

Albania today

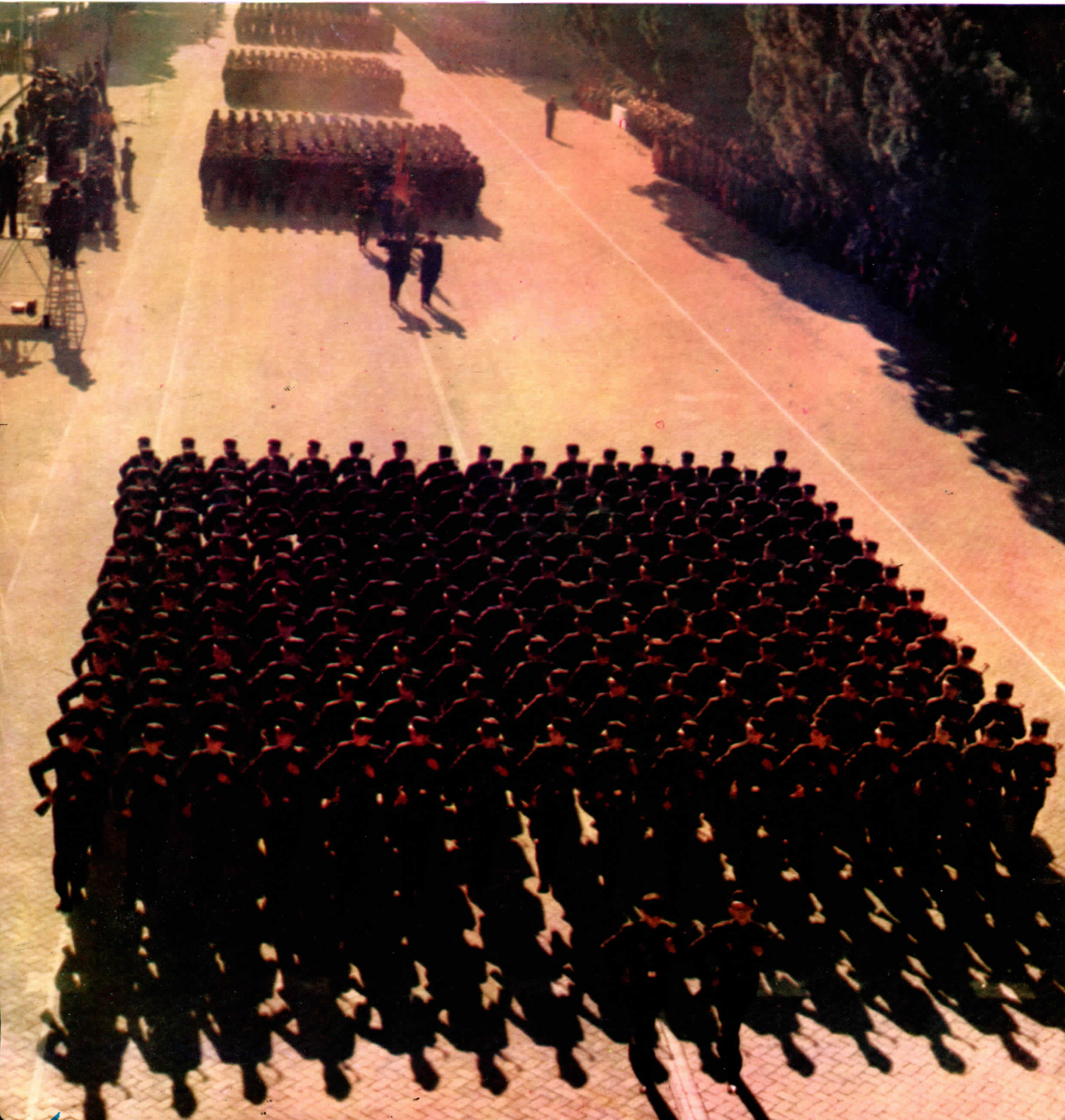
POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 6 (79) / 1984



◀ Comrade ENVER HOXHA, the beloved leader of the Party and people.

View of the military parade and popular manifestation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.



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ENVER HOXHA

MESSAGE OF GREETING OF THE 40th OF THE LIBERATION

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE BELOVED CELEBRATIONS! CONGRATULATIONS

Ah, my beloved Homeland! Seventy-two years have gone by since the proclamation of independence. For 40 years you have been living and advancing in socialism, liberated forever from oppression and exploitation, from the intrigues and villainies of foreign occupiers and the internal enemies. All through the centuries, you, my Albania, have experienced endless sufferings and hardships. Your life has been filled with bloody wars, which have been waged in every corner of your territory, in the mountains and on the plains, in the castles and the humble cottages. You shed your blood, my people, in order to live free and independent like the mountain eagle that you were, with your freedom-loving spirit and dauntless character, with your clear mind and wisdom, your great, courageous and generous heart, your desires and ardent aspirations. You were never afraid to fight against the enemy and slavery, never intimidated by occupation, despite the trickery, the burnings and killings which the enemy engaged in; you never bent the knee to foreigners or accepted betrayal, but always stood proudly and fought back. In your belt you carried the silverchased pistols, on your shoulders rifles, in your hands the drawn sword and you fought furiously. Attacked from all sides, you were often defeated, but never conquered, my Albania and my people!

It is hard to find in the world another small country like our Albania, with a people such as the Albanian people, who have fought so much, who have dared so much, who have displayed such great courage and wisdom, who have smashed all the enemies and emerged proudly in history, who have emerged free and sovereign, and have seized power through the strength of their own arms, without seeking or enjoying the aid of anyone else. The most ferocious enemies have attacked this valiant people and sought to wipe them from the face of the earth, to eliminate Albania from the map of the world, to partition it and divide it amongst its neighbours, the rulers of which were agents of Great Powers. But in vain. Albania and the Albanians fought and triumphed, they were, are and will be immortal.

Ah, my Albania, my people, history speaks of these great merits. Now history speaks more loudly, but it has spoken in the past, too, although the foreign enemies have done their utmost to stop anyone from hearing your voice. Nevertheless, this voice could not be smothered, because the echo of the Albanians' wars reverberated from the mountains, spread through space and told the world how a dauntless people, with Skanderbeg at the head, be-

SONGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA

29 November 1984

SONGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA TO OUR WONDERFUL PEOPLE!

came the terror of the Ottomans. While Europe trembled before the Turkish sultans' hordes, in the mountains of Albania a people, led by a hero who defended the Homeland and Europe from invasion, fought and resisted. My valiant people, you shed torrents of blood but no one was grateful to you, and despite this, you were not discouraged, because life had taught you that you must take your fate into your own hands and defend and liberate your Homeland.

Many enemies have violated our mother soil — the Romans of Caesar and Mark Antony, the Ottomans, the Serbian hordes, from the time of Stephan Dusan to the Karageorgevics, the Greeks of Venizelos and Zographos, the Italians of the First World War and those of Mussolini, the Austro-Hungarians of Francis Joseph and the Germans of Hitler. But you, the Albanian people, faced up to all these invaders emerging after each occupation more united, more rejuvenated, more determined to refuse to bow your head to anyone.

The archives of the chancelleries of the states of Europe have been filled with documents which testify to your struggle, to your valiant deeds and your ardent aspirations for freedom. But these archives are not open, to this day they remain closed. The archives of Istanbul, Belgrade and Athens, Italy, Austria and France remain closed. But, my heroic people, your majestic history has been written better and more clearly than in the memoranda of foreign chancelleries with your blood and sweat and you yourselves have sung about it generation after generation. Your songs faithfully describe your great history, your customs, habits and costumes; they are hymns to your valour, endurance, loyalty and nobility, to your life in its harmonious development.

Thus you sang them to yourselves, to your blood, to your immortality. These songs inspired the generations that came, armed them with love for the Homeland and for freedom, told them of the courage, determination and dauntless spirit of their forefathers, told them that their freedom, honour, language, customs and culture could be defended only with blood and sweat.

Your songs evoke the aid which you, the Albanian people, have given other peoples in the course of history. They are songs to Skanderbeg and his valiant Albanian fighters who assisted Hunyadi, who assisted in the liberation of the Kingdom of Naples; they are songs to your sons who went and fought as far away as France with Marshal de Querc; they are songs to the valiant fighters of this land who assisted the revolution for the independen-

ce of Greece. Where has the Albanian not fought for freedom, not displayed valour, not displayed vitality and wisdom!

From your ranks, my people, great men have emerged, men who have fought with the rifle and the pen, who have inspired the generations and imbued them with patriotism, with their sense of freedom. These men have dreamed, worked and striven for the Motherland to live free, for the Albanians to gain learning, to assimilate knowledge and build the free Albania, unhampered by chains or by foreigners, in which the Albanian language would flower, «our language so beautiful, so pure», so tuneful in the songs of the inhabitants of the highlands and the plains, of the courageous women and the girls and boys. How greatly that language was loved and valued by the outstanding patriots of all periods, especially those of our National Renaissance, who, with their keen minds, desired that this language should be written and taught in the Albanian schools and that these schools should wipe out from amongst the people the ignorance, the influence of languages of countries which oppressed us, should wipe out the ignorance of the Middle Ages and religions which poisoned the spirit of the Albanian people. These pioneers of the Albanian language sacrificed themselves on the altar of the Homeland, their blood became a beacon-light, their work took root, grew up and developed amidst storms, amidst the suffering and poverty. From the Albanian schools, which were opened through the efforts of these outstanding patriots, emerged people who collected the songs of our history and the customs of the people, which strengthened the determination of the Albanian to liberate himself, which gave us light and the strength of knowledge, until in the end, you, my beloved people, overcame all these hardships.

History had taught you that those peoples who do not fight are eliminated, therefore, you, my people, fought for freedom, for your language, for your customs, for your sacred soil, and you were not eliminated, but triumphed. Centuries went by in ceaseless wars in which you suffered death and destruction but you did not yield and were not quelled, and eventually, on November 29, 1944, together with your freedom you also won power, became masters of your own fate and emerged in the light for ever, because at the head of your struggle you had the heroic Communist Party, to which you, the people, gave birth and which you defended and nurtured with the blood of your finest sons, so that it would grow strong as the moments and your future and that of our Homeland required. This was a well-earned victory.

Rarely has any other people deserved such a victory as you deserved it, my people, because you have been strong, courageous, and optimistic and you have always loved life. You brought forth noble sons and daughters, fiery-hearted, eagle-eyed and strong as the rocks of the Alps, who fell upon the enemy like thunder and lightning. Such were your sons and daughters who led you in battle with songs on their lips together with the war cries, of whose history, battles and sacrifice you, my valiant and great-hearted people, sang.

Not just one or two, or a few thousand individuals, but a whole people were inspired at every moment, in every period, at all the troubled moments of history, by your glorious past, my Homeland. Never was the head of the Albanian confused in storms and blizzards. Never were the Albanian people conquered, but they forged ahead through the storms and conquered the enemies, however mighty, ferocious and well-armed they were.

You, my dear people, were not barbarians, others behaved like barbarians towards you; you, my people, were not without culture, others wanted to impose their enslaving culture on you. You had not only strong muscles, but also keen minds and great hearts, and that is why the invaders could neither assimilate you, nor wipe you out. The enemies have left nothing unsaid against you, but life, struggle, history, has proved them wrong. You have been superior to your enemies from every standpoint.

Your whole life, my people, has been revolution, even when you were starving, naked or dressed in rags, with your bodies bleeding from wounds, but fiery-spirited and unbowed.

At no time has your life been meaningless, but on the contrary, every year, every day of your life, has been filled with struggles and strivings for freedom, justice and economic and social development and progress. This way of life has always kept us vigorous, and the Party of Labour has always had this on the order of the day. The Party has made the revolutionary traditions of our people an inseparable part of our life: the outstanding dates, events and figures of the people are celebrated, sung and written about. A marvellous situation has been created everywhere, the political enlightenment and outstanding patriotism of the people are immortal. As a result of this sound state of affairs Albania is advancing and building socialism successfully, people are conscientious in work and in action, fighters for the great cause of socialism and communism, and young and old love our heroic Party wholeheartedly.

All the blessings which we have created and are enjoying during the years of socialism stem from the National Liberation War of the people led by the Communist Party, which has always been enlightened by Marxism-Leninism — its unerring guide. Guided by this ideology from the time of its creation, the Party was able to imbue and temper the new man of socialist Albania with the patriotism of centuries, to unite and mobilize the whole people in the sacred war for freedom, to lead them on such a course that, besides winning their freedom, the people took power in their own hands, established the people's state power and set to work to make our beloved Albania a flourishing garden, the free country of free people.

We fought and triumphed, the whole of Albania was raised to its feet during the National Liberation War. All our villages became nurseries of partisans. The whole people was able to unite firmly around the Party, drove the barbarous foreign invaders from our soil once and for all, overthrew the power of the feudal lords, beys and capitalists, and punished the traitors as they deserved. Many of the finest sons of this people fell with honour on the field of battle, but they became torch-bearers and today all over Albania their remains rest in monumental cemeteries to which the people go continually to pay the greatest homage, because the blood they shed cemented the foundations of the new Albania.

All the foreigners who visit our country bow with respect before the graves of our heroes and say with conviction and admiration that these people have fought, have shed their blood and that war has been waged on every inch of this soil.

After Liberation you, my people, continued the struggle heroically. The Party led you in even greater, even more difficult battles, the battles for socialism which you had to win through toil and sweat, through knowledge and determination. Day by day, you are working, triumphing and advancing without laying down the rifle and without bending the knee to old enemies or to new ones in all kinds of disguises.

The Party, the people and socialism, filled Albania with great factories, combines and hydro-power stations, made the plains flourish, beautified hills and mountains with terraces, planted forests up to the Alps, and developed the livestock farming and agriculture of which Naim sang with such passion, filled the country with schools, cultural and scientific institutions, wiped out the illiteracy, the darkness and backwardness of the past, and brought the light of learning, development and scientific progress everywhere. Socialist Albania today is the only country in the world which is building socialism entirely with its own forces, without accepting credits from anyone and without being indebted to anyone, a country without taxes, without inflation and unemployment, a country where schooling and the medical service are free of charge. Every corner of Albania has been transformed to its foundations, the life of our long-suffering people has changed radically and has become secure, enlightened and prosperous. Above all, during this whole process, the Party united all the people more firmly and made them conscious of their great and decisive role in history.

This beautiful Albania which you, my Party, have built amidst so many storms, struggles and intrigues, this happy life which we enjoy today, this new man whom you formed,

are your glorious works which you achieved through the strength of your people, through your determination and maturity, and through your mind enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, without holding out your hand to foreigners. Not only has the aid of foreigners been very restricted, but as experience has proved, although provided under the disguise of proletarian internationalism, in essence it had an enslaving imperialist character. Believing that it did not have an enslaving character, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania accepted this aid in order to set the country on its feet again. But when we saw that with the aid that they provided the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists and those of the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mao Zedong's China had ulterior, hostile, enslaving aims, or intended to turn Albania into an appendage dependent on them, so that it would lose its freedom and independence, we tore the mask from them and told them bluntly and clearly that socialist Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handout of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.

For 40 years on end, my valiant Albania, you have kept the honoured flag of Marxism-Leninism flying, just as through the centuries you have kept the flag of freedom flying, the red flag with the two-headed eagle, to which you added a five-pointed star, the star of freedom, the star of socialism and communism.

Not for one moment during the 40 years of life in socialism have you, my people, with the Party of Labour at the head, allowed the new perfidious and powerful enemies to conquer you. Once again you drew the sword, which was now keener-edged, tempered in the fires of repeated battles, and forged on the anvil of history. With this sword you, my Party, mercilessly struck down the imperialists and reactionaries, struck down the modern revisionists of all hues, and compelled those secret revisionists, who, for their own hegemonic aims, seemed to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, shone forth and became beacon-lights for the peoples and revolutionaries in the world.

You, my socialist Homeland, led by the Party of Labour, waged this heroic struggle with astonishing vigour, and your powerful voice was listened to because you rose resolutely against Titoism which was unmasked in the eyes of the whole world as an ideological and political agency of American imperialism and world reaction. Over a long period you have always struggled and raised your voice against American imperialism and all the reactionary bourgeoisie of the world which seeks to keep the peoples and the proletariat of the whole world under its heel, and in the same way you have raised your voice against the Soviet social-imperialists who are struggling for world hegemony, to oppress the peoples by threatening them with the force of arms, and atomic bombs. Later your powerful voice was raised to the skies of this troubled world against the practice and theory of Mao Zedong and the entire Chinese leadership which betrayed Marxism-Leninism and set out on the revisionist course to make China an imperialist world superpower.

Infuriated by the just stands, the determination and the courage of a small people and a valiant Party, the imperialist and revisionist enemies left nothing unsaid against us. They speak and write angrily and with evil aims, «What is this people, what is this Party which is making such a clamour, what are these stubborn creatures who are not afraid to oppose powerful states?! They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submission through blockades...» However, they are gravely mista-

ken, as they have always been mistaken, because they have not known and have not wanted to know the history of the Albanian people, the manly character of the Albanian, have not wanted to recognize what lofty meaning the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland has always had for the Albanian. As the capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries they are they have thought and still think that nothing can withstand their economic and military strength and their ideology. But, you see, the peoples, whether big or small, have the strength to resist enemies. The peoples who fight always triumph; the enemies are quite unable to destroy the Marxist-Leninist parties which stand unwaveringly on their principles. Marxism-Leninism, which guides the proletariat, the genuine communist parties and the peoples who are demanding liberation and their rights, is invincible.

The struggle against Soviet revisionism and all modern revisionism is one of your most brilliant epics, my Party. This heroic struggle is an honour and pride for you, the working class of Albania, for you, the Albanian people, for you, our socialist Albania! All the states of the world, of whatever regime, all the peoples, all the political currents, friendly and hostile, cannot but admit that you are completely free, independent, and stand as firm as granite.

Our socialist Albania, you withstood the furious waves of enemies and did not yield. Your just, courageous, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stands have made numerous friends and admirers from all countries rally round you; even though you were small, the world proletariat looked and looks to you with hope and trust, because in your course and determination it sees its great ideal, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle for the revolution, the struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary forces which oppress and exploit it, accomplished and invincible. You have told and tell the proletariat and the peoples the truth, and the truth has extraordinary importance. The truth gives you vigour, does not allow you to fall into the abyss and break your neck, illuminates the way, opens new paths, causes mighty forces to emerge from the bosom of the people to overcome all the enemies, all the difficulties, and all the intrigues.

With their stands and opinions, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania have given and give heart and confidence to all and tell the proletariat and the peoples: stand as we stand, fight as we fight, because you will triumph as we have triumphed and are triumphing. Our victory is certain, our victory is a common victory, therefore, we must close our ranks in the heat of the war against enemies. Open fire on the revisionists, betrayers of the working class and the peoples, open fire on the imperialist plans of big world capital, because only in this way can the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland be won, and the revolution develop and triumph. All the talk about taking power by means of reforms is poppycock. The bourgeoisie and capitalism can never agree to allow the working class, the most advanced class in the world to which the future belongs, to take power. On the contrary, every day the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat are preparing sugar-coated poison pills and forging new chains of enslavement, therefore, only by fighting against the old system of the power of capital can the peoples and the proletariat triumph step by step and take power into their own hands. The Party of Labour followed this course and thus the Albanian people were liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

In all your actions, heroic Party, you have had a lofty aim, and have always proceeded cautiously but without fear. Your stand has never been one of crawling, you have never been opportunist, but neither have you been sectarian, you have always marched forward on the Marxist-Leninist course. Your sole aim throughout has been the good of the peoples. You have sincerely loved the genuine Marxist-Leninists, have defended them to the end, and will always defend them in this way. You have always stated your opinions openly, gently when necessary, but you have raised your tone when this has been required. With those who have made mistakes, you have tried patiently to correct them, have advised them wisely, and at the same time, you have listened attentively to any valuable advice and have learned from it.

You have supported their correct actions, but when they have been wrong you have criticised them. This is the course you have always followed, but when the cup has been filled, and you have been convinced that there is no way other than that of struggle, you have not been afraid but have declared war on enemies and have never ceased this struggle.

We have never retreated or made any concessions to enemies. History has taught us this, we have learned it not only from our own sufferings and hardships but also from those of all the peoples of the world, from their countless struggles during the centuries.

Marxism-Leninism has opened our eyes with the conclusions drawn from the analyses which it has made of the development of society through the class struggle. It teaches us that the class struggle is the motor of society, which keeps you alive, gives you strength, gives you victory. If you extinguish this struggle the bourgeoisie and capitalism will strangle and enslave you, and our people have never liked slavery. On the contrary, our people have always fought against the grip of slavery. Therefore, our Party has never ceased the class struggle, either internally or in the international arena, and never will cease it, even for a moment. For 40 years on end our people and Party have resolutely opposed and combated everything old and conservative, opportunist and liberal, all those who have tried openly or secretly to divert us from our correct course, we have fought any force or ideology which has aimed to infect the consciousness of our people, to hinder our march towards better days, towards the present and the more secure future. We have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unshakeable «either by the cannon, or the bomb», as the folk song says, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

We have many friends and admirers in the world. Our friends are all the peoples of the world who have a great love and respect for Albania, speak with admiration about our country and our socialist reality, and want to know where we find this strength, because they still do not understand how this reality has been achieved. Therefore, it is our duty to make the victories of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people and socialist Albania known in all their aspects to the peoples, to explain them not only with the present, but with all the glorious past history of the Albanian people. These victories are like a steel chain, the links of which are the revolutionary events inseparable from each other, which represent, at different stages, the permanent ideals of the freedom, independence, democracy, and unity of our nation, of our well-being, culture and ceaseless progress. We must explain to our brothers and admiring friends that this chain of the life of the Albanian people has achieved unprecedented toughness at the present day, thanks to Marxism-Leninism which we are trying to understand profoundly in all its aspects and to faithfully apply its principles in the conditions of our country and the international situation.

We have not permitted the principles of our foreign policy to be subordinated to the momentary changes in the world situation. We always take the international political and economic situation into account, but in our relations with other states, in our stands, we have always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles because they are the key to the correct understanding and assessment of world events, circumstances that arise, the intrigues and aims of imperialism towards the aspirations of the revolutionary forces, the peoples and the proletariat of each country and the whole world.

Because of all these things, when the red-letter days, the 28th and 29th of November, draw near, socialist Albania celebrates in the full meaning of the term. Everywhere there is rejoicing over the work, the achievements and the fine new life. The whole people sing about and rejoice over the great victories that have been achieved in all fields, the new socialist life, the security and great and clear prospects for the future.

I feel boundless satisfaction when I see on the TV, hear on the radio, or read in the papers about the great construction work that is going on all over the Homeland, about the

triumphs and successes which have been achieved, one after the other, in all fields. It warms my heart when I see our tireless and skilful workers and specialists building dams, constructing machinery, and setting modern plants and combines in action with competence and skill; when I see the cooperativists in the plains, the hills and the mountains, carefully cultivating the crops and getting yields of world level; when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books, or in laboratories, working on sketches and designs; when alongside men, everywhere, I see the Albanian girls and women whom the Party drew into life, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement, in development, in consistent progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, their life, to freedom and socialism.

The people themselves, with the Party at the head, have created such a situation, that is why when they are working and rejoicing, especially when they come to celebrations, our people express with astonishing force the fine pure feelings which inspire them to even greater deeds.

For us, the soldiers of the Party, there can be no greater satisfaction than this, when we see you, our people, masters of your own fate, happy, contented, and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania transformed into an impregnable fortress, and with ceaseless socialist development. The satisfaction and pride which we feel is the fruit of the great victories we have achieved, of our uninterrupted efforts, of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party our dear Albania has been transformed to its very foundations, has known that growth, that renewal, that all-round development which it had not experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

During the coming decades the people and Party, firmly united, as always, will do even more for this dear land, for this country of eagles. Hence, let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world.

To our beloved socialist Albania, to our wonderful heroic people,

Greetings on the occasion of the November celebrations!

RAMIZ ALIA

THE CORRECT LINE OF THE SOURCE OF OUR VICTORIES

COMRADES,

WE HAVE GATHERED IN THIS SOLEMN MEETING TO CELEBRATE THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

OUR JOY IS GREAT BECAUSE THE VICTORIES WHICH THE PEOPLE HAVE ACHIEVED IN THE TITANIC 40 YEARS' STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM ARE GREAT ONES, BECAUSE THE HEROISM OF OUR WORKING PEOPLE FOR THE DEFENCE AND PROGRESS OF THEIR FREE AND INDEPENDENT HOMELAND IS OUTSTANDING.

IN THIS BRILLIANT JUBILEE WE TURN OUR THOUGHTS TO AND HONOUR OUR VALIANT PARTISANS WHO FOUGHT WITH RARE COURAGE AND BROUGHT FREEDOM TO THE HOMELAND, TURN THEM TO THOSE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PEOPLE WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES TO DRIVE OUT THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS AND OVERTHROW THE FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS CLASSES, TURN THEM TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS, PEASANTS AND PEOPLE'S INTELLECTUALS WHO, WITH PURE HEARTS AND ARDENT SPIRITS, HAVE Poured OUT TORRENTS OF SWEAT AND MADE COUNTLESS SACRIFICES IN ORDER TO BUILD THE NEW SOCIALIST ALBANIA, TURN THEM TO ALL OUR PEOPLE WHO, WITH RARE COURAGE AND DETERMINATION, ARE CARRYING FORWARD THE GLORIOUS CAUSE OF SOCIALISM.

OUR PROFOUND GRATITUDE IS DIRECTED TO OUR VALIANT PARTY, WHICH, WITH A SURE HAND, THROUGH ITS WISE LEADERSHIP, BROUGHT US TO THESE HAPPY DAYS WHICH WE ENJOY TODAY. IT IS ADDRESSED TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE GREAT SON OF OUR PEOPLE, OUR BELOVED TEACHER AND LEADER, THE ARCHITECT OF THE NEW SOCIALIST ALBANIA.

On these red-letter days for the Albanian people we greet all our compatriots, wherever they are, whose patriotism and love for the Motherland have always been a powerful support and assistance in our struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the country.

We also greet the many friends and admirers of Albania throughout the world, whose sincere sympathy and support have been inspiring in the battles for the construction of socialism and in our struggle against imperialism and international reaction.

Forty years is not a long period in the history of a people, especially for the Albanian people whose history extends over thousands of years. But the 40 years of the epoch of the Party challenge the centuries. Through the triumph of the people's revolution Albania emerged from slavery to freedom, from poverty to prosperity. Through this victory all the shackles of capitalist oppression and exploitation were broken, the epoch of feudal and patriarchal canons was closed and dependence on and interference by foreigners came to an end. November 29, 1944 opened the new epoch, that of a great overthrow, of major political, ideological, so-

Speech delivered on 27 November 1984 at the solemn meeting commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania

cial and economic transformations, the epoch of embracing the communist ideal and of the construction of socialism.

Our people come to the 40th anniversary of Liberation proud of the road they have traversed, and the Party with its head held high for the victories achieved. Today our new Albania is a country advanced in all fields and directions. To make a comparison with the past there are ample figures of statistics. Compared with 40 years ago, in 1983 the social product had increased almost 30 fold, total industrial production 155 fold and total agricultural production nearly 5.5 times over. During this period the growth of the social product has been about 8.5 times higher than the increase in the population. At present, more than 80 per cent of the population lives in new houses and apartments built since Liberation. These and other figures like them say a great deal. But no figures, no statistics, can express the majesty and proportions of what has taken place.

Only the minds and hearts of our people are able to feel and understand the depth and extent of those colossal quantitative and qualitative changes which have been made during these 40 years. We began with the combination of yokes of oxen to till the land and reached the point when we produce tractors and combines, we started with the cooperatives of tinsmiths and blacksmiths and reached the point when we pour thousands of tons of steel, we began with the anti-illiteracy courses and now we have our University and Academy of Sciences. No figure can express the difference between the pine torch which filled the poor peasants' cottages with smoke, and the electric light which illuminates

THE PARTY— TORIES

the whole of Albania. Statistics are of no value to compare the swamps which drowned the country and spread malaria with the beautiful flourishing fields of Maliq, Myzeqe and Lezha or the plantations of Lukova which provide the people with many blessings.

Comparisons with the past now serve us only to see what we began from and what we have achieved, to see to what heights the Party has raised our beloved Albania and what great possibilities we have to advance even more rapidly on the road of socialism.

We are envious of no one for anything. Our capable workers and engineers themselves design and build gigantic hydro-power stations when countries much bigger than Albania turn to foreigners. We build our own ports and railways with our own forces, we set up factories and plants, we train the people ourselves and cure the sick ourselves.

Anyone who knew the Albania of 40 years ago could hardly have thought that it would be changed so quickly into a country with multi-branched modern industry and agriculture, capable of providing for the needs of the people at such a high level, with a powerful technical and scientific base, able to cope with programs of high rates of development of the economy and culture.

But these things occurred in Albania, because the Marxist-Leninist science was combined in a single creative current with the lofty patriotism of our people, the determination and the courage of the communists was combined with the enthusiasm and the optimistic spirit of the working masses. Albania is an example of the broad roads which the revolution opens up, an example of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the strength of the people in power.

Free and independent Albania, the new socialist life, our communist prospects, are the outcome of our glorious National Liberation War. That war determined and defined the future history of our Homeland and all our victories stem from it.

During the centuries the Albanians have waged many wars and shed torrents of blood for freedom and independence. Rarely has any other people striven so hard and sacrificed so much to see themselves liberated from foreigners and masters in their own land.

We place a high evaluation on the patriotic work of those outstanding Albanian men who fought with the rifle and the pen for the National Renaissance, who strove unsparingly for the land, for knowledge, for human dignity in order to see Albania sovereign and equal with the other nations. We honour the historic work of the old man of Vlora, Ismail Qemali, and other great patriots who 72 years ago, on 28 November

1912 proclaimed the national independence and raised the flag at Vlora.

Those struggles and efforts of our forefathers are part of the outstanding patriotic traditions of our people, traditions which our Party safeguards firmly and which our people have handed down from generation to generation.

Not only did our National Liberation War respect these heroic traditions and carry them forward, but since it was a profoundly popular war, led by the Party and its revolutionary ideas, it crowned with success all the legendary efforts and battles of our forebears and finally realized and went far beyond even their boldest dreams and aspirations.

During the Second World War many others fought against fascist occupiers as we Albanians fought, but all did not achieve that great national and social victory which our people achieved. In Albania not only were the foreign occupiers, the Italian and German fascists, driven out, but together with their departure the exploiting classes were overthrown, too, the people took power in their own hands and set out resolutely on the course of the construction of socialism.

What occurred in Albania did not come about by good luck or by accident. It was the result of a clear political line, of a considered strategy and tactics applied consistently and correctly and of a correct and bold leadership. Comrade Enver Hoxha says that the revolution may be carried out, but if it lacks the true socialist perspective it may deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph go for nought.

Our war was victorious because it was headed by a genuine political staff which knew what it wanted and where it was going, had the Communist Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which remained loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teachings and put them into practice with determination and in creative ways.

The merit and ability of our Party are based on the fact that it was able to find its bearings correctly in the grave conditions of the foreign occupation and the complicated international circumstances, able to find the most suitable ways for the solution of the fundamental contradictions of the Albanian society at that time, able to select its internal and external allies and define its relations with them correctly, and to create the political and military organisms which would make possible the victory in the war and the triumph of its line.

The creation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front will remain one of the great acts of historic importance of the Party, an example of its political wisdom and ideological maturity. Only through a political front in which the Party would retain the undivided leading role could the unification and organization of the people be achieved, and all the active forces of the nation be mobilized in the struggle against fascism and the traitors. Only such an organization could carry out simultaneously both the political functions of the war and those of the new people's state power which was emerging from this war. Herein lies one of the main original features of our people's revolution and one of the most valuable contributions of our Party to the general experience of the revolutionary and liberation wars.

Of similar historic importance is the creation of the National Liberation Army which represented the armed striking force of the people's revolution. The Party charged it with two great missions: to fight to liberate the Homeland and to defend the new people's state power. On this question our Party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist teachings that no revolution can triumph without the organization of its armed forces. However, it applied these teachings in creative ways, bearing in mind the political and social conditions in Albania and, above all, the tasks which the revolution had to carry out at the various stages of its development.

Our National Liberation Army was outstanding for its high level of political consciousness, its pure moral qualities and internationalist spirit, features which it acquired through the great educational and organizational work of the Party, and which it demonstrated again when on the orders of the General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, it went to the aid of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the war for their liberation from the foreign invaders.

The National Liberation War made our people masters of the country and their own fate. It gave Albania the people's state power, one of the greatest and most brilliant achievements, one of the most monumental works of the epoch of the Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha defines it in his work «Laying the Foundations of New Albania».

Our people's state is strong because it has its roots in the people. The connection with the masses and the participation of the masses in governing the country has been and remains the fundamental line of the Party for the construction and functioning of our people's state. On every important economic, political or social problem, the working masses, in complete freedom, have their say which is listened to and respected. They take part actively in drafting laws and plans for the economic and cultural development of the country and play the decisive role in implementing them.

Our people are linked like flesh to bone with the state power because the people's state power and socialism freed the masses from all the ills of the past, from unemployment and emigration, from taxes and levies, from inflation and increases in the cost of living, from all those ills from which the people in the bourgeois and revisionist countries suffer.

In Albania, the people's state power which performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, realizes true democracy for the masses of the people, the emancipation of all strata of society, ensures freedom and equality for all. The claims that socialism can be built through the so-called self-administration, through political pluralism, or the state of the whole people, etc., are theories and practices intended to strip the working class of power and perpetuate capitalist domination. It has been confirmed not only theoretically but also by the 40 years of our practice that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only state power, the only form of government, which can smash the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, withstand

external aggression and organize the construction of socialism.

Today when we are living free and happy in socialist Albania, we can see even more clearly the correct course which the Party and the people's state power pursued for the accomplishment of major socio-economic transformations and can understand even better how wise and scientific that revolutionary program which the Party drafted at that period for the construction of socialism has been.

When Albania was liberated, among the many problems that faced the Party and the people there were two main ones, the agrarian problem and that of the industrialization of the country. Albania was mainly a peasant country and the life of the people was based almost entirely on agriculture. Moreover, the countryside was very backward from the standpoint of property and social relations, just as agricultural production was extremely limited. As for the implements of labour they were very primitive. There could be no talk of the existence of any real industry at that time. There were only a few artisan workshops and the odd backward mine. Numerically the working class was very small. Education was extremely restricted.

The Party tackled all these problems at the same time. It was clear to the Party and our people that the country could not advance without its industrialization. Industrialization was not only an aspiration of the people but also an historical necessity in order to defend the victories of the revolution and to build the new life. But from what should this industrialization begin and what course should it follow? A start could have been made from light industry, if one bears in mind that Albania lacked the initial capital and this industry was capable of yielding an accumulation more rapidly. But that course would have kept the country dependent on others. Therefore, the Party chose the other course, which presented difficulties and demanded sacrifices, but which guaranteed the country economic and political independence. It gave priority to heavy industry which was to become the reliable base for the development of light industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy. The basis of the development of heavy industry was to be the utilization of local raw materials, of the mineral and energy resources of the country, in the first place. Today it is clear to everybody how farsighted and decisive this orientation of the Party has been.

The priority which was given to heavy industry in our country did not lead to one-sided development of industry and the economy in general, as has occurred in many countries. The Party took care that all branches should develop in harmonious and proportional ways. Our industries were developed in close connection with one another in such a way that, apart from their own internal development, they assisted the advance of one another.

The Party has pursued a policy of establishing new industries where the raw material and labour power is located and where there is a developed infra-structure. By means of the distribution of industry the Party has aimed at the development of all zones and has avoided

the situation in which some remain simply agricultural zones and others have a great industrial concentration. In this way, also, the depopulation of the countryside and the peripheral regions has been avoided.

With the industrialization of the country our working class, which is the pillar of socialist society, has been created also. This is another great victory of the line of the Party. Now the working class is a numerically big class, compact, politically and ideologically uplifted and fully conscious of its mission as the leading class of our society.

The revolution and the people's state power solved the problem of the countryside correctly, too. The program which the Party worked out envisaged the simultaneous solution of the problem of ownership, the agricultural and the social problem. The main link on which the Party seized to accomplish this revolutionary transformation was the collectivization of agriculture which was to lead to a radical change not only in the life of the peasantry but also of the whole country. The collectivization was carried out on the basis of well-known Marxist-Leninist principles, but it also took into account the concrete conditions of our country.

During these 40 years the Party and the people's state power have taken a series of measures of principled and practical importance for the continuous development of the cooperativist system. Huge investments have been made for land improvement and drainage, for mechanization and the introduction of advanced technologies, and for the educational and cultural uplift of the working peasantry. All these things have transformed our agriculture into a modern agriculture which, as to the yields of grain and other crops, bears comparison even with the countries with the most advanced agriculture.

The Party has regarded the vigorous and rapid development of agriculture as a necessity also on account of the special conditions of our country when industry was undeveloped. At first agriculture became the main basis of the socialist accumulation and assisted greatly in the development of industry and other sectors of the economy. To this day it remains one of the main pillars of this development.

The special care which the Party has devoted to the development of agriculture and the countryside, parallel with the progress of industry, has been of vital importance. The backwardness of the countryside which can be seen today in some of the former socialist and other countries where agriculture has been underrated, and the grave results which have flowed from this show how correct and effective the principle which our Party applied, of relying firmly on both legs, industry and agriculture, has been and is.

The policy of our Party and our state for the development of the economy has been guided by the great aim of serving the fulfilment of the growing needs of the people, of raising their spiritual and cultural level and creating the most suitable conditions for a life enriched in all directions.

The successes which we have achieved in these forty years by consistently applying the revolutionary princi-

ple of self-reliance, the vitality of the economy and the strength of our socialist order, stand out even more clearly at the present time when the whole capitalist and revisionist world is experiencing a prolonged and grave crisis which has swept all sectors and fields of life. Our economy has an unshakeable stability, its rates of growth remain high, the standard of living of the population is improving and the future is clear.

Our state is a stable and consolidated state, with a sound political organization and efficient administration. The bureaucratic sclerosis of apparatuses and the liberal degeneration of institutions which are characteristic of many countries, are unknown to our state. Based on the extensive democracy for the masses and placed under their permanent and direct control our state apparatuses are subject to continuous regeneration and perfection.

Our society is one which is characterized by a sound political and ideological unity, by the one social mentality. What makes our society stable, dynamic and compact is the complete conformity of the interests of the various strata, the unbreakable alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the common communist ideal, for which they work and struggle.

The clarity of the roads opened by the Party for the future, the economic and intellectual potential which our country already possesses, have created a powerful basis and many possibilities for extensive, rapid and more qualitative development in the coming years.

Now the Party and the government are drafting the new five-year plan which will carry the whole development of the economy and culture even further forward and will raise the standard of living of the working masses even higher. During the next five-year period, the energy base of the country will be further extended through increasing the production of oil, coal and hydro-electric power, the metallurgical and engineering industries will be further developed with the aim that the production of complete technological equipment and means will occupy a bigger place. The chemical industry will make obvious progress, especially in the products destined for agriculture.

The opening of new mines and the extension of the existing ones will occupy a very important place in the new five-year plan. Their mechanization will be increased and new ore-enrichment factories will be built, further increasing the scale of the processing of raw materials in the country, with the fullest possible cycle of processing. Geological prospecting will be further intensified with the aim of developing and using new valuable minerals.

The light and food-processing industry will be equipped with new factories, while appreciable improvements will be made in its technology. This will enable an increased production of consumer goods, improvement of their quality and range and better fulfilment of the growing needs of the people.

In the coming years agriculture will be developed at even more rapid rates and its intensification will be extended in the plains, the hills and the mountains.

The state will make big new investments in agriculture with the aim of increasing the level of mechanization, the area under irrigation, the quantity of chemical fertilizers, the use of new seeds, and improving the breed of the livestock. As up to date, the main attention will be devoted to increasing the production of bread grain. At the same time the production of industrial crops, vegetables and fruit will be extended with the aim of fulfilling the demands of the market better as well as the demands of industry for raw materials. In the coming five-year plan special attention will be given to livestock raising in regard to increasing both the numbers of livestock and their productivity.

The other sectors, too, such as construction, communications, trade, communal and health service, etc., will also assume new development and growth. Education, culture and our new science will be raised to a higher level.

The continuous strengthening of the organization and management of the economy, the further perfecting of economic relations and the application of scientific technical achievements will play a greater and more active role during the next five-year plan for the development of the productive forces, the deepening and intensification of the economy and increasing its efficiency.

The major transformations which have been carried out in the field of the economy during these forty years have been accomplished together with a profound ideological revolution, which created the social conditions for their success. Without liquidating the old feudal-bourgeois relations in production and replacing them with new relations the way could not have been opened to industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the development of culture, the rise in the wellbeing of the masses and the progress of the country towards socialism. Our originality on this matter is based on the fact that the new socialist relations of production, which led to the elimination of capitalist private property and exploiting classes, were established before the productive forces reached a high level of development and before the working class constituted from the numerical aspect a considerable majority in society. This is a valuable example in the practice of socialist construction.

Like the establishment of the people's state power, the creation of the new relations of production and all the social and economic transformations have been carried out through efforts and struggle in the course of overcoming the savage resistance of class enemies. Our Party has always borne in mind and has consistently applied the great Marxist-Leninist teaching that the revolution does not come to an end with the establishment of the state power and that it develops uninterruptedly over a long period. Regarded as the motive force of society, the class struggle has been waged on a broad front both in the political-ideological field and in the economic field against both internal and external enemies.

Our practical experience of the class struggle has taught us and convinced us that it must be waged even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, not only against

the remnants of them, but also against new enemies who emerge as a result of the external pressure and the bourgeois degeneration of individual elements. Bearing in mind these Marxist-Leninist principles about the class struggle, the Party and our people have been able to discover and liquidate the foreign agencies and all those who have tried to sabotage and undermine our socialist system and re-establish capitalism, starting from Koçi Xoxe down to Mehmet Shehu and his gang. This struggle which our Party and people have always waged with rare determination and from principled Marxist-Leninist positions, has been vital to protecting the freedom and independence of the country, and the cause of the revolution and socialism.

The emancipation of Albanian society has been a very acute problem for the Party. The solution of it had great importance for the fate of socialism. When Albania was liberated our people had a great burden of backward customs, in their consciousness there was much poison of the various religions, feudal and bourgeois ideologies, there were many harmful prejudices which had been transformed into rigid ethical norms. The mass illiteracy kept them remote from knowledge and technical progress. All these heavy chains had to be broken for the creative energies of the masses to burst out and for the country to make progress and prosper.

The Party had to work out a bold but, at the same time, prudent program, because in this field it not only had to clash with convictions created amongst the masses for centuries, but also had to distinguish the good traditions which had to be defended from those which had to be rejected.

Evidence of the wise work and persistent struggle which the Party has waged for the emancipation of society is the colossal progress of the Albanian women who exerted a major influence on the progress of the whole of our society. The emancipation of women of Albania is a concrete example of how such a complicated problem can be solved, an example which shows the strength of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The new socialist culture grew up and developed with the new Albania. The Party has regarded the development of culture not just as a realization of a permanent aspiration of the people, but also as a condition for the emancipation of the people, as a great force for the construction of socialist society.

Unlike bourgeois culture, our socialist culture is culture for the people and created by the people themselves. It is not a culture confined to books, an ivory tower. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, amongst us culture is the whole of life. Therefore, the Party has taken care not only to develop literature and the arts, but also to develop the culture of work, of behaviour, of life, all the aspects which make up what we can call socialist civilization. In fulfilling their noble mission the institutions of culture, the workers of literature, art and science, all creators in various fields, will never lack the care of the Party, the aid of the state and the support of the people.

During these 40 years a complete transformation has

been carried out in the field of education. For years now all the children of the people, without exception, have attended the compulsory 8-year schools. Secondary education has assumed extremely wide proportions. About 22,000 people attend the higher schools, the University, and the various institutes.

It is the great merit of our school that it has trained the huge army of cadres, technicians and specialists, all our new intelligentsia. It has turned out people with broad professional and cultural knowledge, formed politically and ideologically, devoted fighters for the cause of socialism, well-behaved and honest citizens. The far-sightedness of the Party, its colossal work to resolve that contradiction which existed between the growing demands which arose from the rapid economic and cultural development of the country, on the one hand, and the lack of trained people, on the other hand, is expressed in this field, too. The creation of the new intelligentsia is a major victory of the Party and our people.

The needs for cadres, especially for those of new profiles, are ever increasing. Our educational system has not only to train new cadres and specialists of contemporary level, but also to improve the qualification of the existing cadres in order to raise them to the level of present-day requirements.

The line of the Party on the economic and social transformations has always been correct and creative. In each period and before each problem that emerged it has been further elaborated and perfected. This has enabled the Party to guide the socialist construction of the country successfully, to cope with the complicated problems of the socialist development on the Marxist-Leninist road, and to make the communist perspective ever more clear.

The revolutionary and creative stand of our Party was firmly displayed also when, as a result of the revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union, the danger of bourgeois degeneration emerged. Our Party analyzed the revisionist phenomenon correctly, and, in struggle with the mortal danger to socialism from this new opportunism, it further developed the Marxist-Leninist thinking on a series of capital problems of the revolution and the socialist construction, such as those which had to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the class struggle in socialism, with the harmonization of the general interests and the personal interests of the working people, etc.

From what occurred in the Soviet Union, from analysis of the causes of the emergence of modern revisionism, our Party drew valuable conclusions and lessons to close the way to bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and to carry the cause of socialism ever forward. The numerous measures which the Party has taken and is taking for the continual revolutionization of itself, of the state power, of the consciousness of the people and the whole life of the country, have served this purpose.

The struggle of our Party and people against modern revisionism, for the defence of socialism, Marxism-Lenin-

ism and the principles of proletarian internationalism is one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our revolution.

Historical circumstances brought about that our Party and people were the first to clash with the danger of modern revisionism. As early as the time of the war and immediately after it, they clashed with Titoite revisionism, which for a long time played the role of the Trojan horse within the international communist movement. Our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, with clear and irrefutable arguments, exposed the profoundly opportunist essence of this ideological current and its national-chauvinist character. The present-day reality in Yugoslavia, which is in the grip of a grave economic, national and social crisis, when self-administration as an ideology and practice is obviously bankrupt, confirms the correctness of the criticism and principled struggle of the Party against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism.

The struggle of our Party and people against Khrushchevite revisionism which destroyed the work of Lenin and Stalin, the victories of the October Revolution and socialism in the Soviet Union to their foundations, will always remain heroic and glorious. The defence of Marxism-Leninism, which our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha put up in this struggle, the thorough exposure of the revisionist platform proclaimed at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will remain a brilliant example of ideological clarity, revolutionary courage and communist adherence to principle. They will remain a brilliant example of the courage, patriotism and revolutionary determination of the working masses and our whole people. These features, likewise, characterized the struggle which our Party has waged against the Chinese Maoist trend, too.

The contribution which the Albanian communists have made to this struggle has greatly enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice in uncovering and opposing modern revisionism. Our Party and people always consider the resolute struggle against Soviet and any other revisionism, which constitutes the main danger to socialism and the communist movement, as their primary task.

Our country is building socialism in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. During these 40 years it has withstood repeated savage onslaughts of enemies, with their various attempts at interference, blockades, pressures and intrigues.

We have withstood them because the stands and actions of our Party have been clear ideologically and correct politically, because in any situation and on every occasion our people have displayed rare patriotism and determination, because our working masses have had unshakeable confidence in the justice of our struggle.

But the imperialist-revisionist encirclement does not belong to the past. It continues to this day. Therefore, we must ceaselessly enhance our revolutionary vigilance, strengthen the unity of the people around the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, must always be organized and disciplined and work tirelessly to accomplish the tasks in all fields and on all fronts of the socialist construction and the defence of the country.

During these forty years of our free life, the Party and the people's state power have given the country a strong and reliable defence. Creatively applying the teachings of Lenin, they have created a complete system of the arming, preparation and military training of the whole people. For a small country like Albania which relies on its own forces, the arming and military training of the whole people is the only possible and correct road to ensure an impregnable defence.

Our People's Army is trained militarily and educated ideologically, is equipped with all the necessary weapons to repel any aggression, and capable and ready at any time to accomplish the lofty mission with which it has been charged. The Party has been and is at the head of the Army, in command. This is a guarantee that our Army will retain its popular and revolutionary character unblemished, that it will always remain loyal to the people and their state power, will always be a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an unwavering defender of the cause of socialism.

Comrades,

During these 40 years the foreign policy of our Party and our socialist state, also, has been placed in the service of the defence of the country and the supreme interests of our Homeland. This policy emerged from and was formulated by the Party in the time of the National Liberation War when the foundations of the new people's state power were laid. Unlike the foreign policy of the former ruling classes, a policy of dependence on great powers, submission to foreigners and acceptance of their dictate, the foreign policy of new Albania is a policy of independence and complete national sovereignty. At the centre of this policy has always been the defence of the supreme interests of the Homeland and socialism in Albania, along with the internationalist support for revolutionary struggles throughout the world. The voice of Albania in the international arena is the voice of its people alone and nobody else.

The foreign policy which our Party and state have pursued, the clear principled and consistent stands which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has taken towards international events and various processes which are taking place in the world today, have made the name of our country respected and honoured everywhere. This policy and its international activity have ranked Albania amongst the most progressive forces of our time, amongst those who contribute effectively to the genuine strengthening of peace, and to the progress and emancipation of all mankind. The example of the construction of socialism in Albania and this revolutionary policy have brought us close to and united us with the peace-loving peoples and progressive mankind, and have added to the many friends and well-wishers, supporters and sympathizers of our country throughout the world.

The thing that has always characterized the foreign policy of our Party and state has been its resolute stand against imperialism, modern revisionism and all international reaction. We have not reconciled ourselves to

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and will never do so. We have opposed them, and continue to do so, not because they are mighty, wealthy, or powerful, but because they are the most dangerous enemies of freedom of the peoples, insatiable plunderers of the wealth of various countries and inspirers of imperialist wars. Therefore, opposition to imperialism and social-imperialism is the only correct policy.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of the working class in power, the policy of a genuine socialist state, has always been outstanding for its internationalist spirit. Our country has supported and is in solidarity with the revolutionary movements of the working class and the struggle of peoples for national liberation and for social progress, with the progressive forces which are striving for democracy and opposing fascism, with all those people who are for peace and against imperialist war. We have supported and will continue to support these movements and forces, because they are our allies in the common struggle, because in this way we perform our internationalist duty.

Our Party has given and is giving its full support to the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties which represent the conscious vanguard of the working class world-wide. Marxism-Leninism, the ideal of the revolution and socialism, links us with them. The common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, link us with them.

The Albanian communists will spare nothing for the further strengthening of fraternal bonds and close collaboration with the Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have always been fully convinced that the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement will rise to a new, higher level in order to guide, lead and carry forward the world revolutionary process. In this common struggle the internationalist cooperation and unity between our fraternal parties and in the movement as a whole is being strengthening and consolidated.

Socialist Albania has diplomatic relations with more than 100 states. It has been and is for normal relations with all those states which agree to build relations with our country on the basis of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty and non-violation of territorial integrity and exchanges in all those fields where there is mutual interest.

We have been and are for the development of trade with different countries. However, we adhere to the principle that this trade must be advantageous to each side and must never be used as a means of economic pressure or political dictate. Our people place freedom and independence above everything. In our country the granting of concessions, permitting the activity of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, the acceptance of credits or loans from the capitalist or revisionist states are prohibited by the Constitution.

Our country is for cultural and scientific exchanges with other countries, because we are convinced that these serve mutual recognition of the spiritual values of peoples and the strengthening of friendship between them.

Democratic and progressive culture has been something close and dear to us, just as the other peoples honour and respect the ancient and new culture of our people. While appreciating the progressive cultural values of each country, as the heritage of all the mankind, at the same time we do not open the doors to reactionary, decadent, cosmopolitan, and other such cultures which poison people's minds and lead to their degeneration.

In the foreign policy of our Party and state the stand towards neighbouring countries has always occupied an important place. In our relations with them, we have been guided by the policy of good neighbourliness, by the desire to develop fruitful collaboration with them and by the conviction that normal exchanges in various fields assist the establishment of understanding, friendship and bonds between peoples and peace and security of this zone. Socialist Albania has always wished the neighbouring peoples well and has assured them that no evil will ever come to them from its territory.

This correct and principled policy which our country has always followed has made it possible to establish good neighbourly relations with Greece, Turkey and Italy, and these relations are developing and progressing normally. Trade relations and cultural and scientific exchanges have been extended with these states and, through joint efforts, projects have been opened for collaboration in other fields of mutual interest. When goodwill exists, the difficulties can be overcome and a common language found.

We have tried to establish good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, too. In the history of Albanian-Yugoslav relations during these 40 years there has been more friction and tension than development of normal collaboration. This has resulted from the Yugoslav policy towards Albania, which has been characterized by a hostile stand, by attempts to liquidate Albania as a state and the Albanians as a nation.

We do not want to go into the history of the development of this policy, but now, to anyone who judges matters objectively and realistically, it cannot but be clear that such a policy is short-sighted and without perspective.

Irrespective of the fact that there are irreconcilable ideological and political contradictions between Albania and Yugoslavia, we think that ways could be found for the normalization of relations between the two countries and this is in the interests both of Albania and Yugoslavia.

Socialist Albania has made and is making continuous efforts in this direction, and it will continue to work in this spirit in the future, too. However, it must be said that in Belgrade, up till now, there has been a lack of goodwill to respond constructively to our clear and consistent predisposition.

It is up to Yugoslavia to put its own internal affairs in order. We have not interfered in anything which would affect or damage its stability, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is the stand we have maintained towards the events in Kosova, too, in regard to which and in regard to other political, economic and

social events in Yugoslavia no blame can be placed on Albania.

We have stated sincerely and with complete conviction that the correct settlement of the problems which are worrying the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, equal rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, respect for their culture, historical traditions and national language, would help to strengthen the coexistence of the peoples of the Yugoslav Federation and its stability and cohesion. At the same time this would also greatly assist in the creation of a favourable atmosphere for closer relations and collaboration between our two countries.

We would like to see the existing trade and other relations developed and carried further forward. Likewise, we think that the cultural exchanges which have been interrupted could be re-established. The doors to talks with Albania will be open if the Yugoslav side displays readiness and goodwill.

Albania is a European country and as such it is vitally interested in what is occurring on this continent. Our stands towards Europe and its problems are well known. The divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between various countries in this continent, have their source in their participation in the military blocs of the superpowers. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure peace in Europe.

Our country has been and is for good relations with the European countries just as with the neighbouring countries. Guided by the principles of genuine peaceful coexistence, we have established good relations with a number of countries of Western Europe such as France, Austria, the Nordic countries, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and so on. And with those countries of Western Europe with which diplomatic relations have not yet been established, through joint efforts the difficulties can be overcome.

Friendly relations have long been established with most of the Arab countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Syria and so on. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported the struggle of the Arab peoples against the aggression of Israel and its imperialist backers. In particular, it has expressed its solidarity with and powerfully supported the right of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland, which has been stolen from them. It is our desire that the traditional long-standing links with the Arab peoples should be further developed and continually strengthened.

We desire the same thing also for the countries in Indochina, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, whose struggle against imperialism and other aggressors for liberation from foreign bondage and the defence of their national independence we have always supported.

The foreign policy of our Party and state is a policy tested in struggle and very difficult situations which have been created during the past 40 years both around

our country and in the world. Practice has confirmed its correctness, effectiveness, and adherence to principle. By proceeding on this course, always remaining loyal to the supreme interests of the Homeland, the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our foreign policy will achieve other greater victories and will serve the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania even better.

Comrades,

As we celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, the heroic war which our people waged against the fascist occupiers and local traitors, the work and innumerable sacrifices of the heroic working class, the patriotic peasantry and people's intelligentsia, the women and our revolutionary youth for the construction of socialism, the creative potential of the working masses for the progress and prosperity of the new Albania, emerge before our eyes in all their majesty.

Our people achieved these victories because they entrusted their fate to the Party, because they linked themselves with it forever, and followed it in every situation and at every moment. These 40 years of great tests have proved how correct the line of the Party has been, how sure its guiding hand and how farsighted its Marxist-Leninist policy.

The heroic struggle of our Party and people, the victories achieved in these 40 years, are closely linked with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his theoretical thinking and practical revolutionary activity, with his guidance as leader of the Party and outstanding statesman.

At all the great turning-points and historic moments during these 40 years his presence and contribution have played a decisive role. To Comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the main merit in working out and elaborating the general line of the Party, the strategy of the National Liberation War, and the program for the construction of socialism.

Our people have called the time in which we are living the time of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has always stood in the forefront of the struggles which have emerged during this time, in command of the tasks which it presented. It was Comrade Enver Hoxha who founded the Communist Party in those dark and troubled days of the fascist occupation, who commanded the glorious partisan army, who led over new and unknown paths the new state which emerged from the people's revolution, who guided the Party with wisdom and confidence in the stern battles with the many external and internal enemies, who taught our people how to defend their freedom and independence and how to build socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the founder of the foreign policy of the Party and our socialist state. The courageous and principled stands of our Party and people towards present-day international problems and events, their resolute struggle against imperialism and reaction, their irreconcilability with modern revisionism and po-

litical and ideological opportunism in general, which have won for Albania respect and a honoured name throughout the world, are linked directly with Comrade Enver Hoxha's ardent patriotism and consistent internationalism, with his wisdom as a revolutionary leader and his foresight as a Marxist-Leninist thinker.

The love of the Party and the people for Comrade Enver Hoxha is a sincere love that stems from profound respect for his revolutionary work and life. It is a love which has developed from the friendship formed in the struggle for our great cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, a pure sentiment which has been created in the course of the work full of self-denial and sacrifice for the construction of our new life.

Therefore, the Albanian communists, the veterans of the revolution and the new fighters for the socialist construction, our whole people, today, in these happy days when we are celebrating the jubilee of Liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution once again express their boundless love to Comrade Enver Hoxha and wish him a long life and good health so that, with the Party and at the head of the Party, he will lead us in the new battles for the progress of our beloved Homeland.

The majestic victories which have been achieved during the 40 years of the people's state power fill us with legitimate pride, increase our enthusiasm and enhance our optimism. They inspire us to mobilize ourselves and struggle even harder and more vigorously to carry the socialist construction of the country steadily forward.

Now the Party has set great and very important tasks for all the sectors and branches of the economy, culture and defence. The successful accomplishment of these tasks demands that all of us work with consistently high rates of productivity and with efficiency, with proletarian consciousness and discipline, that the organization and management of work be strengthened, and the level of knowledge and sense of responsibility raised to a higher level.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us, we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the offensive to safeguard and carry forward the victories achieved. We must not allow anyone, whoever he might be, to violate and deny our sacred and immortal work, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We must strengthen it, temper it, beautify it and hold it high as our ideal.

Therefore, let us unite to a man and with revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism, with the Party in the forefront and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, march victoriously, as always, on the road which our people's revolution, the historic victory of 29 November 1944, opened up.

Long live the Albanian people!

Long live the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland!

Long live our glorious Party!

Long live our beloved leader and teacher, our dear Comrade, Enver Hoxha!

CHRONICLE

THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION CELEBRATED WITH GREAT SOLEMNITY

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On November 29th the central press published the Greeting of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Party and people, addressed to our people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

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In the morning of this day the residents of the capital through the boulevard «The Martyrs of the Nation» where the military parade and the popular manifestation would take place. At ten hours a.m. Comrade Enver Hoxha emerged on the tribune, met with the cheers and applause of the people of the capital. Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other party and state leaders took their places on the tribune, too.

Present on this occasion were also the delegation of the party and government of the SR of Vietnam, headed by Nguyen Due Tam, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; the government delegation of the Algerian Popular and Democratic Republic, headed by Bashir Ruis, candidate of the Political Bureau of the National Liberation Front of Algeria and minister of information; the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, headed by Joao Amazonas, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (M.-L.), headed by Hardial Bains. 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the Communist Party of

Denmark (M.-L.), headed by Klaus Riis Klausen, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the Communist Party (M.-L.) of Spain, headed by Raul Marco, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), headed by Eduardo Pires, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the Communist Party (M.-L.) of Ecuador, headed by Jorge Zambrano, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party; the delegation of the France-Albania Friendship Association, headed by Prof. Paul Miliez, its chairman; the delegation of the Italian-Albanian Friendship Association, headed by Arturo Foschi, its chairman; the delegation of the Swedish-Albanian Friendship Association, headed by Hans Rockberg, its chairman; the delegation of the Austrian-Albanian Friendship Association, headed by Prof. Friedrich Moser, its chairman; the delegation of the Brazilian-Albanian Friendship Association, headed by Vania Moura Ribeiro, its chairwoman; the delegation of the Panafrikan Youth Movement headed by Omar Diorao, its general secretary; the delegation of Italian ex-partisans; the outstanding personality and deputy to the Greek parliament, Manolis Glezos; the outstanding French publicist and writer, Robert Escarpit; the outstanding Arbëreshi personality, Mario Brunetti, and Albanians residing in the USA, France, Turkey and Rumania.

Officials and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania were also present.

The chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, Kiço Mustaqi, presented the troops to Comrade Prokop Murra, minister of People's Defence of the PSR of Albania, who congratu-

lated the parading troops on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland.

Comrade Prokop Murra, minister of People's Defence, held the speech of the occasion and greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, General Commander of the Armed Forces.

Then came the ceremonial traditional parade of the representatives of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania which was followed by the manifestation of the working people of the capital. The boulevard «The Martyrs of the Nation» was filled with colours, movements, songs and loud cheers.

In the evening of November 29th the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania put on a reception at the Palace of Brigades. Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted those present.

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On November 27th a.m. on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation, the Central Committee of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front and the Tirana District Party Committee organized a solemn meeting in the Theatre of the Opera and Ballet in the capital. Comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and state leaders were present. Also present were the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of the friendship associations and other guests from different countries of the world who had come to our country to attend the festivities of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, delivered the speech of the occasion. His speech was listened to with great attention

and interrupted by enthusiastic applause and cheers.



A festive concert was given at the «Partizani» Sports Palace of the capital in the evening. On the same day the National Exhibition of Figurative Arts was opened at the Gallery of Fine Arts in the capital on the occasion of this jubilee. The Exhibition comprises about 500 works selected from among 2100 works presented to the great literary and artistic competition on the occasion of this jubilee. The Exhibition was preceded by other exhibitions in all the districts of the country.



At the palace of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly organized a ceremony at which, the decoration «Hero of Socialist Labour» and other decorations and orders were handed to some collectives and comrades who have distinguished themselves in their work for the realization of the tasks for the socialist construction of the country in various fields.

In the context of the 40th anniversary of liberation, on November 23 the Council of Ministers awarded the Prizes of the Republic for outstanding technical and scientific works and inventions and rationalizations which have contributed to the development of production as well as for socio-political and literary-artistic works of a higher level. Also the winners of the National Literary and Artistic Competition on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation were proclaimed.



On the eve of the jubilee various economic and socio-cultural objects were inaugurated and various activities carried out throughout the country. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation solemn meetings with artistic programs were organized in all the cities of the country.



The scientific conference «The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the creation and strengthening of the people's state power», organized by the Academy of Sciences and the

University of Tirana in the context of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, carried out its proceedings from 19 to 20 of October in Tirana.

Present at the Conference, among others, were the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other Party and state leaders.



On October 20, about 24 thousand young men and women, school children and pioneers, participated in the great physical-culture manifestation organized at the «Qemal Stafa» national stadium on the occasion of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania. It was a beautiful and enthusiastic opening of the finals of the 5th National Spartakiad — the most important and massive sports event of this jubilee year.

The appearance of the leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the central tribune, Ramiz Alia, Adil Çarçani, and other leaders of the Party and state was received with prolonged cheers and applause.

Present at this manifestation were also titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.



The Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Education and Culture, organized a scientific conference on problems of applied genetics in Tirana.

Participating in the conference were working people and managers of scientific-research institutions of agriculture, specialists in genetics, selectionists, teachers of higher agricultural schools, specialists of agriculture and livestock-raising from the districts of the country, representatives of central departments, etc.

ALBANIA TODAY



The National Conference on problems of the development of physical sciences, sponsored by the Academy of Sciences and the University of Tirana, held its proceedings in the capital of the country.

Participating in the Conference were working people of scientific-research institutions of the Academy of Sciences and central departments, physicists and working people of production sectors, teachers of physics and mathematics at the higher and secondary schools from different districts of the country.



The competition of amateur artistic ensembles of the working class of the country, which is an important artistic and cultural event, was organized in the coastal city of Durrës, on October 4-10, on the occasion of the festivities of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland. This event reflected the broad, mass character of the artistic movement in the ranks of the working class and its high qualitative level.

The competition became a fine manifestation of the art of our working class, its high artistic level which compares with professional performances.



About 900 titles of books of various genres of literature and 250 musical works were presented in the national literary-artistic competition organized on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland. This is the result of the massive participation of writers, artists and musicians from all over the country. The competition of this year is characterized by the predominance of the contemporary themes, the completion of the great tableau of the socialist epoch, and especially, by the participation of a great number of new talents and many women writers, artists and musicians.

Participation with greater literary and artistic genres are a special feature, a positive index, of this event. Apart from the novels for adults and children, which altogether comprise 74 titles, composers have participated with two operas and 5 ballets of the scenic music, apart from other genres.

«LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIA»

On Comrade ENVER HOXHA'S new book of memoirs and historical notes

THESE DAYS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S WORK «LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIA», A BOOK OF MEMOIRS AND HISTORICAL NOTES, WAS MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE COMMUNISTS, CADRES AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS NEW BOOK, WHICH WAS PUBLISHED ON THE EVE OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION, IS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HOMAGE TO THE OUTSTANDING WORK OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE IN THE YEARS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR.

THE HEROIC STRUGGLE AND FAR-SIGHTED EFFORTS OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA PERSONALLY FOR THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT AND THE SETTING UP OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, THESE TWO MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY, HAVE BEEN PLACED IN THE CENTRE OF THE BOOK. THE HISTORY OF THE GLORIOUS PERIOD WHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIA WERE LAID HAS BEEN WRITTEN BY THE DIRECT INSPIRER AND LEADER OF THE WHOLE GIGANTIC STRUGGLE OF OUR PARTY.

Right from the beginning of the book it is stressed that the formation of the Party found the country in a situation in which all the objective and subjective conditions existed for the creation of the Anti-fascist Front. In the revolutionary situation created after the fascist occupation of the country the centuries-old traditions of our people to present a united front to any invader came into action with greater strength. The book reveals clearly the merits of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha who understood that the situation was fraught with the revolution and resolved to take the situation into their hands, to mobilize and lead the people in the

war against nazi-fascist occupiers, to make them conscious about the program of the Party which responded to the concrete situation in which our country was found and to the wishes and aspirations of the broad masses of the people. So, the National Liberation Front, this monumental work of the Party, was created, grew and was strengthened as the voluntary political union of the masses, as a Front from below. On the basis of the experience of those years, Comrade Enver Hoxha submits the contemporary Albanian society to a penetrating scientific analysis which is reflected in the book. It is pointed out clearly that the alliance of the

working class with the peasantry, which became the pivot of the unity of other patriotic and progressive strata, was realized not without taking account of the concrete conditions and situation of these classes in our country. The analyses and conclusions about the intelligentsia and the youth, the feudal-bourgeoisie, the clergy, and religious beliefs, etc., not only make the picture of the contemporary Albanian society more complete and vivid but also testify to the maturity and far-sightedness of our Party which had just been formed and orientated itself correctly through a tangle of complex factors and, what is more important, did not separate words from deeds, studies from revolutionary actions.

An important place in the pages of this book is given to the resolute and far-sighted struggle of the Party to affirm, safeguard and strengthen its leading role in the National Liberation Front. Every new page of the book provides conclusive evidence that no one donated this role to the Party, that it won this role through resolute struggle, through the valour, selflessness and sacrifices of the communists whom the people followed, that it won this role thanks to its correct struggle which proclaimed and defended the vital interests of the people and constituted the main guarantee that, unlike in the past,

a new life awaited the masses of the people. The Party maintained its leading role in stern struggle both against manifestations of opportunism and manifestations of sectarianism and adventurism which were grist to the propaganda of the enemy against the communists and communism. In the book it is clearly revealed that such manifestations have not had anything to do with the line of the Party, but were capitulationist and traitorous stands of separate individuals. The vigilance of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally towards any manifestation of the slightest violation of the leading role of the Party in the war and in the Front come out with just as great clarity and in a magnificent manner.

The fact that the Front was not and did not become a coalition of parties is analysed in the dialectics of things. First of all, it is pointed out that the Albanian feudal-bourgeoisie was incapable of creating one or several political parties of its own which would be stably built on sound ideological and organizational bases. This inability had its source in the fact that the occupation of the country found the feudal bourgeoisie in a situation in which the big landowners as an old class were heading towards their ruination and the bourgeoisie had not reached that degree of development in which it could have a political party of its own. Nevertheless, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, even though in our work we were not confronted by organized political parties of the bourgeoisie and reaction, we were confronted with the interest of the bourgeoisie and reaction, which were just as fierce and complex, just as undermining, dangerous and cunning, we were confronted with their aims to maintain ruling positions. On the one hand, the exploiting classes were not in a position to emerge with a party of their own and take into their hands the banner of the liberation of the country from the nazi-fascist yoke, while, on the other hand, they would never dream of letting state power go of their hands. In these conditions the feudal bourgeoisie was to fall into the lap of the occupier and become its instrument, just as later it

was to become a tool in the hands of the Anglo-Americans. The creation of the political organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti was aimed, in the last analysis, at the liquidation of the Communist Party, the destruction of the National Liberation Front and the snuffing out of the war so that they could secure all the political power for themselves after the war.

All these stands of the exploiting classes are colourfully described as they evolved, pointing out, in strong contrast, the consistent stands and wise tactics which the Party followed in order to expose them in the eyes of the people and to turn the rifle on them in the moment when they openly went over to the side of the occupiers. It emerges clearly from the book that the Party took account not only of the fact that in the situation when the country was occupied the internal class contradictions had fallen to the second plane, but also the other fact that some of the representatives of the exploiting classes, especially those of anti-Zogite emigration, were influential among certain strata of the population. Making the stand towards the armed struggle against the nazi-fascist occupiers the touchstone, the Party succeeded in depriving these individuals of the crown of «patriotism», in weening away the misled from the self-styled «fathers of the nation» and in neutralizing those who wavered. In this book the reader finds a whole gallery of portraits of the representatives of feudal bourgeoisie depicted by a masterly pen which, along with the class essence of each individual, sketches out their personal features. The analysis of these characters extends over a long period of time, from the '20s up to the moment when the justice of the people threw them into the waste basket. Their figures have been reproduced in their complexity just as their stands towards the Party and the National Liberation War are represented in all the nuances of their stands. Along with the dangerous reputation they had as «patriots» and their long practice of bargaining with the foreigners, the author reveals the comical aspect of these «politicians» who stuck tenaciously to the old world

and refused to see that now it was not they, nor the big powers, that decided about the fates of Albania, but the people led by the Party.

The book reveals in all its splendour the historical merit of the Party which for the first time in the history of our people succeeded in combining liberation war with the struggle for the demolition of the old state and the creation of the new political state power. As the reader progresses from page to page, he created the profound conviction that the line of the Party about this issue was part of its program and was put into practice in a completely conscious manner, with clear perspective and without the slightest shade of spontaneity. The Conference of Peza laid the foundations of the new revolutionary power of the national liberation councils. The Conference of Labinot adopted important decisions for the strengthening and centralization of this power. The Congress of Përmet provided the final solution to the problem of the political power in favour of the people, discouraging the ambitions of the exploiting classes and foreign enemies. The Meeting of Berat gave Albania its first democratic government, whereas the Constitutional Assembly of January 11, 1946 sanctioned the will of the people on the form of the regime which was to be established in Albania. All these events, which have been described with such vividness and deep feeling in the book, are links of the same chain which the Party designed with wisdom and far-sightedness. While faithfully following the Leninist teachings about the road of the creation of the people's state power, our Party worked it out in an original manner.

The wealth of facts, detailed analyses, profound scientific generalizations, clearly show the road through which the Party managed, in the difficult and complicated situations, to solve in an original manner a series of cardinal problems connected with the issue of state power such as: the unity of the people in the Front, the organization of the armed uprising and the partisan army, the destruction of the old power and the building of the new state power, the combining of the National Liberation War with

the people's revolution, etc., problems which, in the manner they were solved, constitute a further development of the theory on the revolution. Thanks to the line followed by the Party a magnificent result was achieved: the National Liberation War led to the establishment of the power of the working class, thus realizing one of the tasks of the socialist revolution.

Not infrequently the author turns the attention of the reader to the problem: How was it possible for our Party, which in those difficult years was young and small in numbers, to succeed not only in bringing about the fighting unity and organization of the people, but also in transforming the National Liberation War into a people's revolution? The decisive factor in this was that the Party was never shaken from its leading role which it had secured through the force of its ideas and the efforts and bloodshed of its members; it remained always in command, never accepted to share leadership with any other organization or element of the bourgeoisie, on the contrary, resolutely foiled all the pressures and endeavours on the part of internal and international reaction, especially the Anglo-American reaction, to bring to power representatives of the feudal bourgeoisie. Precisely because it refused to share the leading role with any other, our Party succeeded even in that grave period full of difficulties, when parties in other countries with long-standing traditions were defeated and capitulated, in surmounting all the difficulties and not only preserved but also affirmed, strengthened and ceaselessly tempered the state of the people in power.

In the book it is made abundantly clear that the issue of state power, as the fundamental issue of any revolution, has continuously attracted the attention of the Party, just as the stratagems, intrigues and attacks of the internal and external enemies, have put it on the alert. As the first step towards the seizure of state power these enemies have considered the elimination of the leading role of the Party. This was the final objective of the machinations of the Anglo-Americans through the Balli Kombë-

tar, the Legaliteti and, later, through the group of the deputies. That was the aim of the Yugoslav revisionists with their advice not to proclaim the leading role of the Party in the Front, their accusations sometimes about opportunism, sometimes about sectarianism in the Party, etc. Confronted with these dangers the Party, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, strengthened its hegemonic role, steeled the Party-people unity against which all those who wanted to turn Albania into the estate of foreigners, from Koçi Xoxe and company in the first years of the existence of the Party to the multiple agent of all times and all foreign patrons, Mehmet Shehu, smashed their heads.

The communists, cadres and all the working masses of our country, who read this new work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, are proud that in these forty years of the existence of our people's power and the Democratic Front they have been ceaselessly tempered and strengthened under the leadership of the Party, through most severe tests and battles, in struggle against the ambitions of the American imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and all reaction. The time confirmed the vitality of the socialist order and the magnificence of these two monumental achievements of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, which have been transformed into powerful weapons for the strengthening and the defence of the independence of the Homeland and the ceaseless raising of the well-being of the people. This non-stop advance is a source of pride in these forty years, but also a factor of mobilization and optimism for the future, an optimism and mobilization which Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed in the closing words of the book: «We shall raise the prosperity, security and reputation of our People's Socialist Republic higher and higher. Therefore, in the name of the bloodshed and toil, the sweat and privations, let us transmit to the coming generations the great message which history has taught us: we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the attack to defend the victories achieved and carry them further forward.»

While reading this book, acquaint-

ing himself with the wealth of facts and documents about the epic of the time when the foundations of the new Albania were laid, the reader sees still more clearly that Comrade Enver Hoxha has played a leading and decisive role with his ideas and contribution; at the same time, the reader is filled with pride about the vitality of the people and the Party who produced from their ranks such a distinguished son who, with the strength of his talent as a leader, stands at the same height as the glorious epic of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution.

As in any other field of the revolution, in the creation of the National Liberation Front and the establishment of the people's state power, too, Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical thinking has been combined in one with his contribution in practice. There is no great event which is connected with these two fields, in which Comrade Enver Hoxha has not taken part both as a leader and promoter of their ideas, as well as a consistent fighter for the implementation of the line of the Party. Therefrom stem the fundamental features of the book, which captures the heart and mind of the reader both with the depth of its analyses and generalizations, and with the wealth of new facts, with its clear class tendentiousness and historical truthfulness, with the ardour of the fighter who has lived through these events with a great emotional intensity, and who has the characters together with environments and details vividly impressed in his memory, and with the scruples of the historian who repeatedly returned to written sources and other testimonies in order to throw light on the problem from every aspect.

Although the book «Laying the Foundations of the New Albania» is dedicated to the events of the National Liberation War and the first years immediately after Liberation, it constitutes a work of great political and ideological value for the present. The lessons which emerge from it serve the future struggle for the ceaseless strengthening of our people's state power and the monolithic unity of the people materialized in the organization of the Democratic Front.

THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2nd MEETING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL

COMRADE ENVER HODJA OF GREETINGS ADDRESSED TO THE OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2nd MEETING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL

Dear comrades, sisters and brothers,

All our people together with you, ex-members of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, and the patriotic, courageous and generous inhabitants of the district of Berat, today celebrate the 40th anniversary of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which gave Albania its first Democratic Government. On the occasion of this anniversary, one of the most brilliant in the history of the great National Liberation War of our country, I congratulate you and wish you from my heart: a happy day.

Four decades have gone by from that unforgettable historic event, but in my mind I retain the indelible memory of our arrival at Berat late one night after two days of travelling through the mountains of heroic Skrapar, the hospitality and undescribable enthusiasm of the people of your city and the surrounding villages who learned about the arrival of the Anti-fascist Committee and the General Staff, their boundless enthusiasm and fiery cheers for the Party, for the Democratic Government, for free Albania and for our glorious National Liberation Army, with which they accompanied us in every step. The rejoicing of the people, their songs, the ardent words and greetings which were addressed to us, their sons, in those days of great joy, expressed their unshakeable faith in the leadership of the Party and in the new Albanian State which had laid its foundations in the Congress of Përmet a few months ago. This faith was born and cemented in the great National Liberation War, in the gigantic efforts of the people led with wisdom and revolutionary courage by the Party for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the new people's state power.

The festive atmosphere of those fiery days in Berat was reflected more than in anything else in the simple hall decorated with flags, with fresh flowers and laurel branches, in which

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST LIBERATION COUNCIL

HOXHA'S MESSAGE TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL

the historical meeting carried out its proceedings. The enthusiasm and continuing applause which accompanied the discussions of the comrades are beyond description. They reached their highest when the members of the Anti-fascist Council, democratically elected in Përmet, voted unanimously together with the people, who filled half of the hall, boxes and gallery, with their raised fists, for the transformation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee into the Democratic Government. This was the expression of the approval which our whole people gave the immortal work of the Party, the fulfilment of the wishes and aspirations which were becoming a reality before their eyes on the eve of the complete liberation of the Homeland. This unprecedented and very touching manifestation of the unity of the people around the Party showed the Yugoslavs, the British and the Americans, too, who at that time passed as friends, comrades and allies, how closely linked with one another were the people with the Party, and how difficult, indeed, impossible, it was to sabotage the victories of the people's revolution in Albania with intrigues, behind-the-scene deals, threats, flattery and empty promises.

The historic decisions of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council constituted a great political victory for our people, who under the leadership of the Party, at the cost of blood and sacrifices, had liberated until that time over three fourths of the territory of Albania and had become a sound basis for the imminent final victory over the nazi occupiers and internal reaction. The Meeting of Berat sealed the seizure of the political power by our working masses, legitimized the first Democratic Government of the new Albania. The coming generations will never forget its historic decisions, which further streng-

thened the new power born in the fire of the heroic war which our people waged against the savage nazi-fascist enemies and their tools, the bourgeoisie, beys, bayraktars and landowners, who had betrayed the supreme interests of the people and the Homeland.

The program of the Government was charged with onerous tasks for the difficult conditions of that time, therefore, all of us went down to work immediately for their implementation in practice. How remote seems the time when each state department occupied only one room in the house at the end of the Mangalem precinct, but how close and fresh in memory are for us those sleepless nights full of worries and efforts to carry the war for the liberation of the Homeland through to the end, to rebuild the burned-out towns and villages, to reconstruct the economy which the enemies had ravaged. We lacked cadres and specialists, funds and means, but the all-round support of the people and the correct line of the Party gave us confidence and strength to overcome any difficulty, to carry out the program of the Government with success and within a short time and to turn the promises made into a reality, as has always happened in socialist Albania.

The people won, defended and have continuously perfected their state through struggle. Many an attempt has been made by the imperialist and revisionist foreign enemies to overthrow or degenerate our power, but their smiles and threats, the terrorist bands sent from abroad and the agents who had wormed their way into our ranks, all the enemies, have seen their efforts and aims defeated. Our state power is invincible, because the Party and the people watch it vigilantly and in steel unity. Under the solicitude and correct leadership of the Party it has been democratized in ceaseless struggle against any manifestation of bureaucracy, liberalism and concessions to class enemies.

With a strong state, with the Party in the forefront, always loyally implementing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our people have made the behest of the fallen a reality. With our victories in all fields of life, in the economy, education, culture, science, health services and defence, and above all, in the formation of the new man, we go proudly and with many gains to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland which we will celebrate with magnificence next month. The achievements of 40-year old socialist Albania in the strengthening and revolutionization of the Party and the state are the powerful base and sure guarantee of new still greater successes in the complete construction of socialist society.

Long live our heroic people!

Long live the people's state power and our glorious Party which leads us from victory to victory!

**Yours
ENVER HOXHA**

EXCERPTS FROM COMRADE BESNIK BEKTESHI'S SPEECH

DEAR COMRADES,

IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF ENTHUSIASM AND JOY WHICH PREVAILS EVERYWHERE IN OUR COUNTRY WE HAVE MET HERE TODAY TO CELEBRATE ANOTHER MARKED EVENT, WHICH STANDS OUT AS A MEMORIAL TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF ALBANIA.

ON THIS OCCASION, ALLOW ME ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND OUR BELOVED LEADER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA PERSONALLY, TO CONVEY THEIR WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU, THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE 2ND MEETING OF THE HISTORIC ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL, TO THE PATRIOTIC AND HARD-WORKING PEOPLE OF BERAT WHO MADE A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT FOR FREEDOM AND LOYALLY CARRY OUT THE LINE OF THE PARTY AND THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM AND TO WISH YOU: A HAPPY DAY.

The 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was held here in Berat on October 20-23, 1944, in the heat of the liberation war, was a political action of great importance, well-considered and chosen with wisdom by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The internal and external situations in which our country was going through required it.

From the time of the historic Congress of Përmet which, for the first time in their history, gave the Albanian people the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, the highest legislative and executive organ which represented a new more democratic and advanced form of government, to the time of the Meeting of Berat, the National Liberation War had assumed large-scale proportions over the whole territory of the country.

BESNIK BEKTESHI — Deputy member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA.

More than three fourths of the territory of Albania had been liberated by our National Liberation Army which was dealing the German occupier and the traitors to the country the last death blows. The power of the national liberation councils, which expressed the sovereignty, will and self-determination of the Albanian people, was further extended and strengthened.

While the forces of our National Liberation Army continued the general and decisive offensive for the complete liberation of Albania, the problems of organization, consolidation and further strengthening of the new state remained on the order of the day and demanded practical solutions as especially acute problems. Apart from this, the Anglo-American imperialists and internal reaction, frightened by the irrestrainable drive of our National Liberation War, did everything in their power to sabotage the revolution in its main issues and

vital points such as that of state power, in an effort to solve it outside the framework of this war and in the interests of the reactionary ruling classes.

In these conditions, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, the historical imperative was put forward for transforming the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee into the Democratic Government of Albania, which would consolidate the victories achieved until that time by the Albanian people under the Communist Party of Albania, and would define the directives for the final stage of the war, the stage of the complete liberation of the country. This was realized at the 2nd Meeting of the National Liberation Council which was held here in Berat 40 years ago.

The decisions of this meeting had a great historic importance. The new Democratic Government of Albania, which was created here with Comrade Enver Hoxha as prime minister, faithfully following the historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet, presented a series of important tasks: to rally the whole Albanian people round the new state and strengthen the power of the national liberation councils; to review and annul all the agreements entered into with foreign states by the regime of Zog to the detriment of the Albanian state; to ensure the recognition of the new Government as the only government of Albania; and, after the liberation of the country, to organize the free elections for the Constituent Assembly which would decide on the form of the state.

The decision for the transformation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation

Committee into the Democratic Government, the approval of the basic law on the national liberation councils as the only organs of the state, as well as the «Declaration on the rights of citizens» which this meeting adopted, constitute, as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it at that time, three decisions of capital importance and a great step forward towards the strengthening and consolidation of the new state of people's democracy which opened up broad perspectives not only for the armed struggle for the complete liberation of the country, but also for the struggle and work for the reconstruction of the country and its advance.

The creation of the Democratic Government was the glorious work of the Party, which it had envisaged since its founding on November 8, 1941, and had proclaimed as one of the main objectives of its program. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have the historical merit of never separating the question of national liberation from the question of the seizure of state power by the working masses, but have treated, worked out and solved them in close connection, as two tasks of the one strategic aim. The Party linked and merged the struggle for national liberation closely with the struggle for the destruction of the old state and the establishment of the new state, the state of the people, considering them as one. At the same time, our Party did not allow, on any occasion, the division of the leadership in the National Liberation War and, consequently, the sharing of the state power, with the representatives of the exploiting classes who had rallied themselves in the traitor organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, which were completely in the service of the occupiers. Likewise, it put the Anglo-American imperialists to their place and barred the path to their imperialist interferences in the internal affairs of our country. The carrying out of this consistent, profoundly revolutionary line, created the possibilities for only one power, the state power of the people with the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to exist and function in Albania immediately after Liberation.

The establishment of the people's state power in Albania on November 29, 1944 was the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's state became the powerful weapon in the hands of the working class and other working masses for the suppression of the exploiting classes, for the construction of the new man and the defence of the country from external enemies.

In these 40 years of existence of the people's state power, under the leadership of the Party and according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our country has experienced fundamental socio-economic revolutionary transformations. The new socialist relations of production were established, the economic base of socialism was built, the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man were liquidated. A powerful and many-branched industry which relies heavily on our own resources and national assets has been created; collectivized agriculture is developing at rapid rates on the road of the intensification of the extended socialist production and fulfils the growing requirements of the population round development of our economy, and the defence capacity of the country has been strengthened.

The rates of the economic development of the country bear no comparison with those of the past. The total social product of the year 1983, against that of 1938, has increased about 23 times, and against 1960 over 4 times as much, whereas the industrial production of the pre-war period now is realized in two days.

Our economic and social development proceeds in a sure and uninterrupted manner, relying on our own forces, without stretching out our hand to anyone for credits and «aid». Our society knows no crises, unemployment, inflation, price rises, foreign debts, criminality, degeneration and other grave ills which have inflicted the bourgeois and revisionist countries and which erode the foundations of the rotten world capitalist system.

In these 40 years, a real revolution has been carried out in the field of ideology, education, culture and science. From a country with over 80 per cent of the population in a state of

illiteracy, Albania has been transformed not only into a huge construction site, but also into a great school in which nearly one in three people goes to school.

Our people have achieved the majestic victories of the people's revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, overcoming innumerable difficulties inherited from the past as well as those caused by the undermining activities of the internal and external enemies, the pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, and the influence of the general economic crisis of capitalism. In every step of our forward march we have had to fight eye to eye with the classes overthrown by the people's revolution and with imperialists and international reaction, with deviators in the ranks of the Party, beginning with Sejfulla Malëshova and Koçi Xoxe and ending with the arch-agent Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu, as well as with the Titoite, Soviet, Chinese modern revisionists and others. But we have always emerged victorious in these battles, because our Party and people have had their eyes open, because the people's faith in the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has never been shaken, because their unity around the Party has been and is steel-like.

Our Party has had and always has the strengthening and continuous perfection of the people's state power at the centre of its attention. The measures adopted for strengthening the leading role of the Party in the organs of state power, for a most correct understanding of the principle of democratic centralism in the activity of these organs, or preserving correct ratios between elected organs and executive ones, for perfecting and enhancing the role of the people's councils of every level, as well as for strengthening the links with the people and for the fulfilment of their demands, have led to the further revolutionization of our people's power. These measures, along with the struggle on a broad front against manifestations of liberalism, bureaucracy and formalism, have been aimed at

ensuring that our people's state power should have its class character not only in essence, but also in the way it is organized and functions as a real proletarian state which enabled the working class and the other masses of working people to take part actively in governing the country. On the other hand, they are aimed at closing the paths to the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, the return to capitalism, as occurred in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries. This is an experience of great historic importance not only on a national scale but also on an international scale, an experience which has been summed up in an all-round and scientific manner in the book «On the People's State Power» and other Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder and architect of our people's state power.

The victories achieved are a guarantee for our rapid and secure march on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society. The next five-year plan and those which will follow it in the future, will open up new perspectives for the development of the economy, education, culture and science, and will make the life of our people happier.

As a result of the aggressive policy of the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet

Union, and the whole international reaction, the situations in the world today have become tense and the threat of war has increased as never before. This situation has been extremely aggravated by the general economic, political and social crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, and is growing deeper and assuming still greater proportions with each passing day.

The Soviet-American rivalry and the ambitions of the two imperialist superpowers to strengthen their dominating positions in their respective spheres of influence by means of aggressive military treaties and their closed economic blocs at the head of which they stand, as well as to further extend their domination, make the situation ever more explosive. The stationing of medium-range nuclear missiles both by the Americans and the Soviets, in some countries of West and East Europe, further increases the danger of war, strengthens and justifies the Soviet-American monopoly of nuclear-missile weapons, as a constant factor of threat to peace and security in our region and in the world, as a factor against the freedom and independence of sovereign socialist states.

With its open, consistent and principled policy, socialist Albania has become a factor of peace and sta-

bility in the Balkans. It maintains good neighbour relations with the neighbour countries and those of the region. Only the relations with Yugoslavia are not going in the direction desired by our side, and this not for any fault of ours. It is the Yugoslav side which has impeded and continues to impede the further development of relations between the two countries. Proof of this is the failure to conclude an agreement on the program of cultural exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia, the responsibility for which, as has been made known, lies with Belgrade. All this is understandable. Titoite Yugoslavia has pursued and pursues a hostile policy towards our country.

Our country will continue, in the future too, to pursue a policy of friendship and collaboration with all the countries and peoples who proceed from the same wishes and aims. We are for the development of trade, cultural and other relations with all countries, on the basis of principles which regulate the relations between sovereign states. At the same time, we confirm once again our unchanged policy towards the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most dangerous enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security.



On October 22 the people of the district of Berat, in which the historic 2nd Meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council was held 40 years ago and gave Albania its first Democratic Government, celebrated the anniversary of this event.

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Comrades Manush Myftiu, Lenka Çuko, Pali Miska, Besnik Bekteshi, Prokop Murra, and members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, went to Berat to celebrate this event together with the people of the district.

The mass rally on the main city square was opened by the 1st Secretary of the District Party Committee of Berat, Comrade Mine Guri.

Amid the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Adil Çarçani read the message of greetings by the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressed to the participants in the celebration of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council.

The candidate of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, held the speech on the occasion, after which Comrade Ramiz Alia handed over the Order of Freedom of the First Class, which the Presidium of the People's Assembly, by special decree, awarded the city of Berat and congratulated

the people of the district on this occasion.

After the rally, leaders of the Party and state visited the museum hall, in which the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council met 40 years ago. «On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, I want to greet you, ex-members of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, who were the protagonists of this historic Meeting, and wish you good health and successes in your work,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia. The leaders of the Party and state and ex-members of the Council deposited their signatures to the book of the historic Meeting.

In one of the halls of the District Party Committee, the leaders of the Party and state met members of the martyrs' families.

THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST OF ALBANIA

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS ADDRESSED TO THE FORMER DELEGATES OF THE 1st CONGRESS

Dear comrades, mothers and sisters, former delegates to the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania,

I congratulate you whole-heartedly on the occasion of the marked day of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of your 1st Congress!

You, the representatives of the women of the whole of Albania, who came from the flames of partisan battles, from the underground fight and from the free towns and villages, came together in the town of Berat 40 years ago in order to confirm once again with your own powerful voices your determination to loyally continue through to the end on the road illuminated by the Party and to proclaim the objectives of your revolutionary organization: the complete liberation and the construction of the Homeland ravaged by the fierce war against the foreign occupiers and local traitors.

At the call of the Party you, the fighters of the front line, the long-suffering but heroic Albanian mothers and women, rose against centuries-old oppression and fought side by side with your husbands, sons and brothers in the great National Liberation War. This legendary war, led by the Party, which overthrew the old world and brought freedom to the people, liberated the Albanian women too, made a reality of the behest of the daughters fallen at the alter of freedom, Zonja, Margarita, Bule and Persefoni, Shejnaze, Mine Peza and many other women and young girls, made a reality of the ideal of all our mothers and sisters who, in the midst of the savage terror and violence of the enemies, opened the doors of their houses and turned them into shelters for the freedom fighters, took up arms, filled the partisan ranks and threw themselves into the fight against the nazi-fascist occupiers and the traitors to the country.

The holding of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist*Women's Union of Albania after the proclamation of the Provisional Democratic Government, which legitimized the equality of women with men in political and social life, had importance not only for the women but also for the whole people. This Congress was the first national assembly of the women in our thousand-years old history, in which your voice resounded with great strength.

After the work of the Congress, you comrade former delegates went off like sparks all over the Homeland in order to put into practice the decisions that were taken there, to throw the masses of women and girls into the war for the complete liberation and the reconstruction

OF THE 1st CONGRESS T WOMEN'S UNION BANIA

F COMRADE ENVER HOXHA LEGATES TO THE 1st CONGRESS AWUA

of the country and for the building of a new society. With the all-round support of the Party and the state you rose powerfully against the centuries-old darkness and illiteracy, overcame the stumbling-block and cleared all brambles, and marched ahead on the illuminated road which the Party showed, became fighters of the new life and drew the masses of women on to the front of production and socio-political activities. Your personality was raised in step with the gigantic strides of our socialist society which left the centuries behind, because you have the teachings of the Party in your minds and hearts, because the behest of the fallen has remained sacred to you.

Today, after 40 years of struggle and magnificent efforts for the construction of socialism the Party takes legitimate pride in the Albanian woman who militates, thinks and pours her sweat on all the fronts of work and production, in industry and agriculture, in science and culture, putting all her forces to the new and happy life which we have built with our own efforts. In the struggle for her further emancipation, the Albanian woman is affirming her personality more and more in every field and sector of the political and social activity of the country. With her work and capacity not only is she taking part in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, but she has also become a wonderful mother and educator of the coming generations with the teachings of the Party.

Dear comrades,

A few days separate us from the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, for which old and young have mobilized themselves to receive it with as many achievements as possible, therefore we must heighten the militant spirit at work for the attainment of the tasks set on all fronts of life.

On this joyful occasion I send you my warmest congratulations on your celebration!

Yours
ENVER HOXHA

FROM COMRADE LENKA ÇUKO'S SPEECH

IN THE GLORIOUS YEARS OF THE WAR THE PARTY AROUSED IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ALBANIAN WOMEN THEIR WILL CURBED IN THE CENTURIES, ANIMATED THE FINEST SENTIMENTS IN THEIR HEARTS, SHOWED THEM THE TRUE ROAD TO FOLLOW. IN THE WORD AND PROGRAM OF THE PARTY THE WOMEN OF OUR COUNTRY SAW THEIR OWN FUTURE, WHEREAS THE PARTY FOUND FIRM AND LOYAL FIGHTERS IN THE RANKS OF WOMEN. IN THIS UNEXAMPLED UNITY, WHICH IS BOUND WITH THE STEEL TIES OF A GREAT IDEAL, LIES THE BASIS OF THAT WONDERFUL HEROISM OF WOMEN IN THE WAR, WHICH RAISED THE FIGHTING AND FREEDOM-LOVING TRADITIONS OF OUR PEOPLE TO A HIGHER DEGREE.

THE WOMEN READILY ANSWERED THE FIRST CALL OF THE PARTY. WITH UNPRECEDENTED LOVE OF COUNTRY, SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH MEN, THEY TOOK UP ARMS AND SPARED NOTHING FOR THE MUCH-CHERISHED FREEDOM OF THE HOMELAND.

The 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Women's Union remains a landmark in the history of our war. We shall always remember it because then more than at any other time the solemn pledge of the women of our country to continue the war through to final victory over the enemies and traitors, to be always loyal and exemplary soldiers of the Party in the work for the reconstruction and the building up of the country ravaged by the war, resounded in complete unison.

When we look back to these four decades of our free life, the great leap of epoch-making proportions and value which our country, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has made, rises before our eyes in all its splendour. With joy and love which they

have in their hearts, the people call these years the years of the Party, the time of their true revival.

The struggle and efforts of our people under the leadership of the Party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland during the 40 years of its existence in freedom and the victories achieved in these four decades, are connected closely also with the great and irreplaceable role of the woman. These years constitute the period of the all-round outburst of spiritual, moral and physical energies of the woman, the period of her complete emancipation. In the years of socialist construction the women of our country have raised the wonderful tradition of the war to a still higher level and have handed it down to the younger generations. The women have always responded with readiness to the call of the Party and have taken an active part in the

political, social and economic life of the country. On this road they were not to step back before any difficulty, nothing stopped them from marching always ahead on the road of the revolution as the Party taught them.

The Albanian women have never separated their readiness for work from their desire for learning, knowledge, in order to relegate to the past that dark world in which the various anti-popular regimes had plunged them.

The dignity of the woman, the new life and the great victories she has achieved in the 40 years from Liberation, are connected inextricably with the Party, with its correct line, with the solicitude and the outstanding contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the working out of the program for the emancipation of the Albanian woman and the mapping out of the roads for its materialization. While implementing the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialism is inconceivable and its construction cannot go ahead without the complete emancipation of the woman, in our country today there is no project, no political, economic, scientific, educational and cultural activity in which the woman does not take part, in which her say and hand are not powerfully felt. On the great front of the revolution the woman has raised her personality still higher and is making her invaluable contribution as talented worker, as tireless activist, as capable scientist with an ingenious creative mind, as

LENKA ÇUKO — *Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA*

mother and educator of the younger generation.

Only a socialist society, like our society, only a socio-economic order like our order, only a party like our Party of Labour of Albania which has the immortal ideology of Marxism-Leninism at its foundations, can create the conditions for raising the

dignity of the woman to such heights, can open up horizons in which the woman can have her say on capital problems of socialism with competence and courage, can guarantee democratic rights and freedoms which they really enjoy. The women in our country make up 30.9 per cent of the membership of the Party and 30.6 per cent of

those elected to its forums, without mentioning hundreds of thousands of women who militate as activists in the other organizations of the masses. They play an important role as representatives of the people in the People's Assembly, in the people's councils and courts and in every state and social organ and organism.



The 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the AWUA which was held on November 4, 1944, was celebrated with joy in Berat. Together with the former delegates to this Congress, the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Lenka Çuko, deputy-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, Foto Çami, the president of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, Lumturi Rexha, ministers Vito Kapo, Tefta Cami and Themie Thomai, and others, took part in the celebration of this anniversary.

In the mass rally organized for the occasion amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Lenka Çuko read the message of greetings the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressed to the former delegates to the 1st Congress of the AWUA on the 40th anni-

versary of its holding. Then, in her speech, Comrade Lenka Çuko conveyed to the mass rally the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party.

On behalf of the Standing Committee of the General Council of the WUA, the President of this Council, Lumturi Rexha, made a speech.

At the mass rally a message of greetings was read which the women of Albania addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha on the occasion of this celebration.

After the rally, the former delegates visited the gallery of Figurative Arts of the district, in which an exhibition with works by women painters and sculptors, was opened.

The former delegates visited the museum hall in which the 1st Congress of the AWUA held its proceedings 40 years ago. Comrade Vito Kapo, a delegate to the 1st Congress, greeted those present and in her speech re-

called the days when the Congress was held. She pointed out the new heights to which the Albanian women have been raised today and the great contribution they are making in all fields of the socialist construction of the country.

A commemorative session dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the AWUA was organized in one of the halls of the home of culture «Margarita Tutulani». Following this, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Mine Guri, announced the decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on awarding various decorations and orders to organizations of Women's Union of some districts of the country which have distinguished themselves for their activity in the education and mobilization of the masses of women. The ceremony of the occasion proceeded in an atmosphere of joy.

MAGNIFICENT CONSTRUCTIONS THAT HAVE CHANGED OF THE COUNTRY

*In the 7th
Five-year Plan the
volume of constructions
is 6.8 times as
great as that of the
1st Five-year Plan.
In 1984 the volume
of construction
work was 3.4 times
that of 1960*

DURING THESE FOUR DECADES, ALBANIA, OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND, HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A HUGE BUILDING SITE. MAGNIFICENT AND ALL-ROUND VICTORIES HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED IN FIERCE STRUGGLE WITH EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ENEMIES, AGAINST THE SAVAGE IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST BLOCKADE AND ENCIRCLEMENT BY CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTING THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE.

DURING THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER, IN CONSTANT STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES, WITH TIRELESS AND SELF-DENYING WORK, OUR COURAGEOUS AND GIFTED CONSTRUCTION WORKERS HAVE HONOURABLY DISCHARGED THEMSELVES OF THE TASKS THEY HAVE BEEN ENTRUSTED WITH BY THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE BY GIVING THE HOMELAND MONUMENTAL CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH WILL TESTIFY TO THE GLORIOUS EPOCH OF THE PARTY IN THE CENTURIES.

Hydro-power stations and industrial complexes, factories and workshops, huge land-reclamation schemes, irrigation canals and water reservoirs, housing blocks, schools, hospitals, roads and railways built during these 40 years of people's state power have changed the face of our Homeland and played a fundamental role in the economic, social and cultural development of our people, in the strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist country and the constant improvement of the material well-being and the cultural uplift of our working masses.

In the first years of the people's state power our construction workers have built important projects such as the «Stalin» Textile Mills in Tirana, the «October 8» Sugar Refinery at Maliq, rice husking and cotton ginning plants, drained the Maliq swamps and built irrigation canals as well as the first hydro-power station of our country — the «Lenin» hydro-power station.

From one five-year plan to the
FARUDIN HOXHA — Minister of
building construction

other construction work has assumed ever larger proportions at rates unprecedented in the history of our country. In the 7th Five-year Plan the volume of constructions is 6.8 times as great as that of the 1st Five-year Plan. In 1984 the volume of construction work was 3.4 times that of 1960.

Constant care has been devoted to the training and qualification of the great army of construction workers and specialists, technicians and engineers, designers and executors, which has resulted in the raising of the scientific level of studies, designs and constructions. As against one designing institute we had in 1957 today we have some institutes of construction designing and technology, which have turned out hundreds of important projects of a contemporary level.

There has been rapid development also in the creation of the material and technical base so as to cope with the ever higher rates and greater volumes of construction, especially in regard to some of the more important materials such as cement, bricks, prefabricated and other building ma-

CONSTRUCTIONS CHANGED THE FACE

by **FARUDIN HOXHA**

materials. In 1984 as against 1960 the production of construction materials rose 13.6 fold.

There has been a perceptible rise in the level of mechanization of many work processes, which has led to higher work productivity in both construction and production, quicker completion of projects, lowering of costs, etc.

Work productivity has risen at an average of about 3 per cent each year. Technical work norms have become widespread. Today more than 80 per cent of all norm work is done according to technical norms.

As a result of the great work of the Party for the all-round strengthening of the material-technical base of socialism, for the development of Albanian science and technique and the training of our national cadres, our specialists now carry out study and design work with courage and maturity despite the difficulties created by the betrayal of the revisionists. The latter left incomplete many projects which our specialists completed successfully within schedule.

The experience gained in this period has enabled our construction workers and specialists today to design and build all sorts of projects, no matter how difficult and complex, relying solely on our own forces.

A clear example of this is the designing and building of the «Enver

Hoxha» Hydro-power Station at Koman. The workers and specialists working on this giant of our hydro-power system are scoring ever more important victories which raise the name of the science and technique of construction in our country ever higher.

The construction workers have gone all-out and are working persistently to build other important projects standing at a high scientific level such as the 400 kw high tension line, the railways Shkodra-Hani Hotit and Fier-Vlora, the plants for the enrichment of copper and chromium, several plants of the mechanical engineering, metallurgical, chemical, building materials, food-processing and light industries, as well as many irrigation and drainage projects, livestock raising complexes, etc.

The study, designing and construction of such important socio-cultural objects as the «Gjergj Kastrioti» Museum at Kruja, the Museum of National History in Tirana, many other socio-cultural objects, housing complexes and projects of urban development show that our workers, architects and constructors are in a position to design and build beautiful objects of high artistic value.

The Central Committee of the Party has set our construction science and technique a number of important tasks, which open up great perspectives for the future. For this purpose

many studies have been carried out in the field of organization and planning, study and design, for the development of the industry of building materials and the improvement of the qualification and specialization of cadres. All this will increase the effectiveness of our investments and constructions so as to ever better implement the slogan of the Party to build more quickly, at higher quality and at lower cost. Great work is being done to improve the results achieved in the study, design and production of pre-fabricated materials which cut down on costs of construction work.

The introduction of prefabricated materials and new pretension techniques will result in a 15-20 per cent reduction in the consumption of materials in scarce supply such as cement and iron.

Now, the solution of many complex construction problems and the determination of optimum parameters for different constructions is being done through the broad application of advanced computer methods and the introduction of computer electronic technique into studies and designs, which makes for quicker, cheaper and better constructions.

The victories scored during these 40 years after Liberation are great, but the tasks that lie ahead of us are greater still.

IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM

by **JACE LULA**

IN THESE 40 YEARS OF LIBERATION, PARALLEL AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WHOLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY, WHICH IS A POWERFUL WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE, HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND MODERNIZED. IT IS BEING CONSTANTLY STRENGTHENED AND STEELED SO AS TO BE ABLE TO DEFEND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE ACHIEVEMENTS.

THE PARTY CREATED THE ARMY ACCORDING TO THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER AND THE DEFENCE OF THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM. THESE LOFTY AND NOBLE AIMS DETERMINE ITS PROFOUNDLY POPULAR AND REVOLUTIONARY CLASS CHARACTER. IN STRUGGLE WITH MANY ENEMIES AND INNUMERABLE DIFFICULTIES, INSPIRED BY THE GREAT IDEALS OF OUR PARTY AND UNDER ITS DIRECT CORRECT LEADERSHIP, THE ARMY HAS BEEN TEMPERED AND GROWN INTO AN ARMY OF THE NEW TYPE AS A WEAPON OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Our army has its origin in the people. Right from the first years of the National Liberation War its ranks were swelled with workers and peasants, the sons and daughters of the people. The cadres and the various partisan formations, from the *çeta* to divisions and army corps, emerged from their ranks. This mass participation of the insurgent people in the ranks of our Army in the stormy years of the National Liberation War determined its popular content, and the Party leadership determined its revolutionary character.

Our People's Army has a great aim: the defence of freedom and the independence of the Homeland and the achievements of socialist construction.

JACE LULA — Vice-minister of People's Defence

The contrary occurs with the armies of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. In these countries, along with the oppression of the people, the armies are trained and employed for the enslavement of other countries and the suppression of the popular revolution. The armies of the United States have committed many aggressions and brought war to many countries, from Korea and Vietnam to Lebanon, they have occupied Grenada and are planning to invade Nicaragua, the countries of the Persian Gulf and others. The armies of the revisionist Soviet Union have occupied Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, are interfering in the internal affairs of many countries and, like the armies of American imperialism, threaten the peoples and suppress their liberation wars.

They are tools of reaction, armed to the teeth to extend the life of international capitalism, they are the defenders of the banks, monopolies and the profits they make through the exploitation of the peoples. They have an anti-popular, enslaving and oppressive character. They are separated from the people, they rise above and against them. With us the army defends the interests of the people, lives together with them and like them.

The links of our Army with the people are strong and indissoluble. For their part the people love the Army whole-heartedly, love its soldiers and officers with all their hearts not only because they are their sons, but also because, with their toil, work and knowledge, they have secured the constant progress of our Army in all sectors, so that its combat readiness is kept always high and the defence of the Homeland has become invincible.

The Party has always considered the question of the Army as a question of the whole people, because the Army belongs to the people, and inversely, all the questions of the people are also questions of the Army. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «Our whole people, both those who are capable of carrying weapons and those who, for reasons of age, carry them no longer, learn how to fight, how to attack the enemy and defend the country, how to achieve victory everywhere in our country, at all times

The arming and training of all the working masses for the defence of the Homeland stems from the very character of our socialist Homeland and represents an implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, which lies at the foundation of our People's Military Art

and in all circumstances.» The lofty conception of the sons and daughters of our people, of the defence of the Homeland, urges them, even when they leave the Army, to think still of it, to keep in touch with it, to live with it, to continue their training and, along with it, to perfect the defence system.

Proceeding from the lofty interests of the defence of the Homeland and the protection of the free life of the people, during these forty years of Liberation the Party has constantly concerned itself about and worked for the modernization of the Army in all aspects. The constant strengthening and modernization of the Army is at the centre of attention of the Party and our people's state power. They have always seen this task as a decisive factor in the defence of the Homeland and the revolution, as a component part of the construction of socialism in Albania. In the course of the implementation of this task great work has been done and major successes achieved in the improvement of the organizational structure of the Army, in its equipment with the modern weapons and technical means, in the preparation of the terrain, in the political and ideological education and military training of the people. The Army today has become a great school for the military education of all our defence structures. Our soldier people are both citizens and well-trained soldiers, in constant combat

readiness. Such an organization has been achieved through the establishment of military free schools which are the basic institutions for the training of the armed people, who in fact constitute our People's Army, as a firm base for the organization of the invincible defence of our country. The arming and training of all the working masses for the defence of the Homeland stems from the very character of our socialist Homeland and represents an implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, which lies at the foundation of our People's Military Art. This popular character of the training of the whole people is also a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist military science, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The further revolutionization and modernization of our People's Army continues. It is done by improving the skills of our soldiers and officers in the employment of weapons and the utilization of the terrain for the purposes of defence. In the context of this general revolutionization priority is always given to the political education and the role of man over weapons. It is precisely the Marxist-Leninist education in conformity with the line of the Party which has enabled us to have today a powerful Army which stands at a high political level, well-trained militarily and led by capable cadres, prepared at our military schools and tempered with the

great experience of the struggle of our people for the constant strengthening of the defence potential of the country, cadres which live in constant and close contact with the mass of soldiers.

The men of our Army are political people who are concerned about and work for the cause of the people according to our strategy and tactic which are the contrary of the strategy and tactic of our enemies. Our Army studies the Military Art of People's War with a new tactic and strategy. It is equipped with modern weapons and constantly improves the skills necessary for their effective use. The Military Art of People's War constitutes the basis on which all the men of our Armed Forces are trained.

During these decades our People's Army has marched on the road of its ceaseless development and revolutionization. It is a powerful and advanced Army because it is closely linked with the people, is led by a true Marxist-Leninist Party, is armed with the victorious strategy and tactic of People's War, and with modern technical means and armaments. Our Army is the armed support of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was formed, grew and is being ceaselessly strengthened as a Modern People's Army and defends its Homeland, defends socialism in the construction of which our people have achieved magnificent successes in the space of these 40 years after Liberation.

SOCIALISM - A REALLY HUMANE

by **AGIM POPA**

Along with liberating the broad masses of the working people from exploitation and exploiters, along with the liquidation of social inequality and injustice, socialism saved them for ever from age-long poverty, misery, ignorance and suffering.

IN THE 40 YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S STATE POWER AND THE SETTING OUT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM, PRACTICE AND LIVING EXPERIENCE HAVE CONVINCED OUR PEOPLE ABOUT THE GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST TRUTH THAT THE SOCIALIST ORDER IS THE ONLY REAL HUMANE ORDER HISTORY HAS EVER KNOWN. THIS PROFOUNDLY HUMANE CHARACTER CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE ATTRACTIVE POWER OF SOCIALISM IN THE EYES OF WORKING MASSES, PROGRESSIVE FORCES AND THE PEOPLES .

International bourgeoisie, the anti-communist propaganda, with which all the modern revisionists — Yugoslav, Soviet, Eurocommunist, Chinese and others — have joined in essence, have committed themselves in their different ways to a rapid campaign to weaken this attractive power of socialism and to denigrate the socialist order. On the one hand, efforts are made to present the capitalist order as the order of liberty, well-being, humanism, the flowering of the personality of man, etc. But on the other hand, they stop before nothing, slander or humbug, in order to paint the socialist order black, as an anti-humanitarian order in which allegedly there are no freedoms and in which the personality of man is suppressed. It is sufficient to mention the savage attacks of the anti-communist propaganda of the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other revisionists, the Trotskyites and the whole lot of enemies, against Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, not to go further back to the time of Lenin, or right to the repeated campaigns of slanders and attacks against socialist Albania, in order to grasp the aim of all this.

Instead of socialism built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and revisionists preach and publicize the socialism with a «human face» like Dubcek's socialism in Czechoslovakia, the «de-

mocratic» socialism which the Eurocommunists offer as an alternative, or socialism of the «state of the entire people» which the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union preach, etc. The aim of all of them is to undermine the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on scientific socialism, in general, and its teachings on the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular, which allegedly are the opposite of humanitarianism. The spread of liberalism in all fields, abandonment of the idea of the class struggle and weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, make up the essence of the imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression against socialist Albania, covered up under the slogan of «humanitarianism».

There is no secret about the fact that «socialism with a human face», as the bourgeoisie and revisionists preach, is nothing other than the capitalist order with a «socialist» veneer, an attempt at giving capitalism a new lease of life under cover of a new allegedly humane form.

However, history and the facts show that the capitalist order, whatever the form under which it presents itself, the classical form or the form of anti-Marxist «socialism», is downright inhumane.

No face-lifting on the part of the apologists of the bourgeoisie can improve the looks of capitalism; nothing can cover up the fact that it is an order based on the ever growing in-

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NE ORDER

tensification of the exploitation of the broad masses of working people, the order which uninterruptedly begets and deepens social inequality, helps the wealthy to become even more wealthy and causes the poor to be impoverished, the order which causes such incurable ills as crises, unemployment, rising cost of living, insecurity for the future, etc., which lie heavy on the working people. The result of the merciless exploitation of the working people by monopolists and the wealthy in the USA, who account for only 1 per cent of the population of the country, is that this 1 per cent possesses 67 per cent of the national assets, at a time when 20 per cent of the population, consisting of poor families, possesses only 5.4 per cent of the national income. In Great Britain, too, only 5 per cent of the population of the country possesses 3/4 of the national assets, while 80 per cent of the population has less than 20 per cent of them. Or, are the millions and tens of millions of unemployed only in the richest and most developed capitalist countries, testimony of humanitarianism?!

The inhuman character of the capitalist order reveals itself especially in the phase of imperialism, in the savage colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and oppression, which condemns the broad masses of the people in whole zones and continents, such as in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania, to suffering and misery, to famine and illiteracy, to rabid racial discrimination or even to the annihilation of entire populations.

The capitalist and imperialist order is the most inhuman the history of the world has ever known, because it is the order which begets the most barbarous, predatory, suppressive, invading and liquidatory wars which have caused and continue to cause

most horrible sufferings and greatest ravages to the peoples. Only in the First and the Second World Wars tens of millions of people lost their lives. The unheard-of crimes of the American imperialists in Vietnam and other places are still alive in the memory of the present generations, just as the barbarous actions of the Soviet social-imperialist occupiers in Afghanistan arouse the legitimate repulsion of progressive peoples and individuals. In our days, the expenditure of the imperialist powers on armaments have reached colossal figures of billions of dollars, at a time when in many countries and zones of the world tens of million of people lack their daily bread, or are short of vital commodities and services. Most of the expenditure which the imperialist powers allocate to science and technique goes to the development and production of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other mass extermination weapons which constitute a serious threat, a danger of throwing the world into a new imperialist slaughter with very serious consequences for the whole civilization. The traffic of arms, which fans up war hysteria, has become the most lucrative business for big capitalist monopolies.

Every passing day provides new facts about the correctness of J. Stalin's thesis that the fundamental economic law of present-day capitalism is «securing maximum profit through the exploitation, ruination and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the country, and the enslavement and systematic plunder of the peoples of other countries, especially the backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and the militarization of national economy, which constitute the means for securing the biggest profits possible».¹ Anti-huma-

itarianism lies in the very foundations of the capitalist order, is embodied in its nature as a social order. In capitalism, the working men, the broad masses of the people, create everything needed for living and for the society, but the results of their work are alienated, transformed into a destructive force which is directed against them and exploits them.

In the field of the spiritual world, anti-humanitarianism pervades every cell of the bourgeois-revisionist society. It fosters selfishness and individualism, accompanied by such typical manifestations as spiritual vacuum and degeneration of the man, idealism and use of violence, the spread of crime, drug addiction, moral degeneration, etc., to unprecedented proportions.

Historical experience and the facts show both the anti-humanitarian essence of capitalism, on the one hand, and the profoundly humane character of the real socialist order, on the other. What has this order given the Albanian people and what has it excluded irrevocably from their lives?

Socialism saved the working people of our country once and for good from the exploitation of man by man, barred all the paths to any form of exploitation. The **bey**, the **bayraktar**, the wealthy, the merchant, the usurer and the whole lot of exploiters have remained only as a hated memory of the dark past. In socialist Albania there are no exploited and exploiters, no rich and poor, but only working people who work for themselves and enjoy the fruit of their free work for themselves and their families. Our socialist society respects and honours the work of the millions of working people, who are scorned in capitalism where exploitation and the exploited are raised on the pedestal.

Along with liberating the broad mas-

ses of the working people from exploitation and exploiters, along with the liquidation of social inequality and injustice, socialism saved them forever from age-long poverty, misery, ignorance and suffering. It is an historical truth, acceptable to our daily life, that in our country the well-being of the people, and not of a minority, keeps rising continuously. The broad masses of working people have been liberated from such grave ills of the capitalist-revisionist society as crises, unemployment, rising cost of living, taxes and fees, insecurity about the future, etc. However, as J. Stalin said, there is real freedom for man, and not freedom on paper, only there where the exploitation and oppression have been wiped out, where there is no unemployment and poverty and man is not haunted by the fear that tomorrow he might lose his job, his house, his means of livelihood. The extensive development of health service and free medical aid, the creation of facilities for mother and child care, social insurances guaranteed for temporary incapacity for work and for old age, the development of education for the masses free from charge, the electrification of all the villages of the country in a record time, the accommodation of most of the population in new houses and the very low house rents, the state and social assistance in cases of earthquakes and other natural calamities — all these and many other achievements of our people in the epoch of socialism are clear proof of the profound humane character of our socialist order, of the fact that the concern for the man is in the centre of the attention and constitutes the very aim of the construction of socialism. Unlike capitalism, in which the aim of production is the appropriation of capitalist profit, and in which man with his own needs is totally disregarded, the aim of socialist production, as J. Stalin has shown with facts, is not profit, but the fulfilment of the needs of man, in their totality, material and cultural. This constitutes the fundamental economic law of socialism.

The establishment of the people's state power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the setting out of the country on the road of

socialism freed the Albanian people from the economic and social viewpoint, and from any political suppression. The social and state life of Albania is characterized, to the highest degree, by uninterrupted development and deepening of socialist democracy, effective participation of the broad masses of the people in the running of the country, by the fact that they decide their own destiny. In our country it is the people, under the leadership of the Party, who, through their representatives whom they elect in a democratic manner, or directly through their own voice, decide on everything, exercise their control on everyone and for everything. The dictatorship of the proletariat represents the most complete democracy, genuine and effective democracy for the broad masses of the people.

The embarkment on the socialist road is connected also with the liquidation of any form of oppression by foreigners, with guaranteeing the genuine national independence and sovereignty of the people, with barring the road to dependence, subjugation and exploitation by imperialism, of any kind and in any form. At the same time, the Constitution of socialist Albania sanctions the prohibition of any fascist, anti-democratic, war-mongering and racial organization, and propaganda of national suppression, sternly opposes any form of aggression and colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, any foreign tutelage, dictation and hegemony, defends the principle of the people's self-determination, the exercise of sovereignty and complete equality of all the countries in their international relations, powerfully supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and peoples' struggle for freedom, independence, social progress and socialism. All this, which is rigorously put into practice, is clear expression of our socialist humanitarianism.

A significant proof of the humane character of the socialist order in our country is the equality of everyone before the law, the prohibition by law and in practice of any restrictions or privileges regarding the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position and material situation. In this

context, one of the major victories in the humanitarian work of the Party and the socialist order in our country is the all-round emancipation of the women, the guaranteed equality of women with men in all walks of economic, political and spiritual life, the liberation of the women from the centuries-old burden of backward and patriarchal concepts and customs, the enslaving influence of religion, etc., their transformation into a great and conscious active force of social advance on the road of socialism.

Our socialist life is living testimony of the fact that socialism creates the most favourable conditions for the development of the personality of man, not for a privileged minority, but for the broadest masses of working people, for the development of their abilities and cultivation of their talents in all fields. In Albania, where only 40 years before over 80 per cent of the population did not know how to write, and read, where secondary school was an aspiration that only a very limited number of people could realize, whereas university training was a privilege for special people, where there was not a single higher school and professional theatre, a complete overthrow has taken place. Now Albania has become the country in which education and culture have a broad massive character, in which one in every 3-4 people goes to school, healthy socialist arts with the broad participation of the masses are flourishing, the country where broad horizons have been opened up to science, and where the technical-scientific revolution and experimentation is made by the masses. In our country broad avenues have been opened up to everyone to cultivate and develop his vocation, talent, capacity and individuality in the most diverse fields. Another great humanitarian achievement of socialist Albania is the liberation of the consciousness of the working people from the shackles of religious obscurantism. The magnificent achievements made in the 40 years of the people's state power and socialist construction in our country, translated in the language of facts, speak of a reality.

The whole of our socialist social life is the embodiment of true humanism in action. Unlike the capital-

ist relations of private ownership which foster opposed interests, selfishness, divisions and animosities, the socialist relations of production educate and encourage solidarity, mutual assistance, pure friendship and love among the working people. «Socialist humanism in our country is becoming more and more a phenomenon of the masses,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Profound love of working people for one another is the main characteristic of our socialist society. All the energies which everyone in our country pours into the common social work have the one single aim: the defence of the Homeland, freedom and the people, the well-being, happiness and beauty of the spiritual world of the man. Therefore, the organized masses of working people all over Albania today work with a high consciousness... 'All for one and one for all,' is our motto. In this aspect, too, the examples of boundless love for the Homeland, the people, the man, in our country, are innumerable.»²

Our socialist humanism is humanism for the people, for the broadest sections of the masses of the people and not for a minority. It puts the general interest in the first place, without negating personal interest, which it combines correctly with the general interest and subordinates it to the latter. This means the greatest concern for the man in the fullest and broadest sense of the word.

Everything that has been achieved and realized in our country in the interest and benefit of the people in these 40 years has not come of itself,

in a plain-sailing course. All this has been achieved, safeguarded and further developed in the process of ceaseless class struggle against internal and external enemies who have always tried to make the people pay as heavily as possible for these victories and turn them back to the past, as well as against the influences of alien ideologies, which, if given a free field of activity, lead to the degeneration of the people and the socialist order, to undermining and overthrow of the socialist order through the «peaceful» counter-revolution, and to the re-establishment of capitalism in a new form, as occurred in the Soviet Union and some other countries.

By directing its attacks against Marxism-Leninism, revolution, and socialism, the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda speaks in the name of a non-class or supra-class humanism, humanism «for everyone», in the name of Christian mercy. But such humanism is false and deceptive since it justifies the bourgeois and imperialist order of oppression and exploitation, alienates the masses from the revolutionary struggle for its overthrow, preaches submission, defends the enemies of the people and demands that they be given freedom of action in order to sap and overthrow the power of the people where the people have seized it and to put them back to capitalist thralldom.

Our socialist humanism is not and cannot be humanism above classes, for everyone, or humanism which preaches christian mercy for the enemy. In the society with classes there is and can be no humanism in general terms,

just as there is and can be no democracy for all, but there is humanism either for the majority of the working people or for the exploiting minority, either for the people or for their enemies. In our society there is no room for humanism and mercy for the enemy who raise their hands and act against the people and socialism.

In socialist society the general method and stand adopted towards working people who err is that of social criticism, of persuasion and education, in order to combat the illness and save the sick, without negating the need for juridical and administrative measures towards those who persist in their mistakes and violation.

Socialist humanism pervades the whole work of the Party and its levers with the people. Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the work of the Party and its attitude towards the people must be always of this kind and not such as to wear and tear people, instead it must help them to be revived, open the horizons of pleasant and fruitful creative work for them. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «Through a well-studied political and educative work we must ensure that the new man of our socialist society finds the substance of his happy life in the line of the Party and the road on which it leads them.»³

1 J. Stalin, *Selected Works*, p. 580, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1969-1970*, p. 281, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches, 1978-1979*, p. 63, Alb. ed.

SOCIALIST REALISM ART OF GREAT POSSIBILITIES

The art of the working class, socialist realism, has no limitation of extension in time and space, its content and form are the most varied, and its literary techniques the most advanced, and this is only natural because no other literary method up till now has coped with such a broad material as the complete tableau of the life of the people

IT IS MORE THAN FORTY YEARS NOW THAT, ACCORDING TO THE TEACHINGS OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, THE CREATIVE METHOD OF SOCIALIST REALISM IS SUCCESSFULLY GUIDING THE WRITERS OF ALBANIA, THIS ANCIENT LAND OF ARTS. THE AGE FORTY YEARS OF OUR SOCIALIST REALIST LITERATURE IS ONLY ONE TENTH OF THE AGE OF THE ALBANIAN LITERATURE AS A WHOLE. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT THINK THAT THERE CAN BE PEOPLE OF SO DISTORTED MIND AS TO CLOSE THEIR EYES TO THE GREAT FACT THAT IN THESE FORTY YEARS IN ALBANIA MORE NOVELS, STORIES AND POEMS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED THAN DURING THE WHOLE FOUR-HUNDRED YEAR LONG PERIOD OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE ALBANIAN LITERATURE, THAT THE ALBANIAN LITERATURE OF THE PRESENT DAYS NOT ONLY HAS PRESERVED THE HIGH STANDARDS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE PAST, BUT ALSO RAISED PARTS OF IT, ESPECIALLY THE PROSE AND THE NOVEL, THE HEAVY ARTILLERY OF LITERATURE, TO A HIGHER LEVEL.

The facts we mentioned are of capital importance for judging the literature of a given epoch. So, we are justified to say with full conviction that in the epoch of socialism our literature has developed as in no other time and that its development constitutes one of the more brilliant chapters of the history of socialism in Albania and, without doubt, a great chapter in the history of the Albanian civilization as a whole.

By successfully developing a literature which is guided by the principles of socialist realism, among other

ISMAIL KADARE — Writer

things, our writers make their militant and revolutionary contribution to the general strategy of the struggle of the working class for a new world, a new society and a new art. The successful development of our literature, which is part of the struggle of our Party for the triumph of the ideals of socialism and communism, has great importance of principle for the progressive writers which follow this development, rejoice at its successes and take it as an example.

It is known that in the present time, a period when the powerful bourgeois and revisionist propaganda

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ILITIES *by ISMAIL KADARE*

machines are competing for the conquest of world opinion, a large-scale campaign of denigration is being carried out against socialist realism. History up till now knows of no other literary method which has been attacked so fiercely and persistently. The polemics between different literary trends and currents, the quarrels and contesting manifestos of the past look like children's plays compared with the present savage wave of attacks the new art of the working class, socialist realism, has had to defend itself against. This fact alone is significant and sufficient for everybody to see how intolerable is this art of the bourgeoisie and reaction, and inversely, how necessary it is to the working class.

In its attacks against socialist realism the bourgeoisie has resorted to many stratagems. No matter how vulgar they may be, they have been used by the bourgeois propaganda on a broad scale and succeeded in creating a distorted image of socialist realism in the eyes of many people.

The whole struggle of the bourgeoisie to denigrate socialist realism is based on the old reactionary thesis that no true literature and art can develop in the socialist order, because the supposed levelling out of values and disappearance of strong individualities do not allow it. In order to drive home its point the bourgeoisie hunts for works of inferior quality which, beginning from the Homeric times, can be found in the socialist realist literature as easily as in any other literature, and on the basis of them, taking them as models, tries to create its own image of socialist realism.

Of course, the misrepresentation is too gross for the question not to be posed: what about the powerful works, the outstanding figures of socialist realism, such as Gorky, Brecht, Mayakovsky and others? It is clear that such a question makes havoc of the pattern of bourgeois thinking. Put hard to it, the reactionary propaganda has found a trick to disintricate itself from its predicament. According to it, the works of these writers only partly or not at all are products of socialist realism.

So, the bourgeois propaganda is stuck in a vicious circle when it claims that socialist realism produces only works of inferior quality and that works of high quality should never be attributed to socialist realism. The capitalists have the absurd notion that the working class deserves only some sort of second-rate art.

This is one of the greatest misrepresentations ever created in the field of literature and art. Having no other explanation for this state of things, the bourgeoisie continues to resort to this vulgar distortion in order to malign the art of the working class. Otherwise, it would be compelled to admit that socialist realism is one of the most powerful literary trends which since the first decades of its existence has brought forth such major works and writers as, despite all the opposition to them, have succeeded in dominating the literary scene of the 20th century. Of course, it is not, nor will it ever be, up to the bourgeoisie to decide what is and what is not socialist realism. This has been and will always be decided by the masters of the house, those who live in socialism and struggle for socialism.

In its unrestrained campaign against socialist realism, the bourgeoisie resorts to all means, making the most of any weakness or shortcoming that emerge in the process of development of this method. Among these shortcomings the bourgeoisie hunts with great glee for art clichés. More than once the bourgeois propaganda has identified socialist realism with clichés. However, it forgets, or rather feigns to forget that clichés were not invented by socialist realism, they are older than the world, and it is precisely the bourgeoisie that developed this routine in art to the highest degree, with its novels *à l'eau de rose*, with its commercial literature of «orphans and blue princes», with its false luster of life, with its idealized positive heroes, with its happy ends and unwarranted optimism.

Marx has said that it often happens that the first taste of the winners comprises elements of the last taste of the losers. Some of the shortcomings we mentioned have unfortunately been transmitted from the bourgeois literature to the literature of socialist realism. The bourgeoisie which, as far as its own self is concerned, has always considered these shortcomings very tolerable, raises a hue and cry when it sees the same shortcomings on the other side of the barricade. It seizes on this because it was very convenient pretext for its campaign of abuse.

Although the bourgeoisie makes a great noise about clichés in socialist realism, it would like to see the art of the working class precisely like this — an art of inferior quality, sclerotized and sketchy. It would be ready to applaud this sort of art in

silence, because it would suffer no harm from it. Inversely, the great true art of socialist realism terrifies it.

Before the Soviet literature began flirting with the modernistic and half-decadent bourgeois literature, a huge flow of clichés swamped Soviet literary life. For its part, Chinese literature knew a period of extreme use of clichés before it plunged completely into its present-day liberalism. These cases prove best that although attempts were made to hide clichés behind sectarian and «left» phrases and stands, in the reality they were intended to prepare the terrain for the bourgeois cultural aggression.

Clichés are not a tolerable evil, as it may seem to some people who have bureaucratic concepts about literature and art. Worse still when clichés and bourgeois-revisionist influences are considered as the two opposite extremes of the same phenomenon. Clichés are the worst means to oppose bourgeois and revisionist influences. The enemies of socialist realism would very much prefer such an opposition, such a weak and discredited enemy.

Clichés have been and continue to be combated in our literature because, with their poverty, their lifelessness, they create among the readers a state of indifference about the problems that are raised. However, indifference is only one aspect of the great harm coming from clichés. The other and worse aspect is that clichés, by presenting the ideas which are supposed to be defended in a cut-and-dried manner, that is, outside life, create the opposite reaction among the readers.

When because of the clichés the positive hero of a novel, play or film arouses antipathy in stead of sympathy among the readers or spectators, this means that the novel, play or film is harmful and even dangerous to socialism.

Our socialist life, our struggle, the events we have lived through during these forty years, the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in particular, where we find summed up all the major scenes of the history of the Party and our people in this quarter of a century, are full of life, of sharp conflicts and forceful confrontations, there is nothing sketchy or cliché-like about them. These documents and works are a great example and a great source of inspiration for our writers, they will be for many generations of writers sure landmarks for the further development of our literature.

The tasks the 8th Congress of the Party set to our writers: the strengthening of militancy in literature and art, the achievement of a more complete picture of socialist life and more efforts to improve quality in literature, are tasks which coincide with the further development of our literature. The more our revolutionary life is introduced into our literature, the worse will be for clichés, routine and cut-and-dried formulas. The storm of life blowing over our poems, novels, plays and films will shake off them clichés like dry unnecessary leaves.

The beginning of the serial publication of the works of our writers of the epoch of socialism enables the reader to have a complete idea of

the variety and extension of the literary creativeness of such writers as Shevqet Musaraj, Jakov Xoxe, Sterjo Spase, Dhimitër Shuteriqi, Dritëro Agolli and others whose works will continue to be published in these important series. This tradition of the epoch of socialism in literature will remain always important, because it is the powerful testimony of a great epoch.

Socialist realism is the art of great possibilities. No other contemporary literary trend can have its range, fullness, profundity and greatness. These attributions do not belong to it from some kind of literary manifesto or some kind of academic tribune. It is the greatness of the people themselves whose life it has placed at its foundations more than any other art, it is its humanism, extension and light that create the major dimensions of this art.

The working class deserves a great art and it has and will always have it. The future belongs to it and it will inherit the world of the future together with all the material and spiritual wealth of mankind. The art of the working class, socialist realism, has no limitation of extension in time and space, its content and form are the most varied, and its literary techniques the most advanced, and this is only natural because no other literary methods up till now has coped with such a broad material as the complete tableau of the life of the people. We Albanian writers are proud of creating by the literary method of socialist realism, of working and struggling for its further development, for its triumph.

SOCIALISM- THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL ORDER

SUPERIORITY OF OUR SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It was January 13, 1945 when the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council decided on the setting up of the Economic Council. Its main task would be to draft the plan of the economic development of the country for a given period of times. So, two months had hardly gone by since the establishment of the people's state power in Albania and along the words «revolution», «nationalization», «expropriation», etc. the expression «state plan» would also enter into the daily speech of our people. Although many of them did not yet have a precise idea of the social content of this couple of words, they felt that it meant a perspective, a future that belonged to them.

Now we are in 1984. The discussion of the draft-plan for 1985 was ended only a short time ago. About one million working people attended this discussion and about 180,000 made their contributions to it. About 23,000 of their proposals were adopted. So, year after year, one five-year after the other, the people of the new Albania not only came to understand ever better the expression «state plan» but also to learn how to do the planning to realize their aspirations. Our workers and peasants are no longer blind appendages to the means of production but their real masters, because the new state was and remains theirs. This constant broad, active and creative participation of our working mas-

ses, under the leadership of the Party, in the administration of the economy and the life of the country as a whole is one of the sources of the superiority of the planned management of the economy by our socialist state according to the principle of democratic centralism.

The planned and proportionate development of the economy is an economic law of socialism. In socialism the whole economy functions as a single organism on the basis of a unified general state plan. This is a fundamental superiority which stems from the existence of the social ownership over the means of production and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the centralized management of the economy, on the basis of a unified general plan, the revolution in the development of the forces of production, in the growth of social production, and the perfecting of the socialist relations of production would be impossible. If in 1938 the means of production accounted for only 22.5 per cent of the total industrial production (one of the lowest indices in Europe), this figure now has risen to 64.5 per cent. The conscious setting of this proportion, which represents the basis of the extended socialist reproduction, has been made possible through the planning of higher rates for production over consumption at all periods of time. So, while the production of the means of production (Group A), com-

pared with 1938, has grown 221 fold, the production of the means of consumption (Group B) has increased 123 fold. Likewise, the high-rate development of industry (47-53 per cent of the investments of the five-year plans were destined to industry), compared with the other branches of the economy, has made industry the leading branch of the economy. One fact is sufficient in this direction: industry and building construction accounted for 4.6 per cent of the national income in 1938, this figure now has risen to 51 per cent. At the same time agricultural production has grown 5.3 fold, compared with 1938, or twice as rapidly as the population growth. All the indices which characterize the socio-economic development of the country in the period of the socialist construction have exceeded 2-4 times the rates of the population growth. This shows not only the establishment of correct proportions between production and consumption, but also the constant growth of consumption.

Planned proportionate development has been and remains one of the fundamental factors of the constant development of our economy, which knows no crises, inflation, price rises or other ulcers of the capitalist and revisionist world. The planning of high rates of development, the establishment of correct proportions among the different branches of the economy, between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, between the productive and the non-productive sphere, between city and country, etc. could not be achieved without the planned production and utilization of the national income, without a unified and centralized policy of prices, salaries and investments, without the state monopoly on foreign trade, etc.,

through the knowledge and conscious application of the objective laws of socialism.

In the revisionist countries the management of the economy according to a unified general plan has ceased to exist. The complete freedom of the enterprises of these countries to set prices, to determine the structure and the volume of production and investments, to sell and buy the means

of production, etc., etc. have paved the road for spontaneity, market anarchy and capitalist competition. The «plans» the Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionists work out differ almost in nothing from the plans of orientative development drafted by the monopolies and governments of the capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, in the period 1976-1980, as against the period 1966-1970, the

growth rate of industrial production has declined 50 per cent. On the other hand, in the recent years the growth rate of military expenditure has been 1.3 times that of the general national production. Phenomena of the same alarming dimensions are apparent also in the economies of the other revisionist countries or in the «self-administrative» Yugoslav economy.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE POPULATION

An important aspect of the vigorous all-round socio-economic development of Albania in the course of these 40 years of socialist construction are the demographic transformations, in general, and the raising of the educational level, in particular. Our country is characterized not only by the dynamic growth of its population, but also by its deep-going and all-round transformations in the raising of the educational level and the improvement of the educational structure of the population. Today about 80 per cent of those who finish the eight-year school (which is compulsory for some years now) go over to the middle school. The system of higher education, which was set up and developed only in the epoch of the Party, trains cadres in about 50 specialities, without mentioning the ever greater development assumed by post-university qualification and specialization.

With the high rates of development of extended socialist reproduction and the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, a rapid and harmonious development of all the links of the educational system has taken place. The progressive changes in the structure of the school population in the different links of the educational system appear clearly from these data: the proportion of the population with primary education in 1979 compared

with 1950 has declined 2.5 times, while the proportion of the population with medium education has risen about 5 times. The dynamic improvement in the structure of the school population in the different links of the educational system are the result of the high-rate development of education, of the extension of compulsory eight-year education and the ever broader inclusion of the mass of pupils in the medium and higher education.

The results achieved in the emancipation of the Albanian woman are a direct consequence of her ever rising educational level. The level of schooling of women has risen about 55 per cent in these twenty years as against a general average rise of 35 per cent. As a result of the high rates of schooling of women and girls the gap between the level of education between males and females has been narrowed 2.5 times. These positive improvements have their source in the constant change of the sex structure of the new contingents admitted to the various links of the educational system. This has brought about that females already account for half of the pupils of the eight-year school and the middle school. Women's and girls' attendance of the institutes of higher learning has grown at especially high rates, and their proportion has increased 3 times compared

with 1960 and accounts for 48 per cent of the total number of students today.

The demographic transformations resulting in the narrowing of the gap between city and country in the educational level of the population are expressions of the vigorous development which our village has undergone during the period of the socialist construction of the country. During the recent years the development of schooling of the peasant population has been 2.5 times more rapid than that of the city population. So, the difference in the school population between the countryside and the city has declined from 18.9 times to 6.9 times during this period. Another index which shows the rising educational level of the peasant population is the growth of the proportion of its population with medium and higher education. So, during the 10 last years this index has risen about 3 times. These deep-going demographic transformations in the educational level of the peasant population and the narrowing of differences between city and country in this direction have been and remain among the more important factors of the development of the forces of production and the perfecting of the socialist relations of production in the countryside, too.

The transformation expressed in the narrowing of differences in the level of education of different districts and regions occupy an important place. The law of the harmonious socio-economic development of the different regions of the country lies at the foundation of this progressive process in the conditions of the socialist order. The proportional development of

the production forces in the territorial aspect is the basis for the establishment of other harmonious proportions of socio-economic development, including the development of education in the different districts. The index-number of middle school students in regard to the population of the different districts and their uniform distribution has improved 3.4 times in the last 20 years.

All these transformations in the educational level and structure of the population are a component part of the vigorous socio-economic development of our country. The general uplift of the level of education (which as is known is free of charge in our country) of the broad working masses constitutes one of the prerequisites for the all-round development of their physical and intellectual energies. As the school is the

base on which the educational level of the population is raised, the problems of the development of education and, related to it, the transformations in the level and structure of education assume first-rate importance, because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the Party, «Our new school is the main hearth for the assimilation of culture, knowledge and science.»

YOUTH WITH A SURE FUTURE

«Generation gap» is a favourite term of the bourgeois sociology, especially at moments of social crises, it is an euphemism used to conceal another term very distasteful to the ears of the bourgeoisie, that of the «class struggle». With a stroke of the pen class contradictions, distinctions and opposite interests are levelled out; social conflicts are explained with the «inevitable» contradictions arising between the young and the old from concepts of life, tastes, moral norms, etc. Hence, it is only a question of age, of excesses that will disappear of themselves with the passage of years.

The anti-scientific character of this concept is very clear. No serious class conflict, no great social movement can be explained outside class interests, outside the class struggle as the main motive force of the society with classes.

Nevertheless, is there a real foundation for the theory of the «generation gap»? Without going much farther into time, only in these 2-3 decades there have been important movements of the youth. In the spring of 1968 they were very powerful and merged with the struggle of the proletariat. At different times and in different countries these movements have had their peculiarities and particular orientations, but their objective base has always remained the same: national and social oppression, economic exploitation and political

discrimination, difficult conditions of living, unemployment and lack of education, economic, political, social and spiritual crises. Right at the first steps into life, the overwhelming majority of the youth comes up against conditions which hamper the realization of their ideals, which inhibit their all-round physical and mental development. The yearning of the youth for education and culture comes up against a discriminating, aged and bureaucratic educational system as well as great economic difficulties for students. Only 6-15 per cent of the students in the member countries of the Common Market are of worker origin, large numbers of students in the developed capitalist countries (more than one-third of them) are obliged to work in order to earn a livelihood. Both the young people that finish school and others are bound to fall victims to the inhuman ulcer of unemployment, to face many difficulties before finding a home for themselves so as to live a normal and secure life. Before this reality, to which national oppression and racial discrimination is also added, in many countries the youth, the livelier section of the population, rises in revolts and protests which may often assume an explosive character. So, this is the objective basis of the struggle of the youth, the expression of the so-called «generation gap» in the bourgeois society.

Why is there no question of a «generation gap» in our socialist socie-

ty? In the socialist system the fundamental interests of the two allied classes and their sons and daughters are the same. The workers and peasants, and their sons and daughters together with them, are interested not only in the preservation of the existing socio-economic relations, but also work and struggle jointly to strengthen and protect them. This harmony of interests is the fundamental reason why the youth in Albania not only has an internal cohesion, a political and ideological cohesion of its ranks, but also, on the other hand, feels itself spiritually, morally and politically and as part of its nation, closely united with the whole people and with all generations. The sons and daughters of workers, peasants and intellectuals see in socialism that economic system which secures for them the present and the future, which guarantees the constant improvement of their economic well-being, the physical, mental and spiritual development of man. Above all, socialism gives the youth the certainty that their great ideal — communism, will be realized.

Every generation of these four decades, living in the reality of socialist Albania, has not only enjoyed ever better conditions of living, which have been created by the Party and socialism for the youth as well as the entire people, but has also taken an active part in the great revolution for the material transformation of the Homeland and the spiritual transformation of its people.

In socialist Albania the youth do not feel the need to abandon their country in search of work or education. In our country the word «un-

employed» is an attribute which can be applied to none of its citizens, old or young. The all-round socio-economic development of the country not only has secured work for everybody, but also calls for ever more able-bodied and educated people to embellish more and more the Homeland and the life of man. Our social order guarantees to the young not only proper economic conditions and a standard of living that rises with each passing day, but also broad possibilities for their all-round development.

Everything that is done in our country, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, is done for the youth. This is the essence of the great concern of the people, the Party and the proletarian state for the new generation, here lie the roots of the profound spiritual links between the new generation and the other generations of the people.

Without mentioning the material conditions of living which were uni-

maginable in the past and which are guaranteed to all citizens of our society, every new generation in our country makes full use of the ever greater possibilities created by socialism for the all-round physical and mental, educational and cultural, ideological and political development of man. The doors of knowledge and culture are flung wide open to the youth, in the first place. In the service of the formation and education of the new generation are schools of all levels, libraries and other cultural institutions, the book, the press and the cinematography and radio-television, our socialist art and world progressive art.

The concern of the socialist society about the new generation is a warm but also an exacting one. The Party and our people prepare and educate the new generation for the future, to be able to cope with great tasks and to defend the Homeland. The

youth in our country grows and lives in the bosom of the people, learns and is educated through the work and struggle it carries out for socialism, being among its more active participants. So, experience and knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the other, together with the tradition of love for the Homeland and the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of its interests. This is the education that is given to the youth in our country.

With their work and deeds the youth reward the people and society for everything they have done for them and prepare the future for themselves and the coming generations. All generations, young and old, work for their own happiness and the happiness of their children. That is why there is no «generation gap» in socialism, but only harmony and ideological and political, moral and spiritual unity, a unity only the ideal of communism can create.

CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEASANTRY

As early as 1949, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that «...our Party does not work to give our peasant only some kerosene and salt. Our Party works to give the peasant salt, kerosene, to build for him the railway, the sugar refinery, the wool processing factory, the oil processing factory, to create for him a merchant fleet, to bring him tractors, to build for him roads, schools, clubs, hospitals, electric stations, other oil refineries, mines of chromium, iron, copper, bitumen, etc. etc.»

Now we see these words materialized, because the constant improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the working people of both city and country have always been at the foundation of the socio-economic development of socialist Albania during these 40 years after Liberation. In the de-

velopment of production and in all social activities the Party has always had the working man, the fulfilment of his material and cultural needs, at the centre of its attention.

In the conditions of our country, which had inherited a great backwardness from the past, right from its founding and especially after the triumph of the people's revolution, the Party has devoted special attention to a rapid and correct solution of the agrarian question.

The Land Reform marks the first revolution in the socio-economic relations and in the life of our working peasantry. As a result of its revolutionary implementation, most of the peasants' economies rose to the level of the middle peasants in regard to the size of land they owned. The buying and sale of land, its rent and alienation were prohibited, while with the large material, technical, organizatio-

nal, financial and economic assistance of our people's state power the differentiation of the peasantry into two extreme poles: the poor and the rich, was limited. Meanwhile the nationalization of industry and the banks, the establishment of the state monopoly on hard currencies and foreign trade, which were done in the first years of the people's state power, put an end to the exploitation of the village by the city. The people's state power also liberated the peasantry from the heavy burden of debts and usury which made its life unbearable in the past.

So after Liberation the Albanian peasantry was made the owner of its land and work. For the first time in the history of Albania it began to work and produce for itself, to live better, to improve its economic, social and cultural condition.

However, the only road to carry the peasantry to socialism, so as it, too, enjoyed all its blessings, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us and the experience of our country has shown, was that of the creation of the socialist relations of production by replacing the small individual property of the peasants with the large-scale

collective property. Confident in the line of the Party, relying on the premises created after the establishment of the people's state power, our patriotic peasantry set out resolutely on the road the Party showed it, that of cooperation. At the same time, the exploiting class in the countryside — the kulaks, was liquidated.

Consistently following the road shown by the Party, our cooperativist peasantry increased its income from one five-year plan to the other and gradually improved its material condition and raised its standard of living, meeting its needs ever better. Latent agrarian unemployment and emigration, which were grave ulcers of our society in the past, were done away with for good. In the Albanian socialist village, which stands out for its high natural population growth (2.2-2.3 per cent yearly), there is work for everybody, and life is becoming ever better and richer. With us the phenomenon of rural depopulation does not exist. The constant development of the productive forces and the ceaseless growth of social production is accompanied with the uninterrupted

increase of the need for new work forces. An important achievement of our cooperativist peasantry and a result of our socialist revolution is the establishment of a centralized system of pensions and social insurance from the funds of the state and the agricultural cooperatives themselves. This measure of a great political, economic and social importance for our peasantry is an expression of the constant care of the Party about the improvement of the well-being of the cooperativists, the bringing of the living conditions of the countryside closer to those of the city, and the further narrowing of differences between the two friendly classes.

Meanwhile important changes, which show the ever better meeting of the needs of the peasantry, have been made also in the social, cultural, sanitary and communal conditions of the countryside. New and comfortable houses have been built in all villages. The new socialist village is ever more assuming the physiognomy of towns and work centres. Electric power, the radio and television are just as common in the cooperativist village

as in the city. In the villages there are schools, hospitals, creches and kindergartens which play an important role in the development of the new generation, in their education in the spirit of socialist collectivism. All the villages are linked with motor roads and the telephone system and many of them have drinking water through water-supply systems built by the state, etc.

The revolutionary transformations and the great progress in the mode of life and the mentality of our cooperativist peasants are major victories of the political line of the Party for the socialist construction in the countryside.

Socialism is built not only in the city and for the working class alone, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry, too.

The achievements so far in the improvement of the well-being of our peasantry could not be imagined not only in the pre-Liberation period but even in the past 15-20 years. However, the prospects the Party has set for its further development are even more brilliant.

THE ALBANIAN WOMAN IN THE ELECTED ORGANS

The years of the construction of socialism in our country have rightly entered history as years of the complete emancipation of the woman, of the affirmation of her personality, of the practical realization of her equality with man in all fields of life. The Albanian woman has truly become an active fighter and a great force for the all-round development of socialist Albania.

There is no sector of production and social life in which the hand and mind of our emancipated woman are not felt. The place and role of the woman in the field of science is not small, either. Here, too, socialism has created all the possibilities for her to advance and affirm herself as an equal among equals. So, about 34 per cent of the workers in the institutes of the

Academy of Sciences are women, while they account for over 38 per cent of the members of our people's intelligentsia.

Socialism has given woman all rights. She is occupying more and more the place that belongs to her in the apparatus of the administration and in the elected organs, from the base to the centre. Twenty-seven point nine per cent of the functionaries of the central apparatus are women, 40.75 per cent of the members of the local organs of state power and 30.4 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly are women. There are women in the local organs of the state administration in every district and zone of the country. In Berat and Shkodra, for example, women account for 41 per cent, in Vlora 42.8 per cent

and in Saranda 42 per cent of the members of these organs.

Characteristic is the fact that young women and girls are ever more emerging to the fore in the great process of the affirmation of the personality of woman. Here we see that among those elected to the organs of the local state power young women and girls account from 34 to 50.8 per cent of all the women elected to these organs.

The contribution of the woman to the activities of the different forums of the organizations of the masses is great indeed. According to recent data the participation of women in the various instances of the organization of the Democratic Front oscillates from 30 to 44 per cent. The same can be said of the different forums of the organization of the trade-unions in the districts where women account for 30-42 per cent of those elected. In all the forums of the organization of the youth, young women and girls

account for 40 to 63 per cent of those elected.

The practice of the socialist construction in our country clearly shows that only the proletarian revolution, along with the disappearance of capitalism, the bourgeoisie and its ideology, along with the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, eliminates the centuries-long enslavement of the woman, makes her an equal member of society and family.

In the bourgeois and revisionist world there is great talk about the emancipation of the woman, about her

personality in society and the family. But all this has nothing to do with the true liberation and emancipation of the broad masses of women. The question is only about the personality and dignity of the dolls of the bourgeoisie. Women perform the harder and more despised work processes, they are the last to be employed and the first to be dismissed to swell the huge army of the unemployed. In 1983 women accounted for 50-60 per cent of the 34 millions of the unemployed in 24 developed capitalist countries (OECD). Women are paid less

for the same work as men's. So, Lenin's words that, «Education, culture, civilization, freedom, all these high-falutian words in all the bourgeois and capitalist republics of the world come up against utterly despicable, horribly deceptive and savagely brutal laws which sanction the inequality of woman such as the laws on the rights of spouses..., on the privileges of man, on the debasement and mistreatment of the woman,» continue to be applicable today to those bourgeois and revisionist countries which pose as the more democratic and cultured.

THE RIGHT OF REVOCATION- EXPRESSION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE

The electoral system and the right of electing and being elected play a very important role as they show the degree of a people's participation in the government of their country through their elected representatives, the degree of development of democracy in a state. True and full democracy exists only in that country where the electoral system and the right of electing and being elected are guaranteed without limitations and privileges and realized in practice, as they are in socialist Albania where the people are the masters of their own fate.

Our electoral system is based on the control of the masses of the people over the state organs and their elected representatives, on the right of the electors to revoke their representatives or, as otherwise called, the right of revocation as an expression of the principle which is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the full and constant control exercised by the electors over the representative organs and those elected. V.I. Lenin has pointed out that no representative institution can be truly democratic if it does not recognise

and implement the right of revocation of those elected by the electors.

By creatively implementing these teachings in the conditions of our country from the Anti-fascist National Liberation War up till now, our Party has consistently defended and implemented the principle of revocation of those elected by the electors when the former do not justify the trust of the latter or do not carry out the tasks they have been charged with. In the report submitted to the 2nd Session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council on October 1944 in Berat, Comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, pointed out: «With the new state power nobody should think that being elected to the council will allow him to distort the law, to work to the detriment of the people; the people will be there, near him, will help him, will control him, will criticise him and will remove him from his post if he does not work well.»

This fundamental orientation which pervades the whole historical development of our people's power over these forty years has also been sanctioned in the Constitution and other laws, from the Law on the National

Liberation Councils adopted at the 2nd Session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council at Berat (October 1944) to the Law on the People's Councils and the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which provides that «...The electors have the right to revoke at any time their representative when he has lost their political confidence, when he does not fulfil the tasks he has been charged with or when he acts against the laws».

A general and fundamental characteristic of our socialist order is that our deputies and councillors are always loyal to the interests of the people, keep in constant contact with their electors, listen to their voice, take an active part in meeting their demands and looking into their complaints, in overcoming obstacles and difficulties, intervene where it is necessary for the solution of problems, carry out broad political, ideological and other activities, struggle for the precise interpretation and application of the laws. They are under the constant control of the electors, answer to them and render account to them about their whole activity.

Nevertheless our Party has always struggled for the democratic principle of revocation to be applied fully, without any concession in struggle against manifestations of both bureaucracy and liberalism, so that the electors may effectively exercise their right of control and revocation of their representatives, the deputy to the People's Assembly or the member of the people's council. Under the Constitu-

tion, the revocation of those elected by the electors can take place only in three cases: when those elected have lost the political trust of those who have elected them, that is when they no longer consistently apply the policy and ideology of the Party; when they do not fulfil their tasks because of bureaucratic or liberal stands or because of incapability; when they act against the law.

The correct implementation of this Marxist-Leninist principle constantly strengthens and deepens our socialist democracy, the links between the elected and the electors, the control of the latter on the activity of their representatives.

As a rule, the right of revocation is not recognised in the bourgeois countries no matter how the deputies discharge themselves of their duties towards the electors. This is explained

by the bourgeois theoreticians who say that allegedly the elected candidate belongs to the whole nation and not only to the electoral precinct that has elected him. In reality, the deputies maintain no contact with the electors, nor do they concern themselves about their demands or problems. They care only about the interests of the political parties which are in the service of the monopolies. The removal or replacement of this or that president or deputy in the capitalist countries is done not by the electors, but by the political parties of the ruling classes when scandals explode as, for example, in the case of the Watergate crisis which led to the resignation of the president of the United State of America.

In the revisionist countries, although the principle of revocation is proclaimed formally it does not change the

socio-political reality, and as a result does not impede the degeneration of socialist democracy into a bourgeois democracy in these countries, where the people have no possibility whatsoever to exercise their control on the persons elected or make use of the right of revocation, which is exercised only by the revisionist parties in power in their interest.

The achievements of these 40 years since the Liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, fully prove the vitality and superiority of our socialist democracy in all fields of life, including the right of the electors to supervise and revoke their representatives as the main means of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT

The speech of comrade Reis Malile, head of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Albania, at the 39th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD POLITICAL EVENTS SINCE THE LAST SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS SHOWS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION REMAINS GRAVE AND FILLED WITH TENSION AND THREATS TO PEACE AND SECURITY. CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFRONTATIONS HAVE ENVELOPED THE WHOLE GLOBE.

THE SITUATION BECOMES EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS BECAUSE IT DEVELOPS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF AN ALL-ROUND DEEP ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH HAS THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST WORLD IN ITS GRIP AND WHICH MANIFESTS ITSELF IN HIGH LEVELS OF INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, IN STAGNATION OR DECLINE OF PRODUCTION. AT A TIME WHEN THE BUDGETS FOR EXPENDITURE IN MANY FIELDS AFFECTING THE SOCIAL CONDITION AND STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE HAS SUNK TO AN ALL-TIME LOW, IMPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURE, LIKE THAT FOR ARMAMENTS, HAVE REACHED ASTRONOMICAL FIGURES.

The further concentration and internationalization of capital, the extension of the spider's web of multinational companies to every corner of the world, high interest rates and the domination of the dollar in the international monetary and financial system, have created a grave situation and brought about great tension even in the economies of the more powerful industrial countries, not to mention the smaller and developing countries.

Even gloomier is the picture in the developing countries which are staggering under the burden of a colossal debt of about 900 billion dollars and

REIS MALILE: Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSRA

many of them are not in a position to pay even the interest rates due to the enslaving credits.

For more than two years now there is much talk, and this not without purpose, about the supposed first signs of recovery of world economy. Life, however, shows that in many countries the economic situation has only become worse. Especially conspicuous are the attempts of American imperialism at creating the deceptive impression that allegedly the world economy will come out of this deadlock and will be set going thanks to the recovery of the American economy. People, however, cannot fail to see that the so-called recovery, which the United States advertises,

LIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

DEPENDENT

*legation of the People's
the UN General Assembly*

means the increase of the value of dollar, the rise of bank interest rates and the proliferation of protectionist measures which have produced smothering effect on the economy of other countries, the developing countries, in particular. So, the crisis has not been overcome, but has only subsided and there are signs that it may burst forth ever fiercer and with more destructive consequences.

The recent international conferences such as that of UNIDO in Vienna and the one of the population problems in Mexico indicate that the overwhelming majority of the member countries continue to suffer from the destructive consequences of the crisis. It became clear at these conferences that the imperialist powers use their promises of aid to the developing countries so as to create illusions amongst them and preserve the unequal and discriminating relations in order to continue their neo-colonialist exploitation. This situation makes even clearer to the developing countries that the correct path for them remains that of resolute struggle to establish complete sovereignty over their national assets and to oppose all practices that prolong neo-colonialist exploitation.

The more convulsive the fever of crisis, the fiercer the rivalry between the superpowers and the greater its dangers, the more persistent their

attempt at saddling others with the consequences of the crisis, at black-mailing the peoples with their weapons and economic potential.

At present we are witness of the fact that, finding no vacant space for extension, the expansion of the superpowers increases daily the threat of armed confrontations. It is this fierce rivalry for domination and hegemony, their aggressive and militarist course that poses a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Almost no day goes by without the American-Soviet rivalry and the tense East-West relations being mentioned in one way or the other. Moreover, the propaganda of the superpowers is built in such a manner as to create the impression as though the world can cope with no problem if it does not revolve round the axis of these relations. Not unintentionally, the United States and the Soviet Union are using the tense situation created in their relations as a comfortable justification for the intensification of their arms race and war preparations. According to them, the peoples must accept this situation as something fatally unchangeable and that the future of mankind depends on the future of these relations. Moreover, they want to create a psychosis of capitulation according to which no country, no state, no

people can live outside the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers.

The deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, which has almost totally dominated European and world politics during this period, besides other things, is intended to inculcate this psychosis of capitulation among the European countries and peoples. It is intended to benumb and paralyze their resolve in the defence of their independence and national dignity, to reinforce the control and dictate of the superpowers on their allies. The superpowers needed the demagogic fuss about the deployment of their Euro-missiles as well as the mutual accusations in order to «justify» the upsetting or re-establishment of the equilibrium only as a smokescreen to cover up the implementation of their plans intended to legalize the Soviet-American monopoly of nuclear weapons and missiles, that is, to keep up the pressure they permanently exercise by means of their weapons even when they are not fired.

It is clear that the deployment of medium-range missiles marks a new escalation of the arms race which is assuming unprecedented proportions and dimensions, reaching even into outer space.

The European peoples have not failed to show with concrete actions their true feelings about the game that is being played with the fate

of European security. They have come out in the streets to oppose the deployment of missiles and nuclear weapons on their continent, the military presence of the United States and the Soviet Union, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The reality proves that the European states cannot and must not seek the way out of this situation in the offers the imperialist superpowers make to them. The defence of the European countries, the free and independent development of the peoples are secured not with the maintenance of the factors that generate war, but with their destruction and elimination.

It is necessary not to fall into the superpowers' trap who, on the one hand, make the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe a fait accompli and, on the other, organize for demagogic purposes meetings and conferences which are supposed to take mutually confidence building measures allegedly to strengthen European security.

The Government of the PSR of Albania has expressed itself resolutely against the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles either by the United States or Soviet Union on the European continent. We have also strongly supported the efforts of the European peoples to oppose the transformation of the old continent into an arena of rivalry and armed conflicts.

The Albanian delegation considers it necessary to emphasize that the nuclear threat must not prevent the peoples from seeing the danger of conventional weapons, which is just as serious. The more than one hundred local and regional wars and conflicts from the Second World War to this day have been fought with conventional weapons. The arms sale and supply has become today a most profitable business for the United States and the Soviet Union, in the first place.

Ignoring the unrestrained arms race of conventional weapons by the imperialist powers is fraught with serious dangers for the peace-loving countries and peoples. Hence, the struggle for the defence of peace against nuclear armament cannot be

separated from strong opposition of the arms race, in general.

The exacerbation of the situation in Europe is directly felt in the regions of the Balkans and the Mediterranean which are not free from interferences and intrigues of the superpowers.

A problem worrying the Mediterranean countries is the constantly increasing presence of the naval fleets of the two superpowers in the Mediterranean basin. With arrogance and highheadedness these fleets are crisscrossing the Mediterranean from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar as if it were an American or Soviet lake. With their policy and means of war the superpowers are trying to transform this region which has seen the flourishing of outstanding civilizations during its history into a theatre of their destructive war operations.

The interests of peace demand that the Mediterranean countries act resolutely and energetically so as to expel the fleets of the superpowers from this basin by taking concrete steps which would make their presence here difficult, even impossible.

In the Balkans the superpowers try to stir up those elements and factors which add to the insecurity in this region. The Albanian Government holds the view that the freedom and the independence of the Balkan states are safeguarded neither by NATO nor by the Warsaw Treaty.

For peace to be safeguarded in the peninsula, concrete steps must be taken to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign bases in the Balkan countries. No facilities should be given to the naval fleets of the superpowers, and their interference in the internal affairs of the states of this region should be resolutely opposed.

With its policy, socialist Albania has proved that it has been and remains a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans. For its part, it has made any superpower interference impossible and has shown by deeds that it follows a policy of good neighbourliness with the countries of the area, as it can be seen from the positive development of its relations with Turkey, Italy and Greece.

An ever growing build-up of the

military activity of the aggressive imperialist blocs has recently been observed not only in the southern part of Europe, but also in its northern part. The demonstrative or camouflaged movements of their warships, submarines and airplanes from the Baltic to the North Sea, the large-scale manoeuvres of their sea and air forces in this region and the surrounding area are not gestures of friendship towards the Nordic peoples, who value peace and freedom equally, and cannot accept this demonstration of strength which seriously threatens their own future and that of Europe.

The Middle East remains among the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world. Here the enslaving and predatory interests of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the Israeli zionists and other imperialist powers clash fiercely with each other. The policy of the superpowers in the Middle East has kept this zone in a permanent explosive state.

Life has clearly shown that the US marines and the multinational force were not sent to Lebanon to bring Israeli aggression to a halt or to establish calm in this country, but to enable the implementation of the zionist-imperialist plans for expelling the Palestinians from Lebanon by violence and terror and deal the death blow to the Palestine Liberation Movement. For the achievement of this criminal aim they brought into action not only the force of arms, but also all kinds of plots and intrigues to divide the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples, to engage them in a fratricidal war.

Israel, with the support of American imperialism, has robbed the Palestinian people of their land, home and country, has perpetrated monstrous crimes against them and has turned them into refugees, dispersed with the force of arms in many countries. Despite superhuman sacrifices and difficulties, the heroic Palestinian people have never laid down their arms in the struggle to win their legitimate rights.

For years on end a whole number of plans for the alleged solution of the Middle-East crisis have been pre-

sented by the imperialist powers. The Soviet Union judged it opportune recently to come up again with its old proposal about an international conference on the Middle East. Obviously, this is a diplomatic manoeuvre by the Soviet Union, which is aimed at making the most of the failure of the American plan and come back with full rights in the game which is being played to the detriment of the Arab peoples.

But all these proposals and plans which come from the superpowers are directed against the interests of the Arab peoples, especially against the Palestinian people. They favour Israel and the continued presence and interests of the superpowers in this zone.

In his book «Reflections on the Middle East», which has been published recently, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said, «...The crisis in the Middle East can never be solved until the martyred Palestinian people regain their homeland stolen from them by the Israeli aggressors and this will be achieved only when the political, economic and military influence of the superpowers and other imperialist powers has been dealt powerful blows by all the Arab peoples... Only resolute uncompromising struggle, based on the genuine Arab unity, will lead them to victory, to true independence and freedom.»

The war between Iraq and Iran, which has caused the peoples of these two countries incalculable losses in human lives and materials, has been continuing for nearly four years. We think that this war must be ended. The settlement of disagreements between Iran and Iraq through talks would be a powerful blow to the superpowers and all those who want to warm their hands in the fires they have kindled in the Middle East. The superpowers want this war to continue, because it serves their plans of increasing the possibilities of military intervention in the Persian Gulf and of further exacerbating the Middle-East crisis. We wish that these two friendly peoples and countries find a common language as soon as possible and put an end to the bloodshed, because this is in their interest and

in the interest of the struggle of the peoples of this region.

The laying of mines in the Red Sea and the overhasty readiness of the superpowers and some others to dispatch their ships and helicopters there in order to allegedly clear the mines, speaks of another premediated pretext under which it is intended to build up military presence there and to maintain a permanent tense situation around this hot zone. The present scenario in the Red Sea is very similar to and, indeed, appears as a variant of the scenario prepared for the intervention of the multinational forces in Lebanon, and there must be a connection between them.

The Soviet social-imperialist aggressors have kept Afghanistan occupied for nearly five years, but have not managed to subdue the struggle of the freedom-loving Afghan people, which shows once again that a people, however small in number, is invincible when fighting for a just cause.

The African continent still remains the object of imperialist ambitions, especially of the two superpowers. In order to attain their strategic objectives they continue to hatch up plots to the detriment of the African peoples, incite old quarrels and feuds, which they themselves have left unsolved among these peoples like unexploded mines, kindle local conflagrations and conflicts in order to facilitate their penetration still deeper into the continent and to continue their neo-colonialist exploitation.

While the fascist regime of South Africa continues on the line of racial violence and the hated system of apartheid, keeping Namibia occupied and threatening the freedom and independence of neighbouring African countries, the United States of America and other imperialist powers strive to rehabilitate it in Africa and in the International Community which has long ago branded it as unlawful.

The African peoples, especially those of South Africa, can have no illusion about the ambitions and the policy of the regime of Pretoria, as the bulwark of racism and colonialism on the African continent, and will not yield before the force of arms, pressures

and diabolic tactics. The Albanian people have firmly supported and will continue to be on the side of the struggle of the Namibian and other African peoples to liquidate the remnants of colonialism, racism, against the intrigues and interference of the imperialist powers and, especially, the superpowers on this continent.

The situation in Central America continues to be tense and fraught with serious threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples of this region and of Latin America. The invasion of Grenada, the pressures, threats and direct provocations against Nicaragua speak clearly about the intensification of interference and the unchanged aggressive policy of American imperialism on this continent.

The situation in this precarious zone becomes still more complicated because Soviet social-imperialism is trying, in a very cunning manner, to exploit the struggle of these peoples against American oppression and domination in order to get a foothold in this region, too.

This is a living expression of the policy which the two superpowers pursue in order to challenge one another in the zones they consider their sphere of influence. This is the aim of the so-called «differentiated policy» of the USA towards East Europe, or of the Soviet Union to achieve a special «détente» with West Europe.

The United States of America is talking more and more about the so-called Pacific Initiative, according to which the attention of the American policy is now shifting more towards this region. It is more than evident that apart from the aim of putting pressure on its European allies, this «initiative» of the USA does not go beyond the limits of military and economic rivalry of American imperialism with Soviet social-imperialism, who have filled the Pacific and the Indian Oceans with their naval fleets and are trying to create political-military groupings in Asia and the Pacific in order to further their regional and world-wide strategic aims.

The Albanian people and their Government support the just demand of the Korean people that the Ame-

rican troops should withdraw from South Korea and for the independent reunification of the country.

The peoples of Southeast Asia, who for decades on end have fought for freedom and national independence, continue to be the object of intrigues, interference and pressures on the part of imperialist powers which try to impede them from deciding about their own fate.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must occupy its legitimate place in the United Nations.

In the conditions when the international situation is growing more and more tense and is full of grave threats to peace and freedom, the peoples must be vigilant more than ever before.

The difficult situations, which have been and continue to be created in the world, raise before the member states the need to see the reality as it is, unprejudiced by any complex of inferiority or by fatality.

The strength and omnipotence of the superpowers should never be seen as absolute. The temporary strength of the aggressors of all times lay in the retreat before, fear from and submission to them. History has prov-

ed most convincingly that the superpowers are weak and powerless before the gigantic strength of the peoples, when they are determined to fight for the defence of independence, peace and freedom.

Mr. President,

This year the Albanian people will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of their Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. For our people these four decades outmatch centuries, because under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, through their persistent efforts, they have emerged from darkness to light, and have made great socialist changes in all fields of life.

The all-round development of the country, relying on its own force, the building up of an industry which works on home natural resources, along with an agriculture which has made the country self-sufficient in food-stuffs, the major successes in the field of education, culture and science, which have enabled the training of a great number of higher and medium cadres, all these have guaranteed the uninterrupted economic

and cultural development, the continuous uplift of the well-being of the working people.

The major transformations which have been made in Albania in these 40 years of the people's power, are clear evidence of the superiority of the socialist system.

Our state pursues a foreign policy of friendly relations with all peace-loving countries. It is a completely independent policy for it is not conditioned by political and military pacts nor bound to closed economic organisations.

We are for trade, cultural and scientific exchanges with other countries, on the basis of mutual advantages and without discrimination and prejudice. Chauvinism and instigation of hatred and animosities among the peoples are alien to us. Any people and nation, big or small, has full right to defend and affirm its national identity.

Albania is a small country, but despite this, just like all the member countries of the UNO, it has the right to express its views openly and unhesitatingly, convinced that in this manner it serves better its lofty national interests, the cause of the peoples and international security.

YUGOSLAVIA SABOTAGES THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE PROGRAM OF CULTURAL COLLABORATION WITH ALBANIA

ATA

FROM 3 TO 6 OF OCTOBER 1984 TALKS WERE HELD IN BELGRADE BETWEEN THE DELEGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA ABOUT THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT ON A TWO-YEAR PROGRAM OF CULTURAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

The intention of sabotaging the conclusion of the agreement was apparent right at the first phase of the talks which took place in June of this year in Belgrade. The Yugoslav side set the condition that only the Yugoslav draft should be considered as a basis for the talks. It did not accept to discuss the Albanian draft. During the talks the Yugoslavs refused to accept the establishment of direct contacts and exchanges between our academic, university and cultural institutions with their counterparts in the Republic and autonomous regions of Yugoslavia although this is broadly practiced by the Yugoslavs themselves in their

ATA — Albanian Telegraphic Agency

relations with other states. The Yugoslavs insisted all along that the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova should not be mentioned in the agreement, be it only by name.

The refusal of the Yugoslavs to accept the exchange of folklore groups between the two countries and their annulment of the invitation extended to the «Migjeni» Folklore Ensemble to participate in the Balkan Folklore Festival at Ohër were also expressions of the lack of desire on their part to promote cultural exchanges between the two countries. Likewise, the atmosphere created by the Yugoslavs on the eve and during the development of work in both phases of the talks

responded to their intentions not to arrive at the conclusion of an agreement on the program. Just as in June, now, too, at the time when the talks were being held in Belgrade, trials against the Albanians were organized in Kosova. Their provocative and irritating character of these trials was evident.

Nevertheless, the Albanian side, proceeding from its goodwill and desire to arrive at the conclusion of an agreement, took no notice of the Yugoslav provocations and obstructionism and did its utmost to overcome the difficulties. It accepted the Yugoslav draft almost in its entirety.

Faced with the readiness of the Albanian side to sign the agreement on the draft program, the Yugoslav side demanded that an addition should be made to it which did not exist in its draft, according to which «the two sides carry out their collaboration in

order to preserve the cultural identity of the members of Yugoslav nationalities in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania». The provocative and unacceptable character of this demand is only too obvious. The preservation of the cultural identity of national minorities in Albania, including 6-7 villages of Slav population, is a question whose solution is guaranteed by the Constitution and its fundamental laws. By means of this addition the Yugoslav side apparently tried to create a «Macedonian problem» in Albania which neither has existed nor exists.

The insistence of the Yugoslav side on having the above addition included

in the program of cultural exchanges led to the breakdown of the talks.

Our country has always been for the development of a fruitful collaboration in the fields of culture, education, science, art and other fields which would serve to make known the mutual values of the peoples of Albania and the federated republics and autonomous regions of Yugoslavia as well as to strengthen the good neighbourliness between the two countries. The facts, however, show that the Yugoslav side has not responded to this sincere desire and, in arbitrary and unjustifiable manner, has interrupted even those few exchanges which existed in the past.

Now it is clear once again that the Yugoslav side wants such talks only for the aims of its propaganda which exploits their pre-arranged failure in order to accuse Albania as if it were not for cultural exchanges and to make other anti-Albanian fabrications which will fill everyday the pages of the Yugoslav press.

The responsibility for the failure to sign the agreement on the cultural program falls squarely on the Yugoslav side which must reflect and review its stand if it truly desires an equal cultural collaboration to the mutual advantage of the two countries.

THE ANTI-ALBANIAN POLICY OF THE YUGOSLAV LEADERS - AN ABORTIVE POLICY

«**ZERI I POPULLIT**»

THE PRESS AND THE PROPAGANDA OF YUGOSLAVIA HAVE UNLEASHED A RAPID ANTI-ALBANIAN CAMPAIGN. BOOKS BY VARIOUS CHAUVINIST AND ANTI-COMMUNIST AUTHORS HAVE BEEN COMING OUT ONE AFTER THE OTHER, IN WHICH THEIR AUTHORS COMPETE WITH ONE ANOTHER IN INVEIGHING THE GREATEST SLANDERS AND MOST UNSCRUPULOUS DENIGRATION AGAINST SOCIALIST ALBANIA. NOT A SINGLE DAY PASSES WITHOUT AN ANTI-ALBANIAN ARTICLE, OF THEIR OWN OR BORROWED, IN THE YUGOSLAV PAPERS, MAGAZINES, RADIO AND TV-STATIONS.

Likewise, not a single meeting or political gathering is held in which representatives of high and low rank fail to attack Albania on this or that matter. Belgrade has become the centre of anti-Albanian misinformation, the main shop in which slanders and inventions against Albania are manufactured. In every action which Albania takes in the field of international relations, Belgrade will always find occasion to make its own specific, distorted and spiteful interpretation.

The anti-Albanian propaganda which Titoite Yugoslavia carries out has nothing new in itself. It has never ceased from the creation of socialist Albania. But at present its intensification and savagery and vulgar contents

«Zëri i popullit» — organ of the CC
of the PLA

are explained with the failure of their anti-Albanian policy, in general, and their chauvinist course in Kosova, in particular.

The extension of the anti-Albanian propaganda is also connected with the grave situation of economic, national, ideological crises, etc., which present-day Yugoslavia is experiencing. With this the leaders of Belgrade want to distract the attention of internal and external public opinion from the grave problems of Yugoslavia and direct it elsewhere, outside their country.

Part of the anti-Albanian attacks is also the noise raised about the failure to conclude an agreement on the program of cultural exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia, for which Belgrade itself is responsible. Now, as always before, Belgrade is trying to

attack Albania and to present Albania's principled policy in a distorted light.

This campaign clearly reveals the aim of the Yugoslavs to use talks not in order to reach an agreement but for propaganda purposes. The facts remain facts, however, and no amount of propaganda can cover them up.

The Yugoslav leaders have long ago claimed that Albania wants to maintain cultural exchanges exclusively with Kosova. This is not true. The Albanian draft of the agreement is in Belgrade and they may publish it. But the Albanian draft will show that our country is for broad cultural exchanges between academic institutions of Albania and those of the Federated Republics and the Autonomous Regions of the FSR of Yugoslavia without exception. The Yugoslavs use the practice of broad contacts between institutions of their republics and regions with institutions of other countries. Proof of this are the agreements entered into between Yugoslavia and other countries. This is a fact which everyone can see, because the agreements have been published.

But why are the Yugoslav leaders so reluctant to apply this practice with Albania? The answer is simple. Their aim is to isolate Kosova from having cultural contacts with Albania, to cut the Kosova people from the historical sources of their culture, to wipe out the national character of the culture of the Albanian population of Kosova.

We do not believe that the Yugoslav leadership is worried by a tour of an Albanian folklore group to Slovenia or Voivodina, or a tour of a Croatian and Bosnian folklore group to Albania. But the Yugoslav leaders who follow a policy of cultural genocide in Kosova and other regions inhabited by Albanians, are shocked even by an Albanian folk song.

The insistence of the Yugoslav side to avoid mentioning the term «Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova» in any form and context, in the program of cultural exchanges may seem absurd. But this stand is neither accidental nor absurd. In Yugoslavia, in the Federative Assemblies of the Federation and the Republic of Serbia, attempts are being made to narrow the autonomy of Kosova, and in the press and at public meetings the Great-Serbs are making demands for the elimination of Kosova's autonomy and depriving the Kosova people of all the rights they enjoyed before such as, for example, the use of the Albanian language in official and public communiques, the raising of the Albanian national flag, employment on the basis of the national structure of the population of Kosova, the use of the Albanian language in the University of Kosova, and so on.

It is more than three years now that chauvinist courts are working havoc. Thousands and thousands of Albanians are thrown into prisons. The charges are various, but they are condemned just for the fault of being Albanians. The Great-Serbs in Kosova need this wave of terror against the Albanian population, national suppression and colonial plunder. Therefore, they will find excuses and charges

in order to condemn people, just as the oppressors and rulers at any time and in any country have found them.

The Albanian side went to hold talks in Belgrade with the sincere wish to conclude an agreement which would be in the interest of mutual recognition of the spiritual values and cultural wealth of the peoples of the two countries, assist in the improvement of relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, and would strengthen the spirit of good neighbour relations in the Balkan zone. Whereas the Yugoslav side went there in order to create new pretexts in order to attack and denigrate Albania.

Its stand was not only obstructionist, but also provoking. The Yugoslavs invented a non-existent Macedonian problem in Albania and tried to impose it on Albania through a simple program of cultural exchanges. The problems of national minorities in Albania have been solved on the basis of the Constitution and other founding laws, and enjoy all rights like Albanian citizens. This is known in Belgrade, too. But they try to make out that allegedly in Albania there is a problem of the Slav population in Albania analogous with that of the Albanian population in Kosova and other regions inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia. But the analogy does not exist, either in content or in form. It is sufficient to mention that whereas the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia is 2 million, the Slav national minority in Albania, on the basis of the general census of the population taken on January 7, 1979, was only 4,163.

These are the facts. As for preserving the language and other rights for the Slav national minority, we quote here the assessments made by a testimony of high official position, Bllagoje Popov, ex-chairman of the Executive Council of the Republic of Macedonia. In October 1980, during a visit in Albania, he went also to Prespa of the Korça district where there are villages of Slav population.

He talked with cadres and common cooperativists, with teachers and pupils, attended the performance of the folklore group of the united cooperative, and visited the houses of some peasants. On several occasions during his visit Popov expressed his satisfaction at what he witnessed there with his own eyes and ears.

Thereupon he said that «The rights of this nationality not only have been sanctioned by Constitution, but have also been put into practice... I had heard about the development and advance of Albania, about the rights the Macedonians enjoy in Albania, but with my visit here I had the opportunity to confirm what I had heard. From what I saw, I conclude that these villages are inhabited only by Macedonians and that no other inhabitants have been sent there. The inhabitants of the zone of Prespa speak Macedonian well. Hence, here no efforts have been made to forget the Macedonian language, there is no sign of its neglect.»

As the «Politika» of Belgrade of November 6, 1980, wrote, he informed the Assembly of Macedonia about his visit and impressions.

As a conclusion, we can say that the aim of the Yugoslav leaders and their policy is not to develop normal relations of mutual advantage with Albania, or to solve the problem of Kosova on the basis of the recognition of democratic and national rights to which the Albanian population is entitled according to the Constitution and other laws of the FSRY. The Yugoslav policy fans up animosities with Albania, aims at destroying the socialist system in Albania, just as in Kosova, it is not in favour of calming things down but wants unlimited submission and domination.

The other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation must think about and draw respective conclusions from the stand maintained by the Great-Serbs towards socialist Albania and their attitude towards the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. We have stressed on other occasions that the tense situation in

Kosova is an expression of the general state of things in the Federation, and that the conflict exists not only between the Great-Serbs and the Albanians in Kosova, but also between the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the Great-Serbs, on the other. Kosova shows what awaits the peoples of Yugoslavia in the hands of Great-Serbs' chauvinism. Naturally, the conflict appears more tense in Kosova, because oppression and interference by the Great-Serbs is more brutal there than anywhere else. But Kosova is a warning for the rest.

Albania maintains cultural relations with a great number of countries, both its neighbours and more distant countries. Therefore, there is no reason why it should have no relations with Yugoslavia, too. But it will never allow Yugoslavia to interfere in its internal affairs or to create non-existing problems for it through cultural or any other relations.

When Belgrade renounces its obstructionist stand and absurd claims, we shall be ready to talk and to come to an agreement about establishing equal and sincere cultural collabora-

tion in all fields in which mutual interest exists.

Socialist Albania has never submitted and will never submit to Yugoslav pressure. Our relations with Yugoslavia have depended and will always depend on the stand it will take towards Albania. And there are possibilities to improve and develop them if the leadership of Belgrade gives up its short-sighted anti-Albanian non-interference in internal affairs, mutual respect and in the spirit of good neighbour relations.

THE PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES MUST OPPOSE THE IMPERIALIST AND AGGRESSIVE COURSE OF THE

*The representative of the PSR
of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, took the
floor at the First
Commission of the General Assembly
of the UNO,
in which the debate on the
problems of disarmament is taking place,
and, among other things, said:*

D SOVEREIGN T FIRMLY ERIALIST POLICY

SUPERPOWERS

«A DEAFENING NOISE ABOUT DISARMAMENT HAS OCCUPIED AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE PROPAGANDA ARSENAL OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS FOR A LONG TIME. THIS NOISE HAS BEEN INTENSIFIED MORE AND MORE EACH YEAR EVEN HERE, AT THE UNO.

«WHEREAS IN WORDS THE TWO SUPERPOWERS GO ON PREACHING EVERYDAY THAT ALLEGEDLY THE CONCERN AND WORRY UPPERMOST IN THEIR MIND IS ABOUT ARMAMENTS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT, IN FACT THEY HAVE CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED THE ARMAMENTS RACE AT UNPRECEDENTED RATES. TO THE EXISTING STOCK OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES AND SOPHISTICATED CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS HAVE BEEN ADDED VARIOUS NEW KINDS OF ARMS. THE COURSE OF MILITARIZATION CHARACTERIZES THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE SUPERPOWERS. COLOSSAL MATERIAL, FINANCIAL AND HUMAN SOURCES GO TO THE STRENGTHENING AND PERFECTIONING OF THEIR RESPECTIVE WAR MACHINES, AND, AS IF ALL THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, THEY CONCOCT PLANS OF WAR AND COMPLAIN THAT THE PRESENT LEVEL OF EXPENDITURE ON ARMAMENTS IS INSUFFICIENT, THAT STILL MORE MUST BE DONE IN THIS DIRECTION.

«They are demanding this more persistently of their allies, on whom they exert pressure to show more readiness to take upon themselves greater responsibilities and increase expenditure. Indeed, it is they who determine the kinds of weapons that have to be produced as well as when and where they have to be stationed. This emerged quite clearly, especially, in the great noise and the feverish manner in which the superpowers acted regarding the stationing of Euro-missiles. They do not fail to accuse each other, saddling the responsibility on one another, in order to justify the disruption and re-establishment of equilibrium. But

the essence of all this noise is to deceive public opinion in Europe and in the world and to impose their will on the allies, facing them with an accomplished fact.

«By building up and strengthening its military presence in West Europe, American imperialism wanted to deal a blow to the tendencies of West Europe to emerge as a power independent of the superpowers. The Soviet social-imperialists, for their part, used the stationing of «SS-20» missiles in East Europe as a kind of measure in order to whip the allies of the eastern bloc into discipline and reduce them to its control. The stationing of

medium-range missiles in Europe is aimed, among other things, to paralyse and curb the will of the peoples of European countries from defending their independence and national dignity, to intensify superpower control and dictate there.

«Without doubt the stationing of medium-range missiles in Europe marks a new escalation of armaments race which is assuming unprecedented proportions with each passing day, and has even affected outer space. If a few years ago there was talk about «stellar war», as a subject which was treated in science-fiction pictures, today it is expressed in real terms and concrete action is taken. Hence, we are witnesses of an armaments race which knows no limits in land, sea, air, and even in space.

«Although nuclear weapons constitute an extremely serious threat to mankind, this should by no means make us forget the fact that local wars have continued and are continuing without a break, that conventional weapons are used in them.

«The traffic of arms is a means not only for lucrative ends, but also a diabolical manner to infiltrate the purchasing countries and to put them under the political control of the sellers later.

«While they carry on the unrestrained armaments race, the superpowers

have worked out theories and doctrines in order to provide a support for it and to carry out in practice their expansionist policy. With these doctrines they also want to justify the vicious circle in which they have been caught and the further continuation of the armaments race.»

The Albanian representative continued his contribution to the debate, saying: «The logic of things shows that only a rise or easing of tension, a softer or harsher tone in the polemics between them, resumption of talks and negotiations, bargains on most different affairs, this is what can be expected from the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, but no real disarmament.»

Speaking of the bargains which the USA and the Soviet Union strike between them over the number and limits of their strategic weapons, the Albanian representative put the question: «What security does this give for the majority of the states which do not possess those weapons? All this sounds still more cynical when only a fraction of the present nuclear arsenal would be sufficient to destroy our planet several times. Therefore, the only 'consolation' which is offered by the superpowers is that they will agree about reducing their nuclear weapons to that level which allows the destruction of our planet not ten times over but only two or three times. Is this not ridiculing the feelings and

aspirations of the peoples who are for real disarmament and international security? We, on our part, have no illusion about this. We are of the opinion that, today more than ever before, it is necessary that the peoples and sovereign countries must sharpen their vigilance and firmly oppose the imperialist policy and the aggressive course of the superpowers. The Albanian delegation holds the view that the first step towards real disarmament is the destruction of political-military aggressive blocs of the superpowers, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of troops from Europe and other countries of the world.»



POSITE

IMPERIA
DHE SOCIJALIZMI

PAQA DHE SIGURIMI NE BOTE

NDREZHETËSI DHE PËRPARIM SHOGEROR
PËR MBROJTJEN E SOVRANITETIT TË TËRË KOMBETAR
DHE PËR PËRPARIM SHOGEROR

PERSHENDETJE POPUJVE

QË LUFTOJNE

PËR MBROJTJEN E SOVRANITETIT

TË TËRË KOMBETAR

DHE PËR PËRPARIM SHOGEROR

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