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has it, is one of the great achievements of the policy of the Party and our socialist social order.

For the countryside to remain populated the Party has pointed out that we must distinguish between what is specific, peculiar and characteristic for our country and what is conditioned by the concrete circumstances and the general laws of socialism, so that the particular is not presented and raised to the level of a theoretical principle. Related to this, Comrade Ramiz Alia writes: «Here we come to the great problem of keeping a relatively large work force, even increasing it in absolute numbers in our agriculture. This is a peculiarity and necessity of our country, and this is how we will proceed. This requirement is important also from the strategic stand-point because the country, and especially the countryside, must be kept populated in all its corners. However, we must not raise this peculiarity and requirement of ours to the level of a principle of the development of the socialist economy, and especially the work force, which can and must work directly on the front of agricultural production.»<sup>1</sup>

So, the Marxist-Leninist theory does not give ready-made recipes about the supposed percentage of urban and rural population. In different places, according to the terrain, the climatic soil conditions, or the assets of the soil and subsoil, the structure of the urban and rural population may be different, but in no case should the countryside be depopulated or neglected, as is happening with the capitalist and revisionist world today. «Only a distribution as regular as possible of the population over the whole country,» Marx and Engels said, «only a close inner connection of industrial and agricultural production, concomitant with the necessary extension of the means of communication, of course on condition that the capitalist mode of production is eliminated, can pull the peasant population out of its isolation and inertia in which it has been vegetating almost continuously for thousands of years.»<sup>2</sup>

Keeping the countryside populated is, first of all, connected with the concrete historical conditions of our country after Liberation and the establishment of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the conditions of our country, an extremely backward agrarian country from the socio-economic stand-point; the overwhelming part of the population was engaged in agriculture and over 85 per cent of it lived in the countryside. Setting the country out on the socialist road and organization of the whole national economy along socialist lines called for this fact to be kept well in mind. Basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and implementing them in our con-

crete conditions, along the revolutionary transformations in the field of socialist relations of production, the Party also mapped out a program for the development of productive forces and the building of the new material and technical base of socialism, a program which it has perfected step by step.

It was clear to our Party right from the beginning that the socialist industrialization of the country had to be closely linked with the construction of socialism in the countryside, the development of agriculture and its intensification. This development was an indispensable condition for the construction of socialism. The implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of our country called for special care about combining the priority and high-rate development of industry with the development rates of agriculture, strengthening the economic links between city and countryside; combining the priority of investments and fundamental constructions in industry with investments in agriculture, as well as their proportions; regulating in a planned and directed manner the mechanical movement of the work for the needs of industry and the other branches from the countryside to the city and vice-versa; expanding the market, raising the standard of living of the people and developing education, as well as all the other branches and sectors both in the city and in the countryside.

Development and intensification of large-scale socialist agricultural production remains the basis to keep the countryside populated. The growth of agricultural and livestock produc-

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tion, as well as the increase of the annual income of cooperativist families from the work at the cooperative, when both the population and the work force have expanded at relatively high rates, show the correctness of the road followed. Thus, whereas the population of the countryside has doubled as compared with the pre-Liberation period, agricultural and livestock production has increased 6 times over. The more rapid development of agriculture as related to the general growth of the population of the country and the peasant population has continued for a long time. This has enabled the ceaseless increase of agricultural production per capita of population, both in city and in the countryside.

The well-being of the people has constantly improved in our country. Our plans have always given priority to the growth of the real income in the countryside. The policy of the Party in this direction has always been aimed at raising the standard of living in the countryside. Despite the great successes achieved, the Party stresses that the population is kept in the countryside through the improvement of its well-being. The traditional links of the peasantry with the land and their birthplace are a positive factor which should be strengthened through a higher standard of living.

Thus, a very important role in developing agriculture and the countryside and in keeping it populated has been played by the rapid growth of the productive forces in agriculture. Fulfilment of this task called for large-scale investments in land-improving and systematization, irrigation, exten-

ding the arable land and, especially, increasing its fertility, the genetical improvement of seeds and livestock and raising the level of technical equipment of agriculture. Only this development of agriculture brings about the increase of agricultural production and the improvement of the well-being of the peasant population as one of the main ways for narrowing down distinctions between the city and the countryside. «We are convinced and conscious», Comrade Enver Hoxha

pointed out, «that for the successful solution of problems related to the well-being of the peasantry, the increase of production will play a decisive role...»

The economic policy followed by the Party and the state in our country has been aimed at the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture and the constant qualification of the workers of this branch of the economy. This is clearly seen from the data below:

The main indices on the intensification of agriculture.

	1960	1970	1988
Volume of mechanized work (in thousands of ha of ploughing unit)	1454	4757	12705
Tractors in 15 hp	4510	10900	21033
Chemical fertilizers (in thousand tons of active matter)	8	44.1	96.5
Active matter in kg per ha of arable land	17	75	132.2
Irrigation capacity in thousand ha	135.3	348.8	416.8
Percentage of irrigated acreage	29	47	58.2

Certainly, in this field there are various problems which will be solved through a better harmonization in the future so that mechanization and other agrotechnical measures constantly back up the process of intensification of agriculture, keeping the countryside populated and increasing the work force.

Our concept about the development of the countryside is characterized by the idea that **not only agriculture, but also industry and other branches of material production should be developed in peasant settlements.** Unlike bourgeois sociology which sees peasant settlements closely linked only with the utilization of a given territory and a given area of cultivated land, ingrained into economic circu-

lation only through market relations, our socialist concept emphasizes the need for the development of industry and the other sectors in the countryside. «When industrial processing of farming products (flour, butter potato starch and alcoholic drinks, etc.) is added to agriculture,» Lenin wrote, «then the primary income of this kind of economy cannot be considered deriving from agriculture, but from the income of an industrial enterprise.»<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of the increase rate of non-agricultural activities at various stages of socialist construction, the expansion of industrial activities in the countryside is an indispensable process in narrowing down distinctions between city and country.

In this way the road followed by our Party to introduce more broadly non-agricultural activities into the countryside is intended to bring the countryside closer to the city and narrow down essential distinctions between them. Socialism is not for the large-scale concentration of the processing of farming products only in the city.

**On the economic plane**, increased processing of farming products in the countryside, closer to their production, means raising effectiveness, reducing cost of live work per production unit.

**On the social plane**, development of industrial activities produces and strengthens a new concept; the peasantry is engaged not only in farming and livestock-breeding, but is capable of developing and qualifying also in the process of industrial production, thereby coming gradually closer to the working class until, with the maturing of all factors, the increased degree of socialization of property, in the first place, it assumes the features of the latter.

Construction of industrial enterprises, especially of the extracting and processing industry, utilization of forests and processing of timber, etc., in the vicinity of peasant settlements exercise great influence on the development of this process. Rational distribution of the material and technical base of a number of industrial branches, along with the presence of the working class over the whole territory of the countryside, play an important role in the process of bringing the village closer to the city. As a result of the economic policy followed in the rational distribution of productive forces, about 20 per cent of the able-bodied people in the countryside are in work relations with the state, mainly at industrial enterprises. This complex development of the various branches of the economy in the countryside gives it a physiognomy which is more and more similar to the city, not so much in outward appearance as in the mode of work and living.

**On the ideological plane**, increased processing of farming products in the countryside, industrialization of production represents a great contribution to the elimination of the contrast between work in agriculture and work in industry and the other branches of the economy. In this manner, unlike the capitalist mode of production, socialism does not wipe out rural settlements and does not concentrate population in big and superbig population centres. It is aimed at the equal development of these centres and the bringing closer of the working people of these two main branches of the economy.

At present it is possible, indeed necessary, for many other economic, social and organizational sectors to deepen what has been achieved hitherto in increasing industrial activities in the countryside, in general, and in the cooperativist village, in particular. So, features of industrial production and urban living are being strengthened in the countryside. Industrial activities are being extended to the villages of the remotest zones of the country.

Another reason for keeping the countryside, in general, and its hilly-mountainous zones, in particular, populated is that **the plain area of our country is limited** and this area alone, no matter how crops may be raised, cannot meet the needs of a growing population, as well as those of the light and food-processing industry and export. A considerable part of the land suitable for the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and fruit-growing lies in the hilly and mountainous zones of the country, in which most minerals are also found, hence their cultivation as a major source of increasing agricultural and industrial production. «It is important to our country,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «that the mountainous zones are not depopulated, because all the possibilities exist for people there to lead a good and prosperous life.»

What, in general, characterizes the

policy pursued by the Party for the development of the countryside is the **broad and comprehensive concept of its physiognomy, of its complex economic, political, social and ideological development.** As a result of this policy, the work and struggle for the economic development of the countryside is combined with the all-round ideological, educational and cultural advance of the peasantry, the creation and extension of the socialist mode of living everywhere, the ever broader application of advanced science and technique, and the constant narrowing down of the essential distinctions between city and country in all fields. «In the countryside today, apart from compulsory 8-year schooling, there are hundreds of middle schools, especially of agricultural direction, as well as a great number of homes and hearths of culture. There are more than 3800 state trade units of different kinds, or an average of 4-5 units per every agricultural cooperative. Over 80 per cent of village houses are new. Electrification of all villages has enabled the cooperativists to utilize ever more electric appliances, the radio, television and telephone. More than 25 000 people worked as masons, tailors, shoemakers, joiners, electricians, etc., in the agricultural cooperatives in 1988. The campaign carried out on a national scale to supply all the villages with drinking water will raise their standard of living higher.

Nevertheless, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in a speech held in Mokra of the district of Pogradec, here remain many problems to be solved in this field. Auxiliary handicraft activities must be expanded, because, on a national scale, they do not account for more than 10 per cent of the total income of the cooperativists. Expansion of these activities calls for increasing the necessary instruments, which should be produced by industry, as well as improving their supply with metals, coal, timber, etc. The development of industrial and artisan

activities in the countryside is intended to meet the needs of the village, as well as to turn out goods which will be sold in the city.

**Extension of the system of pensions and other forms of social insurance** to the countryside has been another important measure for improving the living in the countryside, which has had a positive influence on preventing people from abandoning the village. Consistent implementation of a correct agrarian policy by the Party serves the strengthening of links and sound socialist relations between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, between the city and the countryside.

**Keeping the countryside populated is linked with a number of other social, political and strategical reasons**, which life and the socio-economic reality of our country is confirming more and more with each passing day. In this manner, in the development of the productive forces in our socialist countryside, deep-going changes are taking place, involving not only agriculture, but also industry and other non-agricultural activities, while always maintaining the sound tendency that agriculture and animal husbandry should occupy the main place in the activities of the countryside as well as developing and extending education, culture, the socialist mode of living, etc. So, in a natural manner, the village and its population grow and develop, coming ever nearer to the city and its mode of living.

Summing up the road followed by the Party in maintaining the countryside populated, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that, **«We have today about two thirds of our population in the countryside and will continue to do so for its greater part in the future.** This will be done by developing agriculture both on the intensive and extensive road, as well as introducing ever more extensively industry and activities of other branches and sectors of the economy into the countryside. Nevertheless, **agriculture will**

**always occupy the main place in the activities of the countryside.** We go towards the intensification of agricultural production at a time when the work force in agriculture keeps growing from the rural and, partly, urban population. Also, we are successfully implementing a policy of constantly narrowing down distinctions between the city and the countryside.

«Proceeding on this road,» Comrade Enver Hoxha goes on, «is a great success, which is in the interest of society as a whole and which does not happen in no other country of the world where, on the contrary, the village is being depopulated and agriculture degraded.»<sup>5</sup>

In the future, too, the overwhelming part of the population will continue to live and work in the countryside. This, apart from what we said above, is linked with the orientation of the Party that **we must have not only a developed industry, but also an advanced agriculture; for our economy to be strong and independent, it must stand on both legs: industry and agriculture.** Advancement and development of agriculture is organically connected with the harmonious development of the economy, the strengthening of the independence of the country, the construction and defence of socialism. In the conditions of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement, and its increased economic, political and ideological pressure on our country, this question assumes very great importance.

When crop yields in agriculture keep constantly rising, it is neither correct nor beneficial for the population to abandon the countryside. Agriculture has a very broad range of activities. Its multi-branched and intensive development, the opening up of new land, along with the increased degree of mechanization, call for ever more work force. Apart from agriculture, which is and will be the main front of activities in the countryside, more work force is also required for the development of other

economic and socio-cultural sectors to meet the needs of the economy and the countryside.

Steering this course in the development of the countryside, the Party has called and is working very carefully for agriculture, not to be neglected in any way in the countryside, because it makes up the basic branch of the economy, without which economic development would be incomplete. It has warned against and combated the danger of undervaluing agriculture, especially in the hilly-mountainous districts, in which saw-mills and mines are important and the income of the population derives to a great degree from work at state enterprises.

The practice of the multi-branched development of our economy both in the city and in the countryside has brought about that the whole territory of the country is populated and develops, with both the urban and rural population constantly growing. This is a distinctive peculiarity of socialist development in our country. Hence, the ratio between the urban and the rural population cannot be taken as a criterion to judge the development of a country.

Although most of its population resides in the countryside, our country advances with determination on the road of its transformation from an agrarian-industrial to an industrial-agrarian country. This is seen from a number of indices such as: rapid increase of industrial production, the proportion of industrial production to agricultural production, the place occupied by the means of industrial production, production of power per capita, etc. The tendency of the number of industrial workers to grow not only in the city, but also in the countryside is evidence of progress on this road. This increases their proportion in the social-class structure of our society, although the ratio between the urban and the rural population remains unchanged or undergoes very little change. In the

future, too, the proportion of the working class in the social structure will change more rapidly than the ratio between the urban and the rural population.

This process of the numerical growth of the working class will in the future be accelerated by the further and constant perfection of the socialist ownership, the gradual transition of cooperativist property to the property of the whole people. This development of the socialist countryside will at the same time more broadly assist the introduction of the socialist mode of life in the countryside. Hence, we think that in our case the ratio between the urban and the rural population should not be reckoned among the main criteria for judging the development of our country or its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «...there is boasting about the population of cities growing, the number of industrial workers increasing and the village population, that is, the population engaged in agriculture, decreasing. With all this they try to create the deceptive impression as if industry is developing in large proportions in their countries with the supposed consequence of the increased mechanization of agriculture. However, the truth is quite different...» Depopulation of the countryside and the agrarian crisis, as part of the deep-going economic crisis in the capitalist countries, is a grave ulcer in all the capitalist-revisionist countries today.

Records of the three last censuses of the population clearly speak about the correctness of this road for our country.

urban population, the rural population still continues growing at a relatively high rate both on a national and on a district scale.

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In this manner in the context of the deep-going revolutionary transformations of a political, economic and social character that have been carried out after Liberation under the leadership of the Party, a central place is occupied and will be occupied in the future, too, by problems bearing on changing the physiognomy of our socialist countryside.

The socialist transformation of the countryside and establishment of socialist relations in agriculture are indissolubly linked also with changing the physiognomy of the countryside and its mode of living so as to carry out step by step the transformation of the village not only into an administrative and dwelling centre, but also a centre for all-round economic, cultural and social transformation.

**Population according to censuses**

Years	Total population	According to residence in thous.			According to residence in perc.	
		city	country	total	city	country
April 1, 1969	2 068.1	650.7	1 417.4	100	31.5	68.5
January 7, 1975	2 590.6	866.6	1 724	100	33.5	66.5
April 12, 1989	3 182.4	1 129.8	2 052.6	100	35.5	64.5

The population residing in the countryside is more or less equal to the whole population, both urban and rural, of the country in 1969. (In 1969 the population of our country totalled 2 068 thousand, whereas in 1989, 2 052 thousand people resided in the countryside alone). In the decade between the two last censuses, the urban po-

pulation has grown over 30 per cent, whereas the rural population 19 per cent. As a result, the ratio between the urban and the rural population was 35.5 and 64.5 per cent respectively, as against 33.5 per cent and 66.5 per cent respectively in 1979. Although there is a slight tendency to a growth in the proportion of the

- 1 *Ramiz Alia*, *Speeches and Talks*, vol. 3, p. 65, *Alb. ed.*
- 2 *K. Marx-Fr. Engels*, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, 1958, p. 540, *Alb. ed.*
- 3 *V.I. Lenin*, *Collected Works*, vol. 35, p. 174, *Alb. ed.*
- 4 *Enver Hoxha*, *Works*, vol. 43, p. 493.
- 5 *Enver Hoxha*, *Reports and Speeches 1980-1981*, p. 187, *Alb. ed.*
- 6 *Enver Hoxha*, *Works*, vol. 43, p. 358, *Alb. ed.*



# CONSERVATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN ALBANIA

by **JAVER ÇOBANI**

Despite its small area (28 750 square kilometres), Albania is outstanding for the beauty and variety of its natural landscape. The varied climatic conditions and forms of relief, the abundance of natural assets, the rich flora and fauna, the Albanian Alps with their mountain pastures and forests, the Adriatic and Ionian coasts — we mention only some of the factors which characterize the beautiful natural environment and the various ecological systems of our country.

Nevertheless, because of the foreign invaders and the anti-popular regimes, until the mid-forties poverty and backwardness prevailed, coupled with recurrent floods and droughts which made the life of the people ever harder and brought about the degradation of the environment.

With the triumph of the people's revolution in November 1944, the epoch of the construction of socialism, the epoch of the planned, steady and all-round socio-economic development of the country set in. The socialist industrialization of the country, the intensive development of socialist agriculture and the all-round advance of the country had a direct influence on major positive changes in the natural environment, as well. With the building of big hydro-power complexes and large irrigation and drainage projects, the extension of the arable land, the construction of new cities, the draining of marshes, etc., the natural equilibrium was restored in degraded ecological systems, the geographical landscape enriched, and the well-being and prosperity of the people increased.

*JAVER ÇOBANI — Docent, Director of the Hydrometeorological Institute.*

Among the big transformations of the geographical environment in Albania are the extension of the arable area to about 750 000 ha, of which one third has been gained through land improvement schemes in the lowland area of the coast and, one sixth through the draining of marshes and moors such as those of Tërbuf, Maliq, etc. On the Mat, Drin and Bistrica Rivers huge hydro-power systems (with an installed power of over 1,5 million kW and an average annual production of over 5,8 billion kW/h) have been set up; the land on the coastal plains is protected through a system of dams against river floods and through the construction of pumping stations which discharge over 250 cubic metres of water per second in the rain period. At present over 57 per cent of the arable land is irrigated and over 95 per cent of the electric power is produced by hydro-power stations. Qualitative improvements have been made in the protection of forests and pastures from degradation and the land from erosion, the winning of new land from river-beds and deltas, etc.

## ON THE MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The environment has an influence not only on the life and health of people, but also on the harmonious socio-economic and cultural development of the country, so protection of the environment, the traditional ecological systems, or establishment of new systems is absolutely necessary for a steady present and future development of the country. This is why the problem of the pro-

tection of the environment in Albania has long since become a question for the activity of the whole society, state organs and scientific institutions and organisms, a subject of legislative measures and special decisions of the higher state organs like the People's Assembly and the Government of the PSR of Albania. Thus, Article 20 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania says that «protection of land, natural resources, waters and air against degradation and pollution is the duty of the state, the economic and social organizations and all citizens.»

In the context of these decrees and decisions issued by the higher state organs, the Commission for the Protection of the Environment has been set up at the Council of Ministers, and institutions, scientific sectors, chairs and groups of study cooperate with the Academy of Sciences, the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana and the main ministries, carrying out scientific studies and other activities in planned directions on a regional and national scale. They make regular control of the situation in the atmosphere, water and land, as well as the condition of the flora and fauna and take the relative measures.

The fundamental aim of all these activities is the protection of the existing ecological system, the taking of measures for the prevention and elimination of the pollution of the environment, the rational and planned exploitation of natural assets, the protection of the environment from degradation and its further improvement.

Despite the priority development of the chemical industry and metallurgy,

the intensive exploitation of the natural resources, and the intensification of agriculture, the natural environment in Albania is on a whole clean and does not give rise to serious concern.

As a result of planned measures of an organizational, technical, scientific and financial character, the protection of the environment in Albania is done in complete unity, extension and integration of all the branches of the economy, taking into consideration and following up the main problems of protection of the environment and the complex ecological systems of the country, with the main attention being devoted to the activities in air, water, and land, and those affecting the flora and fauna of the country.

**In regard to the protection of the air,** controls, scientific studies and measurements are carried out in the atmosphere of cities and industrial centres for the detection of pollutants, their quantitative and qualitative content, especially soot, dust, gases, their shifts, etc., constantly following up and controlling the levels of these pollutants in the air, as well as observing and studying meteorological and climatic factors and their influence on the pollutants in the atmosphere. At present the relative institutions of the country are expanding and consolidating their network for the observation of the quality of the air, which covers regions, towns and industrial zones, in which air pollution from industrial plants is more probable like the city of Elbasan — from the Metallurgical Combine, the city of Fier — from the Ammonium Nitrate and Urea Plant, etc. For the protection of the air from pollution more studies have been carried out about the polluting potential of industrial and power plants in the vicinity of towns, as well as on the sanitation belt around power plants, etc.

**In regard to the protection of waters,** a broad range of activities are permanently carried out for the observation of the physical-chemical indices of water in rivers, lakes, seas, artificial reservoirs, as well as underground waters. Along with surfa-

ce waters, the same is done with industrial and communal sewage, including the qualitative assessment of water and the degree of its pollution according to the norms allowed. On a national scale, a broad range of observations and studies for the protection of water from pollution is carried out by the Hydrometeorological Institute of the Academy of Sciences in some rivers and sections of rivers of our country such as Gjanica, Kir, and Shkumbin, in which discharge of waste from the metallurgical, chemical and paper industries have created problems and which, for this reason, remain under constant control as to the physical-chemical qualities and quantities of their waters. In this context measures have been and are being taken for technological improvements in these branches of industry, especially for controlling the concentration of the sewage waters of cities so as to prevent the pollution of river waters. For this purpose coal and mineral processing plants, paper mills, etc., have built dams to reduce the pollution of river waters from industrial waste, which is done also for communal sewage. Studies about the protection of waters from pollution include assessment and management of the water reserves of the country, technologies for purifying industrial waste, extension and consolidation of the network controlling the quality of waters on a national scale, etc., permanent observation of waters: their flow, suspensive substance, metals and other noxious elements in them, physical and chemical indices, etc.

Albania is rich in water reserves. They are evaluated at an annual average of 42 billion cubic metres. As an invaluable asset, waters are administered by the state and utilized in a complex and planned manner for the socio-economic development of the country. Over 100 artificial reservoirs with big dams have been built on the main rivers and their affluents for production of electric power and irrigation, with a total volume of about 5.1 billion cubic metres and a water area of 186 square kilometres.

The Hydrometeorological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, the Hydrogeological Enterprise at the Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy, the Department of Water Conservancy at the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of the Communal Economy are the scientific and administrative organs which are permanently engaged with the assessment and utilization of water resources to the benefit of the development of the country.

**In regard to the protection of the land** large-scale activities are carried out for the conservation and extension of its area and fertility. For this purpose, irrigation of the cultivated land is constantly being extended, more measures are being taken for the protection of the land from erosion through hydro-technical, agro-technical and silvi-cultural measures, afforestation, regeneration of pastures, as well as for the protection of the land from chemical and industrial pollution. Many study and scientific research institutes of the Ministry of Agriculture such as the Institute of Pedology, agricultural stations in various districts of the country, the Institute of Fruticultural and Viticultural Research, the Higher Agricultural Institute, forest stations; etc.; carry out a broad range of activities in study and research, as well as concrete operational measures. The scientific and experimental activities of these institutions are in constant expansion. They are doing very valuable work for the improvement of the fertility of the coastal lowlands which is the zone of priority intensification in our country, for the desalinization of saline land and its agricultural utilization, along with the land of river-beds, etc.; as well as for the systematization of land in the hilly-mountainous zones; the combined use of organic and chemical fertilizers, etc.

For purposes of land conservation the pedological map of the country to a scale of 1:200,000 and 1:500,000 for the whole agricultural land has been compiled, and new techniques are in use for the assessment and increase of the fertility of the land,

the preservation of its green cover and its systematization. An important direction in the work for the conservation of the land is conservation and extension of the wooded area and the afforestation of erosion herds.

For the conservation of the flora and fauna, which have peculiar characteristics in Albania, scientific and operational activities include the work for the conservation of the genetic fund of the spontaneous flora and fauna through the creation of national parks, preserves for the reproduction of seeds of spontaneous cultures, the conservation of endangered species, as well as the creation of the genetic fund of the local flora and fauna. At present we have about 8.400 ha of national parks, over 12 200 of game preserves and over 600 ha of reservations for monuments of nature. By special laws characteristic specimens of the local fauna are considered endangered species: the wild cock, the wood hen, the eagle, the wild goat, etc., as well as the local flora, with its endemic species, the spontaneous flora, etc.

Albania has inherited a rich genetic fund and this is being protected by laws and the organization of all-round scientific activities on a national scale by the Centre of Biological Research at the Academy of Sciences, the Botanical Garden and the Chair of Natural Sciences of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana.

In the social and legal aspect all-round activities, most of them of a prophylactic character, are carried out and legislative acts endorsed for the protection of the health of the people and the improvement of their hygienic and cultural level; the Health Inspectorate controls the purity of the air, water, land, etc., and takes measures for the mobilization of public opinion and scientific research organism for the protection of the environment against pollution.

The ever-expanding activities carried out in our country for the protection of the environment are accompanied with important measures on the part of the socialist state for the protection of the health of the people, the improvement of the environment and its protection against pollution.

This year, too, the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania took up for examination a report on «the results achieved in the protection of the health of the people and further measures for raising prophylaxy and medical service to a higher level,» in which an important place was devoted to the problems of the protection of the environment as an important question which has to do with the health of the people.

In the course of this examination, it was called for a broader conception and evaluation of the problems of environment protection, the implementation of new technologies for the elimination of environment pollution, as well as the application of better measures for environment control in the air, water and land, the protection of the flora and fauna, etc. In the context of these tasks, in the recent years special measures have been taken and activities carried out, as well as studies and investments have been made for the prevention and elimination of pollution by industrial plants and communal discharges, as well as complex studies with a broad range of problems having to do with the present and future protection of the environment in Albania.

The Government of the PSR of Albania attaches particular importance to the protection of the environment both within the country and outside, cooperating with the neighbouring countries and the international organizations of the United Nations to protect the environment in the Balkans and Europe against pollution.

In the Balkan context, the problems of environment protection make up an important field of the cooperation between Balkan states both in carrying out measures on a Balkan level for the solution of the present problems of environment protection and in developing cooperation in fields related to the Balkan and international ecology. In this context, the Government of the PSR of Albania has made its contribution to the protection on a Balkan scale of the air and water from pollution, taking measures for land conservation, against flooding and desertification, and exchanging information and data about emergencies, such as earthquakes, fires, accidents in industrial plants, etc. Our country has taken part in the Conference on the Protection of the Environment in the Balkan Peninsula which took place in Bulgaria (Varna 1988), at which it was represented by scientific studies on the situation and measures for the protection of the environment in the PSR of Albania, as well as on the problems that emerge in this field in a Balkan context. Also it has taken part in and contributed to the successive meetings of experts of the Balkan Governments on the protection of the environment.

With the persistent activities of each Balkan country, as well as the joint efforts of all of them in the struggle against air, water and land pollution, in exercising control and carrying out complex studies on a Balkan scale for the protection of the territorial environment of the Balkan Peninsula which is characterized by a great variety of ecological systems, beautiful environments and a great wealth of natural resources, characteristic climatic conditions and other peculiarities, the many and rare natural beauties of the Balkans will be conserved and developed further.

# FOR A POLICY OF CONFIDENCE IN THE BALKANS

**by Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI**

I think that the exchange of opinions on the existing possibilities and ways of strengthening confidence among the Balkan peoples and for the security of its countries in general will be useful. The problems which will be raised and the suggestions that can be made would be no small contribution to the creation of a calm and peaceful political climate so necessary for the promotion of Balkan cooperation, which has already taken significant steps ahead

Of course, our opinions are neither official nor representative of our governments, however, as the opinions of people who study international life and whose job, to a certain extent, oblige them to take a realistic and objective view, they cannot fail to be taken into consideration.

I am sure that all of us share the opinion that there are still many problems in the Balkans, which hinder the rapprochement among its countries, their cooperation and peaceful coexistence in general. There are problems inherited from the past such as those of the minorities, but there are also new problems such as those stemming from the psychology of rival blocs, from opposing ideological and political systems.

In none of the Balkan states

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*SOFOKLI LAZRI — Head of the Institute for the Study of International Relations. This report was submitted in Athens in the meeting of the heads of institutes for the study of international relations of the Balkan countries, on the theme of confidence and good understanding in this region.*

do state borders coincide with ethnic borders. Moreover, the borders have been established as a result of wars between these countries on the basis of the relationship between victors and the vanquished, as a result of the interference of the great powers which struggled for territorial expansion of their friends at the expense of others who they did not care about.

The Balkans has been and, to a certain degree, still is a field of battles, rivalries and confrontations between military blocs, economic groupings and different ideological camps.

Political life in the Balkan countries, the stand of one country towards the other have often been overloaded with much nationalist euphoria, with all kinds of hatred and prejudice. The present situation is not enviable, either.

Another characteristic of the Balkans is its belated national and social emancipation in comparison with the other European countries; its relative but evident economic, cultural, technological and scientific backwardness as compared with them.

All these obstacles must and can be overcome. This is not a subjective desire, but an objective and realistic demand. Internal and external developments call for the smashing of some old and rigid patterns and the concepts and mentalities stemming from them.

The causes of such a situation in the Balkans are known. However what counts today is not to

judge whether past history was right or wrong, but to brush aside the images of the past and to cope with present-day reality.

But how should we set about the work for the creation of a spirit of confidence and understanding which must serve as a basis for general security?

Many ideas have been put forward, initiatives have been taken, other measures have been suggested such as exchange of information on national military doctrines, reduction of armaments, establishment of direct telephone links between heads of state and ministers of defence, refraining from stationing more nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons or from modernizing existing weapons, and limiting military activities in the vicinity of borders with other countries.

These measures are all very well, and there is no doubt that in general, they would serve the lowering of tension in one of its main aspects, that of military threat, and would also consequently lead to the strengthening of mutual trust.

However, weapons, military alliances, militarist propaganda and the like are the result of a given policy, of a whole system of concepts and practices. Therefore, what is important and fundamental is not to remove some weapons or reduce some others, but to disarm the policies which have begot and produced them. No one lays down his weapons if he does not firmly believe in the goodwill and sincerity of his

# CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY IN THE BALKANS

neighbour, in his friendship and trustfulness.

And sincerity, friendship, trustfulness, confidence and understanding come within the sphere of policy and not disarmament, which, in the last analysis, as for the other regions, for the Balkans, too, is determined by the international situation.

In the past, the Balkan countries had no nuclear or chemical weapons, they had no foreign military bases, but this did not prevent them from quarrelling with and confronting one another.

By this I do not mean that the adoption of these measures will be of no consequence at all. On the contrary. What I mean is the priority which should be given to changing certain policies that have been conducive to the present-day Balkan quarrels, as compared to partial measures in the field of disarmament or economic, cultural and other exchanges.

One of the most sensitive questions in the Balkans is that of borders, or rather anxiety about one's own territorial integrity. Ensuring the inviolability of borders is an undeniable right. Demands for changing borders would take us back to the motives of the Balkan Wars and to the mentalities of that period.

However, in regard to borders, there is a problem: being inviolable does not mean that they should be closed to economic, cultural and human communication. They must not interrupt geographical vicinity or cut traditional

links, block the roads of natural communication and stop the course of centuries-long good neighbourliness.

Normal exchange of goods, friendly communication between people and exchange of cultural values make good neighbours. Walls of division create enemies.

Of course, as all other things, this communication, too, can be misused and manipulated for evil ends. But this should not happen if each is recognized his right to be master in his own house, as you wish for yourselves. It depends on the purpose for which one goes to someone's home, whether as a friend or an enemy. One will find the door open if he goes there as a friend, but the door will surely be closed if he goes there with evil intentions.

All forms of cooperation in the Balkans, good neighbourliness, friendship among its peoples, economic cooperation, measures for strengthening confidence and security, all draw upon the attitude maintained towards national minorities. We must be realistic in regard to this question.

The old policies of assimilation and denial of the national and cultural identity of minorities have been one of the main causes of tension, divisions and quarrels between neighbours, and even of the creation of unnatural alliances with foreign powers.

This question calls for profound reflection by all for contemporary solutions and new options. The point of departure must not be the century that is

ending, but the century which is coming.

And there are ways for the solution of the problem of minorities. When I say this, I do not, of course, mean that national minorities should be united with their mother countries. A border rectification is inconceivable. If we proceed from this premise, we would find ways and policies which would result in the transformation of national minorities from a factor of conflicts and divisions into a factor of rapprochement and friendship among peoples.

Likewise, if we proceed from the lessons of history, present-day reality, sound judgement and the desire to forge ahead and not go back, we cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the solution of the problems of minorities in the Balkans can be achieved not through segregation or measures to change their national character or assimilate them, but through their general emancipation, including national emancipation, preserving their identity and originality, their ethno-psychological peculiarities, their cultural heritage and historical traditions. Normal exchanges with the fellow-members of their nation would enable the ethnic minorities to liberate themselves from complexes and feeling of isolation, of being a minority and living in a narrow political and cultural space. Such a treatment would not make them less devoted citizens to the country in which they live, or less honest subjects of the state to which they belong.

On the contrary, this would contribute a great deal to the creation of a sound political and social atmosphere within the country, to the strengthening of harmony, coexistence, friendship and unity among the peoples who live in countries with minorities.

Democracy, humanism, pluralism as values indicative of a high level of civilization are being much talked about today. It is not my intention to delve into their interpretation or the correctness or accuracy of this definition. However, in my view, the Balkan countries pass their test in democracy, pluralism, humanism and civilization through their stand towards their minorities, if they are ready to accept them and live as citizens on an equal footing with those who are not of their nationality and do not speak their language, who have a different mentality and individuality from that of the greater nation, and another historical tradition.

If we speak about economic, cultural and other kinds of cooperation, about political dialogue on a regional, continental or, indeed, world scale, this should be done in regard to the national minorities within the country, in the first place.

Membership of some Balkan countries in the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Alliances has brought about rivalries and confrontations, with all their consequences, in our Peninsula.

It is the right of each country to choose its political alliances and build its defence according

to its own desires.

This, however, cannot free it from its obligations towards other countries, that it, its international agreements should not be a cause of concern for other countries. It must be made clear not only in principle, but also in practice, through a convincing commitment that no Balkan country will allow its friends and allies to operate from its territory against another neighbouring Balkan country.

This is a complicated problem, but it is also a fundamental condition for strengthening confidence among the Balkan countries and their security.

Certainly, efforts should be made to understand each other and the problems and difficulties that preoccupy each of us. When I say this I do not imply that one should be beyond criticism or reproach. Opportunist silence based on passing circumstances would be the worst solution. Open accounts make good friends. But this should be done on the basis of mutual respect, political wisdom and goodwill.

Conflicts, quarrels and disagreements in the Balkans have all a bilateral character. Improvement of these relations would create a favourable climate for all. The basis we should proceed from is well known, it is complete equality, respect for the independence, sovereignty and the right of each people to choose their own social system, non-interference in one's internal affairs, renunciation of violence and threats in the settlement of various conflicts, and the solution

of problems through dialogue.

It would be a wise and very promising step to the creation of a sound climate of confidence and understanding in the Balkans if, as the Albanian side proposed at the meeting of the vice-ministers for foreign affairs in Tirana, a code of good neighbourliness, which, apart from general principles, would also envisage a number of joint measures to promote cooperation and security in the region, were worked out and adopted.

One may well say that the Balkan countries have already signed several such documents as the code in question, such as the Charter of the UNO or some other charter.

However, this code should be of a special nature and specially intended for the Balkans, originating from a concrete historical reality and destined for a special specific situation.

Great changes are taking place in Europe. Regardless of their direction, they will lead to new equilibriums and developments. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that today, just as in the future, the influence of the Balkans on the destiny of Europe is not without importance. For it to be positive for the Balkans to make its voice heard, for its weight to be taken into consideration in the situations that will emerge, the Balkan countries must liquidate the just or unjust reasons for which the Balkans has been called a powder-keg, and the permanent strifes and quarrels — Balkanization.

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## A POLICY THAT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE HOMELAND

ZËRI I POPULLIT, *central organ of the CC of the PLA*

The Albanian people go to the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution with achievements in all fields of life, in the economy and defence, in culture and in the foreign policy of our socialist state. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, «The political positions of Albania in the world are sound and respected. Our stands are conditioned only by our national interests and nothing else. We receive no orders from anyone, big or small, because we treasure and resolutely defend our national sovereignty. We do not know the humiliating dependence to which foreign debts reduce a country. The only supreme law of our Party and Government is the will of the people. It is up to us to further strengthen these positions so that we can guarantee the freedom and the independence of the Homeland at any time and in any circumstances.»

Socialist Albania enjoys an honoured and respected reputation everywhere in the world, because it has its unshakeable revolutionary principles which guide our foreign policy. This international prestige of the country continues to grow preci-

sely because of the bold stands in defence of the cause of the peoples and socialism and against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. In these 45 years of our free and happy life, our foreign policy, drafted and resolutely implemented by the Party of Labour of Albania, has been directed to secure peace and friendly cooperation with all those who respect our freedom, independence and national sovereignty. It embodies the will of our people and the revolutionary and progressive character of our socialist state. The voice of Albania in the international relations is its own voice and it is heard with respect and taken into consideration. Our foreign policy is based on Marxist-Leninist principles and serves the loyal defence of the interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism within the country and the advance of the cause of the revolution, national and social liberation of the peoples in the world. Socialist Albania sees the exposure of and opposition to the policy of superpower hegemony as a constituent part of the struggle for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Albanian people and of all the peoples of the world.

Albania has always given its powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the peoples all over the world. This is an expression of its internationalist solidarity with all the forces which fight against any form of exploitation and oppression. Proletarian internationalism, as a fundamental feature of our foreign policy, has always been highly assessed by the peoples and the progressive forces in the world, by all those who strive and fight for freedom, independence and progress in their own countries and for the progress of the whole of mankind. The PSR of Albania has continuously and resolutely warned that the dangers of the war and imperialist aggressions have not disappeared. The developments of events in the world have again confirmed the correctness of the far-sighted stands of the Party and the Albanian state. They show that only firm opposition to the hegemonic policy of the superpowers, the presence of military bases, missiles, troops, of their military blocs and of any form of dependence on them can ensure free, independent and peaceful development.

Expressing itself vehemently against all the imperia-

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list practices of political and economic discrimination in international relations and arena, the PSR of Albania opposes the tutorship of and the monopolization of the international problems by the superpowers, and strives for equal rights of all peoples and sovereign countries, irrespective of their size. Consistent in this principled policy, socialist Albania maintains normal relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation with various peoples and countries, on the basis of respect and mutual benefit, independence and complete sovereignty. Today our country has diplomatic relations with more than 110 different states of the world and carries on trade, cultural and sports exchanges

with many others. A concrete expression of this principled policy which our country follows is the course towards the neighbouring countries and in which, through concrete constructive steps, socialist Albania materializes in the most complete manner its role as a factor of stability, peace and friendship in the Balkan region.

The strengthening of our country's position and prestige in the international arena is the result of our revolutionary and socialist foreign policy and of the internal policy in the service of the interests of the people and the socialist construction in a state where the people are in power. At the 8th Plenum of the Cen-

tral Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alla said: «Let the bourgeoisie speak about Albania's 'opening up' whenever our country takes some step towards extending contacts with the world in the field of international relations; let them interpret as they like all the changes we make and the measures we adopt for strengthening our economy and culture, for improving the living of the people. This does not worry us, because Albania and our Party of Labour have been what they have been, and they march resolutely on the road the Albanian people have chosen for themselves through the people's revolution which they made.»

## TALKS ABOUT EUROPE, BUT AT ITS COST

### ZËRI I POPULLIT

On December 2 and 3, 1989 an extraordinary high-level meeting between American president George Bush and Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachov took place in Malta. At a joint press conference after the conclusion of this meeting on board the Soviet warship «Maxim Gorky», the two leaders enumerated some of the main

problems they dealt with at their meeting: the evolution of the situation in Europe and in the world, the problems of disarmament and the talks on the limitation of armaments in Geneva and Vienna, local conflicts, bilateral economic relations, etc., in a word, the well-known agenda of such high-level meetings. The two leaders

decided to hold another high-level meeting in June this year in America, at which they would try to reach an agreement on strategic weapons and another agreement on the reduction of American and Soviet conventional forces in Europe during 1990.

The two leaders had already agreed in Washington to



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hold a high-level meeting in the spring of 1990. However, the Malta meeting had nothing to do either with the START talks, or the recent developments in Lebanon or Salvador. It was suddenly agreed on and held by the two superpowers as a very special meeting with a special subject: to discuss the latest events in Eastern Europe and, in this context, the whole American and Soviet policies on the European continent. Europe, its developments and fate were at the centre of the Malta talks, and this was done at the bipolar club of the two superpowers, without Europe itself being present. True, during his visit to Italy, Gorbachov proposed that an all-European high-level meeting, a «Helsinki-2», should be held in the beginning of 1990, but this proposal sounded rather like an attempt at imposing on the European countries the stands and strategies the superpowers had agreed on at their bilateral meetings. It is astonishing that, while the leaders and high officials of the two superpowers declared that Europe was at the centre of the Malta talks, while it was said that Malta was a watershed in the developments after the Second World War, that the post-war period had come to an end in Europe and the negative aspects of the structure of the post-war world were being overcome, no-

thing concrete was said publicly about what was discussed and decided, what was given and what was taken and what the two sides were in agreement on about the European continent and its problems. On December 4, *Reuter* reported that «the changes in Eastern Europe were at the centre of the meeting, but neither Bush nor Gorbachov gave any detail about their talks on this problem.»

The events in Eastern Europe, in which the bourgeoisie and opportunists, by resorting to the same tactics, are trying to wipe out socialism as a social order and in which power is being handed over to the most rabidly anti-communist reactionary forces on the part of the revisionist parties which carried their counter-revolutionary mission through to the end, have created new problems which affect the relations of the two superpowers and their policies in Europe, their military-political blocs, etc. These events have brought about turbulent situations with an impact on an international scale. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA: «The development of the international situation and the strengthening of opportunism, as a result of the revisionist betrayal, have changed the ratio of forces; this affects relations between states, alliances and military blocs,

and upsets the equilibrium established in one zone or the other.»

In these circumstances the superpowers prepared and held the extraordinary Malta meeting to deal with the problems of Europe, so that the recent developments should not harm their superpower interests and the prospects they have mapped out for our continent. Preservation of the spheres of influence lies in the essence of the European policy of the United States and it has discussed it at previous high-level meetings, too. However, events in Eastern Europe, and not only in Eastern Europe, have brought up new problems which the superpowers seek to preempt or keep under control. Their aim is that the inner processes in various European countries should not affect their spheres of influence and their military-political blocs in Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union try to keep these inner processes under control so that they get not so far as to defy their strategy of control and rule in Europe. European problems were discussed in this light at the Malta meeting, and at the press conference of December 3. American president Bush declared that «any change in Europe and in the world should have American-Soviet relations as its instrument.» This is the well-known line of the superpowers for carrying out

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in various forms their interference in the internal affairs of others, and imposing their control on the internal life of various countries. An expression of this imposition and an open demonstration of the strength of the superpowers to the European and other countries was the fact that the discussion of European problems took place on board American and Soviet warships stationed in the Mediterranean.

The United States and the Soviet Union have supported the reformist processes and the whole wave of counter-revolutionary reformism in the countries of Eastern Europe. For the grand policy and global strategy of the United States and the Soviet Union, this or that name, this or that label, this or that political force that has come or is coming to power is unimportant provided there is no discussion of the problem of belonging to the blocs of the superpowers and the existence of these blocs. On December 1st, Gorbachov put it openly that the problem now is to give the existing organisms in Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty a new form. Affirmation of the preservation and strengthening of the two blocs, carrying them through some kind of perestroika and transforming them into «political-military» blocs expressed the intention of each superpower to maintain its

sphere of influence. In the new international conditions and the situation created in the last months in Europe, the Malta meeting was an affirmation of the strategical interests of the United States and the Soviet Union on the European continent. At the Malta meeting and after it the two superpowers try to coordinate their European policies so as to prevent anything from happening in Europe that would run counter to their presence and influence on the continent. This makes them unite and act jointly against European interests. Speaking about the Malta meeting, the spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gerasimov, declared that «important practical steps may be taken towards the solution of European problems» and that «Bush and Gorbachov avail themselves of this meeting to define common stands on current European problems.»

Treatment of European problems at the Malta meeting in the spirit of the strategical interests of the two superpowers aroused the concern of the European peoples and countries. Europe has aroused the concern of the European peoples and countries. Europe was absent at the Malta meeting, just as it was absent at other high-level meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. This time, however, when precisely European

problems were taken up at the talks between Bush and Gorbachov, the challenge of the superpowers to Europe was more open and more flagrant. So, concern in Europe about the Soviet-American talks has gone on increasing. An expression of this concern was the high-level meeting of the EEC member countries on November 18 this year in Paris. «This meeting», the European press wrote, «shows that united Europe does not intend to accept the condominium of the two superpowers, their quest for and direction of new equilibriums». At the same time, the European press has extensively written about the fear of the European countries lest the Malta meeting may rearrange the cards in Europe at the cost of its peoples. Bush and Gorbachov tried to calm things down and both of them called together high-level meetings of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty «to inform» their members about their talks. More than an information it was an affirmation of the continuity of the blocs in Europe and their direction by the two superpowers.

Despite the great publicity that is being done about it, the Malta meeting is another fact of the manipulation of international problems on the part of the two superpowers. It is a situation fraught with major threats which the United

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more necessary than ever the vigilance of the peoples towards the intrigues of the secret diplomacy of the superpowers, a situation which

calls for realism against illusions, as well as resolute action in defence of freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

## BRUTAL AGGRESSION ON PANAMA

ZËRI I POPULLIT

On December 20, US troops committed an act of aggression against the capital of Panama.

American intervention poses a threat to the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Panama. It has caused a state of tension among the population and insecurity about the future. For the first time since its construction the Panama Canal is closed and American troops are trying to make the law over the whole territory of the country. Their engagement has once again shown the danger of America's presence in the territory of sovereign countries. This aggression is a flagrant case of Washington's intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. It indicates that the USA is ready to intervene militarily in any country which opposes American dictate or which infringes on its superpower interests. The failure of former attempts at establishing a pro-American regime in Panama through the financing, organization and direction of an

opposition and the staging of coups has left the place to direct participation of American troops in military operations.

The pretext the United States used for its military intervention in Panama was «the protection of the life of American citizens and militarymen», as President Bush tried to justify the aggression on American television. If we add to this pretext other American justifications such as «the struggle against terrorism in general», «the struggle against drug traffic», «the defence of democracy» or «American integrity», then the right of the American forces to invasion could hardly leave any corner of the world untouched. Under these absurd pretexts the United States tries to legalize its right of intervention everywhere the inner political process of a country runs counter to the political interests of the White House, everywhere people do not submit to American dictate or resist pressure and blackmail from superpower posi-

tions. When these ends cannot be furthered by other means, as in the case of Panama, Washington unsheathes its sword of aggression.

American aggression has aroused concern and stern condemnations in the international community, which condemned it as a brutal violation of all international norms by a superpower. It is a flagrant violation of the UNO Charter which prohibits all interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, big or small. Every country has the right to freely choose its road of economic, social and political development outside anybody's tutelage, regardless of whether this suits the United States, or any other great power.

The aggression on Panama dispels once again any illusion about the «positive» results of the so-called detente between the superpowers, especially when this aggression is committed immediately after the American-Soviet high-level meeting in Malta. It is

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evidence of the continuation of the aggressive and war-mongering policy the United States has openly carried out formerly against Granada, Lebanon, Libya, etc., and co-

ntinue to pursue in other forms, especially against smaller countries. This aggression convinces the peoples ever more of the necessity of vigilance so as to be

able to cope with any situation and intervention and defend their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

## THE REVISIONIST BETRAYAL CANNOT OUTSHINE THE BRILLIANCE OF THE IDEAS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

ZERI I POPULLIT

The anniversary of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution — this event of unprecedented importance and dimensions in the world history, which for the first time made the people's power a reality and ushered in a new epoch in the life of mankind, the epoch in which a new society without the exploitation of man by man was built — is an occasion to meditate on the fundamental problems of world developments, how to understand the future of society, who is the bearer of progress and in what way it is realized, what is the role of the party of the working class in the social development and on what ideological bases the strategy and tactics of this party is conceived and elaborated.

Not only in the time when the October Revolution triumphed, but also today, these questions remain the

fundamental problems of the ideological struggle between the Marxist-Leninists on the one hand, and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, on the other. Moreover, at the present stage, there is still greater ideological confusion caused by the frontal attack which the Gorbachevite revisionists and all their acolytes have mounted on the revolution, socialism and Marxism-Leninism. It is obvious that the revisionist counter-revolutionary reformism has reached a higher stage. In this situation the leaderships in the Soviet Union and other East-European countries have thrown off all masks they used until recently and now are striving to carry through to the end the transition to completely capitalist lines.

The October Revolution showed that the general trend of social development is towards socialism and the road

for its achievement goes through the socialist revolution with the participation of the broad working masses, with the working class in the lead. This law was confirmed also in the higher stages of the world revolutionary process. But the revolution was heavily hit when Khrushchevite revisionism emerged on the scene, when the revisionist betrayal assumed large-scale proportions and blocked the advance of the revolution on the socialist road. The bourgeois ideologists used this retrogressive situation to deny the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat and their aspirations to a new society.

The time has shown that the revolutionary communists have a clear and logical concept about the future, because it was based on the theoretical thinking of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. This concept was neither a

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utopia, as the bourgeois ideologists claim, nor anachronic and anti-democratic, as the social-democrat theoreticians try to make out. It is based on the scientific analysis of contradictions in imperialist society, on the need for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which it is impossible to imagine the creation of socialist society at any time and place.

It is not in vain that the bourgeoisie and its minions want the working people to abandon and ignore the socialist ideal, to deny the socialist alternative of social development. To achieve this they bring false arguments alleging that the nature of capitalism has changed, that society is becoming deproletarianized and that the post-industrial Western society offers equal opportunities and that the interests of all strata of population are becoming ever better harmonized. This is the road followed also by the different variants of revisionism which have discarded the principles of Marxism-Leninism and now are in search of a new socialism «with a human face». The views of the Gorbachovite revisionists, who have openly denied the historic mission and the class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat have made the ideological confusion still greater. The new Gorbachovite political thinking describes all these as outdated stereotypes, claiming that they cannot keep pace with the changes that have occurred in the world and, as a result, «other roads towards the future» must be sought. The Gorbachovites call for the creation of «a new world order», in which the interests of socialism and capitalism will allegedly converge and be integrated. This is tantamount to giving an indefinite lease of life to the capitalist system; it is an effort to divert the peoples from the struggle against neo-colonialism and the working class from the struggle against monopoly capital and, on the international plane, to allow the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, to preserve their spheres of influence, by monopolizing the right of deciding on all international issues.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists present the current crisis which has swept the Soviet Union and other East-European countries as the crisis of socialism as a social order and of communism as an ideology which inspires it. The whole of Western capital is very anxious to see perestroika and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union grow deeper. They are interested in the intensification of the processes of privatization of the economy,

the still greater extension of ideological pluralism and the opening of the road for political pluralism. If, for given reasons of the historic tradition, the Gorbachovites are compelled to proceed more slowly on this road, the political developments in Poland and Hungary are more rapid. The anti-communist forces of the right there have taken political power. The Polish revisionist party suffered complete defeat in the recent elections and was forced to accept the primary role of «Solidarity». In Hungary, the events have precipitated still more rapidly and with more profound consequences. The former revisionist party transformed itself into a party of the social-democratic type, the red star was removed and all communist symbols and the word «popular» have been taken off the official name of Hungary. The events that have taken place in this country serve as a mirror which shows clearly the end towards which revisionism is leading these countries. The profound economic, political, social and national crisis which has engulfed the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe has nothing to do with socialism or with the communist ideology. It is part of the general crisis of capitalism, the logical product of the revisionist counter-revolution, the result of the anti-Marxist line of

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the revisionist parties, and of the negation of the ideals of socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists have always highly assessed the teachings of the October Revolution, the glorious work of the Bolshevik Party of the time of Lenin and Stalin, the sacrifices, efforts and achievements of the Soviet peoples for the socialist construction, the internationalist policy of the Soviet state and the historic contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of fascism. But this reality, which inspired the others, was overthrown after the Khrushchevite counter-revolutionary blow and the betrayal of the ideas of the October revolution. Despite the manoeuvres which Gorbachov is resorting to neither the Party, the Soviet state, nor his foreign policy

have anything to do with the bolshevik principles of the Soviet Union, with the teachings of Lenin and with the road the October Revolution opened.

The Gorbachovite perestroika, glasnost, and «the new political thinking» are in flagrant opposition to the ideals and the spirit of October. The Party of Labour of Albania, tempered by Comrade Enver Hoxha and imbued with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, holds high the red banner of the ideas of October. It continues the construction of socialism with success, thus showing the vitality of socialism in the practice of Albania. Despite the revisionist betrayal, the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the wave of counter-revolutionary impulse from the October Socialist Revolution

72 years ago, looks forward towards the future with confidence. Socialism as a theory and practice exists. Its ideas inspire the proletariat and the peoples in the struggle for national and social liberation. The experience of the world revolutionary movement shows that the proletarian revolution will come up against barriers, that its course can be contained for some time, but the development and the triumph of the revolution, the course towards socialism and communism are the verdict of history. At the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alla pointed out that the revolution marches ahead, because the proletariat and the peoples cannot reconcile themselves to exploitation and oppression.

## IT IS NOT COMMUNISM BUT THE DISTORTION OF COMMUNISM WHICH ENDED IN FAILURE IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES

### ZËRI I POPULLIT

The present crisis in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere has opened a great deal of problems for the leaderships there and for those circles in the West

which, more than three decades ago, launched the strategy of the peaceful transformation of the socialist countries. The success they achieved in that period with this strategy is yielding its fruit today with the developments which we are witnessing in some Eastern countries. This situation has created many other problems

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linked with the nature of the capitalist models and order.

The failure of revisionism in large-scale proportions in these countries brought about a situation in which the economic and political system, borrowed from the capitalist West, and the methods used have been completely discredited. The political, diplomatic and propaganda machine of the West have mounted an all-out campaign against socialism and communism, which are made to blame for the chaos that prevailed in the Eastern countries. This is done in an effort to defend these economic and political methods and system. Efforts are made to present the crisis of revisionism as the crisis of socialism and communism, to convince the international opinion that Marx's doctrine is dead. William Lures, an American expert of Eastern affairs, writes that the recent events marked the dramatic end and the demise of the most powerful ideology of the modern epoch — communism. In the centuries to come dictionary-makers will consider the term communism in the same way as we consider the term «alchemy» today. The American political expert, George Will; expresses his enthusiasm that now no more Marxists are left and only a handful of them have remained in the Western universities.

By attributing all evils to

socialism, they think that they have explained the whole significance and implication of the present events and the causes of the grave crisis in the Soviet Union and in the other Eastern countries. The first speculative premise on which the whole architecture of the present campaign is built is in the presentation of the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe as communist. For more than thirty years these countries have proceeded on the capitalist road and their failure today is the failure of the road they chose. This had been predicted long ago by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The propaganda of the Western bourgeoisie about the crisis of communism finds support among the revisionists of these countries, who also explain their failure with the failure of communism. Their aim is to create the conviction at home about the need of abandoning communism once and for good. A Soviet scholar writes in the September issue of the review MEMO: «Everything is clear today: the champions of the socialist alternative, that is the communist parties, are grappling with the difficulties of the crisis». What the West is striving for is to defend its own models at all costs. It is not satisfied with the discredit which the restoration of capitalism in the East-European countries brought to its political and

economic philosophy. Therefore, now it wants to avoid this by endeavouring to present the crisis of capitalism as a crisis due to the ills of socialism. The big Western bourgeoisie is hastening to assist revisionism and the barren socio-political-economic and state graft that revisionism has created.

It is obvious that the campaign against socialism is nothing but an effort to make the most of the fact that the revolution is now in a phase of recession, after the heavy blow by the bourgeoisie and reaction. The ebb which is taking place today in the revolution is only a temporary reality. Its causes are connected with the operation of the subjective factors, which have to do with those social and economic processes that did not and could not involve the working masses, or even if they did it was not in a conscious manner. These phenomena developed in the former socialist countries, where the state structures were not completely freed from the autocratic burdens inherited from the past. If in the past it was these objective factors which helped the revisionists to take power, it is again these same factors which facilitated the transition of power to the anti-communist forces of the right. Whatever the causes, this transition of power from one political force to another operated from the same basis,

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which is anti-socialist. Any illusion about this issue is full of consequences.

The political crisis in the East-European countries, as one of the basic aspects of the general crisis, gave a strong impulse to this campaign. Not that the economic crisis is of no consequence. It has been and continues to have a devastating effect, but in the conditions of «stagnation» and «mature socialism» the term crisis was banned from public use, whereas today, as a result of «glasnost», it has regained currency in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Many reforms of the Kossygin, Kádár, and other types were taken with the aim of stopping the economy from falling apart by privatization and decentralization measures. In the political sphere, the rhythms of reforms were slower, and there was a general tendency to keep the socialist and communist labels and facade of the party and retain the state structures. This gave rise to a contradiction between the political relations and structures, on the one hand, and the economic relations and structures, on the other hand. Failure to bring the decentralization of the economy into accord with the political bureaucratic centralism of the state machine was bound to lead to the birth of sharp social problems, as it did. In this climate, the Eastern countries were swept by the

wave upon wave of more far-reaching capitalist reforms. The state monopoly did not yield the desired results and the existing political structures did not prove sufficient to ensure the smooth working of private capitalism. This situation led to the deepening of the political crisis and to extreme political reforms that aim at making political structures still more compatible with the forms of the private economy. In the Soviet Union we can actually see that perestroika and the reforms of the political system are striving to create a managerial structure closer to the forms used in the West — such as the enhancement of the role of the president and the pushing of the role of the party to the sidelines. Actually, owing to a rooted political tradition, this process is slower in the Soviet Union compared with the other countries of the East. In Poland, the political crisis is manifested in the defeat of the party in the elections and the coming to power, for the first time after 40 years, of a government headed by the catholic Mazowieczsky. In Hungary, the special congress disbanded the existing party and ruled on the creation of the socialist party. It is obvious that upheavals and political reforms do not develop apace in all Eastern countries, despite the pressure of the international bourgeoisie in favour of the imple-

mentation of Gorbachov reforms of that type which is being adopted in Poland and Hungary.

Despite their peculiarities, the trend of political changes and reforms in the Eastern countries have one common denominator. They show that there is a general tendency to bring the revisionist political system still closer to the western political system and eventually merge them into one. This is a process which the western political literature describes with the term «ideological hegemonization» of mankind. Professor Fancis Fukujama, vice-director of the political planning branch at the Department of State, writes that «we are witnesses not only of the end of a special period in the post-war history, but also of the final stage of the ideological evolution of mankind and the birth of Western-type liberal democracy, as the final form of government of mankind.» This is what the many Soviet scholars and experts admit, too. In an interview given a few days ago, Oleg Bogomolov, director of the institute of the world socialist system at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, spoke about the affinity of socialism with capitalism and the merger that is eventually taking place between them. Western experts say that the political reforms in the East serve as a ferment of this ideological merger and hegemonization.



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According to Erick Hobsbawm, professor of economic and social history at the London University, the overall crisis of the communist regimes leads to the overcoming of the old split between capitalism and socialism.

The present ebbing in the revolutionary tide and the bourgeois campaign which is loudly proclaiming the downfall of communism pose problems which must be seen from a wider angle. The political crisis in the revisionist countries is real. Just as real as the transition more and more towards the right in the political ideology and philosophy in these countries. This process is gradually assuming the forms and contents of transition from one-party rule to political pluralism, in which, both forms are based on one and the same anti-communist political essence, with the difference that the one-party system still retains the «socialist» appearance, whereas the advocates of pluralism have thrown off all disguise of socialism, preferring democratic labels.

The anti-socialist campaign that international reaction has launched is assisted by another fact. Some communist parties created an incorrect image of socialism in the eyes of the working masses. People were often made to believe that socialism would realize, as if by the magic wand, what its theory proclaims. Here we can

mention Khrushchev's «gush socialism». The author of this program promised that the Soviet Union would build socialism in 1960, communism in 1980, and overstrip the USA in all fields. Then, there is the «egalitarian socialism» of Mao Zedong, who promised the arithmetical equality of the people. The failure of these concepts and practices was in some way assisted by an attitude of passive expectation of the working masses, which were educated to wait for socialism to come there as a gift from above. The bourgeoisie used these situations to its own advantage to present them as models of the defeat of socialism.

The concept that «socialism is built within one day» is anything but it cannot be a Marxist one. The classics of Marxism-Leninism never designed socialism to be a system which can be built easily and without difficulties, or as an order which ensures all-sided superiority over the capitalist order immediately after the establishment of the political state power of the people. They have emphasized that this road is full of contradictions, conflicts and difficulties which should be overcome. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA: «We must not forget Lenin's saying that, in the final analysis, the level of the productivity of social la-

bour will be the gauge of the superiority of the one or the other social order.» The building of socialism requires colossal work in many directions: in ideology, policies, the economy, society, and the state for the emancipation of society as a whole and of man, in particular. The experience of what occurred in the Soviet Union has shown that there are difficult and complex problems that have to be tackled with. Democracy for the masses is not created on the morrow of the triumph of the revolution, and it may happen that individual persons and organs can accumulate much more power than belongs to them, either because of particular personal reasons, or because this or that country lacked a true political and democratic tradition.

Socialism is an alternative order confronting capitalism and will remain so, but this alternative is materialized in concrete terms. The superior values of this order stem not only from the correctness of its theoretical analyses and formulations, but, in the first place, from their implementation in practice. It is true that socialism is a relatively new order, with only 70 years of experience, confronted with the rival system which exists for hundreds of years. Despite this, it has shown its worth and is manifesting it in practice. When the Party of Labour

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of Albania stresses that socialism is a social order capable of coping with the challenges of the time, this does not mean that the manuals of the Marxist doctrine provide ready solutions to all the problems. First of all, this means that there is a constant need for the revolutionary thought of the masses, tested in the new concrete problems and generalized on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Ramiz Alia teaches us: «The practice,

hence, the solution of the problems that emerge, is not only a criterion of the truth, but also a condition for safeguarding the truth.» This major theoretical and practical conclusion of our Party shows how important is the revolutionary solution of problems for the defence of socialism and its values. The increase of the values of socialism is the best answer which can prove that socialism lives and advances, both as a theory and as a practice. The defeat of re-

visionism cannot outshine these great values. The example of Albania affirms the strength of the ideas of socialism. «The successful construction of socialism in our country, the advance of Albania, where the banner of Marxism-Leninism is held high,» Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, «are the answer to and the exposure of the slanders of the enemies, who try to present the failure and crisis of the revisionists as a failure of communism.»

*In Albania everything is done and produced for the good of the working people. In the photo: Terraced hills on the Ionian coast and a modern livestock stall.*



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