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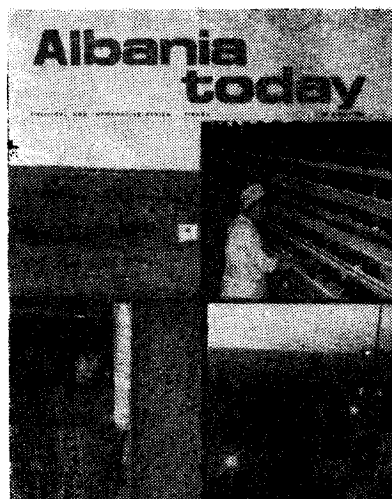
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◀ **OUR DEVELOPMENT OVER THESE 45 YEARS OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT LIFE HAS BEEN VIGOROUS AND RAPID IN ALL FIELDS, BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION AND ZONES OF THE COUNTRY. OUR PEOPLE ARE HAPPY AND OPTIMISTIC AT SEEING THE ECONOMY BEING EXPANDED AND STRENGTHENED ON THE BASIS OF SELF-RELIANCE, WHICH GIVES THEM EMPLOYMENT AND ENSURES THEIR PROSPERITY, AS WELL AS THE NECESSARY BASE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND.**

Our marvellous youth, loyal to the ideals of the Party and socialism, worthy carriers and continuers of the militant traditions of the Anti-fascist Albanian Youth, have always been in the forefront of the struggle and actions for the socialist construction in the country.





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THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1st CONGRESS OF YOUTH UNION OF ALBANIA

MASS RALLY AT HI

The 45th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania (AYUA) was celebrated on 8th of August in a beautiful meadow in the village of Lirza, in the vicinity of Helmës in Skrapar, precisely in the place in which this historic congress was held 45 years ago. A mass rally was organized with thousands of people, including veterans of the war and work, representatives of the youth from all over the country, from work and production centres, from the agricultural cooperatives and military units.

Also participating in the event were member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, Comrades Pirro Kondi and Vangjel Çërrava, member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania (LYUA), Mehmet Elezi.

Comrade Pirro Kondi greeted the rally on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

Among other things, Comrade Pirro Kondi said, Coming to Lirza in Skrapar, on the anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Youth in order to commemorate this historic event for the entire youth of our country, we, the former delegates to the Congress, and the generations of youth who follow us, are filled with legitimate pride in the wonderful youth, who our glorious Party has raised, in all the youth generations, who, under the leadership of the Party and together with the people, have always stood in the forefront in everything — they made the legendary National Liberation War and are working to build the new socialist life with success.

The Party has always considered the youth as the most dynamic, most progressive and most

militant section of the people, the speaker said. At the time of the 1st Congress, here at Lirza, Comrade Enver Hoxha said that the youth of Albania are worthy sons and daughters of the heroic people who have fought in centuries for freedom and independence. They have fought fearlessly, and with their innumerable examples of heroism and self-sacrifice in bloody battles they won the admiration of the whole world, and captured the hearts of their own people. And in the name of the Party, he addressed the youth with the call that, in the new battles that awaited us for the strengthening of the new democratic state for putting our Albania on the road of happiness, the youth must place themselves in those moments and for ever after in the forefront of the work for the reconstruction of the country to liquidate backwardness, to defend this soil which we were sprinkling with our own blood, just as they stood in the forefront of the gigantic war for the freedom of the homeland.

And the youth, «like the torch-bearers of a wholesome and decisive work,» as Comrade Ramiz Alia describes them, «always stood in the forefront of the efforts to put into reality the words of the Party, the words of Comrade Enver, and with this they have fully deserved the name heroic youth.»

Comrade Pirro Kondi continued pointing out that the Albanians have fought in the centuries to live free and independent on their own territories. Ours is a history of glorious wars and legendary efforts which testify to an unflinching resistance to the numerous, savage and barbarous enemies. And the fact that we, a small people with the roots deep in Antiquity, have withstood all tempests, have preserved our national language and culture, have kept our nation alive, have handed down from generation to generation all the best virtues of our ancestors, speaks of the vitality of our people, of the younger generations which did not submit in face of the dark forces of various occupiers, but ca-

LMËS IN SKRAPAR

ried the torch further and raised it to still greater heights.

We are proud of this old and new history written with blood and the sweat of our brow and it is our duty, as the Party instructs us, to know this history and to hand it down to the next generations...

After pointing out the successes reached by the district of Skrapar in the fulfilment of the plan, Comrade Pirro Kondi said,

Since Skrapar was the host district, in which the voice and the enthusiast songs of 285 delegates to the 1st Congress of the youth never ceased for a whole month, and since today we are here as guests to commemorate this anniversary, I want to point out that Skrapar is actually marching in the vanguard in step with the other outstanding districts of our Republic, in the attainment of the targets of the plan.

Socialism, he continued, has opened all the doors to knowledge, culture and happiness to the youth of our country. There is no other place in the whole world in which the entire youth can acquire instruction, in which every cell of life, hundreds of work centres and schools, city quarters and villages serve as real centres for the encouragement of talents, for the tempering and the cultured rest of the youth.

It is the aim of the Party to ensure that the youth acquire a broad and well-based culture, insisting on a most effective work for the ideological and political education of them not only at school but also in the practice of the implementation of our triumphant ideology — Marxism-Leninism. Our country needs young people with sound scientific knowledge in all fields, people with professional efficiency capable of handling all technical and technological problems, as well contemporary problems and to introduce contemporary technologies more and more extensively into our economy.

Winding up his speech, Comrade Pirro Kondi said, That is why the formation of the man of

socialism with the necessary ideological and political maturity, loyal to the end to the cause of the Party, the people and socialism, with a broad cultural and professional outlook, always ready to serve the people and the Homeland wherever they are needed, and with communist moral virtues, with cultured behaviour and wholesome tastes at work, in life, in society and in the family, is a struggle which is waged especially among the masses of the youth who are the future of the Homeland. It constitutes a great responsibility for the work of organizations of the Party and for the state, for all the schools and the cultural, physical-cultural and sports institutions, and especially for all the organizations of the Youth Union.

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

From the mass rally to the Congress hall. The former delegates recall the unforgettable day when Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, spoke to the young delegates about the great confidence of the Party in the heroic younger generation of Albania and appreciated the contribution of the youth in the liberation war. They remember Comrade Ramiz Alia's warm words on behalf of the detachments of the National Liberation Army and his greetings to the main leadership of the Communist Party, the Army and the new state of Albania, who had come to participate in the Youth Congress.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha held a talk with the participants,

I have come to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania as an ex-delegate, said among other things Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. I have the special satisfaction to greet

you and to wish you all welcome to this opening ceremony of the Congress.

I have the great honour to convey to you the greetings of the former delegates to this Congress and of the beloved leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

I believe that we are all of the one opinion and have the same desire that from the meadow of Lirza, from this make-shift hall of the 1st Congress of the Youth, we should send Comrade Ramiz Alia the ardent greetings from the former delegates and all the young men and women who have come here from the most distant regions of

Albania. We are proud that one of the former delegates to this Congress and one of the youngest leaders of that time is today at the head of the Party and the socialist state and, at the head of the Central Committee of the Party, in a wonderful unity, leads us with wisdom and foresight on the Marxist-Leninist road, according to the teachings of the unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

For all the delegates from Tirana or from all the other towns of Albania, where the German patrols watched every movement, where the nazi jackboot and su-machine guns made the



law, where house searchings, shootings in the streets and hangings in the squares terrorized the people, *she continued*, their coming to Hel-mës was accompanied with an undescrivable joy and happiness which filled their whole being, their mind and heart. The 285 delegates who succeeded to come to the Congress (for there were many who could not come from some zones and cities still under occupation) endorsed the Congress Appeal to the youth with great enthusiasm: «Take up arms..., the primary condition is to defeat and to smash the occupier and the traitors..., unite and march as one towards vic-

tory...» Towards the victory! That was the dream and the great aspiration of the youth.

Then Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha spoke about the delegates' fiery enthusiasm which followed Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech to the Congress, about the unshakeable confidence they had in the words and the work of the Party, in the words of the leader of the Party and of the glorious National Liberation War, the words which won their hearts immediately. She pointed out the important tasks which the Congress put before the youth for their participation in the building of the new state, for their support for



the national liberation state power, for the creation of the labour brigades to rebuild the country, to wipe out the illiteracy in the ranks of the youth, and for the broad and equal participation of the young women in all social activities, which were the first sparks that kindled the future labour actions of the youth.

Then she spoke about the attachment and gratitude of the youth for those who fought and won the war and rebuilt the country, about the pride and happiness of the former partisans, the generation of the war, when they see that their sons and daughters are growing in the epoch of the Party. It is a great joy for us all, for the whole Party and for the entire society to see that our youth are growing healthy physically, mentally and spiritually. This is an incalculable victory for our Homeland and our people and a guarantee for the future of socialism and for the younger generations.

From the moment it was founded, the Party has constantly shown great care for the youth, has watched them closely every day, every year, in the fighting and in work, has watched them as a loving mother and as a good friend, who knows what the youth want and aspire to.

We, all the communists, and all the people and the youth are proud of our valiant Party. With its revolutionary courage and Marxist wisdom, it always leads the country and the people on difficult but secure paths, because it has their complete support.

In conclusion she said, Comrades, I am winding up this speech with the wish which Comrade Enver Hoxha made five years ago: «May you be always happy, because both you former delegates and all our wonderful youth have a right to be happy!»

The former delegates and the guests had a dinner together. Greeting those present in the dinner, Comrade Foto Çami said among other things,

All of us here are filled with stirring memories and profound impressions, which have been aroused by this beautiful celebration, in this marked jubilee of the 1st Congress of the Youth. We have come together here, in this beautiful meadow at Lirza, among the mountains of Skrapar, as we did 45 years ago. We are here to commemorate that event which will remain indelible in the history of the Anti-fas-

cist National Liberation War and especially in the history of the younger generation of Albania. The youth came to their great assembly not only to draw the balance of the war and victories achieved until then, but also to express their solemn confidence that they would not spare anything, even their pure blood and their young lives for the liberation of Albania, for freeing the people and for living up to the behest of the martyrs for the building of the new Albania.

Comrade Foto Çami continued, At the call of the Party and under the leadership of the Party and our legendary commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the youth were the first to put their all to the war effort, to fill the mountains with freedom fighters, to champion the destinies of the Homeland.

The younger generation of that time carried out honourably the duty to the Homeland and the people. They showed great political maturity, unexampled determination and an unprecedented spirit of sacrifice. We, who are present here today, are glad to have among us the representatives of that generation, who with their efforts wrote the brilliant partisan epic, and made such a great sacrifice to the altar of freedom and of the reconstruction and the socialist construction of the country. We wish you, comrades, a long life with revolutionary ideals for which you fought and worked with the exemplary devotion for the cause of the Party and the people. We are glad to see that the younger generation is marching on the road of revolution and socialism. Our Party is loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, to the communist ideals which have become the very flesh and blood of the Albanian youth and the entire people.

Closing his speech, Comrade Foto Çami greeted the younger generation of Albania and the militant organization of the LYU of Albania and expressed his confidence that the youth will always be indomitable fighters for the new, for socialism, for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, that they will always carry forward the glorious work of the Party and Comrade Enver.

The former delegates and the other participants in the celebration take leave of one another, wishing from the heart: See you again in the other anniversaries of the Congress!

THE SOURCES AND FACTORS THAT GUARANTEE THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE 8th FIVE-YEAR PLAN

by **TEODOR KARECO**

With the attainment of the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan, a great stride forward is taken towards the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agrarian country, which represents a more advanced stage in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism and of the socialist society.

It is an irrefutable truth that the socialist order in Albania has waxed stronger and stronger from one five-year plan to the other. Some of the solid and unshakeable pillars on which socialist Albania is supported, and some of the features which characterize a really socialist state are: uninterrupted development, stability, and vitality of the economy. These features, which have been consolidated in the four and a half decades of the socialist construction in Albania, are, at the same time, an historical experience of the construction of socialism, which confirms the justice of the Marxist-Leninist policy of economic development.

These features have been continuously consolidated and perfected thanks to the struggle and efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Party, for the accomplishment of the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990). They can be seen more clearly in the rapid development of the economy, and in the growth at high and stable rates.

In 1990, as against 1985, the social

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product will increase 31-33 per cent, national income 35-37 per cent, and the real income per capita of population 7-9 per cent. Calculated at an average for each year of the five-year period, these figures reach to 5-7 per cent, and are 2-3 fold higher than the population increase. At the 9th Congress of the PLA Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed: «Observation of these laws and ratios of the socialist reproduction will strengthen the stability of the economy and will increase the ability of our society to cope with still greater and more difficult tasks in the future».

The aim of these constant rapid rates is to achieve some important objectives among which: complete reliance on our material, financial and valutory forces and resources, without credits from abroad; the maintenance of high rates in the increase of consumption per capita and in ensuring the necessary accumulation for the improvement of the multi-branched structure of the economy, industry and agriculture; reliance mainly on the material-technical base created for the accomplishment of the tasks of the plan; the raising of effectiveness of the economy to a still higher level; the further perfection of the socialist relations in production in con-

formity with the development of the productive forces in the field of ownership, distribution and exchange, management and organization of the economy; the guaranteeing and further raising of the material well-being and the cultural level of the working masses, especially in the countryside; as well as the strengthening of the defence capacity of the socialist Homeland.

These objectives constitute a great working program for the social and economic development of the country and for enhancing the degree of the country's independence in all spheres. These objectives have a high degree of guarantee: they are based on the national wealth, on a more powerful material-technical base which has been created and consolidated in the process of the socialist industrialization and the development of a modern agriculture which advances on a socialist basis, on the greater productive and accumulative capacities of the country, on an advanced economic structure, on the revolutionary creative activity of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan can be fully attained because they rely, in the first place, on the powerful productive potential of the material-technical base built in the years of the people's state power. Only during the period 1951-1985, the state investments reached a total of 78 billion leks, most of which for the branches and sphere of material production. Great and powerful combines and plants have been set up in the most vital branches of the economy such as in the energy industry,

in the metallurgy and the engineering, chemical, textile and other industries. It is precisely from these productive capacities of the existing combines, plants and enterprises, and from their modernization and reconstruction that the country will ensure 74 per cent of the increase in the overall industrial production. This shows that our economy has the possibilities to advance towards new objectives, but this also shows that the economy has hidden unexploited reserves, which are being discovered and put into use for the development of the economy and the strengthening of our socialist order. The material-technical base will be further strengthened during the years of the 8th Five-year Plan, by investing over 24 billion leks, of which 41-42 per cent will go to the increase of the productive capacities in industry, and 31-32 per cent to the development of agriculture. The investments of the 8th Five-year Plan are greater than those made in the previous four five-year plans taken together (1951-1970).

The 8th Five-year Plan is better guaranteed as regards the material resources, including the export-import exchanges, which wholly cope with the extended socialist reproduction, relying on our own resources. It is a known fact that socialist Albania meets all or most of its requirements for oil, coal, iron-nickel, chrome, copper, steel, electric energy, 95 per cent of the spare parts, building-construction materials, bread grain, vegetables and fruit, etc. Some of the above-mentioned products are even exported after the internal local needs are satisfied. The measures adopted in the period of the 8th Five-year Plan alone are such as to guarantee the increase with about 90 million tons of the industrial reserves of mineral ores, to extract 45 million tons of minerals and various other fuels, against 34 million tons which were put into economic circulation in the period of the 7th Five-year Plan. In all this we follow a definite policy, the aim of which is to convert the potential natural assets into active assets, and to ensure the increase of the productive capacity of the country. Comrade Ramiz Alia, speaking at the 9th Congress of the Party, raised the problem:

it is better to leave these natural assets to the coming generations in the form of factories, plants and combines, rather than as potential natural resources. Through this correct policy we can guarantee not only the sources of primary materials, but also the valutory and financial resources for the extension of the plants, factories and combines. This road and the simultaneous operation of other factors have helped to guarantee the financial and valutory resources, which fully support the program of the 8th Five-year Plan. For this purpose, it is envisaged that, in 1990 in comparison with 1985, the financial income will increase by 37-39 per cent, which is at more rapid rates than those of the social product and the other branches of material production. To guarantee the valutory resources, the exports will have a positive balance over imports. The tasks of the 8th Five-Year Plan are guaranteed with the labour resources and the good educational and technical-scientific level of the specialists. Under the current plan, the army of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia will be increased with about 200,000 new forces, which constitutes a fresh guarantee that the tasks of this plan will be accomplished relying on our own forces.

Some important factors for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan are: the continuation of the process of industrialization of the country, the development of industry at rapid rates, and the non-stop development, advance and modernization of agriculture, on socialist bases. The development of the process of socialist industrialization is considered as the decisive link for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism and for the further development of the productive forces as a whole.

One of the basic aims of the policy of socialist industrialization and of the development and intensification of the socialist agriculture, has been and remains the through utilization and exploitation of the resources of the Albanian soil and underground riches. the increase of production, and the continuous raising of the degree of processing and assessment of these in-

valuable riches, so as to ever better cope with the requirements of the extended socialist reproduction, to increase exports and ensure a relative decrease of imports, relying entirely on our own forces.

In the solution of this problem, a decisive role belongs to the socialist industrialization, which has become a factor of major importance in the advance of the country on the road of socialism. The socialist industrialization has become a decisive factor for the discovery, extraction and appropriation of the values and valorization of the rich assets of the soil and the underground of the country, including oil, coal, copper, iron nickel, chrome, and the production of such articles as steels, copper wires and cables, etc., as well as the cultivation of sugar-beet, cotton, etc., and the production of sugar, various textiles, etc. The road of industrialization begins from the simple extraction of minerals and their enrichment to the building of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and has reached to the stage of the production of spare parts, and the Albanian trade-marks of steel and pig-iron, which has created the premises for the industry of the building of machinery, apparatuses and equipment. In this manner, from one five-year plan to another the country has developed towards the closed cycle of the industrial processing of primary materials, thus guaranteeing the increase of their value by processing them locally.

In the 8th Five-year Plan, the multi-branched structure of industry will continue to extend, giving priority as always, to heavy industry. By giving priority to the development of the branches of heavy industry special efforts are devoted to the development and further strengthening of the energy industry. Within this industry, the production and processing of oil, with its main place in the energy balance of the country and as a very valuable and profitable asset for the country, with its determining role in the development of the economy today and in the future, will continue, in the 8th Five-year Plan, to be considered as one of the key branches of industry and the whole national economy. Nevertheless, the production

of electric power and coals is increasing at rapid rates, too. By proceeding on this road, a powerful and independent energy system has been created, which satisfies the growing needs of the country for energy, and ensures important income from export. As a result of the logical development of the branches of the energy industry with priority, the whole country has been completely electrified. To achieve this, we proceeded by setting up powerful thermal-power stations and big hydro-power stations. As the economy continued to grow, the setting up of the hydro-power stations, among which that of Koman, Fierza, Vau i Dejës, and recently, the hydro-power station that is still under construction at Banja, proceeded with priority. The trend now is to ensure most of the electric energy from the hydro-power stations, as one of the most secure sources of high effectiveness and of the greatest guarantee, thanks to the abundant water potential of the country. Preparations are being made for the building of other hydro-power stations, big and small, in order to anticipate the fulfilment of the needs for energy not only for today, but also for the future, and, at the same time, to increase the export of electric power.

In the process of socialist industrialization, under the current five-year plan great attention is attached to the development and extension at still greater proportions of the extraction of solid mineral ores, with chrome, copper and iron-nickel occupying the main place and the intensification of the work for the extraction of new mineral ores such as magnesites, olivinites, refractory clays, fluorites, bauxites, etc.

To raise the degree of local processing of primary materials and to complete the processing cycle in other branches besides the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, in the 8th Five-year Plan the work already begun will be further intensified. The aim here is to ensure an increased processing of minerals, in order to obtain most of the valuable elements from them; to extend the range of steels production with new trade-marks and raise their quality; to increase pro-

duction of copper for the needs of the country and for export; to attend still better to the needs of agriculture for chemical fertilizers and pesticides; to ensure a fresh increase in the production of caustic soda, soda ash, polyvinylchloride, sulphuric acid, washing powders, etc.; to step up the work for the production and appropriation of new chemicals; to raise the role of the engineering industry, as the powerful support for the technical-scientific progress, to a higher qualitative level, with the objective of ensuring a still more extensive use of the locally produced steels; and to increase the quantity and to improve the quality of spare parts and organize their massive revival, so as to fulfil the growing needs of the economy for machinery, complex appliances and production lines, and especially for the extensions, reconstructions and the new projects.

Under the 8th Five-year Plan, in the framework of the policy of the socialist industrialization, the branches specialized in the production of consumer goods will continue to develop with priority and special efforts will be made for the improvement of the structure, range and quality of production, in order to ever better fulfil the needs of the people.

Through this policy we ensure the complex development of industry and its distribution all over the country, developing it not only in the cities, but also in the rural area, and even in the mountainous zones, which enlivens their economic and social life. This allows a more equal and correct distribution of the forces of production and productive forces, strengthens the economic and cultural links between industry and agriculture, the city and the countryside, and the working class with the peasantry.

A major role in the implementation of the Party's policy of socialist industrialization has been played by the working class, which became the backbone of the process of industrialization. The working class not only bore the brunt of the socialist industrialization of the country, but in the process of work it increased in numbers and was tempered and gained new qualities.

The socialist agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, plays an irreplaceable role to enhance the value of our land assets. It meets the vital requirements of the population for agricultural products, ensures the very valuable primary materials for the light and food-stuffs industries, procures income in foreign currency from the export of the agricultural and livestock products, and has become an important factor which guarantees the strengthening and the independence of the national economy. This has been achieved thanks to a far-sighted policy pursued consistently in our country. In the conditions of a backward agrarian country, as Albania was after the triumph of the popular revolution, two tasks called for urgent solution; the socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-sided development of agriculture. Agriculture with its resources had to create the possibilities for feeding the whole population of the rural area, and make its great contribution to the industrialization of the country and the development of the national economy, as a whole. What was required for the accomplishment of these tasks, which had a decisive importance, was not any kind of development of agriculture, but only the socialist development on the basis of large-scale production, closely linked with industry and the other branches of the economy. The correctness of this policy was confirmed in the following decades of the socialist construction: agriculture now has become one of the key branches of the economy, which guarantees the constant advance of the whole country. It has always carried out its duties: the agricultural production has increased and grows about twice as fast as the population.

In the framework of the implementation of the economic policy that in order to have a strong and independent economy we must have a powerful and complex industry and an advanced agriculture, in the 8th Five-year Plan our socialist agriculture is developing on a broad front and at more rapid rates than the other branches of the economy. Under the current five-year plan, the intensive road of the development of agricul-

ture is harmonized better with the extensive road, always preserving the priority of the intensive road. The aim in the complex and harmonious development of all the branches of agriculture, through the extension of the intensification zone to include the most fertile plains of the country, is to consolidate and carry further ahead the achievements made until today. Our society has every possibility to raise agriculture and livestock-raising to still more advanced levels.

While further improving the structure of the branches of agriculture, the increase of production of bread grain still remains the main task; we consider it as one of the pillars of our economic independence. The question is that the country should produce enough bread grain to fulfil all the needs of a population which has the highest rate of increase in Europe, and ever better respond to the requirements for concentrated and industrialized feed for the livestock, as well as other needs for cereals. The policy for the increase of the production of bread grain has another aspect which is connected with the ways for the reduction of bread consumption per capita of population, in city and countryside, through scientifically studied programs which help to improve the food structure of the population, by increasing the production and use of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, and livestock products. The question is posed that the standard of living should be raised further by giving the people more milk, meat, vegetables, etc. Therefore, in the 8th Five-year Plan all the branches of agriculture, including field crops, fruit-growing and livestock-raising, are developing at higher rates.

The development of livestock-raising occupies a special place in the overall development of agriculture. The main feature of the development of this branch of the economy is connected with the rapid increase of the number of livestock and of yields for all kinds of animals and in all the zones of the country, by giving priority to the increase of the number sheep and goats in the hilly and mountainous zones of the country. In the current five-year plan, the

number of cattle will be about 90 thousand heads, and that of sheep and goats about 1 million and 400 thousand more than in the last five-year period. This task will be solved mainly through the implementation of measures for the further strengthening of the fodder base, the strengthening of the economy and the management of the cooperatives with a livestock orientation, the further development and consolidation of the initiative for the creation and management of small herds of cattle and other animals in the brigades of the cooperatives and state farms.

One of the important factors which guarantees the fulfilment of these tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan is the increase of the effectiveness of the economy. This is one of the distinguishing features of the present plan, which will be materialized through the more resilient use of the many inexhaustible reserves that lie unutilized in the economy.

Greater effectiveness can be achieved, in the first place, through increasing the effectiveness of the social product as a whole and of each of its constituent elements. Under the current five-year plan the rapid increase of the social product is to be achieved mainly through the intensive factors, which guarantee greater effectiveness, while growth rates will be as follows; the social product will increase more rapidly than the population; the national income more rapidly than the social product (through improving the proportion between material expenditure and the net product in favour of the latter); the product for society will increase more rapidly than the product for oneself; the fund of accumulation will grow more rapidly than the fund of consumption (by increasing, in the first place, productive accumulation in the economy); and the productivity of social labour will increase more rapidly than the real income, and so on.

A problem that has found a correct solution in the present five-year plan is the harmonization of the intensive road with the extensive one. By giving priority to the former road of development, the country will ensure over 2/5 of the increase of the social product, from the increase in the

productivity of social labour. In agriculture, over 95 per cent of the increase of production will be ensured from the increase of yields of agricultural crops and productivity of livestock. Hence, measures are being applied for increasing the effectiveness of the material-technical base in agriculture, for summing up and disseminating the achievements of science, the advanced experience and the new technologies, for building up the fertility of the land and for increasing the productivity of livestock.

Another road for increasing effectiveness, which guarantees the accomplishment of the tasks planned under this five-year period, is also the strengthening of the regime of savings. The reduction of costs is to ensure more than 3/5 of the increase in the financial income of the country. To achieve this target, work is going on for the radical improvement of the quality of the primary materials and finished products, the increase of the degree of renewal and the reduction of waste, losses and spoilage in minerals and other primary materials of industrial and agricultural origin, the replacement of the deficient, costly materials of technical norms of material expenditure based on the advanced experience, the simplification of the structures of finished products, the increase of the coefficient of utility in the use of primary materials, etc.

The objectives for the development in production and to the enhancement increase of effectiveness are based, to an ever greater extent, on the further development of science and the implementation of the advanced technologies and techniques of production. The aim is to make science a great productive element for higher profitability in the economy. In order to make the scientific forces of the country an important factor of the increase of effectiveness, we have concentrated, them, in the first place, on the application in production of the contemporary achievements, on the perfection of the existing technologies and on the introduction of the new techniques and technologies, in conformity with the conditions of our country, with the aim that scientific work everywhere must exert an ever grea-

ter influence on the through exploitation of the natural assets of the country, both in the current five-year plan and in the more distant future.

The success of the 8th Five-year Plan is guaranteed by an irreplaceable element, namely the further enhancement of the active role of the socialist relations in production. This is supported with the application of measures which lead to the further improvement of the socialist relations in production and to the enhancement of their active role in such fields

as the strengthening of the socialist ownership (both state and cooperative ownership), through the strengthening and the more efficient use and good management of the material-technical base; the improvement of the relations of distribution, especially of the product for one self, linking it more closely with the amount and quality of work and with the size of expenditure of production; the improvement of the relations of exchange, especially the strengthening of the economic links between the urban

and the rural area; the raising of the level of planned management of the economy, and the improvement of organization as a whole.

With the attainment of the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan, a great stride forward is taken towards the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agrarian country, which represents a more advanced stage in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism and of the socialist society.

The museum-city of Berat has grown and become ever more beautiful in the years of the people's state power.



CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COOPERATIVIST ORDER

by Mihal Ziu

The socialist transformation of the countryside and the development of the cooperativist order occupy an important place among the great achievements carried out under the leadership of the PLA in Albania in the years of the people's state power. Their history starts with the founding of the first agricultural cooperative in Albania, on November 11, 1946 at Krutje of Myzeqe. The period since then is full of successive achievements which have to do with the creation, development and ceaseless strengthening of the cooperativist order in Albania. They confirm the correctness of the line of the Party and are a concrete implementation of the ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The creation and development of the cooperativist order in Albania is the deed of the PLA, and of its work and struggle at the head of the people for the construction of socialism both in the city and in the countryside.

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Based on Marxism-Leninism, the Party has worked out and implemented a correct revolutionary line for the socialist transformation of the countryside. The great tasks which confronted the Albanian village were coped with step by step on the basis of this line. «In the process of the solution of economic problems, the Land Reform marked the first revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside.»¹ Before Liberation, land ownership was characterized by the existence of big landed estates and small peasant economies. The big landed estates and the economies of the rich peasants

accounted for 3 per cent of the rural economies but covered 40 per cent of the arable land. The Land Reform liquidated the big landed estates and feudal relations in the countryside, as well as circumscribed capitalist property and capitalist relations in agriculture. With its depth, content and character, the Land Reform brought about the democratic transformation of agrarian relations in the countryside, hence it is rightly considered the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. It was carried out under the leadership of the Party with the broad and direct participation of the poor peasantry. The Land Reform resolved the most acute and most urgent problem in agriculture, the antagonistic contradiction between the working peasantry and the big landowners, local or foreign.

However, although the Land Reform had a revolutionary character, for it liquidated the big landed estates and limited the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks, it did not eliminate private ownership of the land, but only fragmented it. As a consequence, despite the great importance it had for the development of agriculture, it could not definitively pull the peasants out of their poverty, because it did not bar the path to the further differentiation of the peasantry.

Aware of all this, the PLA worked out a program for the socialist transformation of the countryside according to the Leninist principles of co-operation and on the basis of the concrete conditions of our country. Time showed the prudence and farsightedness of the Party in its policy towards the countryside. It discarded the theories of the independent development of the countryside in socialism, the possibility of the transition to socialism also through its development according to a centuries-

long tradition (that is, on the basis of the private ownership of the land and the other means of production), the possibility of the spontaneous socialist development of the countryside after the city, etc., which are the favourite theories of the opportunists of all hues. The Party combated them with determination and up to the end, every time they cropped up among individual hostile elements who tried to undermine the construction of socialism in Albania.

The difficult and complicated process of the socialist transformation of the countryside was not a subjective desire, but an objective necessity which was conditioned by many ideological, political and social factors. This objective necessity called for the solution of such problems as those which emerge from the small-scale goods production, the contradiction between the advanced political power and the backward economic base, the necessity of the replacement of this old base and its ideology with the new socialist base and the relative ideology, the need for the solution of contradictions between industry and agriculture, between the city and the countryside, the need for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the guaranteeing of the leading role of the working class in this alliance also after the seizure of political power and during the period of the construction of socialism; the need for the creation of conditions for the extended reproduction of agricultural production on an ever larger scale and at ever higher rates in order to set up an advanced many-branched agriculture capable of coping with the needs of the people for agricultural and livestock products, of supplying industry with primary materials, thereby strengthening the country's reliance on its two legs — industry and agriculture, and deepening the

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*Only in the conditions of the dictatorship
of the proletariat and in alliance with and under
the leadership of the working class can the peasantry
set out and successfully proceed on the road of socialism.*

implementation of the principle of self-reliance and the independence of the national economy.

The solution of all these problems, and the future of the revolution and socialism in Albania depended on the results of the collectivization of agriculture. So, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha paid very great attention to the socialist transformation of the countryside in general, and the collectivization of agriculture, in particular, as the more important part of this transformation.

The experience of our country has shown that success in this field is certain only when the Party of the working class leads this process in an organized manner, faithfully and creatively implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the socialist transformation of the countryside, as the Party of Labour of Albania actually did.

The Party had put education work with the peasantry to convince it of the necessity of the new road for the countryside, of the economic benefits the peasant would have from the collective economy and the brilliant prospects for his life in this economy at the foundation of its policy for the collectivization of agriculture. Implementation of the principle of conviction and free will ensured the complete success of collectivization, as well as all the other activities for the socialist reorganization of the countryside.

However, for the peasantry to quickly and unhesitatingly embark on the road of collectivization the Party and the people's state power did not confine themselves to clarifying ideopolitical work only. Along with it the countryside was given all-round political, economic, financial; technical and organizational, assistance. Here the PLA has always proceeded from the Leninist thesis that «any social order is built with the financial assistance of a given state.»²

2

Always proceeding from the principle of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA attached particular importance to the problem of the forms and rates of collectivization in our country, which had to do with the success or failure of its policy for the socialist reorganization of the countryside. With its profound knowledge of the socio-economic reality of the Albanian countryside, the Party was able to resolve this problem successfully. Giving the land to the peasants through the Land Reform had a very great influence on the strengthening the political trust of the peasantry towards the Party. It strengthened the alliance of the working class with the peasantry on sound economic bases, as well as the state power itself which was based on this alliance. All this was clear evidence of the determination of the Party to fulfil the desires and consider the interests of the peasantry. In these conditions, our patriotic peasantry, convinced that the road the Party showed it was the right one, set out quickly on the road of collectivization. This explains the fact that the first agricultural cooperatives were set up immediately after the Land Reform in Albania. With the founding of the first cooperative at Krutje of Myzeqe in 1946 the first stage of the collectivization of agriculture began. This stage goes on until 1955. The main aim of this stage was the creation of the objective and subjective conditions for the collectivization of agriculture. At this stage the Party came out with slogan: «In the question of collectivization we should neither be overhasty nor mark time.» This slogan responded to the conditions and possibilities of the country at that time, because in its first steps the new cooperativist order need great assistance from the state so as to develop at high rates and

thereby prove by facts its superiority over the small-scale individual economy and prompt the peasantry, encouraged by this positive example, to demand itself the setting up of cooperatives. So, in this period, the PLA paid its main attention to the strengthening of the first cooperatives which reached the number of 90 in 1950. At the same time, it confined itself not only to that, but along with the creation of appropriate conditions, such as convincing the peasantry and increasing the possibilities of the state to give the peasantry more assistance, it brought about the creation of new cooperatives the number of which rose to 318 in the end of 1955.

At this time the Party saw that the political, ideological and economic conditions were ripe for mass collectivization. So, the 3rd Congress of the PLA (May 1956) issued the directive for speeding up the rates of collectivization so as to complete it on a whole in the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan. Thus, the second stage of the collectivization of agriculture set in, the main characteristic of which was collectivization of a broad front, and its total completion in 1967 when, according to the directives of the 5th Congress of the PLA, collectivization was completed also in the mountainous zones of the country.

In regard to the forms of collectivization, it is important to note that, on a whole, in Albania there were no different forms of collectivization, but direct transition to agricultural cooperatives of socialist production. This was done because the Albanian peasantry had no experience of a cooperativist movement in the past and had inherited no tradition in this direction. In these conditions being closely linked with the Party, it adopted the form the Party recommended to it as the more appropriate.

The whole process of collectivization in our country has developed through a fierce class struggle. The kulaks and all the remnants of reaction, the former ruling class, and the representatives of the Albanian feudal bourgeoisie tried by all manner of means to intimidate the peasants, to nip in the bud the new order which was emerging and successfully developing in the Albanian countryside. This struggle was especially fierce in the first state of collectivization, when the objective and subjective conditions for collectivization, were still in their emergence and formation. However, it did not die down even later, accompanying the process of collectivization from beginning to end, with the only difference that it developed in different forms from one period to the other, according to the conditions created. Hence, the policy of the PLA in the treatment of the various social groups in the countryside, remained the same also after the first stage of collectivization. In the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside it always proceeded from the Leninist principle of reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the middle peasant and struggle with the kulak towards whom it followed the line of economic limitation, political separation and eventual elimination.

The successful completion of socialist collectivization in the Albanian countryside, which was carried out according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism wisely implemented by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the concrete conditions of our country, shows best that only in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class can the peasantry set out and successfully proceed on the road of socialism. At the same time the triumph of the cooperativist order showed that the line of the Party had triumphed in the countryside, too; and this proved once more its correctness, as well as the strength and unbreakable unity of the Party and people, and the political maturity of our peasant.

A historical analysis of the process of socialist transformation of the Albanian countryside brings out, along the more general features which stem from the implementation of the general laws of socialist construction, that the collectivization of agriculture in Albania presents also some peculiarities which derive from the concrete socio-economic conditions of the village in the period of its socialist transformation, from the peculiarities and historical traditions of life in the countryside, as well as from the peculiarities of the people's revolution in Albania itself.

First, the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in the conditions of the existence of small private property of the land fragmented as a result of its distribution to the peasantry in the course of the Land Reform. This experience shows that collectivization can successfully be carried out even without nationalizing the land, when the Land Reform is carried out according to proper revolutionary criteria.

Second, the collectivization of agriculture was carried out at a time when a developed industry, especially its processing and heavy branches, was lacking. In these conditions the material and technical base of cooperativist production was weak and the level of productive forces, relatively low, despite the development they had undergone in the post-Liberation years. Nevertheless, collectivization was successfully completed. This showed that the process of socialist reorganization of the countryside should not be checked artificially, until the productive forces are developed, but as long as conscious social force for this revolutionary process exists, unhesitating action should be taken, while not giving over to the other extreme, that of the artificial stepping up of this transformation.

Third, for known reasons, lower forms of cooperation or those of a semi-socialist character, found no application, or when applied, were short-lived, because the peasantry wanted the immediate transition to the agricultural cooperatives of large-scale socialist production.

Fourth, agricultural cooperatives

were set up on a village basis. So, they were small in the initial period. This responded to the existing conditions and possibilities for their economic and organizational management.

Characteristic is the fact that immediately after the completion of collectivization as a whole, the development of the productive forces called for the further socialization of cooperativist production. So, the process of the enlargement of cooperatives begun, which was gradually carried out on the basis of the merger of some existing cooperatives into one. The merger of smaller cooperatives into larger ones created new possibilities for their economic and organizational strengthening. In the larger cooperatives the land and mechanized means were utilized better and the work of the cooperativists was more fruitful. Here the different branches of agriculture cooperated better, investments were used more properly and administrative expenses cut down. Enlargement of cooperatives created possibilities to make better use of the advantages created by the new socialist order in agriculture.

However, the process of the socialization of cooperativist work, property and production does not end with that, being a continuous process which goes on gradually for a relatively long time, along with the creation of the necessary conditions which are intended to raise cooperativist ownership to the level of state ownership, as common property of the whole people. An important step in this direction, as the experience of our country shows, is the raising of the agricultural cooperatives to higher-type cooperatives.

3

The successful conclusion of the collectivization of the small-scale rural producers is the most radical change in agrarian relations. Its conclusion marked the triumph of a second revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside, and the transition from the old to the new. This transition brought along deep-going economic, social, ideological

and cultural changes in the life of the village, in particular, and that of the whole society, in general, changes which would have been utterly impossible to carry out in the past.

In the economic field, the more radical change was that of ownership: the replacement of the private ownership of the land and farming inventory with the common cooperativist ownership. This transition which is carried out in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the key to all the achievements in the construction of the new socialist order in the countryside, makes up the foundation on which all the other transformations are carried out in the period of socialist construction. On the basis of common socialist property a new type of relations — socialist relations of production, emerged in the Albanian countryside. They are characterized by social cooperation and mutual assistance of the cooperative members who are free from oppression and exploitation. The superiority of the new relations and the socialist system of the economy, which are based on the socialist ownership of the means of production, was proved by the vigorous development of the productive forces and agricultural production in our country. «The changes made in the countryside,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «have surpassed our boldest hopes. That primitive and backward agriculture, that broken plough and those hungry people working a land flooded in winter and parched in summer, have remained only a memory of the past, a point of reference to size up the colossal changes and advance made in these post-Liberation years.»³

The PLA has never seen the development of relations of production as an aim in itself, but has always considered it a means for the development of productive forces, too, as the other component part of the mode of production. Here it has always seen to it that a dialectical ratio of unity exists between the productive forces and the relations of production. It has considered the emergence and development of the socialist relations in the countryside as a decisive condition for the liqui-

dation of oppression and exploitation, economic and social advance and the all-round development of the energies which lay dormant in the anti-popular regimes so as to develop the productive forces at high rates, to liquidate the backwardness inherited from the past, to strengthen the economy and the defence potential of the country, to guarantee the gains of the people's revolution and to ensure the living and prosperity of the working people. On the other hand, this development has exercised a powerful influence also on the further development of the socialist relations of production themselves.

The greatest achievement in the political field with the collectivization of agriculture was that the village set out on the road of socialism. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry was strengthened further, and the links between industry and agriculture and, more generally between the city and the countryside, became stronger. This strengthened the socio-political base of the dictatorship of the proletariat further in Albania. The centuries-old antagonistic contradiction between the countryside and the city was eliminated, and each of them began seeing its faithful ally in the other.

At the same time, the collectivization of agriculture created favourable conditions which, accompanied with the intensive educational work of the Party, created an appropriate terrain for the implantation of the socialist world outlook among the peasantry, thereby gradually liberating it from the burden of backward customs, religious prejudices, the feeling of private ownership and petty-bourgeois individualism, from the mentality of the small landowner. The new features of communist ethics, such as collectivity, the socialist stand towards work, putting the general interest above that of the cooperative, and that of the cooperative above the personal interest, concern about work in the cooperative, etc., have replaced them and have gone constantly strengthening.

Along with the creation and constant strengthening of the cooperativist order, the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture and its setting out on the

road of intensification, and the development of the ideological and cultural revolution have played a great role in the transformation of the consciousness and spiritual life of the peasantry.

Establishment of a broad network of cultural and educational institutions, extension of education to all zones and villages, equipment of agriculture with cadres, etc., have incomparably enriched cultural and artistic life in the countryside. A powerful impulse in this direction was the electrification of all the villages of the country, which was completed on October 25, 1970, 14 years ahead of the former plan.

The cooperativist order in Albania, in which the people are in power and which is led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, like the PLA, has brought about great improvements in the mode of life, too. The new homes with all the necessary hygienic conditions, arrangement of villages into new dwelling-centres, planned buildings and other improvements in the way of living, such as replacement of heavy and anti-hygienic costumes with lighter and more hygienic ones, improvements in the mode of nutrition and sleeping, better conditions for sanitary assistance, etc., have made life in the Albanian countryside beautiful and prosperous, bringing it closer to life in the city.

Establishment and development of new social relations of production in the countryside, while giving a powerful impulse to the development of the productive forces, have opened up new prospects also for the development of agricultural production. From one five-year period to the other, agricultural production has grown at high rates, about two times as fast as the population. In 1987, it was 5.4 times as large as in 1938, and 3.1 times as large as in 1960. Both agriculture and livestock-breeding have marked substantial increases.

Agriculture has developed in all its branches, with cereals taking the main place. Their production in 1987 as compared with 1960 has grown 4.6 times. Beginning from 1976 our country has become self-sufficient in bread grains.

These achievements in the field of

agricultural production have enabled the ever better fulfilling of the needs of the people for agricultural and livestock products, the supply of industry with primary materials and the increase of goods for export.

The development of agriculture has followed both the extensive and the intensive roads. (In the last years the intensive road has had priority). The increase of agricultural production, which has grown from one five-year period to the other, has come about from the extension of the area planted with various crops, as well as from the increase of their yields. The cultivated area has increased both through opening up new land and through graining marshes. From 292 thousand ha before the war, the area of the arable land has grown to 714 thousand ha in 1987. Most of the arable land is occupied by field crops. In 1987 they accounted for 82.6 per cent of all the arable land. Yields of various crops have doubled and trebled as compared with 1960. Thus, in 1987 as compared with 1960, yields have increased: for wheat 4.2 times, maize 4.5 times, milk per cow 2.5 times, etc. With the revolution yields of crops have undergone in our country, most of the increase of agricultural production has been ensured through the increased yields of various crops and the increase of livestock productivity.

These achievements are based on the constant strengthening of the material and technical base. From 30 tractors (reckoned at 15 ha) our country had in 1938, their number was 19 265 in 1987, so the arable land per 15 hp tractor from about 1 000 ha it was in 1938 has come down to 103 ha in 1960 and 37 ha in 1987. The number of combines and auto-combines, of which there existed none before Liberation, in 1987 was 1 433 or 4.1 times as large as in 1960, whereas threshers, the number of which was 75 before Liberation, were 1 857 or 5.7 times the number of 1960. This increase in the number of tractors and other farming machines has enabled a constant rise in the degree of mechanization of agricultural work. The volume of mechanized work in 1987 was 8.7 times that of 1960.

In the years of the people's state

power, with the ceaseless concern of the Party about the intensification of agriculture, the power equipment of agriculture has also grown at rapid rates. In 1987 it was about 4 times that of 1960.

The use of fertilizers and the scientific treatment of the land have played an important role in the achievement of high yields. Along organic fertilizers, the agricultural land is enriched with chemical fertilizers which are produced by new and modern factories of nitrate, urea and superphosphate fertilizers, which are a result of the special concern of the Party for the intensification of agriculture. In 1987, 133.1 kg of active matter were used per ha of land, as against 2.6 and 17 kg used in 1950 and 1960 respectively.

With the large investments made for the improvement of the land, drainage and irrigation, its fertility increased, too. In the period 1946-1983, 50 500 ha of new land have been reclaimed and another 199 420 improved, whereas the irrigation capacity has increased from 29.1 thousand ha it was in 1938 to 409.3 thousand ha in 1987, or 57 per cent of the arable land as against 10 per cent in 1938.

Despite the great advance of industry, agriculture remains still the basic branch of the economy in Albania. The priority development of industry has always been accompanied with the highrate development of agriculture. In this question the Party of Labour of Albania adheres to the thesis that «reliance of the national economy both on industry and agriculture, is a permanent principle and an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, and for increasing its degree of self-activity.»

Under the disguise of «friendly advice» and «utilization of the concrete conditions of the country», «coordination», of plans and «the international socialist division of labour» the enemies of the Party and our country, the revisionists of all hues, tried in vain to turn Albania into a merely agrarian country, a vassal country and an additional source of primary materials for the economy of their countries. With evil inten-

sions, in order to hitch our Party and country to their cart, they tried to convince us that Albanian agriculture should produce only sunflower (as the Titoites wanted us to), or citrus-fruit and make Albania «a flourishing garden» (as it pleased the Khrushchevite revisionists to say). As for our other needs, they promised that they would fulfil them through their «generous assistance»! However, being always highly vigilant, the Party of Labour of Albania saw right from the beginning that the revisionists intended with their «friendly advice»: they wanted to rob our country of its freedom and independence; It waged a heroic struggle against their constant pressure and blackmail, until it achieved victory. Our economy today is sound, it knows no crises, no inflation, no unemployment or other ulcers of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

As a component part of the national economy, our socialist agriculture has increased its role and contribution to the independent development of the country on the road of socialism. Its achievements are incontrovertible evidence of the advantage of the development of the cooperativist order, which covers about 37 of the arable land, comprises over 80 per cent of the workers of agriculture and accounts for over 60 per cent of the total agricultural production. Of 34 per cent of the national income produced by our agriculture, its cooperativist sector accounts for 84 per cent of it.

4

The cooperativist order in Albania is a powerful socialist reality with a great development potential and clear objectives to rise to ever higher levels.

The PLA has constantly seen to it that the agricultural cooperatives, as economies of modern large-scale production, are ceaselessly strengthened. Attainment of this objective has called for both the constant improvement of the relations of production and the further development of the productive forces, hence the Albanian state, according to the directives of the

Party, has taken a number of important measures in this direction and constantly increased its aid to the countryside. This aid has been and is realized in various forms and by various means, like extension of the mechanized base of agricultural production in the MTS, equipment with specialized cadres, development of those branches of industry which work for agriculture, credits, selected seed, breed animals, etc., up to the direct participation of the state in the investments of the cooperatives with non-returnable social funds. However, the decisive factor for the development of agricultural production and the further strengthening of agricultural cooperatives have been and remain self-reliance, mobilization and utilization of all the inner possibilities of the cooperatives for the increase of agricultural production.

The strengthening of the cooperativist order means the strengthening of socialism in Albania. As social property lies at the base of this order, the main direction of its strengthening has been the consolidation, expansion and good management of the common property of the cooperativists.

Raising, the degree of socialization of the common work and property of the cooperativists so as to bring it closer to and merge it with state property, as property of the whole people, a higher level of ownership, extends over a long period and is carried out gradually, with the creation of material and economic conditions. This process has long since begun in our country with the merger of smaller agricultural cooperatives into larger ones, and marks a new rise in the transition to higher-type cooperatives, in which the state takes part with investments and non-returnable social funds.

The setting up of higher-type cooperatives represents a special contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally to the enrichment of the theory and practice of the contribution of socialism in the countryside. They mark a new step on the road of bringing the group property closer to the property of the whole people. «The near aim of this measure,» Comrade Enver Hoxha

has said, «is to enable... our agriculture to develop at high rates and ensure a steady increase of those agricultural and livestock products our national economy is more in need of.»⁵

According to the directives of the Party, the other agricultural cooperatives included in the lowland and coastal zone, the zone of priority intensification of our country, began also to be treated according to the example of the higher-type cooperatives.

The innovative ideas of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the gradual merger of relations of state property with relations of cooperativist property, the revolutionary practice, which is inspired by this idea, of setting up higher-type cooperatives, and the priority intensification of production in the lowland and coastal zone are an original and successful solution of the problems posed to the cooperativist order for its uninterrupted development and advance.

At the foundation of this merger lies the direct participation of the state, through investments and non-returnable social funds, in the increase of production and the raising of the degree of socialization of the property of the group on the road of bringing it closer to the property of the whole people. This combination of the forces and means of the cooperatives and the state constitutes a surer basis for fulfilling the tasks of agricultural production on a broad front and for ensuring its high-rate growth.

Numerical increase of the higher-type cooperatives, intensification of agricultural production, and systematic increase of crop yields have added to the role and place of those cooperatives in the cooperativist system. At present they account for 10.4 per cent of the total number of the cooperatives of the country, and utilize about 1/4 of their arable land, about 43 per cent of the arable land of the lowland zone and 24.2 per cent of the main means in the cooperativist sector. In the higher-type cooperatives live 20.5 per cent of the cooperativist peasantry and 22.5 per cent of the work force. During the

7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the higher-type cooperatives accounted for 29.7 per cent of the wheat produced in the cooperativist sector.

During the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990), according to the orientations of the 9th Congress of the Party, «the cooperativist order will be strengthened further. The number of the higher-type cooperatives will be increased both in the priority intensification zone and outside it. There the original process of combining the relations which are characteristic of group property with those characteristic of state property will be deepened further.»⁶

Important factors for the development and strengthening of the cooperativist order are also the measures taken for the limitation of the cooperativist's individual plot and the herding up of individual flocks. The cooperativist's individual plot as an economy of an auxiliary character to meet the needs of the cooperativist, emerged along with the emergence of the cooperativist order in the countryside. Its life is closely linked with the development of the cooperativist order. The development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives in our country has brought about the gradual decline of the economic importance of the cooperativist's individual plot which has evolved towards its restriction, thereby opening up the road for the extension of the socialist relations in the countryside and the mentality they cultivate among the peasants. This has ever more eased their consciousness and life from the burden of petty-bourgeois mentalities on life.

The transient character of the cooperativist's individual plot is becoming ever more apparent and its actual liquidation is also being speeded up by the setting up of small flocks and plots attached to the brigades. Enhancement of their role, according to the directives, of the Party, in meeting the needs of the cooperativist peasantry for milk, meat, vegetables, potatoes and beans will gradually put out the economic function of the cooperativist's plot and make it ever more unnecessary in its present-day dimensions and functions. Small flocks and plots attached

to the brigades have become today new and important components of the economic relations in the countryside.

The stage of the creation and development of the cooperativist order, which we have described, also represents a period of the gradual bringing together of the cooperativist property with the property of the whole people. The present-day development of the cooperativist property makes up the base for the future process of its transformation into a property through the merger and enlargement of the whole people. The Party does not see the transformation of cooperatives into agricultural enterprises as a result of administrative measures, but a result of the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. Enhancement of the degree of socialization of the cooperativist property through the merger and enlargement of the agricultural cooperatives, rise of the ordinary agricultural cooperatives to the level of higher-type cooperatives, perfection of the relations of distribution and exchange, improvement of the forms and ways of work remuneration and, especially, direct combination of the state-cooperative relations in the higher-type cooperatives and in those of the priority intensification zone are the first and very important preparatory steps towards this development. These revolutionary processes which have taken place in our countryside have

begun bringing cooperativist property closer to the property of the whole people and strengthening their common features. We come across this reality more or less in all cooperativist economies. What makes them different is the degree reached in the development of this process, which is conditioned by material and objective, ideopolical and socio-economic factors whose impact is directly linked with the level of development of the productive forces not only of every agricultural cooperative in particular, but also of the whole national economy, in general.

In the process of the merger of the cooperativist property with the property of the whole people, all the revolutionary processes which have not affected the cooperativist form of the group ownership of the means of production but, within its framework, have brought about a ceaseless improvement of the relations of production, as a reflection of the development of the productive forces in a given period, assume special importance. This process of development of the two main aspects of the mode of production is due to achieve successes which will eventually prepare the ground for the transformation of cooperativist property into a higher and more mature form of socialist property, the property of the whole people.

According to the orientation of the 9th Congress of the Party, «the further transformations of this intermediate form of socialist ownership in agriculture into ownership of the whole people will take place in a natural way and without haste.»

In order to increase production and its effectiveness, the Party now is working to put it on more scientific bases. In implementation of the task set by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania (February 1989), a number of important measures are being taken to harmonize the material factors of agricultural production and to make economic relations more dynamic so as to carry achievements further ahead.

1 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 298.

2 V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 802, Alb. ed.

3 «Enver Hoxha's Address to the National Conference of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People», Zëri i popullit, March 21, 1974.

4 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, pp. 73-76, Alb. ed.

5 Ibidem, p. 81.

6 Ramiz Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1986, P. 52, Alb. ed.

THE ALBANIAN INDUSTRY IS DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF LOCAL PRIMARY MATERIALS

by **VELI MULLARAJ**

The geological data indicate that our country has great mineral deposits, which guarantee the social-economic development not only for the present generation, but also for the generations to come

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has a population of 3.1 million and a surface of 28,748 sq. km. It lies between latitudes 42°39' and 39°38' north, and longitudes 20°4' and 19°16' east. Its climate belts are divided into the lowland, hilly and pre-mountainous Mediterranean ones. From the geological point of view Albania is included in the Alpine folded belt. Until today it has more than 300 resources of various mineral primary materials, whereas the level of reserves per capita of population places our country among the developed countries of the world. Today about 45 different useful minerals are exploited.

The history of the industrial development of various countries shows that the countries which began the appropriation of natural assets before the others, have had a more rapid economic development. In our country this possibility was created only 45 years ago, after the establishment of the people's state power. The long Ottoman occupation and the anti-popular regimes of the past had left our country, this southeastern corner of Europe, in a profound industrial backwardness. In 1938 only 3.2 per cent of the national income was created in the sector of industry.

To this great backwardness were added the immense ravages caused

by the Second World War, from which our country suffered the highest toll in material damage per capita of population. Upon the liberation of the country, in November 1944, the small artisan industry that had struggled into existence from the Proclamation of Independence in 1912 up till the Italian fascist occupation in 1939, was virtually destroyed.

In these conditions, in order to restore the economy back to a normal state and in order to overcome the inherited backwardness, the problem was put forward that, among the known natural assets, the country should begin to exploit, in the first place, those which could accelerate the process of the economic revival and the creation of a basis for the rapid advance of the productive forces. In this manner, the natural assets, especially the primary mineral resources, which lay dormant underground, were gradually put into economic circulation and became the important material factor for the development of industry.

The work for the execution of this task raised the need for the development of geological work on a large scale. The results achieved until today have determined the extent of the potential assets of the country and have opened broad horizons to the future.

The geological workers and experts of our country, especially after the

foreign experts left Albania, took over the whole work and succeeded in changing the previous image of the mineral riches of our land. In struggle with the erroneous views of the foreign geologists, they drafted and put into practice new methods of prospecting for and discovering of mineral deposits, reviewed the conclusions of the foreign specialists and discovered great mineral deposits even where every perspective was put as hopeless. The mineral riches discovered by our geologists constitute a secure basis for the development of industry and the economy, which develops and advances relying on our own forces and resources.

The results achieved and the prospects for the further development of the country clearly show the correctness of the struggle waged by our Party against the «suggestions» and pressure of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists and the defeatist views of the internal enemies, who sought to dissuade our Party from following the correct road of industrialization. The revisionists did everything they could in order to sabotage the development of the Albanian industry, especially by manipulating and hiding the geological data, in an effort to prove that allegedly our country lacked the primary materials, that it was not worthwhile to make investments in the mining industry, that it would be better to put these funds instead on the cultivation of sunflower and orange plantations. But the time proved the correctness of the economic policy of our Party of Labour and opened up new prospects for the development of the heavy, extracting and processing industry of our country. The foreign specialists, especially the revisionist ones, said, for example, that

there is no oil in Albania, but the Albanian geologists, treading different paths, discovered new oil deposits. In this way oil reserves increased in conformity with the requirements of the socialist economy. The enemies of the Party and the people strove hard to sabotage the development of the oil industry, but they failed in their plans. The working class, with the Party of Labour at its head, discovered and liquidated the hostile activity in this vital sector for the economy of each country, and the oil industry, like every other branch, continued to develop in conformity with the Party's orientations.

From the first years since the establishment of the geological service in our country, this sector was charged with the task of concentrating its forces mainly on the determination of the most important mines for the local industry and for export, without scattering them all over the country for prospecting only. Apart from this, separate duties were assigned to prospecting for other mineral ores. The implementation with success of this line was the decisive factor which ensured the geological and industrial reserves necessary for the rapid development of the different branches of the extracting industry.

In the conditions of the very rapid development of the economy, in general, and of the mineral extracting industry, in particular, the problem emerged of further strengthening the geological work in order to guarantee not only the present and near-future requirements, but also those of the distant future, for the development of the mineral extracting and processing industry.

By working in this manner, the fund of some useful minerals and their industrial reserves are now enough to ensure the development of the related branches of the extracting and processing industry, not only for the whole period of the physical functioning of the mines under exploitation, but also for the coming generations. Such is, for instance, the case of iron-nickel ore for the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the copper and

pyrite ores for the chemical-metallurgical combine at Laç, the rock and sea salt, and the calcereous minerals for the production of soda and polyvinyl chloride, etc. The same thing can be said about the geological reserves of a series of other useful minerals, such as oil, gas, coal, turf, chrome, phosphorites, bauxites, nickel-silicate, dolomites, asbestos, etc.

Throughout the stages of the economic and cultural development of the country, the Party and the leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, have attached extremely great importance to geological studies and work, to the development of the extraction, processing and thrifty use of the natural assets of the country with priority. At the 9th Congress of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed once again the importance of the natural assets for the development of the national economy. On the basis of the experience gained over more than four decades of work, during which the balance of the primary mineral materials of our country has always been positive, concrete tasks were set in order to further increase reserves and raise the degree of the local processing and exploitation of minerals, in order to increase the export of the remainder of the primary materials, and semi-finished and finished products.

Today, from the distance of 45 years since Liberation, full of unexampled efforts for the creation and consolidation of the socialist economy and industry, we can see the correctness of this policy and its results, which are expressed concretely in the profound changes in the relations of production and in the continuous strengthening of the economic and material-technical base of our country.

But this policy was not easy to implement. The country had to overcome, as rapidly as possible, the backwardness inherited from the past in order to go over from the pine-torch and oil-lamp to the production of millions of tons of oil and coal, chrome, copper and iron-nickel, to the billions of kw/h of electric energy. Our people had to fight the way

out from dire poverty, to fight against the Anglo-American, the Soviet and Chinese revisionist secret agencies, against the internal enemies, who one and all, wanted to paralyse our industry and the development of the economy as a whole. Our country boldly surmounted all these difficulties and those of its growth, because the working class, the cadres and experts rallied around the Party, found new paths and, from one year to the other, increased and strengthened our industry.

In the period 1981-1985, Albania produced over 1.1 million tons of conventional fuels more than in the period 1976-1980, thus further consolidating the positive energy balance, fulfilling the requirement of the economy and creating new possibilities for exporting 822,000 tons of fuels, 718,000 tons of bitumen, 872,000 tons of coal, 4.8 billion kw/h of electric power, etc.

It is a great political and economic success and a major victory that the rates of increase of the production of energy from different resources in our country have been and remained higher, than those of many other developed countries. Our country is one of the few countries of the world with a positive energy balance. It can fulfil not only its own constantly growing needs, but also can export the remainder, thus creating valuable foreign currency income for the extended reproduction of the energy industry and the other sectors of the industry and the economy as a whole.

In the conditions of the grave economic and financial crisis, and especially of the energy crisis, which has gripped the capitalist and the revisionist world, a task of primary importance emerges: the increase of production and resources of energy in order to cope with the economic pressure and the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement. Precisely for these reasons and with the aim of meeting the growing needs of the economy for greater sources of energy, the working people of this sector have raised their consciousness and mobilization onto a new higher level.

In the industry of oil and gas extraction, good results have been achieved in the more rational exploitation of the existing resources, the increase of the number and the improvement of the quality of studies and designs, the extension and perfection of intensification processes, the implementation of secondary methods and the introduction of the new technologies, such as the injection of carbon dioxide, water vapours, alkaline water, and the improvement and intensification of the existing methods for the extension of contours of the fields under exploitation and the boring of new oil-wells in the tapped deposits, etc. On the basis of studies and

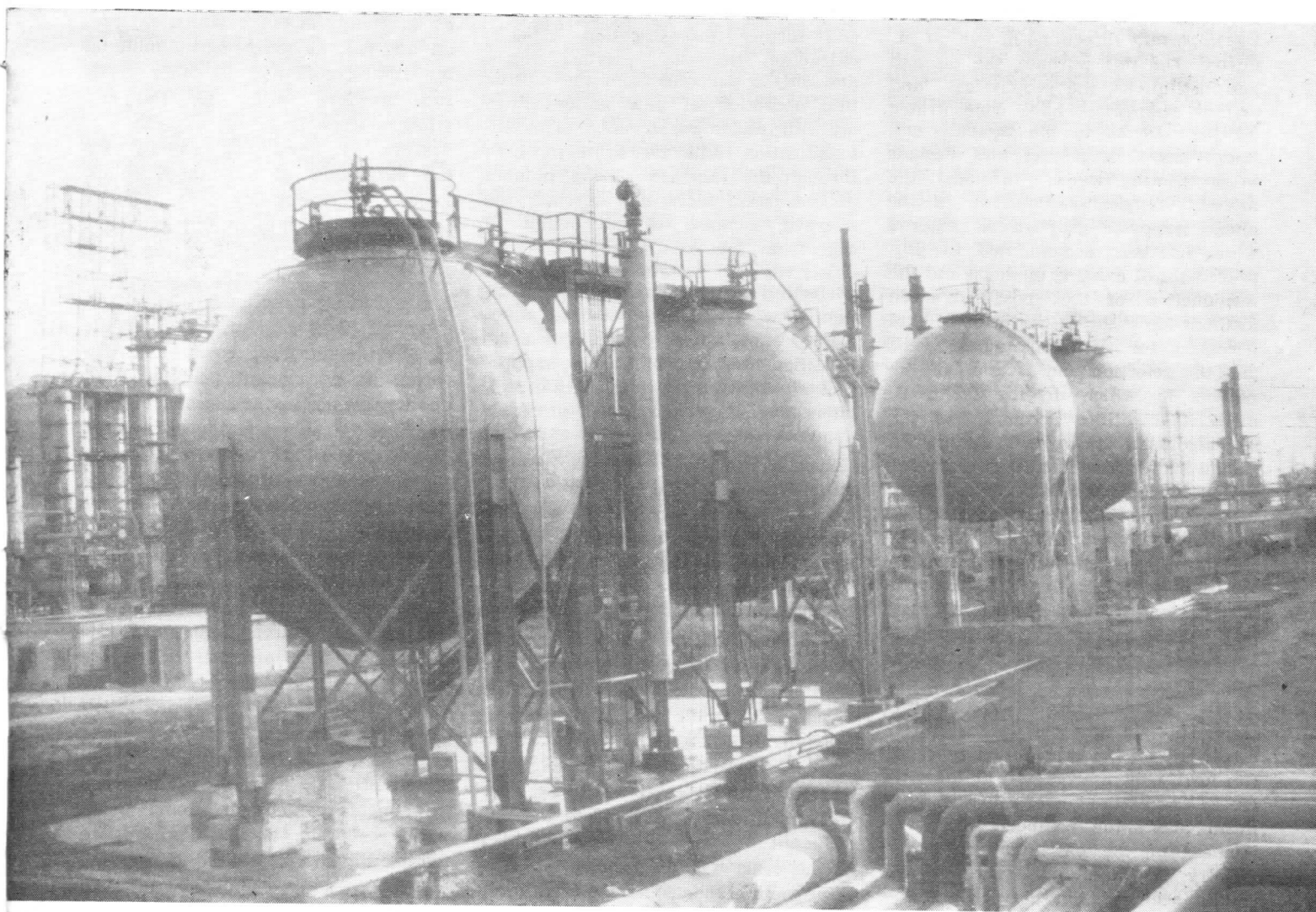
concrete operations, it has been possible not only to make up for their natural fall in productivity of the wells, but also to continuously increase the extraction of oil.

The very important task set by the 9th Congress of the Party for the extraction of oil from the existing fields requires that some problems, especially the more profound scientific work in the technological bureaus and the oil and gas institutes, should receive still greater attention than hitherto. Among these problems special care is devoted to the further increase of the coefficient of exploitation of oil-wells, the reduction of the number of active wells that yield no oil, the control

of the flow of oil and gas in some wells, the improvement of some important aspects of the regime of wells, especially in the functioning of deep-well pumps, and the more efficient use of the material-technical base which is secured from our industry or from import.

Our country has been interested constantly in the contemporary technique and technology, in the problems of prospecting and discovery, boring, extraction and processing, in the export of the oil by-products and the import of special apparatuses, boring drills and other machinery for the oil and gas industry. In recent years, with the completion of the oil-processing

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the PLA has brought about the high-rate development and modernization of industry in Albania.



plant at Ballsh, along with the high quality bitumen, our exports have been considerably increased with benzene, gasoil, lubricating oils, etc. Besides this, special machinery and equipment for the oil and gas industry have been imported from the FR of Germany, France, Canada, Austria, etc.

Our country is very much interested in the discovery of new deposits, a field in which, despite the measures adopted, there is a relative backwardness, especially in the geological and geophysical work and in the quality of the studies for the designing of prospecting wells, as well as in the boring of wells in the new zones with above normal pressure. The work for discovering new deposits, which are essential for the further increase of oil and gas extraction and for the further increase of the industrial reserves, constitutes one of the important directions of our oil industry. For this purpose, the oil and gas institutions, the geophysical and drilling enterprises have concentrated all their forces to the increase and improvement of studies and designs in prospecting wells, through the more thorough exploitation of the ample geological-geophysical material which has been accumulated, the improvement of existing methods and the introduction of the most advanced methods for ensuring the primary data necessary for the designing of wells and the selection and location of the regions in which drilling is to be made, taking into account that the steps from the known to the unknown should be taken with greater guarantee of success. In order to carry out these tasks, special care is shown for the complete activation of all the specialists in geology and geophysics at the specialized institutions and enterprises, and for the more efficient exploitation and use of the apparatuses and equipment at our disposal.

It is clear that the oil industry in our country requires large initial investments, but, in any case, these investments and all the expenditure involved can justify themselves only if they increase the extraction of oil. The optimism about the prospects of development of the oil industry of our country is based not only on the results achieved, but also on the fa-

vourable geological data on the oil and gas deposits of the soil and the off-shore deposits.

With the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 9th Congress of the PLA, the extraction of oil will increase by 35 per cent and of gas about 2.6 fold, against the 1985 level. In its economic policy for the exploitation of the oil and gas deposits, our country has always proceeded from the policy that it is the duty of our generation to think also about the coming generations.

Special importance is attached in our country also to the increase of the extraction of coal, this very necessary solid fuel for the industry, in particular, and for the economy, in general.

The increase in coal extraction to 43.8 per cent in 1990, against 1985, will be ensured, in the first place, from the further intensification of coal extraction from the existing mines, and only 5 per cent from the putting into operation of new mines which are still under construction. This intensification will be achieved both through the increase of the number of extraction faces and through the average increase of production of coal from the existing mines. These objectives will be attained by further perfecting management and organization of work, improving the technologies of exploitation, depending on the conditions and possibilities for supporting all this with falling mechanisms, internal haulage and other processes involved in extraction.

Special attention is devoted to the improvement of the quality of coal extracted from the depths of the earth; for this purpose the efforts to lower the degree of impoverishment of coal at the extraction faces have been intensified; simple plants for the selection of coal from the neighbouring rocks have been built; and the efforts to reduce losses and handle the product carefully in all links of the process, from the coal mines to the consumers, have been intensified. In this context, special importance is devoted to the enrichment of coal. In 1990, one third of the coals will go through the process of enrichment, and the consumers

will receive coal concentrates and dust of a high quality. This will greatly reduce the volume of transport and will increase the coefficient of utility of the use of coal by the consumers.

These measures are accompanied with considerable work for discovering new coal deposits of better quality and as close to the great consumers as possible.

The coal industry has a stability and its prospects are good. With the investments which will be made in the years to come, coal extraction will be further intensified and extended in the existing mines and in the new ones. It is in the interest of the economy that in the future work should be concentrated on the discovery of new spheres in which this great wealth can be used as fuel, especially in industry, and elsewhere as an energy resource which replaces oil and gas, as technological material for coking coal and in other fields such as for heating in cities and villages, as well as for export.

Work is developing rapidly for the extraction of bituminous sands, which are extensively used in many productive branches of our economy. In order to increase the use value of bituminous sands and to turn them into a primary material for the coking-chemical plant at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, an enrichment plant was set up at Selenica, which produces concentrates of good quality to replace part of the coking coal from import.

The sector which has developed more rapidly than the other sectors of this branch is the production of the electric energy, which our Party has always considered as a factor of special importance for the development and strengthening of the productive forces and for the perfection of relations in production. In 1990, as against 1985, the production of electric energy will increase 80 per cent, or 2.5 times as rapidly as the social product, whereas actually the investments which are being made will create the possibilities for the more complete utilization of the rich water potential of our country. The

fulfilment of the requirements of the country for electric power and the demands of export have dictated the adoption of a series of measures for the more complete utilization of the water resources in all the hydro-power plants of the country, with the aim of ensuring the best possible co-ordination of the production by hydro-power plants with that of the thermal-power plants with the ultimate aim of getting the maximum yearly production.

Proceeding from the directive of the Party that the energy resources of the country determine the limit of the development of the productive forces of the country, every effort is being made not only to increase the production of primary resources of energy, but also to use them in the most rational manner. The experience over these last years of scarce precipitation, in which the country has been compelled to increase production from the thermal-power plants, and the fact that the consumption of energy per unit of total social product in 1985 resulted about 14 per cent lower than in 1980, shows that here there are reserves for the fulfilment of the requirements of the country with less energy resources and for the further increase of export. The production of energy from primary resources in the period 1986-1990 will be 25.5 per cent greater, which is more rapid than the population increase. In this growth, about 85 per cent of the oil, over 95 per cent of the coals, and one hundred per cent of the electric power will be ensured from the existing resources.

These estimates speak clearly of a correct policy and attitude towards the problem of fuels, considering them as indispensable elements which determine the rates of development for all the branches of the economy. For many years from now, fulfilment of all the internal requirements for all kinds of fuels and the export of the remainder of them, have been regarded as a paramount duty in our country.

The high development rates of our industry, the modernization and intensification of agriculture, the complete electrification of the country

and the increase in the demand for energy in all fields of life have raised the need for the priority development of this sector which is vital for the socialist construction and for the entire social and economic development of the country. Therefore, our Party has always seen the development of the oil, gas and coal industry as a question of special political and economic importance which is connected closely with the entire development of the country and with the strengthening of the independence and the defence of the Homeland.

The data on the dynamics of growth of the overall industrial production, the production of the fuel industry, in general, and the production of the oil and coal industry, in particular, show that the latter has increased more rapidly than the overall industrial production. As a result, the part of the fuel industry in the overall industrial production has kept increasing, which speaks of the strengthening and modernization of the energy base of our economy.

Besides the energy resources, our country possesses great geological and industrial reserves of a series of other useful minerals, among which an important place is occupied by chrome, copper, iron-nickel, limestones, dolomites and others, which are already exploited, while many other reserves have been prospected for and discovered, and actually studies are being made to design the mines and plants for their exploitation in the future. Our country has favourable premises for the discovery of industrial deposits of many other primary mineral materials, besides those already discovered. Our country has reserves of iron ore for over 100 years, of chrome for several decades, whereas reserves of titanium and manganese, as the geological-economic estimates show, are not lacking. At present there are about 50 known deposits of chrome ore, of which the richest and the biggest are located at Bulqiza and Batra. To put this mineral wealth into economic circulation, we have built and commissioned some enrichment factories, the carbonic ferro-chrome plant at Burrel, and we are actually building with

our own forces a carbonic ferro-chrome plant in the vicinity of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, and soon the capacity of the existing plant at Burrel is to be doubled. In this manner, in the future the whole amount of the mineral extracted and the concentrate produced from it will be processed locally.

Our country, although small, comes third in the world for the extraction of chrome ore, and second as regards its export. Only this fact is sufficient to prove the great importance of this mineral for our country and for our participation in the international division of labour. For the time being the whole chrome mineral, chrome concentrate and carbonic ferro-chrome are exported and are in great demand on the world markets because of the high quality and stability of this product. In this situation, our country can ensure considerable income in foreign currency, while our partners are interested in this product because they fulfil their needs at a reasonable price. In the future, the processing of this mineral will be further intensified, without neglecting the advantage of the extraction of carbon ferro-chrome and the other chemical products with a chrome base. This creates great possibilities for cooperation with the other countries in the field of new contemporary technologies, in which our country is greatly interested.

The iron-nickel ores of our country contain, among other important constituents, nickel and cobalt of special industrial values. The extraction of the iron-nickel ore is done in a number of mines, whereas the preliminary processing of the mineral is done in a powerful enrichment factory, and the cycle of the processing of the iron-nickel ore is completed at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan. This combine produces ordinary and alloyed pig-iron, various steel trade-marks, metallic nickel, cobalt salts and a number of other products. The machinery and the technological equipment for the nickel plant of this combine have been imported from the FR of Germany, Canada and other countries,

whereas its products are used for the needs of the country or exported. In the future, this combine will be further extended with plants for the production of sheet-iron, and pipes for the oil and gas industry. In this manner, the number of its products for local use and for export will be further increased. It must be stressed that the pig-iron and the steels of this combine have such a content of chrome, nickel and other elements which give them special qualities, and such they are in great demand on the international market.

In our country special importance is attached also to the non-ferrous industry and the chemical industry, which are entirely based on the local primary materials. The development of these branches is assisted mainly by 40 copper deposits, 7 pyrite deposits and a great number of deposits and resources for auxiliary materials. For many years now the production cycle of the copper industry has been completed. It does the extraction and the enrichment of poor minerals, the smelting of concentrates and the upgraded minerals, and the production of copper and anodic copper, as well as the production of a wide range of copper wires and cables. The name of the copper wires and cables plant at Shkodra is known, and not only in Europe, for the high equality of the products which this plant produces for export. In this branch, the tradition of our ancestors, the Illyrians, in the extraction and processing of copper mineral ores, is correctly combined with the contemporary technology. The quality of products in this branch has kept improving, rising to rigorous international standards. Besides the technological machinery and equipment produced locally by our engineering plants, we also import special machinery and equipment for the further intensification of processing of this primary mineral ore and for the enhancement of effectiveness of production.

The copper industry has marked an important development, in co-operation with the chemical industry, for the production of sulphuric acid and phosphatic fertilizers. Along with the smelting plant at Rubik and Kukës,

there is the chemical metallurgical combine at Laç, which has grown together with the town of the same name close to the combine.

In the city of Vlora there is the soda-polyvinyl chloride plant, which produces caustic soda, polyvinyl chloride, resins, hydrochloric acid, carbide, etc. This plant works mainly on the primary materials of the country — rock and sea salt, the former being extracted at the mine of Dhrovjan, in the vicinity of the tourist town of Saranda, the limestones in the vicinity of Vlora, etc. With the extension of this plant in future, part of its products will be exported.

In order to guarantee the rapid development of the productive forces of the country, special care is devoted to the fundamental investments and constructions. This requires the rapid development of industry for the production of construction materials, which is represented by some cement factories, brick factories, the combine for the construction materials in Tirana, and scores of enterprises for the production of quarry stone, limestone and other inert material throughout the country. All these factories produce millions of tons of construction materials which are used in the building, extension and reconstruction of the productive and non-productive projects. Our construction materials industry produces considerable amounts of cement, marble and decorative stones, bricks, tiles, etc. for export. The red marble of Muhur quarried at Dibra is used to face not only the social-cultural buildings in our country, but also in many other countries which import it.

Albania has a large base of primary mineral resources for the further development of the construction materials industry; it has different kinds of clay, limestones, gypsum, marbles, asbestos, volcanic glass, inert materials, etc., lying in different parts of the land.

Among the primary mineral ores which our country possesses, an important place is occupied by the nickel-silicate, phosphorites, aluminium, polymetals, olivinites, bituminous sands, dolomites, coastal shales, etc.,

on which studies are being made on the possibility of their exploitation in the future. Concrete tasks have been assigned so that all these primary mineral ores be studied completely, so that they can be exploited most thoroughly in the plants and factories that will be designed and built for this purpose.

The increased processing of primary products of the country and their thorough exploitation are considered as an important factor for the further extension of the country's base of primary materials and for the increase of the value of the mineral assets. For this studies and experiments must be made in order to ensure the rational exploitation and processing of the primary materials in each stage of the development of our economy, the passage to the complex exploitation and the improvement of the technology of processing of the primary mineral ores and materials. The complex exploitation of the primary materials raises the problem of disposal of remains, which can become very serious in the future if it is not handled with the necessary measures from now.

The primary mineral materials which have been discovered and are put into economic circulation constitute a secure base for the development of the extracting and processing industry and for the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This step constitutes also an important factor for the rapid development of the chemical industry, the industry of the production of construction materials, the light industry, and so on.

The geological data indicate that our country has great mineral deposits, which guarantee the social-economic development not only for the present generation, but also for the generations to come. This great asset is in the hands of the people, who, under the leadership of the Party, have mobilized all their forces in order to go to the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland with new successes, and will place them still better in the service of the economy and the socialist construction.

INCREASE OF IRRIGATION CAPACITY AND LAND FERTILITY

Socialist Albania occupies first place in Europe and among the more prominent places in the world in regard to the percentage of the irrigated area of arable land

by IBRAHIM BAÇI

The extension of the irrigation capacity of our land reminds us of the year 1938 when only 29 thousand, ha of land were under irrigation in Albania, that is, 10 per cent of the whole arable land of that time. After Liberation the «diagram» of the irrigation capacity keeps on rising:

1960: 135 thousand ha, or 29 per cent of the arable land, were irrigated.

1970: 283 thousands ha, or 47,4 per cent of the arable land, were irrigated.

1980: 364 thousand ha, or 51,9 per cent of the arable land, were irrigated.

1986: about 400 thousand, ha, or 57 per cent of the arable land, were irrigated.

These rates of development make us feel proud. With the extensive work for the building of irrigation systems carried out in the years of the people's state power, it is some years now that Socialist Albania occupies first place in Europe and among the more prominent places in the world in regard to the percentage of the irrigated area of arable land.

Our farmers have long ago dreamed about exploiting the huge water resources of our country. However, dreams were one thing, and the reality quite another

thing. In the time of the anti-popular regimes dreams could never come true, because the development of agriculture could find no support. Up to the liberation of the country the irrigation map of our country would remain always the same, with some small canals and constructions which were built by the peasants themselves.

Before the maize had become a legend, irrigation was a legend long ago. The former illiterate farmer prayed to god for a drop of water, with his eyes turned desperately to the sky. Often people killed themselves in quarrels over an irrigation ditch. A true tragedy. In the meantime the parched up land of the summer was waterlogged in the winter. And this happened in a country with large quantities of running water, with the one of the highest ratio of water per head of population in Europe. This occurred because relations of production in the countryside were extremely backward.

In the first years after Liberation many inaugurations had to do with the rivers. The first bridges were inaugurated. Builders linked river banks together and knew that their waters would soon be used for irrigation, too. They knew that the farmer's dream would come true, and that the initiative of the people would

find full encouragement and support. And true enough, very soon thousands and thousands of people would be engaged in the draining of swamps, and, thereafter, in increasing the irrigation capacity of the land. The state would increase more and more its investments for this purpose. Very soon there would come the days of the inaugurations of irrigation projects, which continue to this day.

One of the first inaugurations was that of the Shtiçën irrigation canal in the district of Kukës. On June 4, 1946 more than two thousand people came together in the fields along the canal banks. A true popular celebration. The inaugurations of the irrigation canals of Letim-Zgozhd in Elbasan district, of Juba in Durrës district, of Kolagjin in Shkodra district and Penkova in Vlora district were turned into such celebrations. All these events belong to the year 1946. It was only the beginning of a great work which was being undertaken by our people with the powerful support of the people's state power. There is a direct connection between these beginnings and the implementation of the Land Reform which made the peasant the owner of his land.

It is difficult to mention all the chronicles of the following years.

This would require much time and much paper. These chronicles are very rich. More than 23 thousand km of irrigation canals and 660 water collectors were built during his period.

Difficulties of the most diverse kind had to be overcome for the construction of irrigation systems in our country, in the plains, hills and mountains. However, we have challenged and continue to challenge these difficulties, because the Party has always considered irrigation an enrichment of the land, a development of agriculture, and a condition for the constant increase of agricultural and livestock production even in the years of drought.

Our state has spent billions for irrigation. Along with other investments for mechanization and chemization, the selection of seeds, etc., irrigation has enabled agricultural production to increase at a rate twice as fast as the population growth. Our socialist country knows only increase of agricultural production, even in the years of prolonged summer droughts. Let us recall the year 1982: drought in some neighbouring countries turned into a great calamity with very grave consequences for agriculture and livestock. «This drought has struck our country, too, but we do not feel those negative effects and consequences that have affected others, »said Comrade Enver Hoxha at a meeting with the main leading cadres of the Party and State of the Korça and Po-

gradec districts. «On the contrary, we are justified in saying that we have coped successfully with this grave natural calamity... This happened because the Party has thought well in advance about such occurrences and taken measures for the building of big and small water reservoirs all over the country, has made colossal investments for the creation of abroad irrigation system, the systematization of the land, etc., without which drought would have wrought havoc in our country, too, just as it did in the past». The drought of the past year as exceptionally long, too. While our country succeeded in taking in almost all the grain it had planned and more agricultural production than at any other year, when the cotton production plan was overfulfilled to a degree higher than in any other year, production increased in other cultures, too, in some neighbouring countries the production of wheat and maize was half less than expected.

As the 9th Congress of the Party has envisaged, the area of irrigated land in 1990 will make up 63 per cent of all the arable land, as against 56 per cent it was in 1985. For this purpose 980 million leks will be invested in this five-year plan, or 30 per cent more than in the 7th Five-year Plan, by building an commissioning in phases many projects for the irrigation of land, some of which on a very large scale. With the completion of the huge water reservoir of Banja, in Gramsh dis-

trict, which will begin to be utilized in 1988, irrigation of 60,000 ha of land will be improved in Durrës, Elbasan, Lushnja, Berat and Fier districts with the prospect of putting another 30,000 ha of new land under irrigation. Work will also begin on the construction of other important water reservoirs, such as that of Metallaj in Durrës district, through which the irrigation capacity will be increased by 600 ha and improved in 5,800 ha; that of Pan-shor in Fier district with an irrigation capacity of 4,200 ha; that of Buvilla in Tiranë and Kruja districts with an irrigation capacity of over 4,100 ha; that of Janjar in Saranda district with an irrigation capacity of 2,500 ha and the improvement of another 3,000 ha; 3,400 ha will be irrigated and irrigation will be improved in another, 7,400 ha in Shkodra district; and over 2,000 ha will be irrigated in the zone of Mali i Thatë in Pogradec district. All these projects taken together will bring about perceptible improvements in increasing irrigation capacity and ensure the necessary quantity of water for plants in all the districts of the country.

In the 8th Five-year Plan, too, the method of mass actions will be the main method of work of the Party and state organs to cut down on building schedules for these important projects.

So that is what the years of this five-year plan promise in the increase of the irrigation capacity and land fertility.

THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE- ONE OF THE PILLARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER AND SOCIALISM

by **ISMAIL LLESHI**

The strength of the Party and the strength of our people has always lain in unity. It lies in unity today, too. And it will lie there as long as our people live.

Our socialist society is in a process of vigorous development on the road of its all-round emancipation and civilization. Deep-going transformations have taken place in all walks of life and have led to the strengthening of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the widening of proletarian democracy, the intensification of the socialist economy and the constant rise of the standard of living of the working masses, the ceaseless expansion of the educational and scientific horizon of people and their cultural development, and the strengthening of our socialist order and its defence potential. The unity of the people round the Party lies at the foundation of the major achievements socialist Albania has scored on its 45 year-long road. «This unity of the people», Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, «and their steel links with the Party have been and will always remain among the pillars of the people's state power and socialism in Albania».¹

The moral and political unity of our people round the Party grew and developed during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and went on constantly consolidating, strengthening and improving. The many struggles and sacrifices the Albanian people had made in the course of their history, had created the

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conditions for a closer, more complete and more profound unity of them against the efforts of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie and the foreign enemies to divide and dominate the people. Such sentiments and virtues as loyalty, mutual respect, honesty and, above all, love of country, etc., had in the course of centuries characterized Albanian society, especially its poorer strata, and often been a basis for their unity. This was clearly expressed through the broad mass movement which accompanied the League of Prizren or the wars of the 1911-1912, which led to the Proclamation of Independence, the War of Vlora, or the June 1924 Revolution. However, this unity of the various strata of the population was not long-lived, because its base was unstable. Despite the lofty aims they strove for, our progressive people, strata and classes never succeeded in achieving the complete unity of the people. Outstanding men and great patriots who had emerged from the bosom of the people, understood the importance of their unity and fought for it with the pen and the rifle, but great changes had to be carried out in the Albanian reality for this unity to gain the meaning and strength it has in socialist society today.

The occupation of the country greatly sped up the process of union of our people, as the very existence of the Albanian nation was at

stake. In the face of this threat, all obstacles which hampered unity fell one after the other. «From the experience of their history in the past,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «the peasantry and the whole Albanian people have come to important conclusions: confronted with the foreign enemy and its collaborators — the local traitors, the people had to strengthen their unity, to set up a sound alliance between the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class, and work for the emergence of their true leadership from their midst.»² The Communist Party (today the Party of Labour) was founded in these moments, and it would bring about the union and unity which, in the heat of the war with the occupiers and the local traitors, was constantly strengthened and became one of the main factors for the triumph of our people's revolution.

The powerful unity of the people round the Party in the National Liberation War pursued very lofty aims — achievement of the independence, freedom and democratic rights for the entire people. That it why, despite the many dangers and obstacles it had to cope with, and despite the many enemies, internal and external, it had to fight against, this unity succeeded in overcoming them. Realization of the immediate program of the Party after the liberation of the country — the construction of socialism in

Albania, which affected the interests of all the working masses of the country, and every honest man and patriot, became the purpose of all their work, struggle and life, and as a consequence, the moral and political unity of the people round the Party — which was born in the course of the National Liberation War, assumed a new meaning. The more time went by the clearer the role and necessity of this unity became. Overcoming the difficulties created by the war and the Yugoslav interference, building of the economic base of socialism and preventing the interference of the Soviet revisionists, and coping with imperialist and revisionist pressure — all this showed that with the moral and political unity of the people, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had created a new motor force of our socialist society, a force which conquers any enemy and overcomes any obstacles, provided it is constantly tempered.

«The strength of Albania,» Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «lies in its people, and the strength of the people in their unity, and in their unity round the Party.»³

The problems having to do with the moral and political unity of the people round the Party have assumed special importance in the present phase of the development of our society. The Party and the broad working masses are confronted with a broad program of work which provides for the development of industry, the modernization of agriculture, the strengthening of defence, the development of the productive forces and the perfection of the relations of production, the further narrowing of the essential differences between the city and the countryside and between mental and physical work, etc., all of which will be achieved on the basis of selfreliance. At the same time it must be taken into account that our country and our people are not large in size and number, and they had to face up to threats to their freedom and independence, and their socialist life, which came from bigger and more powerful enemies. Hence, it was imperative to streng-

then unity of the people and their unity round the Party. The great objectives of deepening socialist transformations can be achieved, difficulties overcome and dangers threatening our country coped with only if our people are closely united, in unity of thought and action. The unity of our people is a vivid and wonderful reality. It represents the community of interests of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, which turns into one main stream all the efforts and energies of men and women who work in harmony, in a spirit of solidarity, with a high sense of collectiveness, who assist one another and stand by one another in sincere friendship in good days and bad. In this manner the unity of our people represents the close relationship among men and women of socialist society, their profound love and solidarity, which stems from and finds its essential expression in the community of interests of the various strata and classes of the people, and which is based on factors of a political, ideological and economic character. It lies, in the first place, on a well-defined political basis, which is the general line of the Party. This is the line which brought about the unity of the people during the National Liberation War, for the short-term aims of the Party in that period — liberation of the Homeland and creation of a new democratic order, expressed the fundamental interests of our people in those difficult moments of their history. In our days, too, the general line of the Party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland gives life to the moral and political unity of the people and turns it into a major active force.

In their life people struggle to attain certain aims and fulfil certain wishes, but not all of them are always clear about their aims and the means and ways of achieving them. Moreover, the aims and wishes of people are not always the same. They depend on the place they occupy in society, and on the existing social relations. Even in socialism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha

has said, «although private ownership has been eliminated and society develops in a conscious manner, here, too, because people live and work in different conditions and circumstances, because there still exist essential distinctions between friendly classes, between the city and the countryside, we come up against different interests, aspirations and opinions.»⁴

This broad community of interests, which makes up the unity and is expressed in the mutual love and respect among the members of socialist society, cannot arise amongst people with different aims. There can be no profound mutual love and respect amongst people who do not succeed in harmonizing, co-ordinating and combining their aspirations, aims and activities.

However, this harmonization and co-ordination of aspirations, aims and activities can be realized only by the Party, because the Party alone, thanks to its scientific theory, is in a position to analyse the aims, aspirations and activities of the masses, determine their general direction, and channel them into a general tendency, into a line which is no other than the line of the Party. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party is the expression, on the basis of materialist Marxist dialectics, of the struggle, aspirations, achievements and revolutionary activities of the masses.»⁵ The line of our Party, and its historic struggle to link our people closely with one another, has made our people think, feel and struggle as one, and think, feel and struggle as great revolutionaries.

The moral and political unity of the people also has its ideological basis — the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The union of all strata, classes, and working masses of society into one great militant force can be achieved when their struggle and work relies on a common ideological basis. In capitalist society, although some union of the various strata of the working class may be arrived at, it can never be durable, and the reality in the capitalist countries proves this, because what

characterizes men in this society is individualism and the bourgeois mentality, feelings which, in this society, as Lenin says, are instilled to people with their mother's milk. This individualism and, in general, the whole bourgeois and revisionist ideology cannot produce unity among people.

Unity begins only when the feudal and bourgeois, or bourgeois and revisionist world outlook is replaced by the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the ideology of the working class. This Marxist-Leninist ideology not only eliminates all the leftovers and vices inherited from the past, but also develops the finest features and virtues of the people like patriotism, loyalty, honesty, love of work, etc. This Marxist-Leninist ideology serves especially to educate among the people of our society new virtues like solidarity, collectiveness, etc., on the basis of which arises the ideological unity among people, which is so necessary in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology creates profound and durable convictions among people, which are indispensable for the promotion of the cause of unity. The unity of the people and their unity round the Party is closely linked with their unshakeable conviction that their aim is a progressive one, that the road they have chosen for the attainment of this aim is the right one, and that the struggle they wage for its achievement is absolutely necessary. Nobody can be forced to follow a road or struggle for an aim which he does not see as closely linked with his own life.

The moral and political unity of the people also has its economic basis, which is made up of the great socialist economic transformations, which are made possible by the existence of the common ownership of the means of production. Historically, the foundations of the moral and political unity of the people round the Party were laid at a time when this unity had no economic basis of its own. However, in the moments our country was going through it could not wait for this economic base to be built, and then

establish the unity of the people on this basis. This is possible when other very important factors for the creation of this unity exist already.

The patriotic traditions of a people are a sound basis for the achievement of this unity. And when these patriotic traditions are linked with other strong feelings of the people like pride, dignity, love of freedom, honesty, bravery, or courage, then all conditions exist for the establishment of unity, and one has only to sow the seed and wait for it to grow healthy and sturdy.

The historical period in which this or that country happens to be, and the peculiarities of this period are very important for the creation of the unity of the people. Thus, an important factor for the creation of the unity of our people was the loss of their freedom, and especially, the threat of being exterminated as a nation as a result of fascist occupation. The profoundly anti-national stand which the ruling richer classes maintained in the period of occupation, also, represented a factor which had an influence on the formation of this sound unity of the people. It is true that, when the contradictions with the fascist occupiers had come to the fore, union of all the people without distinction as to class, political conviction, religion or region, had urgent priority; the exploiting classes, however, were not included in this union. It is also true that this made our National Liberation War fiercer and more complicated, but it also had a positive influence on the strengthening of the unity of the people, and especially, very positive consequences for the consolidation of this unity in the future.

The decisive role in the creation of the unity of the people appertains to the working class with its revolutionary party. The experience of the creation of the moral and political unity of our people indicates that the revolutionary party of the working class is the only builder of this unity, because, with its correct political line and its scientific ideology, it is in a position to unite the broader masses of the people round itself.

Our Party took into account the

existence of these factors when it launched the slogan of the political union of the people and struggle to put this slogan into practice. However, the unity of the people could not last long without its economic base. In the conditions of private ownership and the capitalist relations of production, or the relations of small-scale goods production, the community of interests of the people expressed in their political and moral unity would necessarily go through major difficulties until, at a certain moment, it would be liquidated altogether. This is in the nature of the private ownership which divides people. With the liquidation of the private ownership and the establishment of social ownership, the old relations, which were relations of oppression, submission and exploitation of man by man, were liquidated as the main factor which divides people and sets them against one another. Emergence and expansion of socialist ownership served as a basis for the establishment of new relations among people, relations characterized by mutual assistance and fraternal cooperation among the working people, and love and respect of one another. With the establishment of socialist ownership, the moral and political unity of the people, created during the National Liberation War, became due to the expansion and strengthening of its base more durable, more comprehensive and more powerful.

The moral and political unity of the people round the Party represents a major motor force in our socialist society, through which people are educated with feelings of love and respect towards one another. For the sake of this love people are always ready to make the greatest sacrifices. Everybody feels that beside him he has loyal comrades who work together with him, who think the same as he does, who struggle for the same aims as he does, and who have the same confidence in the achievement of these aims. This multiplies people's forces and enhances the courage, vigour and enthusiasm in carrying out all sorts of work. Because of the existence of the moral and political

unity of the people, everybody understands, knows and feels that behind him there are hundreds and thousands of other people who are there not merely to pass judgement on his actions, but also to fight together with him, so he defies any danger, does not recoil before any difficulty, and keeps always struggling with revolutionary courage for the achievement of the aim of his life.

Many examples from the revolutionary practice of our country indicate the great role of the unity of the people with the Party at the head. Let us mention only the general mobilization and the revolutionary drive of our entire society in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquakes which have successively struck our country. Not only the strength of the moral and political unity of the people, but also the great role of this unity in promoting progress and as a major motor force of society have expressed themselves more than at any other time in those difficult moments. The brilliant victory achieved at the elections for people's councils and people's judges of May 7 this year, at which our people cast their votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front, is also a clear expression of this invincible unity in the struggle for the ceaseless strengthening of the people's state power and the building of a new socialist life under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

The moral and political unity of the people is the deed of the Party. Its creation and consolidation, as well as its constant strengthening and tempering are done under the leadership of the Party. Existence and activity of such a revolutionary party, as the Party of Labour of Albania, has been and continues to be of decisive importance for the unity of our people. The Party has given and continues to give this unity its true content. It is not a unity of any kind, but a unity of people with the same political and ideological principles and moral norms. The political and ideological principles and moral norms uniting the people of our society make up the content of this unity. These are

the political and ideological principles of the Party and the norms of communist morality which the Party educates in people and without which there can be no moral and political unity of the people.

The Party determines the aims of the moral and political unity of the people. It is achieved by the Party not as an aim in itself, but for the purpose of achieving concrete results in struggle and work, figuring in the program of the Party. Achievement of these aims, which are education of the working people in the spirit of patriotism, love of country and determination to defend the freedom and independence they have won through their struggle, mobilization of the masses of the people in the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism, their education with feelings of proletarian internationalism, etc. is of essential importance for steeling the moral and political unity of the people. The Party defines the roads, methods and forms for the moral and political unity of the people to achieve its aims. The unity of the people is a vivid, dynamic, resilient and operational unity which displays its great strength in the process of coping with its historical tasks. And it is such because it has a clear and correct idea of the roads to follow for the achievement of its aims. The Party plays this leading role in the promotion of the moral and political unity of the people through the operation of various factors.

This happens, in the first place, because «the interests of the whole working people are fully represented and protected by the Party of Labour.»⁶ Precisely the role of the Party plays in expressing the interests of the whole people ensures its leadership in the moral and political unity of the people. The existence of this factor is not accidental. The founding of our Party itself and the whole purpose of its work and activity is the fulfilment of the interests of the people. To work for the people — this is the highest aim of the Party. The Party never has considered this role a privilege, but a lofty duty which can

be fulfilled by it and it alone. Hence, the Party has always fought against everybody that violates the interests of the people, hence, the Party has never allowed anybody to come out as the representative of the interests of the people, because this would be only a disguise to work in opposition to these interests.

No other party or political grouping, apart from the revolutionary party of the working class, can champion the interests of the people, for otherwise it would defend, as happens in the capitalist and revisionist countries, only the interests of the reactionary classes, strata and groups which are against social progress. Precisely for this reason, that is, because the PLA is the party of the working class, because it is the conscious vanguard of this class, whose historical mission coincides with the trends of social progress, it is in a position to express and protect not only the interests of this class, but also those of other classes and strata of the population which, are also for this progress; hence, it is in a position to express the interests of the entire people.

The Party is the primary force in creating, tempering and strengthening the unity of the people, and consequently, it plays an absolute leading role in this unity also from another stand-point: unity is achieved through permanent struggle and efforts, and the communists stand on the forefront of this struggle and these efforts. The communists have been and continue to be on the forefront of the struggle for creating and constantly tempering and strengthening the moral and political unity of the people. Many significant examples from the time of the National Liberation War show the self-denial and the spirit of sacrifice of the communists for the interests of the people, their ardent love of and brilliant solidarity with the common people, and the oppressed and the exploited. And the period of the construction of socialism is full of heroic deeds of the communists for the cause of the people and their interests. The concrete work of every communist, his love of the people, his self-denying work for

them, his lofty spirit of sacrifice at whenever the interests of the common people and the people, in general, are at stake, his respect for the man of our society, and his close solidarity with any member of our socialist society constitute a great example for everybody and, if this example is followed by them, the moral and political unity of the people becomes an invincible force.

The community of radical interests between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry is another important factor in strengthening the moral and political unity of the people round the Party. Pre-Liberation Albania was a feudal and bourgeois country in which feudal relations and relations of small-scale goods production predominated, and in whose main cities establishment of capitalist relations had just started. As a consequence, the existing working class was small in number and concentrated only in some cities, with the peasantry making up the overwhelming part of the population.

With the beginning of the war, proceeding from the lessons of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and taking into account the concrete conditions of our country, our Party stressed that the alliance of these two classes was a prerequisite for victory, hence it concentrated all its efforts in the establishment of this alliance which found its expression in the National Liberation Front. Establishment of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry was possible because both these classes had common fundamental interests: liberation from foreign occupiers, and regaining freedom and the independence of the Homeland. The proletariat saw the achievement of these interests

through the creation from among its ranks of the Communist Party and the immediate organization of the National Liberation War. The peasantry saw the achievement of these interests through its broad participation in the National Liberation War and its becoming the support of this war.

These were the fundamental interests uniting these two classes, which were not the only ones they had in common. Proceeding from the political line of the Party, the proletariat had come out with very revolutionary objectives such as creation of a new social order, elimination of exploitation of man by man, achievement of true freedom for man, giving the land to those tilling it, etc. Our peasantry, especially the poor peasantry, saw in these objectives the expression of their interests and aspirations. «For the first time in its history,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «our peasantry found in the party of the working class its true revolutionary leader in its struggle for freedom, the land and prosperity.» For its part, the working class found in the peasantry its natural ally.

With the triumph of the people's revolution and with our country's setting out on the road of socialist construction, the community of interests of the working class with the peasantry acquired an ever new content, because the work and struggle of these two classes, under the leadership of the Party, for the construction of socialism has greatly broadened the scope of their activity, and they work together, struggle together and win together on all fronts.

The working class and the cooperativist peasantry have always been

and continue to be today the broadest representatives of what is called people; they represent the most essential and the most important element of the notion people in our society. That is why the moral and political unity of the people is, above all, the moral and political unity of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. The stronger and the more vigorous this unity between these two classes, the stronger and the more vigorous the unity of our entire people is.

The PLA has never been, nor will it ever be, for a perfunctory moral and political unity. It has always struggled for this unity to be a vivid and militant one, not a mechanical assembly of people, but a powerful active force. Hence, it has always and tirelessly worked for strengthening the unity of the people everywhere, in city and country, in every working collective and even in the family, it has tirelessly worked for people to rise above narrow and petty interests, to be always vigilant and on the alert. Comrade Ramiz Alia says: «**The strength of the Party, and the strength of our people has always lain in unity. It lies in unity today, too. And it will lie there as long as our people live.**»⁷

1 R. Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, p. 101, Alb. ed.

2 E. Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 148.

3 R. Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, p. 101, Alb. ed.

4 E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1970-1971, p. 105, Alb. ed.

5 E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p. 323, Alb. ed.

6 E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p. 158, Alb. ed.

7 R. Alia, Speeches and Conversations 1986 (3), p. 237, Alb. ed.

Aspects of the development

by Prof. Dr.

By continuing and enriching the more valuable local artistic tradition
requirements of the people, contemporary
time the more outstanding achievements

This year socialist Albania completes 45 years of its existence as a truly free, independent and sovereign state. Were we to judge historical events according to the dimensions of world history, 45 years would be a relatively short period in the life of a people. Nevertheless, in the history of socialist Albania, the period from the triumph of the People's Revolution to our days is rich of great events and major successes, which cannot fail to impress an honest and objective man, free from preconceptions typical of the biased reactionary press.

Endowed with a rare historical vitality, courageous, proud and hard-working, the Albanian people, within these 45 years of their free life, made great progress in their economic and social development: they did away with poverty and ignorance, broke all chains of economic dependence on foreign states, built a new and developed industry and a happy life for themselves. Within these 45 years characterized by unprecedented enthusiasm and innumerable acts of self-denial, the Albanian people scored major successes in spiritual life, too. An aspect which is worth emphasizing among the many transformations in today's Albania is also the creation of a new literature, which is developing in the atmosphere of the impetuous changes that are taking place in Albanian society.

It has become some sort of tradition on important dates to draw the balance of what has been done, to

single out successes and achievements and to set tasks for the future. The subject of our writing is more modest; within the scope of our article to give a general picture of the development of our contemporary literature, to emphasize some of its fundamental characteristics and its more important achievements, seen in close connection with the main historical stages of the life of the country.

Anyone who studies literary life in Albania today cannot fail to see that the new Albanian literature is characterized by its active spirit: it tries to reflect the reality and contribute to its transformation in accordance with the progressive trend of the historical development of the country, which started after the Second World War. If it is true that the writer cannot be separated from the citizen, for the creator, just as any member of a given society, consciously or unconsciously adheres to some views about the life surrounding him, this is even more true about the present-day Albanian writer, who feels an active citizen, sees the happiness of the people as the main aim for which he works and struggles. Standing by the working masses in the construction of the new life, contributing with his works to the education of the new Albanian man, with a new world outlook and a new mentality, free from greed and unrestrained individualism, which is characteristic of a class-divided society, our writers assist the Party of Labour which leads

the struggle of the whole country for deep-going revolutionary transformations in all spheres of life. The workers of the literary front wholeheartedly support the Party in this struggle, for they stand consciously on the positions of the interests of the working masses.

Clearly seeing the importance of literary creativeness in the spiritual life of the country, the Party, for its part, has always been concerned about its correct development, and constantly supported the writers and artists with advice and recommendations. This concern has always been fruitful, for, based on the scientific generalizations the Party has made about the development of the country at different stages and on the tasks it has set, the writers have been able to correctly understand the fundamental processes, problems and contradictions of the time, and have a clear view of the historical perspective. Besides, in all the stages of the socialist revolution, the Party has attentively followed literary creativeness, and contributed in the correct solution of various theoretical and practical problems arising in the process of development of contemporary literature. All this explains the responsibility Albanian writers feel for the destinies of the country, and their full and conscious involvement in the struggle for general advance. This involvement is life-blood for the development of literary creativeness.

Another important feature of our new literature is that, while affirming

Development of our literature

KOÇO BIHIKU

and raising them to a higher degree, in accordance with the new spiritual Albanian literature utilizes at the same moments of progressive world literature.

itself and flourishing in the healthy climate of socialist life, it maintains strong links with the progressive, democratic and revolutionary traditions of the past. The originality of Albania's historical development lies, among other things, also in the fact that the Albanian people, unlike many other peoples, have been forced to struggle for whole centuries for freedom and national independence, social justice and progress. The finest sons and daughters of this people have taken part in the battles it has waged to survive on this soil and to preserve its language, traditions and culture. With their activity for national liberation, social emancipation and the cultural enlightenment of their compatriots, the Albanian intellectuals have always been inspired by the progressive ideas of their time. The writers of today's Albania have preserved these valuable traditions and carried them further, as they have always been intimately linked with the life of the country, with the new developments which lead to the all-round emancipation of man, to his enrichment with new moral values, and with those transformations which make him an individual with high moral and intellectual qualities, and a free and active participant in the radical transformation of society. By continuing and enriching the more valuable local artistic traditions and raising them to a higher degree, in accordance with the new spiritual requirements of the people, contemporary Albanian literature utilizes at

the same time the more outstanding achievements of progressive world literature, in the first place, those traditions which were cultivated by the revolutionary struggle for the social emancipation of the masses of the people. The question is about everything good that is found in the literary creativeness of Gorki, Mayakovski, Barbusse, Nerude, Hiqmet and other realist writers of the 20th century.

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The smoke of the victorious battles had hardly vanished when the writers who took an active part in the struggle against the fascist occupiers, like Shevqet Musaraj, Aleks Çaçi, Fatmir Gjata, Kol Jakova, Llazar Siliqi, Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi and others, set about work for the creation of the new literature. In these efforts they were joined by Nonda Bulka, Sterjo Spasse, and others, who were well-known for their democratic convictions since the thirties. Like a mountain brook turning into a mighty river with the streams that flow into it, so the new Albanian literature became ever richer and more varied. When the country took its first steps on its new road, a number of new authors, like Jakov Xoxe, Naum Prifti, Ali Abdihojha and others, emerged in our literature. In the end of the fifties and in the beginning of the sixties, there is a great proliferation of creative forces. At this time in the literary periodicals appeared a number of new names, some

of whom would eventually occupy an outstanding place in contemporary Albanian literature, like Ismail Kadare, Dritëro Agolli, Teodor Laço, Dhimitër Xhuvani, and others. The enrichment of literary creativeness with new talents went on without interruption. In the last decade new narrators, poets and playwrights swelled the ranks of our writers.

Writers of different generations have made the picture of the contemporary Albanian literature very rich and varied. The common purpose and the realistic principles they follow do not prevent them from creating in accordance with their artistic talents, with their own range of themes and problems and their individual styles. Relying on the experience of the writers of former generations and working with passion and persistence, the new writers have contributed to literature new means and forms of expression — to describe the life of man and his inner life. This is only natural, because innovation is an important attribute of the literature developing in new Albania.

Immediately after Liberation the writers set themselves the task of expressing people's exultation of victory over the foreign enemies and their local collaborators in a war which had taken a heavy toll in blood and suffering. Hence, the grave tone and the pathetic spirit of the finest works of poetry of the second half of the forties and the fifties which evoked the heroism and sacrifices of the masses of the people in their

struggle against the foreign enemies and their local stooges. The strength of the masses which succeeded in breaking the chains of national and social oppression, their unprecedented heroism and patriotism, and their awareness of the importance of the great historic moment the country was going through in the years of the Second World War — all this pervades the finest works of the first period of the new literature. Like «Prishtina» by Ll. Siliqi (1949), «The Heroes of Vig» by Kol Jakova (1953), the poetical creativeness of Zihni Sako, Fatmir Gjata and others. If «Prishtina» has the character of a fiery address full of apostrophes and pathetic calls which are intended to go right to the heart of the reader, to make him feel the poet's powerful feelings and emotions at the sacrifices of a small people who paid their freedom with the blood of 28 000 martyrs, «The Heroes of Vig» is a memorial to the patriotism and heroism of the freedom-fighters, built on majestic figures and poetical hyperboles borrowed from folklore, especially Albanian legendary songs.

Many writers narrate facts and events which testify to phenomena of a new moral and spiritual character emerging in Albanian life. Stories and sketches about real facts and events enable the writers to go over to a broader reflection of the stubborn resistance our people put up to the nazi-fascists. The writers describe Albanian society at this decisive turning-point of its development, the differentiation that took place in its midst over the stand to be taken towards foreign occupation, the acute confrontation between the masses of the people which came out in defence of the Homeland and the higher classes which emerged politically and militarily with the occupiers, the great role of the communists in awa-

kening and organizing the people for the liberation war. The works which are intended to give a comprehensive picture of the popular struggle are not few; they differ from one another in their point of view and the material each of them brings up. The complexity of real life, the interlacing of events and people's destinies in the years of the great test, the emerging of a self-awareness among the formerly oppressed and exploited common people—all this makes up the background of Shevqet Musaraj's novel «Before Dawn» which was published in two volumes in 1965. On this broad panorama of the reality of the time the communists are presented as the only political force capable of clearly seeing that Albania was going through a critical stage of its history and of working out the means to ensure freedom and national independence, thereby aligning the Albanian people with the peoples who made an outstanding contribution to the elimination of the nazi-fascist plague. In its subject Dritëro Agolli's novel «Commissar Memo» (1970) stands close to Musaraj's novel. However, although here, too, there is a description of the conflict between the people and their enemies, the stress is put more on the character of the communist leader in the years of the partisan war. The author is interested in the great and persisting work the communists did to bring the sound forces of the country into the all-out popular war, re-educating people, convincing them of the necessity of the resistance to the foreigner and, in some cases, taking people out of the influence of enemy propaganda.

Ali Abdihojha's tetralogy «The Three Colours of the Time» (1965-1972), is a huge tableau giving a complete picture both of the deep-going differentiation and polarization

of political and social forces over the stand to the struggle against the foreign enslavers, on the one hand, and the sternness of the encounter between the masses of the people and the old ruling classes which, in order to retain their privileges, made common cause with the enemy, on the other. The author produced this long-breath novel after he published «A Stormy Autumn» (1959) which describes the heroism of the Albanian youth at the time of anti-fascist resistance.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War is also the subject of some other novels which deal with other aspects of this epic like «Chronicle on Stone» and «The November of a City» by Ismail Kadare. «The Man with the Cannon» by Dritëro Agolli, etc.

So, the more important achievements of our literature in the reflection of this great historical event were made in the field of the novel. However, while emphasizing that our writers used a type of novel centered on a major socio-political conflict, such as the struggle for freedom and the independence of the country, it must be said that they did not confine themselves to the reflection of the major events of the epoch only. Definition of some of the works mentioned above as epics in novel form does not fully express their peculiarity, for epic broadness and comprehensive tableaux of the historical reality did not prevent these writers from being concerned about the destinies of their heroes, especially in the changes their characters underwent under the pressure of life. Emergence of the new socio-moral features in the consciousness of their heroes had particular importance for the writers, so in the pages of their novels they gave a large place to the reflection of their spiritual world.

It is self-evident that this fierce

and merciless encounter between two worlds, and its profound impact on the life of individuals and whole families, at a time when the country stood before a crossroads, gives rich material for dramaturgy, too.

Right from the beginning of the new life, along with the heroic epic of the National Liberation War, our writers also turned their eyes to the great work that had begun for the construction of socialism, they attentively followed the emergence of the socialist man from the everyday reality, in ceaseless struggle to clear the country from the ruins of the old world. This new man and his stand towards work and society found their reflection in the stories of Dh.S.Shuteriqi, Naum Prifti, Jakov Xoxa, Dhimitër Xhuvani and, later, Teodor Laço, Vath Koreshi, Kiço Blushi and others. From the more outstanding works of the first period of our literature, a work dealing with the great change that occurred not only in society, but also in people's consciousness, and the great role of the People's Revolution which gave back the common man, who was formerly trampled underfoot, his human dignity, we want to single out the play «Our Land» (1954) by Kol Jakova, which stands out for its powerful realism, the plasticity of its characters and their very characteristic dialogue. The new life in the Albanian village, and the hopes and thoughts that were aroused in the minds of the formerly exploited farmers is the main subject of Sterjo Spasse's novel «Afërdita Comes Back to Her Village» (1955), in which scenes of everyday life predominate. They prove true the hopes of the protagonist about what would soon take place in the Albanian countryside.

Fatmir Gjata's novel «The Moor» (1958), which is built on real events, deals with the self-denying work of

the masses and their emancipation from the black stains of the class society, and the formation of a new stand towards work and society.

Pathetic notes and figures also characterize the poetical creations of that time. Dealing with the new reality, the poets express the joy and pride of the masses of the people in having opened a new road of development for their country. The poetical works of the time stand out for their spirit of enthusiasm which expresses the state of mind of society in general.

In the sixties rhetorical and declarative notes are replaced by a more concrete poetry which describes the reality through characteristic details. There is a perceptible renewal of forms and means of poetical expression. Carriers of this innovative research in the field of poetry were Ismail Kadare, Dritëro Agolli, Fatos Arapi and other poets of great literary originality who made a valuable contribution to the enrichment of the new poetry. The poems «An Industrial Dream» (1960), «Notes About My Generation» (1960), and «Eagles Fly High» (1966) by Ismail Kadare, «Devoll, Devoll» (1964), «The Poem of the Mountains» by Dritëro Agolli, «Bloody Alarms» (1966) by Fatos Arapi and works by other young poets who set out on the road of poetical innovation, are characteristic of the literary activity of this period.

The sixties are a period of the further broadening of the sphere of reflection of socialist life in our literature, especially in prose. Novels and short stories dealt with aspects and conflicts of the reality, a clear evidence of the broad dimensions the socialist construction had assumed in that period. Writers are interested in the first place in the strengthening of the positions of socialism in struggle against bureaucracy, technocratism,

liberalism and other alien ideological manifestations. Among the works which deal with the deepening of the struggle for the further revolutionization of the life of the country worth mentioning is especially Jakov Xoxa's novel «The White Wind», into which the author has brought a mass of events taken from life. If this novel is based on the events of the sixties, in his novel «The Face up» (1975) Teodor Laço deals with the first years of socialist construction. Narrating the difficulties the new social order comes up against in the first years of its establishment, through a simple subject, the author emphasizes the importance of a revolutionary style and method of work for the solution of problems arising from life, and of mass actions which are based on the creative activity of the masses.

In reflecting the major events in the life of the country, such as the heroic epic of the struggle against the occupiers and the constructive work after Liberation, our new literature accomplished two major artistic tasks. It described the new man, with a new mentality and psychology, emancipated from the burden of the old society of oppression and exploitation, a new hero in the true meaning of the word. This was one of the greatest successes of our writers. The new man is the brave fighter who took to arms to drive the foreigners out of his home country, the enthusiastic builder of the new society, a man politically enlightened, full of energy and confidence in the future, with a clear vision of his purpose in life and the ways for the realization of a happy life for his people. This new man is embodied in the valorous partisans who fell with a song on their lips in «The Heroes of Vig», or in the hero of the «Song to Partisan Benko», who left his young bride and joined the par-

tisans, he is represented by Qemal Orhani, the prudent and far-sighted communist leader («Before Dawn»), the young commissar who organizes, educates and mobilizes the masses of the people in the general struggle for the liberation of the Homeland («Commissar Memo»). In the novel «Standing Up Again», Din Hyka, the young volunteer who has lost his legs on a railway construction site, rises to give courage to those who need an example of stoicism in life. We would be too long were we to mention all the fighters for the construction of the socialist order who represent the new man; however, we think that even from what we have already said the reader has managed to achieve an idea of what the writers of today, as compared with their colleagues of the progressive literature of the former period, have achieved: the portraying of the new hero, the master of his destinies and the bold transformer of the world.

In narrating the great change that has taken place in the history of the country, the writers were bound to describe the people, who understood where their interests lay, and felt that they were capable of changing the direction of development of life in Albania. The progressive authors of the past saw the mass as a victim of social oppression, unaware of its rights and interests. In their later works they showed how, in the heat of the war, the eyes of the people were opened, how they broke the chains of bondage and became the masters of the country. The attention paid to the people as the decisive factor of the historical development characterizes all the works dealing with the radical transformations in Albanian life, and the transition of Albania to a new and higher phase of its historical development.

The masses of the people, however,

occupy an important place also in works which do not deal with the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and socialist construction. As the decisive force in the development of society, the people were also represented in works with subjects from the past, like «They Were Not Alone» (1952) and the novel cycle «The Renaissance Men» (1980) by Sterjo Spasse, «The Overthrow of Idols» (1977) and «Kill the Treason» (1980) by Skënder Drini, «Skanderbeg» by Sabri Godo and a number of novels and plays by other authors, in which this theme found its artistic expression through a new concept of the history and the decisive factors determining its development, which the writers assimilated after Liberation.

The present-day Albanian literature is outstanding for its high sensitivity towards the major problems of the life of the country. In the sixties, clouds warning of a new storm appeared on Albania's horizon. The modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, became furious when they saw that Albania, a small country geographically, dared to oppose them and state its opinion on capital problems of international life, to defend Marxism-Leninism, the banner of liberation of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples, and its right to live a free life and follow independent development in accordance with its national interests. These were very difficult moments in the life of socialist Albania, for international reaction united with the new enemies and together did everything they could, including blackmail and all kinds of pressure, to bring Albania to its knees. The Party of Labour of Albania, however, did not budge from its correct stand of principle and gave the modern revisionists the reply they deserved. It prepared the people for the new tests awaiting

them in the conditions of the bourgeois-revisionist blockade, raised socialist patriotism to a higher degree, and assured the masses that, with their own forces, they would be able to carry the complete construction of socialist society to the end and to cope with the new situation. In these circumstances the Party of Labour had a loyal ally literature. The Albanian writers engaged themselves wholeheartedly in carrying out the tasks of great responsibility the Party had set them: immediately they lined up in the front ranks of the struggle to defend the gains of socialism and to expose the traitors of Marxism-Leninism. In the seventies and eighties were published some outstanding works which expressed with particular strength the idea of the historical vitality of the Albanian people, and their confidence that, united and compact, they would conquer their enemies and forge ahead towards their happy life. Among the first works which dealt with this subject was the poem «What Do These Mountains Brood over,» (1964) by Ismail Kadare. This poem was made very popular, as it expressed the unconquerable strength of the Albanian people, their centuries-long vitality and their determination to go ahead on the socialist road, despite all threats and obstacles. In the problems it deals with, this poem is similar to «The Eagles Fly High» by the same author, but here vivid and sharp descriptions of the clash between the delegation of the PLA and Khrushchev and his tools take the place of historical parallelisms and associations.

However, the greatest work of our literature dealing with our conflict of principle with the Kremlin rulers is «The Great Winter» (1977), a social and political novel written in a sharp, exposing style. The novel deals with

the events of political life from the end of 1961 to the spring of 1962. Kadare describes this period as a great test from which the patriotism and indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people came out in all its strength. On the background of this fierce struggle looms large the figure of Enver Hoxha, an outstanding historical personality drawn with admirable truthfulness and vividness.

About the clash with the Khrushchevite traitors speak also the poems «The Fathers» and «Mother Albania» by Dritëro Agolli, «We Go Towards Hundreds of Centuries» by Fatos Arapi, etc. They sing praise to the indomitable spirit of the Albanian people. «The Fathers», which is built in the form of an apostrophe, affirms that preservation and enrichment of the freedom-loving traditions of the Albanian people are a guarantee for the defence of the socialist gains, while «Mother Albania» gives the reader the majestic image of Albania which suffered much in the course of its history, but never submitted to anybody, always repelling the many and various attacks of her enemies. In the epoch of socialism, she became stronger, more self-confident and marches with optimism on the road of socialism. The title of the poem itself «We Go Towards Hundreds of Centuries» conveys the idea of the unstoppable march forward of the Albanian people who as, in the past, at present, too, are bravely coping with the difficulties they come up against on the road they have chosen, showing their unbending spirit and profound awareness of their historical responsibility.

Being keenly aware of the need for knowing the great changes the country was undergoing, writers went to live for a long time with workers on the building sites of socialist construction, hydro-power stations, facto-

ries and industrial combines. This enriched them with a new experience, they came to know more closely the people who were building these giant projects, became acquainted with their thoughts and desires, and the conflicts and circumstances which moulded the spiritual physiognomy of the new man and his inner conflicts and experience. This gave them material for a number of novels dealing with the creative work of the masses. The authors of these works described the great dimensions of the constructive work in all fields, the high spirit of self-denial of workers and engineers, their high sense of duty at work, etc.

By the middle of the seventies writers understood that the main subject of literature is man, with his thoughts, aspirations, hopes, experiences and conflicts, which characterize the time and society in which he lives. Reflection of technical processes, and description of work not as a means for discovering the essence of characters runs openly up against the specific of literary creativeness. With this is related the emergence of a number of works in which the central place is occupied by man, his real problems, not the abstract man, but man in his personal life, with his family problems, etc. So, writers came to approach our man from other aspects, too, which found its reflection in the novels «March» by Vath Koreshti, «The Consorts» by Elena Kadare, «To Live One's Time» by Nasi Lera, «The Good Man» and «Appassionata», short stories by Dritëro Agolli, etc. The life of man is taken in close relationship with his social activity. An example in this direction is Dhimitër Xhuvani's novel «My World», which narrates the story of a young woman engineer, who embodies the type of the people's intellectual born and educated in a free socialist at-

mosphere. The story is about a girl who finds out that the man whom she loved did not deserve her love. The author puts the stress on the girl's sense of personal dignity which helps her surmount her difficulties as a mother raising a fatherless child.

Keeping in close touch with the life of the country, our literature of this period tries to present the new phenomena and developments of the reality and, in close connection with this, new social types.

When speaking about the seventies and eighties we must not overlook the fact that the social life of the country was characterized by further vigorous advance and major economic achievements. However, the new hydro-power stations and modern combines are not mere symbols of the colossal transformations that took place in the field of production of material blessings for society, but they are also factors which indicate that the development of the new society also enriches the inner world of man, and broadens his intellectual horizon. In the process of the country's advance, capable cadres, gifted specialists and highly skilled workers emerge. If we make a generalization of their common features, we shall see that they are outstanding, in the first place, for their consistently implementation of their principles and ideological convictions, their high sense of responsibility for everything that takes place in social life, their continuous efforts to complete their formation with contemporary knowledge, their creative spirit and their persistence in finding new roads in production and science. Prose was the first to single out this type and bring it to literature. It is apparent in the novels «Life and Love» by Mihallaq Qillari, «The Bread of a Snow-bound Season» by Koço Kosta, «The Contemporaries» and «A Spring Without Happiness» by Zija

Çela, and others. It was Teodor Laço in his novel «All Rivers Flow» who achieved complete success in the description of a specialist who is outstanding for his creative spirit, his boldness in opening up new paths, and his struggle against obsolete schemes and solutions which do not respond to the needs of the time and the ever more complex demands of life, a man characterized by independent thinking and the feeling of personal dignity, as well as courage in the struggle against bureaucrats and bullies. His hero is a man of flesh and blood, and his thoughts and actions are creditable, as it derives logically from the essence of his character.

The period traversed from the triumph of the people's revolution to our days has been fruitful also from another stand-point. In the years of the new social order a rich literature for children and youths has flourished, which is quite normal for the new Albania, in which the cultural policy of the state attaches special importance to the sound education of the new generation. Creation and development of a special literature for children and adolescents can be properly valued in all its importance, if one takes into account the torrents of yellow literature which, in the capitalist countries, is intended to poison the minds of its young readers, and lead them to drug addiction and crime. The Albanian literature for children and adolescents is characterized by the spirit of socialist humanism, and the ideals of the complete emancipation of man; it assists in the development of the high moral qualities of the socialist man, an active and dedicated fighter for the cause of his people and country. At the same time this literature has nothing to do with didacticism and longish and dreary moralizations.

The balance of achievements in literature cannot be wound up without saying a few words about literary criticism and science of literature which, during this period, made considerable progress, especially if we take into account the fact that, in the past, we

had some literary criticism, while the science of literature was non-existent. Without exaggeration we can say today that we have a literary criticism which has scored a number of achievements and plays a fruitful role in the development of the Albanian literature. Evidence of this are not only the many articles and collection of articles of literary criticism which are published, but also the lively debate and discussion which take place from time to time over the more acute problems of the literature, such as tradition and innovation, the roads of the further development and enrichment of prose, the national character of literature, the hero of our literary works, the literature for children, the ways of enlivening literary criticism, etc. Certainly not all discussions have fully achieved what they were intended to do; some of them have had more success, while others had not the impact it was expected of them. However, this discussion has enlivened literary life, has enabled shortcomings to be criticized and new roads of progress to be found. During these 45 years of free life, relying on sound methodological methods, the Albanian school of literary studies was founded. The students of literature and literary critics have published a number of monographs about outstanding writers of past and present, various problems of the development of the history of literature, literary trends and currents, problems arising from the present literary development, etc. An important success in the field of literary studies is the work done for the history of the Albanian literature from the past to the present literature of socialist realism, and many works of a general scientific character in this field, based on a wealth of facts dealt with with scientific objectiveness.

Present literary life is characterized by the efforts of our writers to live up to the artistic standards they have set themselves, while struggling against schematism, descriptivism, empiricism, manifestations which crop up

here and there in literary works, while at the same time deepening the social involvement of their works. As known, the purpose of art is not to represent social phenomena and events taken in isolation, but to tackle major moral, social, ideological or family problems through invented stories about certain individualities, stories, narrated through the description of their behaviour, actions and relations. Our writers are aware of their role in life and society and their responsibility for ever better meeting the spiritual demands of the men and women of our days whose cultural and spiritual horizon today is broader than in the past, and to make literature a powerful weapon in the hands of people in their efforts to advance at ever higher rates, according to the dynamism of modern times. They are accomplishing these great tasks, having the wise recommendations of the Party of Labour as their unerring compass. The Party has always wisely assisted the writers in their advance on the correct road of development of the Albanian literature of socialist realism.

With full right, the Party considers writers and artists its active assistants. What is now demanded from literature and the arts, Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, is to improve quality, to enrich content and perfect artistic form. The cultural level of the masses and their tastes are not what they used to be. This demands from writers and artists ever better works, which should have an ever more powerful influence on their minds and feelings. The great art is made by those artists who struggle for great ideals, who know and understand the aspirations, and desires of the people, their feelings, characters and qualities. The philosophical thought and message should be clearly expressed in any artistic work. Without this, works sink to the level of mediocrity and there is no force of style that can mend it.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE GENESIS OF THE ALBANIANS

by **NERITAN CEKA**

The Albanians are the successors to the Illyrians, they were formed as a nationality in the centuries of the Early Middle Ages on a territory which coincides with the extension of South Illyria and the greater part of Epirus in the Antiquity.

Considered in the retrospect, Albanian archaeology had as its first task the study of the history of the Albanian people, and elucidation of some of the more important problems of their origin and existence. The problem of the genesis of the Albanians occupies here a central place, because it determines the whole historical line and cultural tradition of the Albanian people. However, in the course of their thousand-year-long history, the Albanian people, considered as a single unit, has acquired the Dionysiac capability of resuscitating through the dialectics of the transformation of its unity by means of transitions from one socio-economic order to the other. The formation of the Illyrian ethnos from the New Stone Age populations, then the Early Mediaeval Albanian nationality and, lastly, the Albanian nation — the two former moments have remained unclear because of lack of historical documents; the ethnogenesis, for the simple fact that it has developed before the emergence of written sources, and the genesis of the Albanian nationality, because it has taken place in the centuries of the Early Middle Ages. As a consequence, proceeding in a retrospective manner in the history of the Albanian people, chronology came to a halt from before the 11th century, when the Albanians are mentioned for the first time (Ataliates in 1041 and Anna Comnena in 1081), to the 6th century, when Byzantine authors mention the Illyrians directly and for the last time. The history of the Illyrians themselves, which goes under a common name down to the 5th century AD, goes back to the Trojan War, in which the Illyrian tribe of the Paeonians took part.

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However, for the Albanians who did not know these facts and legends, there existed the awareness of an uninterrupted historical line and their autochthony on their territories. There was no tale or legend about an immigration from other places. The memory of the people conserved the faded echo of some historical events, like Caesar's wars in 48 BC, the rule of Rome, the Gothic migrations in the 4th-5th centuries, etc. Moreover, the name of the Albanians came from an Illyrian tribe which Ptolemy (2nd century AD) located in the central part of Albania.

The problem of the origin of the Albanians was posed especially during the second half of the 19th century.¹ This was connected with the development of various scientific disciplines, but also with the question of Albanian independence in an atmosphere of chauvinist frenzy in the neighbouring Balkan states.

At the beginning the genesis of the Albanian people was dealt with mainly as a historical and linguistic problem. Insufficient material, however, led to contradictory interpretations and explanations which were more often than not determined by the personal convictions of the individual students.² Along with the opinion of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, the theory of their Thracian origin, which implied a migration of the Illyrians during the Early Middle Ages, emerged at this time. There was no lack of theories which sought this origin farther afield, connecting the Albanians with the Etruscans or the Albanians of the Caucasus.

Only in the years following the Second World War was the study of this problem set on genuinely scientific bases. Albanian archaeology made an

outstanding contribution to the attempts at solving this problem. First, existing documents had to be carefully sifted, because casual finds and those made by foreign missions had gathered a wealth of material, which, however, was interpreted in an anti-historical manner. One has only to look at a pre-Liberation classification of the archaeological material found in Albania to understand the interpretations implied: pre-historical, Greco-Roman and Byzantine. In this manner, the cultural identity of the Illyrians and any possibility to set it into a historical context were lost under the global weight of Mediterranean cultures. Thus, important Illyrian cities like Byllis, Nakaia, Amanthia, etc., were considered as Greek settlements in the interior of the country, and the peculiar features of their cultures were explained with the barbarian spirit which continued to exist within this civilization.³

This global conception prevented the archaeologists of that time from making a correct interpretation of the archaeological material of the Early Middle Ages, too, behind which lies the problem of the genesis of the Albanian people. P. Träger, F. Nopca, L. Ugolini and others dealt with the material unearthed in the tombs in the vicinity of the Koman village of Puka, but saw behind it the remains of a Slav, Avarian or, in the best of cases, Romanized Illyrian population. And to make this circulation of different peoples in a mountain village even stronger, they also made an enigma of the ring inscriptions found in the Koman tombs, considering them magical formulae in the Illyrian language.

After the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's

state power an Albanian archaeology came into being for the first time both in regard to its components and the tasks it set itself. At the moment in which the history of Albania took a different course after centuries of occupation and decades of feudal rule, the first attempts were made at elucidating the origin of the Albanian people. It was dealt with as an archaeological problem and the attention of the archaeologists was centered on the historical hiatus of the 7th-11th centuries AD. The credit for taking the first step on the right road goes not to a Mediaevalist, but to a student of ancient coins, who was also the only Albanian archaeologist up to 1947. H. Ceka solved the riddle of the ring inscriptions of Koman in a very simple manner.⁴ Comparing the coins found at Koman with the Byzantine coins of the time he indicated that behind the inscription *Anavliithikev* the Byzantine formula *God help* was hidden. Further, he proved that these objects were also connected with finds in other zones of Albania and represented a culture typical of the 7th-11th centuries, which he called the Early Mediaeval Albanian culture, as it has remained in archaeological terminology to date.

This was the first attempt at proving that despite the historical hiatus there was no cultural or ethnic hiatus caused by the migrations of peoples and the coming of a supposedly new population, the Albanians in our case. Archaeologists like S. Anamali, F. Prendi, H. Spahiu, D. Komata, N. Bodinaku and others engaged in research proper, thereby setting a new direction in the development of Albanian archaeology. All this is expressed in a single term: the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. Continuity, all right, but what are its vectors?

Between the two epochs — the Antiquity, when the population of the Western Balkans was known under the name of Illyrians, and the Middle and Late Middle Ages, when it assumed the name of *Arbër*, there lies Koman — a village in the Albanian highlands of Puka. Located in the Drin Valley, that is one of the natural roads linking some of the main regions with Albanian population — Shkodra, Dukagjin, Kosova, Dibra and

others; it was in constant contact with the more important economic, military or cultural movements that came through it. The greatest necropolis of the Early Middle Ages, which, because of the wealth of the material unearthed, has given its name to this culture — the Koman culture, was found in the vicinity of this village⁵

Nevertheless, the idea (which has arisen because of the location of this necropolis in the interior of the country) that the creators and carriers of this culture were an Illyrian tribe, which survived among the mountains and expanded later in the Middle Ages as a result of a demographic boom, has long ago been refuted. Through archaeological excavations the same culture was found at the Shurdhash castle near Shkodra, the fortified centre of Lis, the Kruja castle, inside the city of Durrës, at Pogradec and other places.⁶ A southern variant of this culture emerged from the excavations carried out in the tombs of Kolonja and Përmet, and in the castle of Gjirokastra and Bouthroton.⁷

This extension testifies to the fact that the Early Mediaeval culture of Koman had developed throughout South Illyria during the same period, that is, within the 7th-11th centuries. Clear evidence of a diaspora, tombs with objects of the same character have been unearthed at Aphion, in the northern part of Corfu, that is, outside the sphere of this culture.

Considering the problem retrospectively, it is not difficult to link today's Albanians with the carriers of this culture, because it extends to the 11th century, the time when the Albanians are first mentioned, in historical documents. Moreover, a great many metallic objects, which are typical of the Koman culture, continue to be used as ornaments in the costumes of the regions of North Albania to our day.

However, how did this culture survive the assimilating invasions of the Slavs in the 6th century and the silence of written sources about the consequences of these invasions?

The analysis of the phenomena and objects which make up the Koman culture shows that it is comprised of three main components:

a) the Illyrian component which comes from an early antique or pre-historical tradition;

b) the late antique component, which develops on the basis of a tradition of the 4th-6th centuries AD:

c) the Byzantine component, which is connected with borrowings from contemporary culture.

The first component belongs mainly to the sphere of spiritual culture and is expressed by such elements as burial with stone plates typical of the Illyrian prehistory and antiquity, the north-south orientation of the body, ornaments coming from a tradition stretching over hundreds of years, forms of ornamentation on the basis of Illyrian objects, etc.

The second component is the more important and creates the physiognomy of the culture itself. It is closely connected with everyday life and covers many aspects of both material and spiritual culture. Here belong the elements of the fortification architecture of Shurdhash, Pogradec, Bouthroton, etc., in which building techniques, types of towers and gates are based fully on the architecture of the Late Antiquity. The same can be said about the types of churches and buildings. Continuity is even more apparent in artisan production. In pottery the same type of vessels ornamented with the same technique of engobing or incision continues to be used. Work tools and weapons also have shapes which are clear evidence that they derive from those of the 4th-6th centuries AD. The more typical elements of the Koman culture ornaments which, because of their connections with costumes, have an ethnographic character and constitute an ethnic peculiarity, in most cases develop on the basis of types of the Late Antiquity. Behind the fibulae, rings, arm-rings and ear-rings of the Early Middle Ages were distinctly discern the provincial prototypes of the Roman types.⁸

The third Byzantine component; occupies a relatively narrow space in the context of the Koman culture and is limited to ornaments of higher quality.⁹ Here belong ear-rings of gold or silver, brooches, clasps and some belt ornaments which are either Byzantine imports or produced in

Dyrrachium, the centre of the Byzantine Theme which was inhabited by an Arbër population. Here belong also some new elements of spiritual culture such as changes in the orientation of graves in later phases, emergence of new symbolic elements in rings and brooches, etc.

These three components represent the vectors of continuity, the connection between the Illyrians and the early Albanians, and between the Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

If the traditional Illyrian component establishes a direct connection between the Illyrian population of the Antiquity with the Albanian population of the Early Middle Ages, the component of the Late Antiquity has the same value. It is a clear indication of the fact that the autochthonous factor, taken in the broadest meaning of the word, showed great resistance in the turbulent years of the migration of peoples. This because during the period of the Late Antiquity, as throughout the existence of the Roman Empire, there was a strong tendency to the revival of ethnic self-awareness. This is apparent in the re emergence of ancient traditions in the local cults of Silvanus, Riana, Redon or Zeus, which preserve their Illyrian names or use Latin names as interpretation. Illyrian personal names, which for a time were swamped by the fashion of Greek and Latin names, revive in the stelai of Illyrian towns, and with greater force where the assimilating pressure was strongest — Dyrrachium. This is also accompanied with the accentuation of ethnic elements such as costumes, stele ornaments or tombal objects. We must suppose that after the Constitutio Antoniniana there was a revival of Illyrian ethnic feelings not only in the countryside, but also in the main economic and cultural centres of the time like Byllis, Dyrrachium, Shkodra, etc. From that time on, one of the main centres of Greek culture, such as Dyrrachium, after the heavy blow it suffered by being turned into a Roman colony, entered the process of its complete autochthonization, which had begun since the 4th century AD. In that time the other centre, Apollonia, which had a more conservative Greek character, is abandoned due to eco-

nomic, physical and geographic causes (displacement of the Aaos River, which linked it with the sea, to a distance of 10 km). The place of Apollonia in the southern regions was taken up by Byllis, one of the ancient Illyrian centres in which the Roman colony was assimilated as early as the 2nd century AD.

This state of development of cultural and ethnic processes in Late Antiquity is the prelude to the genesis of the Albanian people in the Early Middle Ages.¹⁰ For this reason the component of the Late Antiquity in the Roman culture has the same values as the traditional Illyrian component as an indicator of continuity.

The process of transition from the ethnos of Antiquity to the Albanian nationality was conditioned by two fundamental factors; the former is of a historical nature, while the latter, the more important, is of a socio-economic nature.

It is known that the centuries of Late Antiquity and especially the 6th century AD were the time of the peoples' migrations for the Balkans. But not all these movements brought about changes in the ethnic composition of the Balkan regions. The migrations of the Goths in the 4th-5th centuries, although they were described in detail and their settlement in the surroundings of Dyrrachium is documented, left no material traces. This happened because, in general, they had a transient character; and the Goths, being only out for plunder and not intending to settle down in any of the places they went through, used Illyria only as a passage to Italy.

With the fall of the Western Roman Empire the direction of the migration switched to Constantinople, and, in general, the periods of rule of Anastasius, Justinus and Justinianus are characterized by an enlivenment of economic life, building of luxurious basilicas and fortifications of high quality.¹¹

Slav migrations had a different character. Their destructive consequences are clearly seen in a great number of towns in Epirus Nova and Prevalis. The coins of the last years of rule of Justinianus enable us to date the destruction of the two basilicas

of Byllis and the abandonment of this city, which has supplanted Apollonia as an economic, cultural and historical centre since the 5th century AD. the destruction of other towns like Selca, Belsh, etc., also dates back to these 2 years. Nevertheless, it must be said that the Slavs did not settle down in these centres, but founded inhabitation centres of their own. This happened only in North Illyria, where the Slav population settled down and created their own culture after exterminating or assimilating the local Illyrian population. Hence, in the Albanian culture of the Early Middle Ages the Slav or Avar element is up to now represented by the odd Slav fibula or sash, some Avar arrowheads which have probably come together with their owners.

However, in the provinces of Prevalis, Epirus Vetus and Nova, which were inhabited by an Illyrian population, the destruction caused by Slav migrations was not catastrophic. A number of fortified centres like Sarda (Shurdhah), Lissus, Dyrrachium, Pogradec, Berat, Kanina, Gjirokastra, Bouthroton, etc., withstood the invaders' attacks and lived on into the 7th-8th centuries of our era. The threat of extermination seems to have strengthened the ethnic self-awareness formed in the Late Antiquity in these regions, especially in their northern part, in which conflicts with the invading Slav population were more probable.

The historical factor which constitutes the outside impulse to the process of formation of the Albanian nationality had a duration up to the end of the Early Middle Ages. A second migration of large proportions, that of the Bulgarians, upset the ethnic equilibrium of the Western Balkans in the 9th-10th centuries. However, unlike the Slav migration, the Bulgarian migration limited itself to the southern Albanian regions, the Devoll, Osum and Vjosa valleys. Its archaeological traces are found in small necropolises in isolated mountain zones and coincide with the spread of the Slav place names in this period. This indicates that the Bulgarian migration ended in the settlement of small groups of people in zones of the interior which were

left uninhabited by the local people. As emerges from historical documents, they remained isolated enclaves until the 15th century, when they were assimilated.

The second factor which accompanied the process of formation of the Albanian nationality had a socio-economic character. The crisis of the slave-owning order was more deeply felt in the Late Antiquity, with the result that some of the new structures that were to characterize the later feudal order were formed. The transition to a closed natural economy could not pass without making itself felt in the life of the cities, too. If the destruction wrought by the Slavs were a physical cause for the abandonment of cities which at another time might have been rebuilt, the crisis of the slave-owning order was the fundamental economic cause which led to their considerable shrinking. Nevertheless, archaeological excavations show that the city as an economic unit was not obliterated, but continued to operate well into the 6th century,

although undergoing a severe selection. The number of castles who survived this period was smaller still.¹²

We know a fundamental fact in the economic life of the surviving urban centres: the complete absence of coins from the rule of Phocas to that of Jan Cimiski.¹³ Does this mean however that there was a transition to a totally closed natural economy, which would be a negative factor for the converging process of the formation of the nationality? The distribution of the productions of Dyrrachium, Lissus and Sarda, etc., to the agricultural territories of Koman, Bukel, Tujan, etc., indicates that artisan production and its exchange continued, though in other forms.¹⁴ Similar forms and techniques in the working of metals and pottery from North to South are another indication of the movement of objects, crafts and experience within a territory with traditional inter-connections.

Archaeological excavations, although they are being carried out on an ever

larger scale have not yet created a complete picture of the early Albanian urban settlements. They were modest, extending over a limited area, which in no case exceeded 10 ha. Dwellings and churches were also simple and art was confined to more or less schematic reliefs in the tradition of the Late Antiquity. The village of this period is known only from what has emerged from its necropolises. The fact that these necropolises were used for a long time and contain some hundreds of graves is an important indication of the existence of stable communities, not a nomadic population, as Stadmueller thought.

Still, archaeology has already said its main opinion, and it can be summarized as follows: the Albanians are the successors to the Illyrians, they were formed as a nationality in the centuries of the Early Middle Ages on a territory which coincides with the extension of South Illyria and the greater part of Epirus in the Antiquity.

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I felt entirely free in Albania



In its issue no. 21 of June 15-28, the Brazilian newspaper *La classe operaria* carries an article of the journalist Moacyr de Olivéira Filho, who narrates the travelling impressions of an Albanian priest, Kel Many — an emigrant from his native country since 1939 — showing that the Albanians have built a new way of life, based on freedom, the rights of the people and social welfare. The article says among other things:

Still unknown and not understood by the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian public opinion, Albania appears only in the news of the press, the radio and television whenever they get a chance to ridicule or stigmatize it. Almost all the writings published by the bourgeois mass media spread an entirely distorted image of Albania.

In fact, this way of presenting Albania has a very clearly set objective: to discredit genuine socialism and create a vacuum about all its achievements. In the period when the other formerly socialist countries have been hit by the capitalist tempest of perestroika, the propaganda about a really socialist country, the effort to make known to the broad public the successes of socialism, is not in the interest of the ruling classes, imperialism and revisionism, is not in the interest of their aims of ensuring their ideological domination.

But the reality is different. In order to show what is the reality about socialist Albania of our time, we went to take the undoubtable testimony of an Albanian Jesuite priest, who returned to his native land after 49 years of absence. He saw with his own eyes the profound changes that have been made there after the socialist revolution of 1944. He found out about how Albania, from one of the most backward and the

poorest countries of Europe, has been transformed into a prosperous, independent and sovereign one.

Father Kel Many, serving in a fine small chapel in Santo Antonio da Barra, in Salvador, was born in 1922 in an Albanian village in Mali i Jushit, situated in the mountainous region of Shkodra highlands. In 1939, before the outbreak of the socialist revolution, he left Albania and went to Italy to finish his theological studies which he had begun at the Seminary in Shkodra. After being ordained as a Jesuite priest, he never returned to Albania. Since 1956 he settled in Brazil.

Father Kel Many, whose Albanian name is Ndue Nik Lushi, left behind in his native country three brothers who still are a strong spiritual bond for him. He always dreamed of returning to his homeland to see them. «It has been my constant desire to return to Albania and see my brothers. Blood insisted that I do this,» he said. The dream which he nourished for years became a reality in August 1988, when, after an unsuccessful attempt one year before, at last Father Lushi landed at the Tirana airport on the 10th of August. The bureaucratic process of his trip was not as long and tiring an ordeal as many can imagine. He had no remonatic or Machiavelian impediments, as the

newspapers of the great press would have tried to present his case if they had the opportunity to get this information.

Father Kel Many says: «One year ago, in 1987, I applied for the first time to go to Albania. In that case I had no success because of bureaucratic reasons. The consul in Italy, charged to grant me the entry visa, was off on holidays and that is how I lost the time which I had planned for my trip: One year later everything went O.K.: I went to the Albanian consulate in Rome with a request for an entry visa. I told them that the purpose of my trip was to visit my relatives, and a few days later I was summoned to the consulate to get the papers. The consul treated me very well and, although nobody asked any particulars, I told them that I was going to Albania as a simple citizen and not as a priest. And I did my best to keep my promise.»

**In Albania I went and took
photoes of everything I wished
and nobody stopped me from
doing so**

«I stepped down from the airplane in Tirana and it was right there that the first image, created by the great press about Albania, did not match

the reality. There I found my brothers waiting for me at the airport and the Albanian authorities there treated me very civilly: At the customs I had no difficulty. They let me through with all my things. From that moment I began to feel free. No impediment or restriction was imposed on me. I spent my time seeing the places I liked, carrying a small camera with which I took snapshots everywhere I chose to,» continues Father Kel Many.

After this first pleasant contact with the reality of socialist Albania, there were many other surprises for Father Many from the first hours of his stay in his native land. «On the way from the airport to my native place,» Father Many goes on, «I created a very good impression. I was passing by old places to which I had been many times in my childhood when I went fishing in the swamps. Now those same places appeared before me as vast fields planted with maize and soya: The marshy waters were no longer there. That was the best introduction to present-day Albania and the thing that impressed me most. It was a sign that things had changed for the best,» the priest continued.

But the post-revolution Albania had something more in store for the amazed Father Many in this renewed contact with his homeland. «When I left Albania in 1939, there was not a single macademized road in the whole place,» he said. «And now I travelled from Tirana to the village where my brothers live and the road was asphalted. We had no electric light and no running water in the house then, but now the whole of Albania is electrified. In my time we were very poor, we literally had to fight for our livelihood. All these things belong to the past: In Albania today there are no poor. Try as hard as you can, you will never find poor people there. I can say from my own experience that during my stay there I did not see a single beggar in the streets.»

In 1939 there were no asphalted roads and the health of the people was very poor in Albania

Two other questions which greatly attracted Father Kel Many's attention were people's health and education: Let us continue with his story. «The health situation of the country was bad then. There were no doctors and no adequate care for the people. The situation now is quite different. The health service is very efficient and completely free of charge: In my village, for example, I found a doctress. Everyone called her by her name, Elisabeta, She did her rounds every day to make sure that none was sick, which shows that the prophylactic service was very good. As for education, this could be noticed immediately by anyone. In my time, 90 per cent of the population was illiterate: but not now, I was moved when I saw the little ones of the village going to school every day. Today in Albania there are no illiterate except for those who choose to be so.»

The daily life of his brothers in the high country in Shkodra district, like the life of all common people there, is a reflection of the condition of the whole Albanian people today, «They had a good house in the shade of grape vines. There is a fairly large garden in which they can plant anything they like and raise chicken. In the morning people go out in the fields and the herdsmen take the stock to pasture. The land and the stock are state property and the people receive a pay for what they do in the fields. They look after everything as if it were their own property, because, in the last analysis, whenever they need something they can buy it from the cooperative. Food was in plenty and to this they add the raki which they distil from their own grapes.» And he continues: «What impressed me most was the change which had occurred in their way of life, their desire to live in comfort, which

is so very different from the dire poverty of the past.» Father Many points out to another important change made in his native village after the revolution. «In the old time, people lived in houses among mountain crags as far from one another as they could. I remember that my late father built our house on a hilltop. After the change of the regime, the new government had all the villagers settled in another place, down to the fields. This was something good, because high up there life was difficult and work was hard. Now the conditions are much better, because people live close to the place where they work.»

These simple observations about the daily life of the inhabitants of an Albanian village made by a priest, lead to a much more significant conclusion about the life of the Albanian people in our days. «Progress is obvious. But I would insist on adding that it is not that kind of progress which helps the rich grow richer and makes the poor poorer still. This kind of 'progress' does not exist in Albania. There people have no idea what inflation means. Not only are prices never raised, but from time to time they are reduced. Luxury does not exist for anyone, but everyone has everything he needs for a dignified existence.»

Father Kel Many says he has noticed that the Albanian people are absolutely satisfied with their living conditions and with their work, and everyone is aware that he is making his contribution to the general welfare. «There I did not hear anyone complaining about the sort of life he led. This is so very different from what we have here in Brazil, for instance. Here everyone is complaining; the rich because they want more riches, the poor because they want to improve their lot. This thing does not exist in Albania. The picture there is entirely different. Nobody complains. It is clear that sometimes people have their dreams, but later, seeing that they are too bold and cannot be realized, they just give them up. My

brother, for instance, liked to have a car, but he knew that he couldn't therefore he dismissed the idea».

Progress now is obvious. But it is not the kind of progress which creates those who have and those who have not

The result of all these changes is that the Albanian people have the great respect for and attachment to the leaders who made the revolution and changed the face of the country. Father Kel Many says that he saw this with his own eyes in the families of his brothers where no one is a member of the Party of Labour. «Everyone in Albania has a great admiration for Enver Hoxha, who is like the God for the Albanian people. They have the photograph of Enver Hoxha hung on the wall in the best rooms of my brothers. This admiration is natural, spontaneous and authentic. It is the result of the changes which he helped to be made in this country. All this has created a great spirit of comradeship and deep respect of the people for their leaders. They are all comrades there. My brothers call

Ramiz Alia a comrade. Perhaps this is because there is no discontent on the part of the common people and no one is oppressed. Everybody is everybody's equal. They have the same rights and the same duties.» Another thing which impressed Father Many is the high morale of the Albanian people, their happy predisposition, their good humour and love of a good joke. «The Albanians are a very merry people, they like festivities, dancing, and a cup of raki. While I stayed there, I attended the wedding party of one of my nephews. I was among those who went to the bride's as a guest. Everything was in abundance. They danced much, and ate and drank with relish.»

The Albanian people are happy about their living and working conditions

Part of this happy predisposition of the Albanians is their great love for football, which, there, too, is the most popular sport. The relatives of Father Kel Many asked him if he knew the four famous Brazilians: Pele, Doctor Socrates and Zico. The other very popu-

lar Brazilian in Albania, the only one who is not a footballer, is Joao Amazonas, the leader of the Communist Party of Brazil.

These are a brief summary of the personal impressions of Father Kel Many during this stay in socialist Albania 49 years after his departure from his native country. They contribute to spread a realistic truthful image of the love of the Albanian people. On his return trip, Father Kel Many during his stay in socialist in the Vatican, who asked him to write a statement about the persecution of the Catholic believers and religion by the Albanian government, which they wanted to publish in a religious book. He refused to do so. «It would be in opposition to my own conscience,» he explains. Pleased to have met his brothers and relatives, Father Many says: «I went to see my three brothers and I found 16 nephews, three brothers-in-law and many relatives.» He returned with a feeling of satisfaction at having had the opportunity to see with his own eyes the progress of the Albanian society. Father Kel Many puts his experience of his 42 days' stay in Albania in these words: «It was the best thing I have ever done in my life.»

BALKAN CO AND ITS P

by prof. S

The Balkan problems, or more precisely the evolutions which are actually taking place in this region, have begun to occupy a conspicuous place in the means of information, in the various political debates and in the daily activity of international diplomacy.

This interest is natural and justified. The Balkans is the birthplace of our ancient culture. It was the bridge connecting Europe with the East, the frontier which divided the Eastern Empire from the Western one, but also the ground of their centuries-long confrontations. It has had and, maybe, still has a special weight on the European balance. We can say so because its weight is not in a direct proportion with the size of its population, the economic potential and the military power, or with the level of scientific knowledge and technological advance, which have such a great influence on the political and social developments in the world today.

This specific feature has to do with the great vitality and dynamism of its peoples, the great political legacy they have, the geo-strategic position of the Balkan territories, which have made their inhabitants the constant objects and subjects in determining the historical destinies of Europe.

In the present period, when our continent and the world in general is seeing the emergence of new extraordinary situations, when new ideas and solutions

are required for overcoming the confrontations, conflicts and various quarrels and clashes in the field of international relations, it is natural to ask the question as to what place the Balkans occupies, or more precisely, what should be its contribution to the strengthening of peace and general security, and cooperation and understanding among the peoples.

I do not intend to present here a unified Balkan idea, because no such idea exists, and even if it did, I would not presume or dare to speak in the name of the others. I want only to expound the views, desires and efforts of the people of my own country, their political outlook and their assessment of the present situation in our region, and their vision of the future.

Many problems have accumulated historically in the Balkans. There are still many emotive and psychological burdens which persist from the past, there is much distrust and mutual misunderstanding. The history of the Balkans has been very tragic. Just as its peoples have united in the efforts to free themselves from the Ottoman rule, so have they fallen upon one another with great passion. Foreign interferences here have been savage. The Cold War has had very grave consequences.

All these things have created delicate relationships and a precarious balance in the Balkans. At certain moments, it can be upset, even if this is not the

desire of the Balkan countries. These things are known, and the problem today is no longer that of identifying them. The question is about how to settle and overcome the disagreements and conflicts: by means of violence and confrontation, or by means of dialogue and understanding, in the benefit of one side, or in the general interest.

It has been the constant and unchanged desire of the Albanians that the Balkan countries should finally close the old pages of the history of their relations and open new ones, on which a new history of friendship, understanding and all-sided cooperation is written. These ancient peoples, who have lived for centuries as neighbours, have taken so much from one another and have drifted so wide apart from one another, have a right to this.

Now the times have changed. We are no longer living in the past century, or in the beginning of the present one. Many old mentalities have been overcome, new political concepts have been created. The peoples do not want any more conflicts and quarrels. They want to work in tranquility and to live in peace.

The question of the coexistence of countries with different political and social systems has been solved in theory, in the sense that their belonging to different systems is not an obstacle to their living in peace and friendship with one another, cooperating in many fields of mutual advantage,

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FOKLI LAZRI

and especially in those where there are common inseparable interests. The problem is that this coexistence, which we all desire and which we all consider as a possibility should be translated into practice in concrete terms.

When we stress the need for achieving understanding, for creating confidence and extending cooperation among the Balkan countries, we refer not only to the signing of sensational treaties or agreements for major political and economic integrations. By this we mean such contacts, dialogues and initiatives which should serve the strengthening of freedom, independence and general security, after throwing down all those old and new barriers which impede the peoples and the states from coming closer together.

If we proceed from the unviolable principle of the preservation of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs, of the right of each people to choose and decide its own fate in a sovereign manner, then there is no reason why the different countries should not come to an accord and cooperate with one another.

With all its international policy and activity Albania not only has declared in words but it has also shown in practice that it rigorously adheres to these principles. It has been and is for good neighbourliness with all the neighbouring countries, for greater mutual respect and

friendship among the peoples, for the establishment of a fruitful economic cooperation and for extensive exchanges of the cultural and technical-scientific values. It proceeds from the conviction that a similar development of relations is in the interest of the Balkan peoples and security in the Mediterranean and in Europe, in which the other peoples of this great region are interested.

Just as Albania has given assurances to other countries that no evil will come to them from it, so it has required that they, too, pursue the same policy towards it. In principle and in practice, it has requested that the Balkan countries should not allow their friends and allies to use their territories to operate against the other neighbouring countries.

— Albania has enough land of its own and does not aspire to seize other people's land.

— It has not joined any international military alignment which compels it to operate against another country in the interest of a third party.

— In its territory there are no foreign troops and bases, arms depots, etc.

— It does not grant transit through Albanian territory of foreign troops or military means, both in time of war and peace.

— It does not allow any kind of activity to the detriment of the neighbouring countries from the Albanian territory.

— It does not provide asylum

for people pursued for criminal activities in their own countries.

— War-mongering propaganda is prohibited by law in Albania.

Therefore, to defend these principles and this policy, it dissociated itself from the Warsaw Treaty and, for the same reason, does not join similar alliances.

This is the concrete contribution of Albania to the strengthening of security in the region and in Europe and peace, in general.

For us Albanians, neighbourly relations have not been and are not just a geographical notion, in the sense that we live in the same region with others, and nothing more. We understand neighbourhood as a relationship from which follow not only similar historical facts, but also many mutual obligations. Each state and nation has its destiny in its own hands. But in the very intensive relationships which have been created in the world, each state, in turn, has the destinies of others in its hands to a very great extent.

Every deterioration, destabilization or turbulence in one country is harmful to the others. History has shown that peace can be disturbed not only by the great, but also by the small. Therefore, it is our wish that the situation and the atmosphere in the Balkans should be such as to help in the consolidation of freedom, independence and progress of each country separately and all of them together; in the consolidation of peace and secu-

city, not only in the Balkans but also in Europe and in the world at large.

Political problems are primary and decisive for the present situation in the Balkans. One such problem is the participation of some of its countries in the military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which has brought the superpowers into rivalry and confrontation with all their consequences in the Balkan Peninsula.

These negative factors cannot be neglected. Without overcoming them, the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Balkan peoples remain always under threat.

For the settlement of the problems which have been created in the Balkans and in Europe because of the existence of the military blocs and the policies they follow, many ideas and plans have been proposed and many initiatives taken. Some of them are constructive, but there are also some which are made with the aim of preserving the status quo and oppose peoples' aspirations to real security and peace, to avoiding wars and saving mankind from the catastrophes which they bring.

As for Albania, it has been and is for the complete liquidation of blocs, for the elimination of military bases outside national territories, for the withdrawal of the soldiers stationed in other countries. Every initiative which goes in this direction has the full support of Albania. Every action which assists in the achievement of this goal is welcomed.

A particular problem of a highly sensitive and delicate nature for the Balkans is that of ethnic minorities which exist in every one of its countries. This is a historical heritage and a specific situation for this region. It influences and to a considerable

extent determines the whole atmosphere of the situation in the Balkans. It would have been better if things were not like this, but that is the reality.

And when we say the reality, we do not mean fatality. There are ways for the settlement of the problems of the minorities in the Balkans. They are not closed. Of course, when we speak of ways, we do not propose that the minorities should be united to the national states. A change of the state borders is unthinkable. So, if we start from this premise, then it is possible to find those policies and practices on the basis of which the minorities, from a factor of division can be transformed into factors of rapprochement and friendship among the peoples.

Proceeding from the history and the reality, sound judgement and the desire to march forward and not backward, we think that the settlement of the problems of minorities in the Balkans is achieved not through segregation or through efforts to change the national character and to assimilate them. It is achieved through their general emancipation, including the national one, allowing them to preserve their identity and originality, their cultural heritage and historical traditions. On the other hand, normal exchanges among minorities and the nations to which they belong would free the former from the feeling of isolation and the narrow political and cultural space. Such a regulation of relations would make them no less devoted citizens to the countries in which they live, or less honourable citizens of the state to which they belong. On the contrary, it would help to create a healthful political and social atmosphere in the country, to strengthen harmony, coexistence, friendship and unity among the

peoples who live in every country which has national minorities.

Albania has followed such a policy towards the small Greek minority. And the results and practice testify to the justice and the prospects of this policy. Without mentioning everything, suffice it to say that this correct stand towards the Greek minority in Albania has served, among other things, the Albanian-Greek relations to develop in a positive direction from all aspects.

A democratic solution conceived for ensuring equal national, political, economic and cultural rights, for the free development of the historical traditions and the conservation of the way of life — this is what we would desire for the Albanians of Kosova, whose present condition is very serious.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, because non-interference in the others' affairs is one of the constant basic principles of its foreign policy. It has not interfered because it wants Yugoslavia, the Balkans and Europe to be stabilized. This is not a propaganda catch-word, but a stand which stems from a simple political reasoning. The destabilization of Yugoslavia and the eventual meddling of others into the developments that would follow from it would bring dangers to neighbouring Albania, not to go further.

If we have spoken about what is happening to the Albanians in Kosova, we have done so not only because we are Albanians, or because we have a right to raise our voice when they are persecuted, discriminated against and oppressed, but also because we are guided by the fact that the Yugoslav policy towards Kosova does not serve its own stability — which we all wish it could have — or the

Balkan cooperation which we all want.

Socialist Albania has declared that it is ready to assist Yugoslavia with what it can, but not at the expense of Kosova. If it did so, nothing would be solved. Apart from other things, such an action would go in the opposite direction with the realistic and objective settlements which are required for overcoming the crises. The fires would not be put out. The fact is that the flames of national quarrels are spreading throughout Yugoslavia, that the national and democratic rights, not only of the Albanians but also of the other peoples there, are being jeopardized.

It has been proven now that the problem of Kosova cannot be solved without the Albanians, or still worse against them. The same is true about the other problems of Yugoslavia.

There are nearly 3 million Albanians in Yugoslavia, living in a compact territory. They have their ancient and original culture, traditions, and language. They represent the third largest nation next to the Serbs and the Croats. As the constitution of the SFRY says, they are its constituent part. The terms used by the Yugoslav propaganda to describe them are different: nation, nationality, ethnos, minority, people, population, etc. But names cannot change the reality.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia cannot be considered a minority. Compared with whom are they a minority? With the Slovenes, the Macedonians, the Croats, or the Montenegrins? It they are a minority compared with the Serbs, but then the same is true of the Croats, the Slovenes, and the other peoples of Yugoslavia. Realities must be seen realistically. A change of names solves nothing.

The Yugoslav legislation in

force until now does not identify the Albanian population with the minorities or treat it as such, but as a nationality in its own. This has found its expression in the Yugoslav constitutional rights which place it on a parity with the other subjects of the Federation. It was precisely this right and this practice which the recent amendments to the constitution of Serbia attacked, and this threat gave rise to the Albanians' opposition. This is where injustice begins, where intra-national quarrels begin and where those divisive and destructive factors, which have cost the Balkan peoples so much suffering, get their strength.

In the political-diplomatic vocabulary there is a term: «Balkanization». In its first meaning it denotes endless quarrels and conflicts arising over ethnic problems among states. In its second meaning, it denotes the meddling of great powers in such conflicts and the threat of their becoming an international conflict.

But «Balkanization» can also occur within a multi-national state, as is the case of Yugoslavia, where its seeds have not been uprooted and can grow up at any time, especially if a favourable ground is created for them.

Proceeding from this and from the desire that the national conflicts in Yugoslavia should not deteriorate, since this would not be in its interest or in that of its neighbours, either, we have said that the problems which have emerged there should be handled with political wisdom, with a realistic view and objectiveness. We say that the situation must be understood correctly with an eye to the future and not to the past. The bitter historical past should serve us to draw lessons, and not to settle problems.

In the Balkans there are other

disagreements of a different nature and less acute than those I mentioned above. They create no small difficulties. But this should not lead to despair or resignation. There are many instances and examples which show that they are solved with goodwill, patience and persistence.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has joined the process of Balkan cooperation, which began with the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkans in Belgrade, and now has made significant progress.

From review of the period since the meeting of the foreign ministers in Belgrade last year and the meeting of their vice-ministers in Sofia and Tirana this year, we can point out the positive steps toward bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation. The results achieved to date permit us to say that the beginning is promising, even if we were to judge by the fact that the Balkan countries have grown more and more convinced about the value of this cooperation.

Bearing in mind the past of the Balkans, the whole legacy of emotions and passions of the history, political belonging and the ideologies of its countries, the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries and the activities which followed it represent a great encouragement to go ahead with this painful beginning.

The concrete results until this moment are encouraging. We can positively say that a favourable atmosphere has been created in which Balkan cooperation is possible in many fields.

If this atmosphere will be preserved, and this can be done only through common efforts, the process of Balkan cooperation would justify all the interest of public opinion which it has attracted

both in the Balkans and in the world.

Albania has tried and continues to try to create a most favourable atmosphere and conditions for the improvement of the situation for overcoming the obstacles which lie on the way for the increase of cooperation and the strengthening of security in the Balkans.

It will work in this spirit and with conviction for the preparation of the future meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries which will be held in Tirana next year. It will work for this meeting not only with goodwill, but also with the conviction that, as President Ramiz Alia has declared in the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, «If the political will and sincere desire for cooperation exist, if the obligations which come from being neighbours and the very important common interests which result from this are properly appreciated, ways will be found which lead to overcoming the present difficulties

and tensions and to the creation of that spirit of mutual trust, the strengthening of understanding and the establishment of truly good neighbourly relations, which is so necessary.»

It is the Albanian viewpoint that, in order to make progress, we have to begin from the settlement of the more simple matters and then tackle the more complicated ones, from the more pressing ones to these which can wait, we must first reach an agreement on problems on which all are of the same opinion at present and then level out the greater misunderstandings!

Although the political problems of the Balkans arise from the general situation in this region, most of them appear as bilateral ones, therefore their settlement requires, in the first place, political will and wisdom and efforts by the directly interested parties. Albania has sincerely greeted every step forward and progress that has been made in the improvement of the bilateral relations between the Balkan

countries or the initiatives which are taken towards this goal, as was for example, the agreement concluded in Davos between Greece and Turkey.

Were we to try to characterize the moment in which the process of Balkan cooperation is at present, we could say that obviously now there is an awareness of the existence of great and vital common interests and the obligations deriving therefrom, the awareness that the stability of the Balkans in general cannot be separated from stability of peace and security of each of its countries. Of course, it is the duty of the Balkan countries, in the first place, to work for this. And this stability is, at the same time, for the general good, because, just as in the Balkans, in Europe, too, peace, security, progress and prosperity of each country can be achieved only in a suitable atmosphere of mutual interest. Therefore, any positive contribution to its strengthening, from any quarter it comes, is valuable and useful for all parties.

MOTHER TEREZA'S PRIVATE VISIT TO ALBANIA

From 14 to 17 August this year the well-known Albanian benefactress and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Mother Tereza, Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, made a private visit to Albania.

She came to Albania to visit her country as well as to pay homage to the tombs of her loved ones in Tirana.

Mother Tereza is born in Shkup to Albanian parents in 1910. After entering the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of Loreto, she worked for some years as a teacher in Calcutta of India. Later she engaged exclusively in assisting the sick, the poor and the abandoned, the victims of war and natural calamities in India and other countries of the world. As a missionary of the order «Love thy neighbour», she opened schools for the poor, orphanages and old people's homes, hospitals, etc. For her self denying work she has been awarded high prizes by various countries and international organizations. In 1979 she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

On August 15, Mother Tereza went to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation and laid a wreath at the monument «Mother Albania». She paid homage to and laid a bouquet of flowers at the tomb of Comrade Enver Hoxha. She said, «I am deeply moved by the respect shown here for the martyrs of the nation, those who have fallen for the freedom of the country.»

Here she was accompanied by the Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica.

Also, Mother Tereza went to the cemetery of the capital, where she paid homage to and laid bouquets of flowers at the graves of her mother, Roza Bojaxhiu, and her sister, Age Bojaxhiu.

Then she paid a visit to the kindergarten no. 40 of the capital. After seeing its recreation rooms, dormitories and refectories, she said among other things. «I am moved and glad to see that great care is being taken here for the education of the new generation, which is the hope of the country. The children who are being raised in such good conditions must be very happy.»

Next Mother Tereza was received by the President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade **Nexhmije Hoxha**. The Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, was also present at the reception.

After welcoming her and expressing her satisfaction at the visit she was paying to Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha highly valued the work of Mother Tereza who has for sixty years now dedicated herself to the sick, the hungry, the poor and the homeless. «This is a great work which deserves all respect, «she said. «We hold in high esteem the humanitarian activity you carry out and wholeheartedly congratulate you on it.»

She told Mother Tereza that during the 45 years of the people's power, in Albania everything has been done and is being

done for education and the protection of the health of people, especially mother and child, with education and the health service being free for everybody; that the standard of living of the people has greatly improved; that there are no unemployment and taxes; that great care is taken of orphans; and that great progress has been made in the mode of life of the people and, especially, of Albanian women. «In Albania,» she said, «there are no paupers, beggars or homeless, the social ulcers under which the world is labouring today do not exist in our country, and we take pride in this.»

Mother Tereza expressed to Nexhmije Hoxha her satisfaction at this meeting and her happiness at the great progress that has been made in Albania and the great concern that is displayed here about the life of man. Then she spoke about the humanitarian work she carries out in many countries of the world.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha wished her good health and a long life. Then she had lunch with Mother Tereza and those who had come with her.

On the same day, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, received Mother Tereza and had a warm talk with her.

After expressing his satisfaction at her visit to her Homeland, Albania, Reis Malile had warm words about her self-denying work throughout the world to the assistance of the defenceless, and the invalids and victims of war and natural calamities.

He also spoke about the foreign policy of the Albanian Government in defence of peace in the Balkans and Europe, and for the strengthening of international cooperation.

Also, on August 16, the documentary film «Mother Tereza», devoted to the life and contribution of the outstanding Albanian humanitarian, Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, Mother Tereza, to the assistance of the poor, the sick and the abandoned, was shown in the cinema hall of the Palace of Congresses.

Watching the film, besides Mother Tereza, were workers of cultural and health institutions of the capital, newspapermen, writers, film-makers and other guests.

Present were also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, the Minister of Health, Ahmet Kamberi, the Chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli, the vice-President of the General Council of the Democratic Front, Ismail Kadare, the Head of the Albanian

Red Cross, Ciril Pistoli, and others. Assisting were also heads of diplomatic representations accredited to Tirana.

The speech of the occasion was held by the Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica.

Mother Tereza also visited the Oncological Institute in the capital. In a talk with the director of the Institute, Adelina Mazreku, and other doctors, she was informed about the medical study and research work carried out there. After visiting the wards and other rooms, she said: «I am happy to see that in Albania people do not pay for the health service, as everything is provided for by the State. This centre is well equipped and has sufficient personnel which takes constant care of patients. This is very well.»

Before leaving Albania, Mother Tereza went to the Institute of the struggle against TBC. The director of the Institute acquainted her with the treatment of

patients, the scientific research work of doctors and, especially, with the achievements in the struggle against TBC in Albania, which are a result of the constant improvement of the standard of living of the people, and especially, the great care taken for children's health. After being shown some wards of the Institute, Mother Tereza said: «I am very happy and glad to see all this great care, especially for children. This is a very good work you have been doing in Albania.»

She also paid a visit to the young pioneers' camp «Qemal Stafa» in Durrës, where she was acquainted with the good conditions created for the rest of children and the great extension of the network of rest homes for children and workers all over the country. «Here,» she said, «remarkable things have been done for the rest of children and workers who have been given the possibility to spend their holidays in this beautiful seaside resort.»

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NOTHING CAN COVER THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BRUTAL VIOLATION OF KOSOVA'S AUTONOMY

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

Four months have passed since Serbia imposed constitutional changes with the force of tanks. This period has been sufficient to prove how much of its autonomy Kosova has lost and how seriously the rights of the Albanian population of this region have been damaged. It is the Albanians of Kosova, more than anyone else, who experience this grave reality. Those Yugoslav peoples and personalities whose logic has not been darkened by extremist nationalism can see this reality. They are growing more and more convinced about the gravity of the situation, and so are the progressive, democratic opinion and various parliaments of the world. The voice of protest is high against the repressive measures, the negation of the national and democratic rights, against the imposing of the various constitutional alterations and the violence used in order to liquidate the autonomy of Kosova. To cover up this undeniable truth, the Serbian leadership and the spokesmen for its chauvinistic policy are trumpeting the thesis, which even they themselves do not believe, that with the changes to the constitution Ko-

sova and the Albanians have lost nothing of their autonomy. That was the spirit in which the recent plenum of the CC of the LCY expressed itself in a document for the «stabilization of the situation in Kosova», published on the 13th of July, in which it underlined that the «constitutional changes in no way endanger the autonomy of the provinces.»

The Serbian thesis that the constitutional changes have not harmed the autonomy of Kosova is one of the main, though the weakest, concoctions of the Serbian propaganda in Yugoslavia and in the world at large. Milošević himself has devaluated this thesis long ago when he said openly and without kid-gloves that Kosova «lost what it ought to lose,» i.e. its autonomy. Serbia celebrated the establishment of its complete rule in Kosova with champagne in Belgrade and with blood in Kosova. The so-called constitutionalization of Serbia on the same footing as the other republics of the SFRY is nothing but a pretext to deprive some peoples of their autonomy today and some other peoples of their republic in the future.

This is shown quite clear-

ly by the constitutional position in which Serbia has now placed Kosova. Article 47 of the constitution of Serbia stipulates that constitutional alterations can be made only by consulting the opinion and not necessarily by securing the approval of the province interested. Thus, Kosova and its Albanian population will no longer be consulted about the new laws; Serbia will decide for them.

As is known, with these constitutional changes Serbia took direct control of five main fields: legislation and the judiciary, the territorial defence, police, international relations and economic planning. The state is directed by Serbia, despite the fact that some provincial institutions have been formally preserved. Amendment 31 to the constitution of Serbia says explicitly that «the administrative organs of the republic have the right to give instructions to the organs of the autonomous province, which the latter are bound to carry out.» The Serbian power now extends not only to the provincial organs, but also to the communes.

Great restrictions have been imposed in matters of

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language, education and culture. Amendment 27 stipulates that «the Serbo-Croatian language is in official and public use in Serbia. In the zones in which other nationalities live, the Serbo-Croatian and the languages of other nationalities are in official use.» Under the Constitution of 1974, the language in which the state organs and various organizations carry out their procedure in the territory of the province was determined by the provincial constitution. Similarly, amendment 33, point 11, defines that the Serbian organs take over the competence regulating the unified system of primary and vocational schooling throughout the whole republic, which it did not have in the past. Being not content with these, Serbia has drafted 50 new laws which limit to a minimum the autonomy of the provinces in other fields and which are expected to be approved in the next two or three months.

The constitutional changes are yielding their anti-Albanian fruit in all domains. The ink on the changes to the constitution of Serbia and Kosova is not yet dry and TANJUG and the Yugoslav newspapers of Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Prishtina report shocking cases of fresh attacks against the Albanians. After the bloody suppression of the massive protests of the Albanian people of Kosova in defence of

the constitution and equal rights with all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, today we are witnessing a new wave of savage repression. One of the harshest campaigns is mounted against the Albanian population of Kosova by the instigators of the chauvinistic policy. The target now is especially the Albanian national culture, the schooling in the mother tongue, the scientific and artistic activity and the very intelligentsia of Kosova.

The facts are eloquent. In the next school year 1989-1990, about 11 000 Albanian pupils who have finished primary school will not be able to enrol in the secondary school. At the same time, the secondary schools, as compared with the previous years, will enrol 6 500 pupils more from the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities. If in the last school year, the secondary schools had 37 081 pupils, of whom 32 145 Albanian-speaking pupils, this school year they will enrol 32 653 pupils, of whom only 21 050 Albanian-speaking ones. In the next school year, the number of first-year students who take their lessons in the Albanian language will be reduced, whereas that of the students using the Serbo-Croatian language will be increased.

The efforts to suffocate the Albanian language is a feverish anti-democratic campaign. Recently there were reports that the Faculty of

Arts in the University of Prishtina has been closed. The reason: for lack of material means. *Rilindja*, the local newspaper of Kosova, wrote that it is unthinkable that «the Faculty of Arts should be closed for this reason. We are sure,» the newspaper continued, «that they can find plenty of means for less important things and actions than this institution of education, culture and creativeness, without which a civilized society cannot be imagined.»

The University, the Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Institute of Albanology of Prishtina, as the main centres of the Albanian national culture, are under continuous attacks. They have been described as the «hotbeds of the counter-revolution and hostile activity». A witchhunt is going on without let-up against the intelligentsia of Kosova, the university and school teachers, writers, scientists, journalists and artists for the sole reason that they are working and fighting for the defence of the Albanian language and schooling, for the study of the history and for the cultivation of the Albanian culture, on the basis of the principle of the equality of the nationalities and the national cultures. Many of them are under arrest, isolated or imprisoned. Others have been dismissed from their jobs. As the newspaper *Rilindja* of Kosova writes, in

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recent days demands have been made for the removal of many scientific personalities of the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina from their positions. This list includes Dr. Rexhep Qosja, chairman of the *Scientific Tribune*, and Dr. Bajram Krasniqi, secretary of this scientific organ; Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chief editor of the review *Albanological Investigations*; Dr. Ymer Jaka, secretary of the editorial board of *Albanological Investigations*, which is published in foreign languages, and Dr. Zekeria Cana, member of this editorial board; Dr. Sabri Fetiu, chairman of the workingmen's meeting, and many others.

The Albanians have no right to speak out what they think, to elect those who must lead them, to pronounce themselves on different people and various affairs. And when they dare to express their ideas openly and in the legal way in the daily and periodical press of the country or Kosova, as was the case of the Appeal of the 215 Kosova intellectuals about the constitutional changes, this was considered as something against the law, for which its authors must face the consequences. Everything the Albanians say, defend and demand is immediately labled as nationalist, separatist, hostile and counter-revolutionary, whereas the others in Yugoslavia can say and write whatever they like

without fearing the consequences. How false sound the statements of some pseudo-Albanians, issued from the ministerial cabinets of Belgrade, as is the case of Sinan Hasani, who says that «people in Kosova have to understand once and for good that nobody in Yugoslavia is punished simply because he expresses his opinion.»

How can we qualify these obscurantist actions and measures at the end of the 20th century? How can they accord with the great publicity about the equal rights of nations and nationalities, equal intra-national relations, etc!? How can all these be accepted at a time when all the national cultures of the world are fighting for development and against the assimilating tendencies of the great-state imperialist cultures? In the final analysis, can there be talk of human rights in present-day Yugoslavia when such repression exists?

Throughout their history the Albanians have come up against all kinds of annihilating policies. They have been cursed and excommunicated, banished and imprisoned, killed and poisoned just because they wanted their language to be written and taught at schools. But they have never given themselves up in defeat. They have always conserved their vitality everywhere. This vitality for the defence of national and democratic rights, for the defence of Albanian

culture and arts, language, and history, has survived and will outlive any reprisal.

As experience has shown, the relentless efforts of the Albanians for their rights have never been and cannot be factors for the destabilization of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, they are and will be factors for intra-national and social understanding and progress in Yugoslavia.

The time in which we are living is full of example of struggle and efforts of the democratic forces to ensure the rights to national and social culture and progress, knowledge and science. Whereas all over Europe and the world more schools and cultural and educational institutions are opened, because the right to culture and education is one of the basic human rights and the realization of it is a sign of emancipation, the brutal restrictions of the cultural and educational rights of the Albanians in Kosova cannot but arouse indignation among all those who defend the national and cultural identity of the peoples.

Great-Serb chauvinism is actually striving to turn Kosova into a real ghetto for the Albanians, who are killed, imprisoned, persecuted, isolated, dismissed from work and under an all-sided attack. The Albanians in Kosova live in anxiety and fear and as Professor Bogdan Denić declared a few

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days ago in an interview to the magazine *Danas*, «Half a million Albanians have been handled in various ways by the police in Kosova.» Only in the last two months, more than 1 000 Albanians have been sentenced and over 300 others have been in the notorious isolation, which means in conditions worse than imprisonment. Every new day sees hundreds of Albanians being dismissed from their positions in various economic, social, political and educational organizations. They are instantly replaced with Serbs and, as a result, most of the functionaries in Kosova are Serbs now. The police method of «discrimination» is striving to keep alive an anti-Albanian hysteria and

an atmosphere of programs and lynching against the Albanians.

The truth about the tragic conditions of the Albanians in Kosova following the constitutional changes cannot be covered up. Until now, the Albanians are the first whose national and democratic rights are violated by the constitutional alterations. Those who hoped that this would remain a strictly Albanian affair have seen now that they are wrong. They have understood that by attacking the Albanians, the Serbian chauvinism is attacking the principle of equality among the peoples, all the peoples of Yugoslavia. Today more than ever, it is necessary for people in Yugoslavia to become aware that without

the equality between Albanians with the other peoples of Yugoslavia there can be no stability and settlement of the intra-national problems. Police methods are outdated and inefficient, just as the chauvinist policy which uses them. As Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, «It is impossible for Kosova to be oppressed, imprisoned and wounded, and for state violence to be exercised on Kosovar youth and intelligentsia, and the rest of Yugoslavia to remain democratic and progressive. Either there will be freedom and democracy for all nations and nationalities which make up Federal Yugoslavia, or there will none for them.»

GREETINGS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

July 14 was the bicentenary of the beginning of that revolutionary movement which is otherwise known as the day of the capture of Bastille. Then France was languishing under the burden of the feudal monarchy. The savage anti-popular po-

licy of oppression which the monarchy of Louis XVI followed had placed France in a grave political, economic and social condition, which made the existence of the feudal system practically impossible. On the other hand, the ideas of the

French illuminists had begun to enlighten the minds of people. All these accompanied with some other factors created an explosive situation against monarchic rule. At that time, the industrial and financial bourgeoisie had emerged as a force which

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opposed the archaic feudal system. Using the explosive situation, the broad peasant movement in general and the small proletariat of the cities with the bourgeoisie placed themselves at the head of this movement, giving it the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which was proclaimed then, had exceptional importance for that time, because it sanctioned by law the democratic freedoms of citizens without distinctions as to religion, race and nationality. The outstanding French illuminists and philosophers like Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot and others made a great contribution to the development of the political and social thinking of that epoch.

The French Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution had a wide repercussion not only in Europe, but also in other continents. Its ideas inspired the progressive movements which shock the European monarchies in the period 1830-1840. It became an inspiration for the peoples of some Latin-American countries to throw the yoke of colonial domination. The experience of this revolution also served as a basis for the subsequent class movements, some of which had a proletarian character. One such movement was that of the workers of Lyons in the years 1831-1834, or the

bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848, not to mention the famous Commune of Paris of 1871, and so on. The French Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution had its influence also in Albania. Many patriots, especially the Albanian men of Renaissance, were enlightened and inspired in their work by the progressive ideas of the French illuminists. They placed them in the centre of their political and propaganda activity to pull the country out of the centuries-long backwardness, obscurity and foreign thralldom.

These aspirations for freedom and progress created the feeling of sympathy between the Albanian and the French peoples. They have mutually respected all the efforts they have made throughout all their history for national and social liberation and have congratulated one another on their contribution to the development of progressive thought and movement in the world.

Our bilateral relations have developed on the positive direction. This is reflected in the exchange of visits by state personalities of the two countries, such as deputies, senior functionaries of the ministries of foreign affairs, trade, science and culture, etc. The existing agreements and those signed recently play their role in the cultural, scientific and technological cooperation, as well as in the economy and

industry, in exchanges of various exhibitions, ensembles, in the organization of such activities as «The Days of the French and Albanian Films» in Tirana and Paris, or in the activities organized on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution in our country. The last visit to France of the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, gave a fresh impulse to the bilateral relations. It constitutes a marked event in the history of the Albanian-French relations, not only as regards its present importance, but also as regards the prospects which it opens for a more extensive cooperation of mutual interest in many domains. The Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile, declared in Paris that «It is the desire and will of the Government of the PSR of Albania that they should develop and be substantiated more and more. We observe with satisfaction that the same desire exists on the French side.»

Greeting the friendly French people on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the Albanian people send them their best wishes for prosperity and happiness. The Albanian people once again express their confidence that the friendly relations which exist between our two countries and peoples will continue to be strengthened.

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review****NEW THEMES AND INTERESTS IN THE SUMMIT OF THE SEVEN IN PARIS****«ZËRI I POPULLIT»**

For the third time in 15 years, France became the host country of the summit of the world's seven industrial capitalist countries. The festive atmosphere of the capital was felt still more in the «Arch of Defence», in which met the heads of states and governments of the seven.

The discussion of many political problems and especially of the new developments in the East-West relations, or of the economic problems like the debts crisis in the developing countries, the course of the world economy, and lastly, the ecological problems were the main issues that dominated the three-day meeting in something other than «a rosy atmosphere», as the analysts pointed out. The problems under discussion and the solutions proposed fell short of the economic objective, for which this annual summit is instituted. The economic goal is receding to the second plane, while the host of political problems and other numerous preoccupations, which these countries have with one another and with the other countries, are more and more emerging on the foreground.

Unlike the other summits, the present one gave special

prominence to the political relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. This is so because with the rapid structural, political, economic and social changes, some East-European countries are trying to implement reforms of the «perestroika» type and seek greater support from the western capital to solve their acute internal problems. The American President Bush gave them the necessary assurance, expressing his readiness to help deepen these changes in a constructive way, especially in Poland and Hungary! Both in the bilateral meetings, and in the working sessions, Bush was enthusiastic over the changes that have begun to appear in Eastern Europe, and called for greater encouragement by the other countries participating in the meeting. Hence, the decision was made to draft a co-ordinating plan of capitalist reforms in these countries to help them to shift over to the market economy. In consideration of the political and economic problems, the seven big discussed the practical measures and the economic assistance which they will give so that the reforms in the East will not die down or be abandoned. Yaruzelsky

sent the leaders of the seven a message with an economic program and a request for three billion dollars aid, which the Polish economy would need, as the AFP reports, to avoid a major collapse.

The «surprise» of the summit, as the observers put it, was Gorbachov's letter to President Mitterrand as the host of the meeting. It is the first time ever that a Soviet leader greets the meeting of the seven. His message was a kind of thanks for the «charity» which big western capital has offered to the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Gorbachov offered the participants in the meeting the readiness of his country for support and cooperation with them. The Soviet leader could not miss this opportunity to repay President Bush's praise for «the role which the Soviet Union is playing in the amazing changes which have been occurring in the other parts of Eastern Europe.» The possibility is not ruled out, the analysts say, that the Soviet Union will enjoy a special status in the meeting of the seven, and may indeed be given the right to participate in the debate of the «glo-

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bal problems» of the world.

The summit had a wide echo on account of the wide political problems which included the support for the reforms in Eastern Europe, the human rights and the opposition to the use of violence in China, and the measures to fight the spread of drugs. Among the economic problems, the debts crisis of the developing countries was the most delicate one. No doubt it was accompanied with various proposals and counter-proposals and tacit reserve, but also with open refusals to mitigate the stand towards these countries. The American delegation sought to anticipate the seven both over the political problems and the economic ones, making the first move for the implementation of the «Brandy plan». Not unlike the other proposals of this kind, this plan appears to be very hypothetical. It only seeks

to convince private banks to withdraw some of their demands in order to alleviate the problem of the debtor countries, which owe about 1300 billion dollars. This proposal is connected with the fact that about 60 per cent of the external debts of these countries is owned to the private banking institutions. Meanwhile, no capitalist state has any power to intervene directly with these institutions and the terms of credits and loans which they have given.

The request of Singapore, Egypt, Venezuela and India to organize a top-level meeting of the countries of the rich North and those of the poor South was received with coolness by most of the participants in the present meeting. Whereas President Bush and the British Prime Minister Thatcher openly opposed the proposal. They expressed the apprehension that the «poor countries

could try to turn this meeting into a global conference for postponing the deadline for the liquidation of their debts.»

The meeting also dwelt on the danger of the recurrence of inflation, with the slowing down of growth rates and on the problems of pollution of the environment. But who else but the industrialized countries of the world must adopt immediate measures for the protection of the environment? Any other solution goes against the logic of maximum profit.

The 15th summit of the heads of the world's seven most industrialized capitalist countries ended in a sensational manner. The only unique success of it is that the leaders managed to get through it without quarrelling and shook hands over the promise that they will meet again in Virginia, USA, at the 16th meeting of next year.

**THE CRISIS OF ETHNIC RELATIONS AND PERESTROIKA****«ZËRI I POPULLIT»**

One can hardly find a more acute and dramatic crisis than that which has broken out in the ethnic relations in the Soviet Union

today. This crisis has spread from the Baltic Republics in the north to the Central Asian ones in the south. Now that the ethnic rela-

tions have entered a crisis, which is getting out of control, Mihail Gorbachov has been compelled to anticipate the special plenum of the

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CC of his party on the national questions, which was proclaimed to be held since last year, and appear on the television with a long appeal which sounded rather like a desperate call.

Why did Gorbachov take this step? First, because the crisis between different ethnic groups is growing into alarming proportions and threatens to shake and discredit his restructuring. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in the message of greetings to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania (DFA), the reforms which are in course in the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland and elsewhere, «are accompanied with inter-class and inter-ethnic conflicts, with the outbreak of anarchy and polic violence with unemployment and a fall in the standard of living, with the spread of moral decadence and so on.» Second, the Soviet leader is worried about the security of his own political power. And right now he is in the midst of the main stage of the reforms of the political system, which is leading to the consolidation and concentration of power into his own hands. Loss of control of the situation spells destabilization of power and possibly will lead to unforeseeable developments in the struggle for power. The crisis of the ethnic relations is a strong card in the hands of his political opponents. Third, Gorbachov

is preoccupied because the internal ethnic unrest prejudices his perestroika and glasnost, his new political thought, in the international arena. At a time when he continues to make promises all around he will work for the solution of world problems and will create world harmony with the help of his perestroika, the inter-ethnic crisis and the clashes between various ethnic groups in the Soviet Union deprive him of a minimum credibility in the eyes of the international public opinion, i.e. of the political, diplomatic and propaganda stock.

In his TV address, Gorbachov avoided mentioning the real causes and the gravity of the situation. He cannot possibly do so, because he cannot admit that they are the wounds of the capitalist order which has been restored in the Soviet Union after the coming of Khrushchev into office. He cannot admit that they have grown from bad to worse because of the capitalist reforms in the economy, policies, and society. Nor can he admit that they have become more and more acute because of the unjust and oppressive policy the Khrushchevite leaders followed towards the problem of nationalities.

One of the main factors for the exacerbation of the inter-ethnic relations in the Soviet Union are the major

economic problems, the unfruitful reforms and the grave economic crisis which has the country in its grip. The burden of economic deterioration lies heavier on the ethnic minorities, which are more backward, face greater difficulties, and are subjected to a systematic economic exploitation and plunder.

The only concrete thing which the Soviet leader said about the Kremlin's future stand towards this crisis is the use of violence and force of the central administration, as the only element which connects the multinational community. The violence used against the inter-ethnic unrest once again reveals the true face of the revisionist political system and the demagoguery of the revisionist «democratic» reforms. It shows that in the Soviet Union, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «the 'reformed order' expresses its oppressive and anti-democratic essence in the bloodshed and the force of weapons.»

On his political and philosophical plane, the Soviet leader came out again with the known conditions as regards the national crisis: the revisionist policy of the «ethnic merger». He described this as something in conformity with the «objective tendency to rapprochement». In brief, in the name of the ethnic merger, the peoples of different nationalities must forget their own

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national identity and awareness.

The «ethnic merger», which according to Gorbachov must «be opposed to the growing ethnic awareness», is an ef-

fort at justifying the denationalizing policy, especially towards the small peoples. This policy and this road will not ease the burden of the present crisis, beca-

use the inter-ethnic relations cannot reach harmony by denying national and democratic rights to the small peoples and the ethnic minorities.

THE 5TH CONGRESS OF FATAH

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The 5th Congress of FATAH was held in Tunis. It was an important event for the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine. FATAH is the largest and oldest organization which fights for the just cause of the Palestinian people. It was founded in October 1959 in Kuwait by Yasser Arafat, but its activity dates back to 1956. On January 1, 1965, it was under its command that the first guerrilla action against the Israeli was organized. This marked the beginning of the organized struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights. From that time on, the FATAH has grown into a strong militant organization with united ranks, capable of leading the Palestinian people's armed struggle against the occupation of the Palestinian territory.

With the unity of its ranks and a militant spirit,

this organization met in its 5th Congress which appealed to the entire Palestinian people to step up the armed struggle and all other forms of fights against the Israeli occupiers.

As the conclusive political document of the congress points out, the FATAH is more determined than ever to fight until victory, using all the political and military means in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland and for the creation of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital city. Condemning all forms of terrorism, especially state terrorism, the political statement of the congress points out the need for a still greater mobilization of its forces for continuing the Indifata — the popular uprising, which is writing new pages of heroism with blood. The congress called for the strengthening of the united

leadership of the popular uprising and the role of the popular committees in the occupied territories. The armed struggle which is going on in the occupied Arab territories was unanimously described as a completely just struggle. At the same time, the congress rejected the Zionist plan proposed by the Israeli premier Shamir for «free elections» in the Arab territories, under conditions of occupation. Giving a resolute no to this anti-Palestinian plan, the congress unanimously again confirmed the correct and firm stand for the holding of democratic elections only after the complete withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces.

The 5th Congress of FATAH was held at a time when the entire international progressive opinion and the peoples of the world are giving their support to the

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just struggle of the Palestinian people to win their legitimate rights in their occupied homeland. It was held in the conditions when the struggle of this long-

suffering people has the support of its own independent state, which has been recognized by the international community. Further support is given from the tribune

of UNO to this struggle with the powerful exposure and legitimate indictment of the oppressive policy of the Zionist regime in the occupied Arab territories.

SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE CRISIS OF SOCIALISM — AN EXPRESSION OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the message of greetings to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out: «Misrepresenting the facts about the capitalist restoration which has swept the Soviet Union, China and other formerly socialist countries, and especially the failure in various political and social spheres there, the bourgeois propaganda is striving to attribute these failures to the essence of the socialist system and its revolutionary theory and practice. This interpretation is a speculation inspired by the savage anti-communism which has fought and is still fighting with all its means for the overthrow of socialism.» The more the reforms in the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland and elsewhere disclose the inefficiency of the capitalist system established there and

the worsening of the moral, social and economic ills, the more the bourgeois propaganda endeavours to ascribe them to the failure of socialism and to present them as a crisis of this system.

The western political literature is full of monographs and articles written by specialized scholars like P. Suses, J. Roemer, Zb. Brzezinsky, H. Sherman, and others, who take part in the anti-communist crusade. They write and speak about the «progressive deterioration of the socialist system», about the «great failure» of communism. They prophesy that Marxism-Leninism did not justify itself, that «the historical fall of communism is irreversible» and that «its dogma is improper for the conditions of mankind». In this crusade they are assisted by many top officials in the revisionist countries,

who, in order to justify their own capitalist reforms, speak about the crisis of socialism and communism. They say that the operation of the laws of the capitalist order established there is an expression of what is actually happening in some of the revisionist countries, including class and inter-ethnic relations, the use of police violence and the trampling of democratic rights, the economic crisis and many aspects that accompany it. From the moment they took state power into their hands and restored capitalism, the Khrushchevite leaderships demolished socialism, its principles and the revolutionary practice in all fields of life. The final product of this capitalist restoration is seen in the general disastrous situation in these countries.

The capitalist degeneration

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in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries is an anti-historic process which led to the establishment of state monopoly capitalism there. Perestroika is striving to modify this bureaucratic system of centralized capitalism using reforms that encourage and revive privatization and the other forms of private economy. It is precisely this type of bureaucratic and centralized capitalism which gave birth to stagnation and crisis. To this situation they are trying to find a solution through the encouragement of free enterprise of the capitalist type. The capitalist economic reforms now must necessarily go hand in hand with the capitalist restructuring of the political superstructures, the political system in general. A capitalist society with a different social and class structure tends to proceed towards bourgeois pluralism, the multi-party system which responds to the interests of different classes. Political pluralism is characteristic of the bourgeois society and responds to the very existence of various groups, strata and classes. Therefore, all the negative processes which are occurring in the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere are not difficulties of socialism as a doctrine and social order, they are manifestations of the crisis of capitalism. They are not connected with the laws of socialism, beca-

use this order has been undermined long ago in these countries.

Genuine socialism and its doctrine do not generate or encourage the proliferation of bureaucracy and degeneration; they do not violate democracy and democratic rights, do not impede the creative capacity of the intelligentsia; they do not create an ideological gap, do not revive nationalist and chauvinist excesses. Socialism established correct relations and social equality, created a secure order without exploitation, without tragical stress and traumas, which are fellow-travellers of capitalism. Marching on the arduous road of social progress, it perfect, itself, harmonizes interests continuously, improves the mechanisms of leadership and organization, encourages people's interest in work and high productivity of labour. It achieves this by enhancing the sense of duty of the whole society and by strengthening the socialist laws. When these laws, principles and norms are imperfectly implemented, underrated or violated, then distortions in the economic, ideological and moral values begin to set in, and these in turn create the ground for the operation of anti-socialist factors and phenomena. Socialism is a vital order. It does not know crises, and, as Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, it has no need to borrow re-

forms and mechanisms from the capitalist order.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie deliberately identify Marxism with modern revisionism and try to present the defeats of the latter as crises and defeat of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. In fact it is the capitalist and revisionist systems which have been engulfed by a general social and economic crisis of great proportions. The incurable wounds of this degraded world are very acute: greater exploitation, massive unemployment, high rates of inflation, threatening ecological problems, stress, criminality, drugs, terrorism, large-scale corruption and so on — these are expressions and forms of the manifestation of the ideological and moral and economic crisis which the present-day capitalist and revisionist world is experiencing.

The Gorbachovites have now mounted a general onslaught against all the basic principles and laws which lie at the foundations of the socialist order and distinguish it from the bourgeois order. They see the way out of their crisis in the establishment of private property everywhere and the introduction of monopoly capital. They attack the basic Marxist concept about socialism as an order which relies on the social ownership of the means of production and the planned management of

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the economy, in order to pave the way for private capitalism, investments of foreign capital and the creation of joint companies.

The revisionists claim that Marxism is outdated, the revolution is an overcome stage, the class struggle is not valid, and socialism has no future. To the doctrine of socialism they counterpose a new order, a mixture of socialism and capitalism. They speak about an integrated world which would allegedly ensure peace and prosperity for all. Genuine scientific socialism, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism formulated it, was built and existed for a long time in the Soviet Union and in many formerly socialist countries. It still exists and advances in socialist Albania. The efforts of the opportunists and revisionists to prove that genuine socialism has never existed in any country, that the socialist society which was built in the Soviet Union had been «a distorted kind of socialism», indeed «a failure» of it, are merely hostile expressions and attitudes to-

wards socialism as an historical doctrine and experience, the expression of anti-communism and of their efforts to preserve the existing bourgeois order intact.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and revisionism speak about the «crisis of socialism» with the aim of creating confusion and disorientation among the working people and the masses all over the world. They want to darken their prospects, to alienate them from the just revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation, to frustrate their hopes and destroy their confidence in the ideals of socialism and in the superiority of the socialist order, and to keep them away from the influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The example of the revolutionary development and the great achievements of socialist Albania are an expression of the vitality of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, which, apart from other things, exposes the crisis of the revisionist concepts and prac-

tices. Experience has put to the test the values, the great vital and creative force of Marxism-Leninism, the unyielding spirit which is tempered when the working people and the masses adopt this doctrine and fight to put it into practice. In his message of greetings addressed to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «The retrogressive processes which are occurring in the former socialist countries today are for us not only a confirmation of the correctness of the line of our Party, but also an encouragement to proceed with greater confidence and determination on the brilliant road which our revolution has opened us, to the extension of our tested socialist democracy, so that our people will always exercise their power in genuine freedom, and the individual, liberated from exploitation or any kind of oppression, will develop his personality and will create and act with initiative to the benefit of society and himself, and to the benefit of the socialist Homeland.»

September 1st, the first day of school; a beautiful celebration of the entire people. In photo: View of a school in the mountainous district of Skrapar.



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