

# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

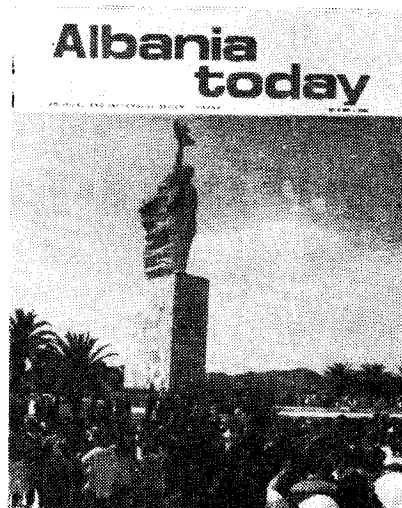
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ON NOVEMBER 29, 1989, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE CELEBRATE THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. IN THE PHOTO: «MOTHER ALBANIA» MONUMENT, WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S SCULPTORS KRISTAQ RAMA, MUNTAZ DHRAMI AND SHABAN HADERI

Andrea Lakuriqi: «Partisan victor», oil painting.





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# RAMIZ ALIA

## ALWAYS IN THE VAN BEARER OF

### - THE SPEECH DELIVERED THE CC OF

*The 8<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, presided by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, held its proceedings on September 25-26, 1989.*

*Comrade Lenka Çuko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, delivered the report «For the further strengthening of the Party and the improvement of its work in accord with the requirements of the time».*

*The question was extensively discussed at the Plenum.*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, held an important speech at the meeting of the Plenum of September 25.*

Comrades,

In all the historical development of our country during the last half century, both in the war for national and social liberation and in the great battles for the socialist construction, the leading role of our Party of Labour has been decisive. All our victories have their basis in the Party, in its revolutionary ideology and in its correct and far-sighted leadership.

We have a strong Party tempered from every viewpoint, a Party loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the people and socialism, a Party which is characterized by the steel unity of its ranks and its militant spirit.

At the present meeting of the Central Committee we are discussing the further strengthening of the Party and its leading role. Our aim is to keep it always up to the level of the tasks of the time, always revolutionary and capable of solving the problems which emerge in the process of our advance. We must always keep in mind the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who has pointed out that between the tasks of the social and economic development of the country and the leading role of the Party there is a

direct link: the greater, the more difficult and complex the objectives of socialist construction are, the more the leading role of the communists increases and the more decisive becomes the leadership of the Party.

We consider the experience of the all-sided leading activity of the Party, the successes of its line and the honoured position which it enjoys in society as a powerful basis for new achievements, but never as something perfect. Its history and experience are a source of strength and inspiration, but, if they are not understood correctly, dialectically, and in connection with the Party's concrete historical responsibilities, they can lead to self-satisfaction and stagnation.

I am in agreement with the report which Comrade Lenka delivered. In my contribution to the discussion I wish to draw attention to some problems which have emerged at the present stage of the socialist construction in our country or which result from current international developments and, especially, from those which have engulfed the countries of the East.

We are living in troubled times. External appearances can create the impression that the winds of peace are blowing, that the problems of mankind have been solved, that the contra-

# GUARD OF SOCIETY, PROGRESS

## AT THE 8<sup>TH</sup> PLENUM OF THE PARTY -

diction, and conflicts are being moderated and that, through a number of measures for the reduction of armaments, the danger of war is being removed. Indeed, the great powers, those most wealthy, are saying that they will loosen their purse-strings to help the poor. Never before has the demagogy about freedom, democracy and human rights been so intensive as it is today. But the other side of the medal, that which constitutes the essence of imperialism, must not be left unexamined. The material and spiritual exploitation of the working class has become more ferocious. The surplus value, which is appropriated by the bourgeoisie, is increasing to ever greater proportions, even subjecting the development of technique and technology to this aim. Likewise, the exploitation of the undeveloped countries by the metropolises has assumed unprecedented proportions.

Their debts, which amount to colossal sums of hundreds of billions of dollars, have been turned into modern means of enslaving peoples. If in the past the colonialists used their armies and weapons to invade and exploit countries and entire continents, now they use dollars and loans as a means to achieve the same end, to dictate their policy and to draw maximum profits. Capital no longer needs territory, it needs markets. This is quite apparent in many states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but it is also clear in some countries of Europe such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere.

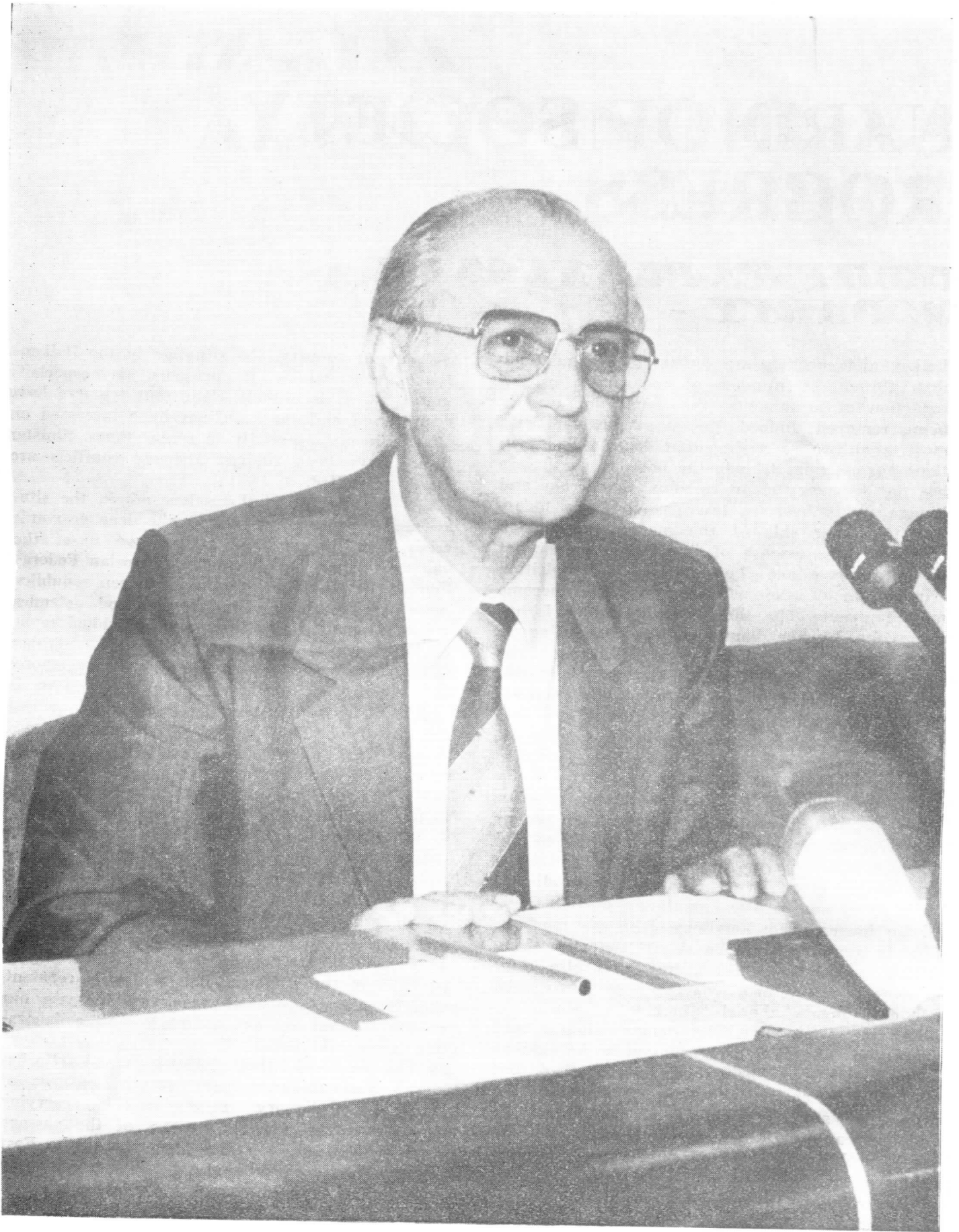
At the same time, the danger of war and aggression has not been removed. A number of hotbeds of war have been extinguished, but still there is no peace in the Middle East and people are still being killed in Southeast Asia and Africa. Now the national questions and ethnic problems are being revived and becoming explosive in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, or Hungary and Rumania.

For our country, the situation in the Balkans, the danger which it presents, is especially important. It is already clear that tempers have been raised and contradictions have increased on our Peninsula, especially in recent times. Sinister forces have been revived and old conflicts are being rekindled.

As the Yugoslavs themselves admit, the situation in Yugoslavia is grave. The deep economic crisis and the political crisis have upset the balances which have kept the Yugoslav Federation on its feet. The relations between republics have become tense. The quarrels and polemics are accompanied with threats of individual republics to secede from the Federation. Serbian chauvinism is working to establish its hegemony over the whole country. Its aggressiveness is expressed openly, especially in Kosova, against the Albanians. They have been subjected to real terror: there have been more jailings, the discrimination against the intelligentsia has increased and the Albanian language and culture are being attacked on a broad front.

Recently, also, there has been increased tension in the relations between a number of countries of our Peninsula. As a consequence, we can say that the process of Balkan collaboration, which began last year, is now facing difficult tests. Our country has been and is interested to ensure that the spirit of good neighbourliness prevails in the Balkans. This policy is constant, therefore, in the future we must increase our efforts so that the process of Balkan collaboration is not inhibited.

The revisionist betrayal, which with Gorbachov's perestroika and the current upsurge of counter-revolutionary reformism is carrying through to the end the process of the passage of Soviet society and the countries of the East completely on to capitalist rails, is increasing the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Gorbachov and his associates negate Stalin and



the initial achievements of socialism, but they do not hesitate to criticize Lenin and the October Revolution, too, presenting them as the source of the present evils of the Soviet Union. They no longer speak about communism or the communist movement, about the peoples' national liberation struggle or the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. And this is logical: they are part of the counter-revolutionary forces.

It is a fact that the revolution and the people's war have been struck a heavy blow by the bourgeoisie and reaction. Today the opportunist tendency pervades all the ideo-political life of the world, it dominates at international conferences and meetings, and various events are judged and evaluated on the basis of this criterion. This is a reality which must be taken into account, but must not reduce the vigour of the revolution. This reality is temporary.

It is known that the revolution, like any social phenomenon, has its ups and downs, but its ebb-tide, the opportunist trend, cannot alter the laws of social development, cannot stop the process of the decay of capitalism and its general crisis, and cannot smother the revolution. The revolution advances because it is impossible for the proletariat and peoples to reconcile themselves to exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie and imperialism, however, cannot live without exploitation and oppression.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha condemned modern revisionism and warned the communist movement of this danger when the first symptoms of it appeared. And time has shown that these criticisms and forecasts were correct. This has been confirmed by the miserable end of Yugoslavia which was the first to set out on the course of revisionism and, with its repeated failures, was the first to show where reformism leads; it has been confirmed by the all-round crisis which has engulfed the Soviet Union, not to speak of Hungary of Poland which are not only immersed in debts of revisionism, what economic, ideological and political difficulties, but after 45 years are even handing over state power to the most rabid anti-communist forces.

Now reaction is presenting the catastrophic consequences of revisionism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and the complete political, ideological, economic and moral degeneration of the countries where the revisionists are in power as the failure of communism. Its most prominent emissaries are speaking about «the cancelling out of the motive forces of socialism», about its «bankruptcy», about «the death of Marx», etc.

It is our duty to resolutely oppose these

reactionary theses, the purpose of which is to discredit socialism and the ideology of the proletariat, and to turn the working class and the oppressed peoples away from the road of the revolution. We must emphasize what our Party long ago predicted that the source of the evils which are appearing in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is their departure from the socialist course. In those countries it is not communism and the doctrine of Karl Marx which have failed. On the contrary, denial of communism and replacement of the proletarian ideology with the bourgeois ideology have brought about moral and economic decadence and all-round disintegration.

While exposing the things that are occurring in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern countries, it is our duty to carry our criticism of revisionism further, to deepen it and enrich it with new arguments. In particular, further studies must be made into the question of what were the conditions which facilitated the work of revisionism, what economic, ideological and social factors it exploited in order to undermine socialism. It is essential that we dwell on these questions because the phenomenon of the appearance of revisionism has to do not only with the subjective factor, as it is sometimes presented: a Khrushchev, a Brezhnev, or a Gorbachov emerged or a leadership turned traitor, and the working class and the people were deceived!

Of course, the subjective factor has very great importance, especially when we speak of the leadership of a country. But the very fact that a leader or a leadership apparently is able, after 40 or 50 years of socialism, to reverse the process of social development, to replace a more advanced order with an outdated order, shows that, in the process of the construction of the new society and its economic and social development, something was not in order, shows that the control valves did not function well, that particular individuals or leading organs had too much power, that the role, control and participation of the masses in the management of affairs was not effective, not to say that they remained formal.

The developments in the international situation and the trend of opportunism, as a consequence of the revisionist betrayal, bring about changes in the ratio of forces; they influence the relations between states, alliances and military blocs; they upset the equilibrium established in one zone or the other. These developments are reflected also in economic relations and elsewhere.

Our Party cannot ignore these phenomena, especially when they are going on around us

and, in various forms and to different degrees, exerting influence on us, too, and on the relations of our country with others and on our struggle for socialist construction. Therefore, we must watch these processes carefully, must study them and try to envisage future developments so that we will not be taken by surprise at any time or in any direction and can work out a stand which responds to the defence of the interests of the Homeland, the defence of socialism and the cause of the struggle of the peoples and the revolution.

It is our duty to be active in the field of foreign affairs, so as to strengthen the political position of our country. We must have keen vigilance, a high political level of the masses, progressive rates of economic development, high defence capacity and skillful diplomatic activity. The Party must inspire and guide all these things.

In the 45 years of socialist life our Party has coped successfully with its historic tasks. It has emerged triumphant, because at each stage of the revolution it has applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism faithfully and in a creative way. That is what it did during the National Liberation War and that is how it has acted in the socialist construction. In our country the transformations in all fields, such as the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the policy of investments and the development of education and culture, have been carried out in a natural way, avoiding stereotypes and ready-made schemes, while taking into account the characteristics of the country, its economic and social situation and the traditions and psychology of the people. The principle of self-reliance has been the basis of our whole development.

Socialism has proved itself the order with the highest effectiveness in the history of our people. With this mode of production and living, the economic power of the country has grown, the life and the well-being of the people have changed radically, and exemplary economic and political stability has been created. Of course, we are not wallowing in plenty. But we are happy. We have no debts to anyone. Everything which we consume we secure through our own toil. We look to the future with optimism because we have confidence in the work and strength of the people. We are proud that we are free, independent and sovereign.

The road which we have traversed has not been strewn with flowers. It will not be a broad boulevard in the future, either. We are aware also that not everything has been or is being

solved to perfection. This is natural, because the socialist society which we are building is a relatively new society, which is guided by a clear strategy and lofty ideals, but the road towards these ideals is full of unknown hazards.

Our socialist construction is accompanied with difficulties and obstacles which result from the backwardness we have inherited, from the rigorous requirements of independent economic development and also from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

I stress the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, to which Comrade Enver has continually drawn our attention, because for a number of reasons this factor seems to be underrated. Perhaps, because of the fact that our political and economic activity abroad is increasing, that our relations and contacts with the world are being intensified and extended, the illusion has been created in some comrades that this encirclement has been weakened. This is a mistake and an extremely dangerous one. The Party must not allow such a psychosis to become established.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is permanent: it is a political, ideological, economic and military encirclement. The enemies are fighting to wipe socialism from the face of the earth, to isolate us and to force us to deviate from our course. And to this end they create difficulty after difficulty for us. We do not expect that the pressure of enemies will be diminished. It is not pleasing to world capitalism that Albania is building socialism, that it is fighting revisionist reformism, that it shows the peoples that the revolution is alive and advancing, and that reliance on the internal forces is a principle which is proving its effectiveness. Therefore, we must never forget this reality, but must counteract resolutely and consistently by strengthening the unity of the people around the Party, by accomplishing and overfulfilling the plans of economic and cultural development, by reducing the demands for import and increasing export, by strengthening our fighting readiness and enhancing our vigilance.

In the difficulties of the socialist construction, lack of experience plays no small part. We have to understand that the numerous problems which emerge will be coped with, as it has been done hitherto, by seeking more effective ways. From this point of view it is necessary that the Party must encourage the creative spirit and the method of analysis everywhere. Each step which is taken must become a subject for discussion by the masses and cadres, the specialists and experts.



Discussion in order to find ways for the progress of the revolution on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is not taboo. Likewise, the changes which our socialist development and the conditions created impose do not constitute a sacrilege. Let the bourgeoisie speak about the «opening up» of Albania whenever our country acts in the field of international relations and extends its contacts with the world; let them interpret according to their own taste the changes we make and the measures we take in order to strengthen the economy and culture and to improve the life of the people. This does not worry us, because Albania and our Party of Labour are what they have been, and are advancing resolutely on the course which the Albanian people have chosen through their people's revolution. We do not make and never have made any «changes», have not «opened» or «closed» the country under the influence of anyone. Every activity of ours is dictated by our conditions and needs, and is subject only to the interests of the Albanian people and socialism.

The fundamental task for us is to carry socialism successfully forward and to close off any path which might lead to its distortion. From this the task emerges that we must advance rapidly in all our affairs, must make improvements, additions and adjustments when and where necessary, but if we take some step more quickly than the existing possibilities allow, we must not hesitate to retreat. Only in certain directions must we never move in any circumstances: we will never permit the weakening of the socialist common property, just as we will not allow the opening of the way for the return of private property and capitalist exploitation; we will never allow the weakening of the people's state power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as we have never shared and never will share power with any anti-popular force; we will never relinquish or permit the weakening of the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the sake of the so-called pluralism that the bourgeoisie dishes out to us; we will never permit our national freedom, independence and sovereignty to be infringed. These questions we consider sacred. For them our Party has fought and will fight consistently; for them our people have shed their blood and sweat, and for them we have made and must be ready to make any kind of sacrifice.

Bearing in mind the situations and tasks which are mentioned above, how should the Party be, how should it work in order to lead the so-

cialist construction successfully and give new impulses to the development of the country?

Today more qualified and more scientific work, persistence and creativeness are required from the organizations of the Party and from the communists. The Party must respond to the problems of the time in all directions, therefore, it must always be fresh in its ideals and aspirations, a bearer of the most advanced thinking of our society.

As always, the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses remains the main factor for coping with these tasks. The communists are a great revolutionary force, but it is the people, the masses, who play the decisive role in the socialist construction. The communists are advanced people, but without consulting the most qualified opinion of the broad working masses, workers and scientists, the country cannot embark on a new stage of development.

The Party has gained its leading position and its vanguard place in society because its policy and activity have always responded to the interests of the people. Therefore, it must keep its eyes and its mind on the people, taking into account that the people, the working masses, are not only those who carry out directives, but, above all, those creative forces which enrich and develop the orientations of the Party. This idea has been synthesized best by Comrade Enver when he pointed out that «the masses build socialism, the Party makes them conscious».

The enhancement of the role of the masses is closely linked with the encouragement of their initiative and the creation of conditions for the broad development of this initiative. The bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies to standardize and centralize everything alienate the masses from creative activity and inhibits their initiative. They violate our socialist democracy, so they are not and must not be in the style of our Party. The communists, the organizations and committees of the Party must bear this well in mind.

In our country, in the conditions of the people's state power, socialist democracy has been developed on a broad scale. Our people have never been as free and independent as they are today. Every citizen of the country is assured under the law and guaranteed in practice the right to work, to education, to state care for his health, national equality, etc. Our people themselves discuss and decide on the plans of the economic and cultural development of the country, elect their representatives to the organs of state power and build and defend their own future. This is an indisputable reality which is also the

main factor of the moral-political unity of our people.

Is there room for improvement in this field so that the role, the initiative and participation of the masses in the socialist construction be enhanced? It would be neither correct nor dialectical were we to assert that everything responds to the requirements of the time. For this reason, the problems which have to do with the revolutionization of the life of the Party and the cadres, with the struggle against bureaucracy and alien manifestations, with the strengthening of the role of the masses and their control, and with the struggle against despotism, arrogance and formalism are always on the order of the day.

Rigidity and narrowness in these fields have dangerous consequences. They foster the administrative methods of management, leaving out the masses and their creative thinking. In such conditions there is room for careerists, despots, bureaucrats and incompetents, who constitute a contingent which can become extremely dangerous for the fate of socialism, which can easily be manipulated by the ideology of the revisionists, a contingent which, with its tendency to show that it has power, atrophies and paralyzes the creative ability and the role of the working people in the economy, culture, politics and defence. Administrative methods of leadership enable individual cadres and even leading organs to escape from the control of the Party, the control of the working class and the masses.

The struggle against such phenomena and the struggle to enhance the role of the masses are linked directly with the strengthening of our social order, the strengthening of our socialist democracy.

In the world today the bourgeoisie is striving to take the banner of the struggle for democracy and human rights into its own hands. Indeed, it seeks to present its own norms and concepts about democracy and human rights as the only yardstick and criterion of the truth on these matters. This diabolical tactic of capitalism in order to impose its standards, which has found support among the revisionists as well, in fact, serves reaction as a way for ideological diversion and interference in the internal affairs of others.

In reality our democracy is beyond any comparison with bourgeois democracy; similarly, human rights in our country are beyond any comparison with those formal rights which the worker or peasant has in the capitalist countries. Democracy and human rights and respect for them are attributes of socialism, are the content and essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the

power of the people, and not the power of the bourgeoisie, which in its essence and content has exploitation, oppression of and injustice towards the masses of the people.

Precisely because democracy is a fundamental principle of socialism, we must develop and perfect it continually. The encouragement of the initiative and the strengthening of the control of the masses, their active participation in the discussion of every problem which has to do with the progress of the country and the application of the line of the Party causes problems for and upsets only bureaucrats, people who want to establish authority through orders and imposition, but the enhancement of the role of the masses and their active participation in the construction of the country is good for socialism.

Comrade Enver has pointed out that one of the important factors for the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union was bureaucracy, the indifference and passivity of officials, the apparatchiki, who had the slogan «znayet nachalstvo»\* on the tip of their tongues! It behoves the Party to reflect more deeply on the concrete circumstances which foster these phenomena and how they should be combated. But one thing is quite clear: the struggle against bureaucracy must be continued. In connection with this, it is the duty of the organs and organizations of the Party to go back again and again to the documents of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on this question. In particular, they must study and restudy his speech in Mat in 1972 and his speech to the cadres in Gjirokastra in 1978. These speeches contain many ideas which must be thoroughly analyzed to improve the existing mechanisms and create new ones, and there are questions which must be re-emphasized and solved with determination. One of them is the problem of control by the workers and control in general. Without strengthening control, the actions of bureaucrats and careerists that create a gulf between the people and the state cannot be checked. Not for one minute must we forget Comrade Enver's teaching: if the Party in its leading organs prefers commandeering methods, this gives rise to conformism and opportunism at the grass-roots.

Our socialist society has advanced greatly, the economy and culture have grown and developed rapidly, the level of the cadres and the consciousness of the working people have been raised. It is a great satisfaction to hear the cooperativists on television or directly in free meetings. They speak without any hesitation about production, the cost, expenditure, supplies, the brigade leader,

the management of the cooperative, etc. In the work centres, too, the working class speaks openly and with responsibility. But is it possible for the voice of the masses to be more effective? Because there are more than a few cases of damage and misuse, absenteeism and failure to fulfil norms, breaches of discipline and favouritism. Who does these things? Cooperativists, workers and other unformed working people do them, but they also come about through the weakening of work and laxity of brigade leaders and directors of factories, managers and others. In these conditions, can we say that the organizations of the Party, trade-unions, or the organs of control are doing their work well? What sort of communists and what workers' organizations are those of the «Ali Kelmendi» Combine, the Cigarette Factory in Durrës, the Meat Combine in Tirana, and elsewhere, where products and raw materials are stolen, where there are misuses and ugly manifestations of favouritism and indiscipline?

Without arousing the masses, with the working class at the head of them, without giving them possibilities and prerogatives to act, without their properly exercising the right they have to revoke or dismiss anyone who breaches the norms and does not perform his tasks, whether he is a brigade leader or a high cadre, regardless of which organism has appointed him, these problems cannot be solved. All the cadres without exception must feel that they are subordinate to the masses of cooperativists, workers and other working people, who assess the performance of cadres. Therefore, they must try to be on good terms with the working masses, on the basis of their conscientious work, and not just with the organs and «comrades» above them!

The organizations of the Party must not close their eyes to certain phenomena which can be seen: the state and party apparatuses have been inflated with salary employees. Many specialists have been drawn from the sphere of production. The worst of it is that, in many cases, in the jobs which they have gone to, they are not engaged in the solution of weighty problems, but in general and frequently academic studies. Such a situation should no longer be permitted.

The Party has continually stressed that the communists should always be in the forefront of the work. But is this so in practice? The organizations of the Party must reflect deeply on the fact that there are many communists with fixed salaries in the agricultural cooperatives, in the economic enterprises, and the state apparatuses. This is not in accord with the spirit of militancy which the Party demands from its members.

In his speech in Mat, Comrade Enver deals forcefully with the question of the ratio of communists to non-party people in the organs of state power and in leading positions. As early as 1972, he presented the question that most of them should not be party members. Today, almost 20 years later, when the political and economic situation is even stronger, when the overwhelming bulk of the population has been born in the epoch of socialism, and brought up and educated from the cradle with the teachings of the Party, there is no reason why his being a party member or not should influence the appointment of the cadre to a position. Any post, even that of the minister, the military commander, or the diplomat, even a post in the leading organs of the state can be trusted to a son or daughter of the people, irrespective of whether or not he or she is a member of the Party, provided only he or she is honest, loyal to the cause of the Homeland and socialism, capable and cultured. And the absolute majority of the cadres are like this. Then, what is required? More energetic activity is required from the organs of the Party, which should base themselves more firmly on the opinion of the masses in the appointment of cadres and abandon some regulations and staff appointments which in many cases are unnecessary, replacing them with competitions for the acceptance of people in certain sectors and categories of work. The solution of these questions automatically helps to combat the tendencies which may be displayed by some unformed individuals who regard admission to the Party as a way to make a career and to gain a post of responsibility.

The struggle against bureaucracy and the strengthening of socialist democracy require the establishment of a correct relationship between the elected organs and their apparatuses. The tendency of party and state apparatuses is to monopolize the work, to exceed their role and functions, pushing aside the elected organs. It seems to me that this occurs because the elected organs have left them many competences.

It is known that the apparatuses do not have the right to make policy decisions. They are organisms to assist the elected organs in detailing directives and checking up on the application of decisions, to study different problems and to make proposals and suggestions for their solution. Only the elected leadership has the right to take decisions. However, on the most vital needs of the people such as employment, housing, schooling, qualification, etc., it is not unusual for the section heads or other workers of the executive organs to decide. The problem

is not put forward so that the executive organs are exempted from their rights. The thing is that the elected organs, the councillors and the deputies have full powers, and we must make this felt everywhere. This makes our socialist democracy more effective and creates conditions for the masses, both directly and through their elected representatives, to exercise control and guarantee the proper application of laws and respect for socialist norms.

The growth of the active role of the masses in strengthening the people's state power is reflected, too, in the democratic elections, which in our country are universal, direct and without any limitation for any citizen who has reached 18 years of age. In our system, the candidature for a councillor or a deputy is not put forward by the interested person, as it occurs in the capitalist countries, but is proposed by the masses at meetings of the Democratic Front, in precincts or villages. This is very democratic, because it gives the people the possibility to reject a candidate who does not enjoy the trust of the masses before they go to the polls.

Nevertheless, the mechanism of the electoral system could be improved to further strengthen the role and control of the masses. In the election of the councillors and people's judges this year, proposals for candidates were presented directly by the organizations of the masses, the youth, the women, the trade-unions and veterans, and after a broad popular discussion in the organizations of the Democratic Front more than one candidate was proposed for each seat, and this was a good thing. It created conditions for a better selection of candidatures. Could this procedure be improved? Could it be applied to the elections in the Party, too, beginning from those in the basic party organizations and their bureaus? Would it not assist in the preparation of each communist as a leader if the term for the re-election of secretaries of party basic organizations and those of bureaus were limited, say, to no more than to 4 to 5 years, as Comrade Lenka said in the report she delivered?

All these and other questions must be carefully studied by the Party; the question of staff appointments and competences must be examined, just as the question of the role of commissions of people's councils and the People's Assembly, the question of enhancing the role of the organizations of the masses and, especially, of the Democratic Front, and so on, must be studied. The problem is that the best and most capable individuals, those who enjoy the respect and love of the people, should be elected to the organs of

the Party and the state, so that the working masses should use to the full their right to exercise power and have their activity under control.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism, each organization and each communist must be militant. Today the Party is faced with many new problems, some difficult, others less so, which require appropriate solutions. Such questions emerge in the field of economic development, in foreign relations, in the fields of defence, education, literature, culture, etc. Communist militancy is reflected in the efforts each organization and each communist makes to fulfil and overfulfil the targets, in their active attitude to find ways to overcome problems which emerge and in the struggle against difficulties, against taking things easy and passively.

More must be demanded from the basic organizations and the communists in every field of social activity. Let us take the class struggle. This phenomenon exists in the most various forms. The Party has said this and proved it many times, and practice has confirmed and confirms it every day. The class struggle is reflected in foreign relations, just as it is reflected within the country in a whole range of social activities. Here I am not referring to the class enemy physically only, but to alien class concepts, incorrect interpretations of various phenomena, the influence of foreign ideology, the underestimation of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and the danger which it can present to socialism. It is not rare for these manifestations to affect our people, who either underestimate the danger of the influence of alien ideologies, or don't see it at all.

Communist militancy is expressed in the clear and active stands the basic organizations and the communists ought to take in ideology. No concession must be made to the bourgeois ideology in any field, in politics, in art, in culture or in economic relations. No concessions must be made to the religious ideology. We take this stand not only as convinced atheists, but also to defend our unity as a people, who, through the centuries, have suffered from the divisions and splits which the churches and mosques have inspired. We must make no concessions to alien manifestations which are contrary to our socialist morality, our customs and national characteristics.

All these things require the raising of the ideo-political level of the communists, but, above all, require resolute struggle against indifference and passivity which are diseases dangerous to socialism. At all times the communists and cadres must be concerned about the accomplishment of

tasks, must be ambitious in the revolutionary sense of the word in order to reach new frontiers. He who responds to his duty with honour and ability deserves the title of communist. He who remains indifferent when he sees that the line of the Party and the interests of socialism are damaged, he who flinches before difficulties and obstacles, he who tries to secure favours for himself abusing the title of communist, is not needed in the Party.

The creative abilities of the Party and communist militancy should be displayed more than ever at the present time when we ought to give new impulses to the allround development of our society. In particular, they must be expressed in connection with such a key problem as the strengthening of the economy, because the continuous improvement of the life of the people which constitutes the main aim of the Party is linked with this. I am not going to dwell on the numerous questions which have emerged in this field. Here I shall simply express some ideas about the social productivity of labour.

If the social productivity of labour were to be judged by comparing its present level with that of the earliest post-Liberation years, the conclusion would be very positive. What took a year to be produced at that time is now produced only within 3 or 4 days. But what is the level of the productivity of labour in comparison with the possibilities of the present development level of production? It must be said that it is low, that it does not respond to the demands of the time and, especially, to those of the future. At present, the productivity of labour in some sectors creates minimum resources for the extended reproduction. This is a matter which causes concern. We must not forget Lenin's statement that, in the final analysis, the level of the social productivity of labour will be the gauge of the superiority of one or the other social order.

Why is the situation like this in our country? Is there something in the mechanism of the organization or administration of affairs which hinders the rise in productivity? If so, of what nature is this obstacle: material or moral, objective or subjective? And, more important, how should this key problem of our development be overcome? That is a major question which requires study, but, especially, it requires the finding of solutions in conformity with our conditions of development and our ideological principles.

Apart from the need for improvement in the utilization of equipment, it is known that in our

present conditions it is the work of man, his level of consciousness and qualification, which is decisive in raising productivity. Are there problems which should be examined from this stand-point? The task of the Party and the state and study organs is to examine them with competence, in a creative spirit and with revolutionary militancy.

There is need, first of all, to step up the efforts for the education of the working people to raise their consciousness. Here, too, the organizations of the Party, the trade-unions, the state and all the organizations of the masses have major tasks. They must seriously re-examine the work they are doing, because there are monotony, dry moralization, slogans and formalism, which are out of date. These criticisms apply both to the forms of education and the qualification courses, to forms of figurative agitation and socialist emulation, to the propaganda by word of mouth and through the press and television.

But is this in itself sufficient? Despite the exceptionally great importance of consciousness, and I stress that the work of the Party must radically be improved in this direction, too, it cannot be expected that the productivity of labour reaches the qualitative levels which modern production requires through consciousness alone. Measures are also required in the field of the administration and organization of production. In this direction, is there a need for the improvement of various mechanisms and levers which link the remuneration of workers more closely with production, which make the workers, specialists or managers more interested in raising the productivity and quality of the work?

In capitalist society, competition, the danger of bankruptcy and insecurity exert powerful pressure both on the worker and on the employer. The mechanism of bourgeois economy is blind and merciless. In socialism, the opposite is the case. In our society there is no anxiety about the future, but whereas each individual worker benefits directly from its superiority, the shortcomings and difficulties, which are reflected in the decline of the productivity of labour and the effectiveness of production of enterprises, are unloaded on society as a whole. The individual feels them in an indirect way. For this reason, it is necessary to study the implementation of certain changes in our economic mechanism, which will ensure the rights and the direct joint responsibility of the society, the collective, the group or the individual for the fate of production.

The harmonization of the general interests of

society with those of the individual is one of the most difficult problems of socialism. The bad example of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries proves this. There they were not harmonized so as to make the working class, the peasantry and the broad working masses interested in increasing production. In those countries, the concern was to create favours for bureaucratic apparatuses, some strata of the intelligentsia, the military castes, etc., and this has led to great differentiations and social conflicts, on the one hand, and the encouragement of passivity and indifferentism, on the other.

A major problem which is linked with the level of the productivity of labour is the strengthening of discipline. I am referring both to technical and scientific discipline, and to the one which is called labour discipline. In the state enterprises, not to mention the administrations, there is a great deal of absenteeism, meanwhile almost one third of the workers do not fulfil their norms. This damages production as a whole, especially there where the processes of work are in a chain. Is this something to examine in the Labour Code, which today envisages that the worker who absents himself without reason has only his pay for the day or the hours he was absent deducted? Even in the case when the worker commits some grave breach of discipline, if after many troubles, protests and court sessions he is dismissed from his job, he goes to another enterprise without any real harm. Who needs this big-heartedness? Is the worker protected by damaging socialism?! Why should society suffer from the carelessness and absenteeism of an individual? Would it not be fair that such a person, whether a worker, a specialist, or a cadre, if he is dismissed for incompetence, grave breaches of discipline or misuse of his position, goes to work in another place and, for a given time, with a reduced wage?

In our country the opinion prevails that the state leaves no one unemployed. This is true, but we should not allow the lazy, the careless and the shirkers to benefit from this superiority of socialism. Let them remain jobless; they bring the evil on themselves. In the university, according to the regulation, if the student is absent without reason for 24 hours of lessons, he is expelled from school for one year. Is this fault graver than that of a worker who leaves his job in the chromium mine, in construction, in the factory or elsewhere, in order to stay three, four or five days at the wedding of his cousin in the village?

There are more than a few cases in which

machines and production lines are imported, but take years to be put to work. Indeed, campaigns are undertaken for this purpose. Our press calls them revolutionary initiatives and praises them. How do these anomalies come about? Who creates them? Do they speak of financial discipline, order, good management and communist responsibility, or of the opposite? Should this matter be left only to the sphere of consciousness? Do not these things and others like them show a lack or non-proper functioning of the mechanisms of economic and financial control over the machines which are imported and the assets which enterprises have at their disposal? Is there not room to study and issue additional regulations about the role of the bank and financial discipline, while stressing the importance of the economic aspect and control by means of money?

These problems are vital for the development of our economy. It is precisely here that the creative, mobilizing and organizing force of the Party must be reflected. To solve these problems, the organs and the organizations of the Party must set innovative thought in motion, encourage the vanguard workers, and activate the organizations of the masses, the scientific institutions, and so on. The militancy of each cadre and communist and their revolutionary spirit must be expressed in this great work, in the struggle to raise productivity and strengthen discipline.

We must call for militancy and the spirit of initiative and encourage them strongly, also, in the development of the internal life of the basic organizations of the Party. The party meetings must always be militant, free from formality and officialdom. In the party organization, all are and must be equal without any distinction. Any inferiority complex or feeling of superiority, any manifestation of hierarchy, anything which inhibits the free expression of opinion and debate in them must be condemned and rejected.

Some days ago I received a letter from a woman communist who complained that one of the secretaries of the Party Committee of the Lezha District had made what she considered an improper suggestion in connection with the attitude the meeting of the basic organization was supposed to adopt about the mistake of a communist. From this letter one question attracted my attention: why is it necessary for the secretary of a party committee to summon a secretary of a basic organization and suggest what attitude it must take on the mistake of this or that communist? Is the basic organization not able of judging such a thing? Why this distrust towards the base? Who needs this kind of paternalism?

The problem becomes even more serious when intervention on such matters has to do with cadres, with directors, as was the case referred to in the letter I mentioned. I am not saying that the concrete case is one of favouritism, or that the writer of the letter is right. The question is: why should not the cadres, too, be subject to the same rules as any communist, so that when they make mistakes, the matter is discussed and decided in the basic organization? As I said above, the respective organs have the right to make appointments, but when it comes to judging the work of the cadres, to taking disciplinary measures and to revoking or dismissing cadres of any rank when they make a mistake, the collective and the basic organization also have rights. It is important that this be understood properly, so that each cadre or leader tries to win the respect of the collective and the people by working with a high level of consciousness, and does not strive to be on good terms only with the committee and the organ which has appointed him, thinking that, thus, he is under their protection.

The internal life of the Party, the militant spirit and debate are frequently weakened not only by intervention from above, but also by confounding the notion of unity with that of unanimity. Many comrades think mistakenly that if they do not vote unanimously for a communist or a cadre on a problem or stand, this is a breach of unity. No, comrades, this is not so. Unity is a notion with a political and ideological content and has to do with the line and the principles. We have unity of opinions and actions for the cause of socialism, the general interest, the principle of remuneration according to the work done, the independence of the Homeland, and reliance on our own forces, and other such problems of principle. But it is another matter that, in the struggle to achieve these aims and to apply these principles, there will be a variety of opinions, a number of proposals for solutions, and complex measures, which support one another, will be taken. The question of unanimity emerges here. It may not result on an absolute scale in every concrete case on which discussions are held, opinions are exchanged, studies are carried out and decisions taken. This expresses and should express the internal democracy, the spirit of initiative, the freedom of opinion and action to put the socialist ideals into practice.

In essence, to clearly distinguish the concept of unity from that of unanimity means to distinguish what is a matter of principle from what

is not so, to distinguish what has to do with the laws from that which has to do with the concrete measures and the ways to put into practice the demands of the laws. This makes the work of the Party more flexible and gives logic to its activity.

An ideological homogeneity has long been created and is ceaselessly intensified in our country. We must use this great achievement of our social order to develop our socialist democracy further in all fields of social activity. In these conditions, debate and confrontation of opinions, solutions, variants and practices is completely normal. Amongst us there is no social basis for these things to assume the form of a social antagonism. On the contrary, they develop in line with the interests of our socialist society and express our common efforts for socialism and progress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

*«At various meetings it is noticed that some leading comrades are afraid of discussions' which are 'out of tune', which go beyond the stereotyped formulas. They think that everything ought to proceed smoothly. The result of such a method is that the opposing opinions are expressed outside the meeting. In this case, the alarm is sounded about something which is said to have been understood 'theoretically', but which, in fact, has been neither understood nor applied correctly.»\**

He continues:

*«Listen how neatly and correctly an engineering worker has expressed this dialectical law of the clash of opinions, as a great motive force of our society: 'We mechanics like these frictions', he said, 'because when two metals are rubbed together they produce heat which is transformed into mechanical energy. Similarly with ideas: the more ideas are thrashed out, the more heat energy they will generate, and, as a consequence, production and the well-being of the workers will go ahead'.»\**

Comrade Enver concludes:

*«Just from the one example I mentioned we ought to think: why should we be afraid of discussion, of the clash of ideas, why should we be afraid of criticism and why should we confine self-criticism to a few personal things, and should not develop it on a still wider scale. Discussion and criticism does not, in any way, lower the authority of the institution or department, but stirs them up to resolve the contradictions that emerge in life, correctly and promptly.»\*\**

The proper development of debate and con-

frontation requires noticeable progress in the work of the Party, especially in its activity of propaganda and education. It is essential to break away from the stereotypes, the repetition of known truths, ready-made phrases, dogmatism and metaphysics which atrophy thinking, do not see society in movement and do not follow the process of development in its dialectics. We need more scientific treatment of the problems we encounter in the objective reality, more critical analysis and more creative thinking. In our state and party schools, in the study institutes, in the forms of education and in the press, and in the work with the masses we need to dwell deeper on the present ideological, political, economic and social phenomena; we need analyses based on the present-day developments and courage to face up to the problems which emerge from them.

In particular, increased care for the youth and improved educational work with them is required. This is a task not only for the Labour Youth Union of Albania, but above all, for the organizations of the Party and the state organs, for the school and the cultural institutions. We must not forget that the absolute majority of our population is under 30 years of age. This mass has its own demands and numerous interests which result from its age, but also from its cultural level which is continually rising.

The youth of our country are ideologically pure, ardently patriotic and militant for socialism, intelligent and active. They live with the problems of the country and are outstanding in the work to solve them. From this stand-point, those forms of work which, in essence, are limited to some general moralizations about how they ought to behave, what they should do and what they should not do at work, in school and in the street must be considered paternalistic and outdated. Is it not the time for the youth organization and the Party to think about and find appropriate forms of work in order to respond to the broad interests of the youth on the whole, and to particular sections of them, in order to encourage their initiative and self-action and their creative capacities?

The youth are the future of the Homeland. They will carry socialism forward. Therefore, the duty of the Party is to educate a youth knowledgeable from every stand-point, a sincere, courageous and skilful youth, who at all times will defend the country and socialism, and consequently cope with the difficulties and obstacles. The secretaries of the Party, from the highest

organs down to the base, must make contact with the young men and women in forms as unofficial as possible, must explain to them the situations we are going through and the problems the Party is solving, report to them, seek their opinion and consult them. The young men and women must not be treated as children, but as fighters, indeed, as the most outstanding fighters, because that is what they are.

Today the youth have numerous requirements in regard to art, culture, literature, sports, etc. Therefore, the Party and the respective organizations must take care to ensure them more publications, more artistic performances, more songs, more sports activities, etc. The youth have very warmly welcomed a number of literary works by our outstanding writers, some «New Albania» Film-studio productions, some translations, of famous authors of world literature, the series of concerts of folk songs, the exciting matches of our junior girl volleyball players, who are champions of the Balkans, etc. Hence, they appreciate quality and, indeed, seek to measure their strength with the world. Why should we consider a normal duty the demand that we measure our strength with the world in production, and not consider it so also in the other spheres? A sports complex was built in Tirana. This was a very good thing. But the needs of the youth for recreation are not fulfilled just with this. Would it not be better if, in a number of districts, instead of spending money on fountains which have no beauty, do something for the youth, build swimming pools, sports grounds and reading-rooms, encourage alpinism, culture, and so on? This, too, is work for the organizations and organs of the Party.

Strengthening the leading role of the Party and communist militancy are closely connected with admissions to the Party and the quality of communists. This was treated in the report, so I will not expand on this question. I want only to stress that we should always bear in mind that our Party is a party of the working class. This is determined not only by its proletarian ideology, but also by its social composition. For this purpose, the Central Committee has taken special decisions to establish such ratios of admissions as to maintain in its structure the priority of worker communists, as regards their social status and origin. This is correct and should be implemented in the future, too. Rules have been set also about the age of the candidates to membership.

The quality of the people admitted to the



Party has fundamental importance, as the 9th Congress, also, has pointed out. Constant care must be devoted to this problem. We must always maintain the Party pure. And it remains pure if all its members are dedicated fighters for the cause of the people and put the interests of society above everything. Every party member, from the rank-and-file communist to the member of the Central Committee, should clearly know that people judge the Party from the behaviour and stand of the communists: whether they are correct and honest in life, set the example at work and in society, are modest, have well-behaved, well-educated and unpretentious families and children, etc., etc.

Some problems have emerged over admissions from among the ranks of the intellectuals in production, education and culture, science, etc., as well as over the age of those admitted. Certainly, these problems should be studied, because conditions have changed and, as a consequence, some rules must be changed, too. For example, is it right that, in reckoning the age of admissions to the Party, we should take into account its whole membership, including the pensioners? Would it not be more appropriate if, in admitting people to the Party, we should reckon the average age of the Party without including pensioners? They have given much to the Party and will continue to do so to the extent of their possibilities, and they will keep high the name of the communist as long as they live. The active strength of the Party, however, will be made up by those communists who work in production, in work centres, in the countryside and at various institutions. Here we need our Party to be young, active and dynamic.

Apart from workers and cooperativists, other working people, who come under the category of employees, are also admitted to the Party. Here are included workers of state and economic administration, regardless of their level of education: watchmen and warehouse keepers, academics and officers, teachers, doctors, controllers and others. Is there room for corrections here? I think there is. The Party is interested in having in its ranks more outstanding men of our intelligentsia, people engaged in creative activities, doctors, engineers, scholars, economists, teachers and others, and less watchmen and warehouse keepers or office employees. Whether this problem will be dealt with by making the present denominations more precise, or in some other way, this should be studied. However, one thing must be emphasized: those whom we con-

sider intellectuals today are the sons and daughters of the people; they are workers, peasants, officers, employees, and fighters for socialism, for which all of them have fought and been consistently working for 45 years. These are the intellectuals who have been created, raised and educated by the Party and according to its teachings.

The effectiveness of the work of the Party calls for the further strengthening of the role of the basic organization, because the foundations of the whole of our society lie there, among the communists, the workers and peasants. All problems are coped with and all directives implemented only if the communists and the mass of the people struggle to this end. If the basic organization does not discuss these problems and if it does not decide what should be done about them and the ways of dealing with them, we cannot solve either the problem of raising the social productivity of labour, or that of strengthening discipline, developing agriculture, strengthening small herds and plots, improving education, and so on. Irregularities, injustices and favouritism cannot be combated if the basic organizations and the working masses do not analyze and do not decide for themselves about these problems. All the others, any committee, any commission, any organ, be it even the Central Committee of the Party, are more liable to err on these problems than the base.

Comrades,

The strength of our Party of Labour and its health are the basis of the vitality and continuity of socialism in Albania. By working to enhance the leading role of the Party and to strengthen the militant character of its activity, we actually impart a fresh impulse to our economic and social development on the road of socialism according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, prepare ourselves better for the implementation of the new plans the Party is working out for the 9th Five-year Plan, and create the conditions for increasing the prosperity of the people and the glory of our socialist Homeland.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania!  
Glory to triumphant Marxism-Leninism!

\* The leadership knows (Russian in the original).

\*\* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 618.

\*\*\* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 619.

\*\*\*\* *Ibidem*, p. 619.

# COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND TALKS WITH PEOPLE OF TROPOJA

*October 5, 6 and 7 were memorable dates for the people of Tropoja, the northernmost district of Albania. Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, was among them.*

*On the 5th of October, the square in front of the building of the district Party Committee of Bajram Curri — the main centre of Tropoja — was thronged with thousands of people from work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives of the neighbouring villages, veterans of the war and work, army men, and school boys and girls.*

*Amidst powerful cheers and applause, Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed the meeting which was organized there.*

The first thing I want to tell you, he said among other things, is that I am glad to be amongst you and thank you for the warm welcome you gave me. This is an expression of the great love you nourish for the Party of Labour, of the unbounded loyalty of the people of these parts to it and of their determination to march on the road of socialism.

After speaking about the patriotic traditions of the people of this region, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:

I've been several times to your district and I can see the great changes that have been made here. Not to go too far back in time, I am reminded of the year 1970, when our beloved and unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha visited your district. As you know, I was together with him during that visit. Comrade Enver then gave many instructions and spoke about the better future which awaited the Highland of Gjakova, and about the development that the various sectors of the economy and culture would assume. A few figures are enough to

show what steps forward have been made here. From the year of that visit until today, the industrial production in your district has increased 17 times, the number of working people with higher schooling 8 times, that of people with secondary schooling 9 times, the incomes of the agricultural cooperatives have about doubled, and so on. Here, 81 per cent of the 8-year school pupils go directly to the secondary schools, which is among the highest levels of the republic.

As you know, he continued, the Central Committee of the Party held its 8th Plenum a few days ago. The Plenum assessed the achievements made to date and defined the future tasks with a profound sense of responsibility, so that the Party be always in the forefront of the struggle for socialist construction and responds to the requirements of the time.

Our Party was born as a party of revolutionary action. It did not shirk the historic burden in the most difficult times and crucial situations. We must further temper this fighting spirit of the Party. The Plenum stressed that the Party owes the successes of its line to its strong bonds with the people. The Party's word has weight and authority because it has always expressed the best wishes of our freedom-loving and hard-working people. The Party and the working people of our country are linked like flesh to bone. The Party is the leading force, but without the people there can be no victory; without the conscious participation of the working masses in the various fields of social activity there can be no socialism. Therefore, the enhancement of the leading role of the Party cannot be understood without enhancing the role of the masses. This is the most profound expression of our socialist de-

mocracy. Just as the Party and the working people have common historic responsibilities towards the destinies of socialism so are their duties indivisible.

In the future, too, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, we shall march on this road to carry out the major duties which await us.

The resolute implementation of the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party is dictated, apart from other factors, also, by the development of events in the world, he pointed out. As the Plenum stressed, the front of anti-communism today has become more arrogant than ever before. The bourgeoisie wants to liquidate socialism from the face of the earth and fights for this. In a co-ordinated effort with the renegades from communism, they are striving to belittle and stain the values of socialism. In these conditions, the successful construction of socialism in our country, the advance of Albania which holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, constitute the reply to the malignant slanders of our enemies, who try to present the failures and crises of the revisionists as the failure of communism. But this only shows that socialism lives and advances, both as a theory and practice, and that it is the only alternative to and hope for the salvation of the proletariat and the peoples languishing under the capitalist and neo-colonialist exploitation by the imperialist powers.

Our Party pursues a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with all those who respect our freedom, independence and national sovereignty. Just as we demand that others respect our people and country, our freedom and independence, so we also know how to appreciate and respect other peoples, their freedom and independence. We say this in

# HAS CORDIAL MEETINGS WITH WORKING AND PUKA DISTRICTS



regard to all countries, and we emphasize it especially for our direct neighbours, Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy. As in the past, we still want

friendship with all those who respect our people's sacred freedom and rights.

With Yugoslavia we have wanted

and want to live in peace as good neighbours. We have not interfered in its internal affairs and actually do not do so. But we have the right to

be concerned and to express our opinion when the developments in Yugoslavia affect the interests of our socialist Homeland, or when the democratic rights and freedoms of our brothers living in Yugoslavia are violated.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his conviction that the working people of the Tropoja district will put all their forces to carrying forward the achievements they have made for the further development of agriculture and livestock-raising, for fruit-growing and mining, industry, education and culture and for raising their fighting readiness.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with great interest. The

square rang with ovations for the Party and with the tunes of the favoured song «Enver Hoxha, a long life to you».

After the meeting, the beloved leader of the Party and people, together with the veterans and leading cadres of the organs of the Party, the local state power and mass organizations, went up to the memorial to the People's Hero, to the outstanding patriot and fighter, Bajram Curri, at which he laid a wreath and gave the raised-fist salute.

The same day Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the zone of Bytyç. Cooperativists from all the villages of the zone had come down to the centre of the agricultural cooperative of Pac

which was packed.

A warm conversation was held between the leader and the people on a beautiful meadow.

On October 6, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, went to the geological enterprise of the town of Bajram Curri where he met the highlanders of Dragobia and Valbona. In the evening he attended the concert of the folklore groups of the «Dardania» district house of culture.

In the afternoon of the same day, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke at a meeting with the main cadres of the Tropoja district.

## COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE PUKA DISTRICT

*After concluding his visit in Tropoja, on October 7, Comrade Ramiz Alia arrived in Puka, a district in the north of the country.*

*First he went to Fushë-Arrëz, the town of sawyers, miners and geologists. The main square of the town and all the windows and balconies of the surrounding blocks were filled with people.*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor in the meeting organized here, amidst the undescribable enthusiasm.*

Among other things he said: Fushë-Arrëz has been built almost from nothing in the epoch of the Party. It is a satisfaction to think that your wood-working enterprise is one with a militant

collective of tireless workers and capable specialists who have continuously carried out their tasks in all economic and financial indices and have always produced high quality goods, who have a great sense of frugality and work in the spirit of the teachings of the Party and the advice of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In this way, you stand in the first ranks of the vanguard collectives of our national industry and are showing with deeds that you have merited the lofty title of the Hero of Socialist Labour which has been awarded to you.

The Puka district has seen many changes in all directions. It is no longer the poverty-stricken region where every grain of mai-

ze was a tale of misery, or a mire of illiteracy and ignorance, of diseases and suffering. On the contrary, progress in many fields bears no comparison with the past, both in the economy and in the social emancipation.

Your district extracts one third of all the copper of the country, and produces over 40 per cent of its concentrate, whereas for the production of pyrite, you are in the lead. Its economic weight and the value will increase with the coming into production of the new mines at Lak-Rosh and Munella. The geology was up to the level of the task put forward by the 9th Congress of the Party for orientating prospecting work towards the rich mineral ores,

especially copper and chromium. The problem now is to proceed rapidly towards the exploitation of these ores.

Our country, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, is rich with forests, but forests must be treated with science and care. We have inherited one of the richest forests of the Balkans, one which has been created in the centuries. Therefore, we must protect it, and never fell the trees without absolute need to do so, and this only when we cannot find other substitutes. We must increase the forest land uninterrupted. And this requires work and not words and reports on paper only. As on every other front, on this question, too, the youth must take the lead.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about some problems of the international situations, which, he said, can be coped with if we are vigilant, strengthen our socialist victories, and increase the effectiveness of our social order.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with attention and great joy.

After the rally, he went to the mining enterprise of Fushë-Arrëz where he visited one of the copper-upgrading factories. There he was given a cordial welcome by the miners and specialists.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met workers, inquired after their living conditions, asked questions regarding the technology of enrichment, the degree of mineral recapturing and the lowering of the degree of mineral impoverishment in the process of mining. The leader exchanged opinions with cadres and miners about the improvement of the quality, both during mining and enrichment of the mineral.

Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed what better studied work should be done and more strict account demanded in order to further increase effectiveness of production and find ways for the increase of income in this branch, so that it should make greater contribution to the other bran-

ches of the economy.

He congratulated the collective of this enterprise for the work done and wished them still greater successes.

Meanwhile, the main street to the square of the town of Puka — the chief centre of the district — was packed with thousands of inhabitants, workers and cooperativists from the surrounding villages, veterans and youths, pioneers of Enver and little children. The whole place rang with thunderous applause when Comrade Ramiz Alia came up.

In this joyous atmosphere, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

Among other things he said, **Your Puka, our Puka, has grown into a beautiful place thanks to your work and with the solicitude of the Party and the state. Beautiful buildings meet the eye everywhere. Still more projects will be built and Puka will become more beautiful with them, but, above all, it will be the life of the Puka people which will gain.**

**Our whole country, from the north to the south, has changed and is advancing. The whole Homeland is seeing new developments. And we will march ahead still more rapidly. The guarantee for this is the loyalty and resolve of the people to forge ahead and your determination, the fruitful work of the workers, peasants and intellectuals for the socialist construction of the country. The guarantee for this is the correct line of the Party which has consistently followed the road opened by our people's revolution, the road on which Comrade Enver Hoxha, the unforgettable leader of socialist Albania, led us.**

*In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I wholeheartedly wish that the working people of your district meet the November celebrations, which are approaching, with fresh progress in scoring still greater socialist victories.*

*In the morning of October 7, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with cadres of the Party, the state, the economy, the mass*

*organizations and the army of the Puka district.*

*After congratulating the participants in the meeting for the results achieved, and bringing to them the warm greetings and wishes for new successes of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:*

**As the mountainous country it is, Albania has inherited a large forest fund, lying over an area of 1 million hectares of land that represent more than 80 million cubic metres of reserves in timber. The district of Puka has a considerable weight in this wealth. Here is situated one of the largest forest areas, most of which consists of some kinds of trees which are in great demand. But, because of the upsetting of the ratio between the felling and the planting of trees, which has continued in the last 20 years, the forest reserves of timber in the whole country have dropped by over 8 million cubic metres.**

**The possibilities for savings in the wood-working and paper-making industries are many and varied. These branches realize about 900 million leks of industrial production every year. Nevertheless, in spite of improvements in technology, losses in timber continue to be considerable. Our industries should set to work to ensure the replacement of wood with other materials in construction, mines, transport and communications.**

*On October 8, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the remote zone of Iballa, where, in a fine chestnut forest, thousands of cooperativists from the 16 villages of the zone had come to meet him.*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with leading cadres of the economic and the other sectors of the 6 agricultural economies of the zone of Iballa, at which opinions were exchanged about how to carry ahead the work in agriculture, stock-raising, education and health, to make the life of the people in this zone more prosperous and cultured.*

# GREAT CELEBRATIO



*On the 16th of September, the 47th anniversary of the holding of the First Anti-fascist National Liberation Conference, which was convened on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania — PLA) and of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally,<sup>1</sup> the monument to the People's Hero, Myslim Peza, was unveiled at Peza in Tirana district. Old Myslim, as he was generally called, was one of the most beloved and respected sons of the Party*

*and the people, the hero of the legendary National Liberation War.*

*The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other party and state leaders had come to participate in this ceremony.*

*Amidst the great joy of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia unveiled the monument set up in the centre of the cooperative. Old Myslim appears there in the maturity of the time of the War,*

# N AT HEROIC PEZA



with his look towards Tirana, where the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, founded the Communist Party of Albania.

«Congratulations! It's a fine piece of work!» Comrade Ramiz Alia says to the sculptor Maksim Shurdhi, shaking hands with him heartily.

At the meeting organized around the monument, the speech of the occasion was made by the First Secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Tirana, Comrade Pirro Kondi.

After unveiling the monument, Comrade Ramiz

Alia met veterans of the war and work, former partisans of the 22th Shock Brigade, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, cooperativists, cadres of the Party, the people's state power and the organizations of the masses in the district,

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

The Conference of Peza, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among other things: gave a new impulse to the extension of the liberation war of our country, issued the directive for the creation of the new state so that the people should seize power. When we see it in retrospective, we are once again convinced that, next to the creation of the Party, the Conference of Peza was one of the brightest ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The war could not have been waged by the communists alone. It was waged and won by the people with the Party in the lead, just as today it is again the people, led by the Party, who are building socialism and raising it to new heights. This fundamental idea that it is the masses which ensure victories, inspired the Communist Party to hold the Conference of Peza and to create the National Liberation Front which united the whole country in the epic struggle for national and social liberation.

It is a good thing, he continued, that precisely on this marked day, on the commemoration of September 16, 1942 we are unveiling the monument to Myslim Peza, to the glorious son of heroic Peza. Old Myslim was a valiant fighter, he was a man of the rifle, but he was a political leader, too. Throughout his life he fought with all his energies for the cause of the people, the freedom of the Homeland and the good of socialism, according to the teachings of the Party. We remember him always not only as a legendary leader, not only as a great general of our National Liberation War, but also as a man of the people, who had learned the line of the Party in the school of life; we shall remember his loyalty to Enver Hoxha and his revolutionary consistency to socialism.

Our country, he pointed out, has political, economic and social stability. It develops dynamically and has a clear prospect. We are aware

that in some direction there are also difficulties and shortages. But when we see how we have advanced so far and what is happening around us, we feel proud of the victories socialist Albania has achieved. Ours is a small country, but it is the only one which is building socialism and is carrying forward the all-round development of the Homeland without asking help of anyone. We are not wallowing in plenty, but we can ensure all things we need by the sweat of our own brow. Above all, we are proud because we are free, independent and sovereign, and decide everything according to the will of the people and the interests of the Homeland, without conditioning them on anyone else.

We all can see what is happening in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia and in the other Eastern countries. The revisionists betrayed Marxism-Leninism, departed from the ideals of socialism and set out on the road of counter-revolutionary reformism. These countries have landed in a grave economic crisis and are suffocating under the burden of debts. Social and national conflicts have exploded everywhere. The doors to foreign capital have been flung open. The extension of private property makes up the very essence of the present reforms there. Class oppression and exploitation has been re-established.

Three decades ago our Party and Comrade Enver warned of the situation to which the revisionist betrayal would lead up. What is happening today is a confirmation of the correctness of the heroic struggle the Party of Labour has waged for the defence of Marxism. The phenomenon of counter-revolutionary reformism constitutes a bitter experience from which the necessary lessons must be drawn.

If today we can speak with optimism about the future of socialism in Albania, if we can forge ahead with confidence in all fields, this is so not because our economic potential is greater than that of other countries, not because we have richer natural resources, but because we have pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist course. In the context of the present world developments, the work of our Party and the Albanian people emerges in all its magnificence. Our country advances rapidly at stable rates because our development is channelled on its natural course, without overstraining and hastening things.

One of the fields in which the revisionists

have encountered the greatest difficulties, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, is that of the countryside. The wrong policy which these countries have pursued has caused the village to be abandoned in the name of industrialization and agriculture to fall below the requirements of the people. Unlike this, the policy pursued by our Party and Comrade Enver has further consolidated agriculture, making it the basis of our development. The motto of our Party and people since Liberation has been: agriculture is the concern of everyone and nothing should be spared for it. It is this correct agrarian policy which kept the peasant bound to the land, enabled the harmonious development of agriculture in all the zones of the country and the fulfilment of the requirements of the people for food.

Socialist progress in all fields in our country has been achieved by taking into consideration our own specific conditions. We developed heavy industry with priority, not because we copied some model, but in order to exploit our own natural resources for the benefit of the country. Therefore, we did not proceed instantly with the machine-building industry, but, first, we opened mines and set up the metallurgy industry, developed the sector of oil and built hydro-power stations. The structure of production which our economy has strengthened, relying on the scientific and cultural potential of the country, has ensured the maximum benefit from the utilization of the social labour and the natural assets. The principle of self-reliance has already confirmed the correctness of its effectiveness.

It is the basic duty of the Party to carry the development made so far to still greater depth by continuously advancing on the socialist road. In industry we must intensify the manufacturing of local primary materials, so as to extract from them as many values as possible for the benefit of the people. In agriculture we must create the conditions for a new leap. In the field of education and culture, in science and knowledge we must take a qualitative leap. Socialism is quality, knowledge, productivity and well-being. At the present stage, our developments tend to grow in depth. We must work uninterruptedly to respond to the requirements of this stage

His speech was followed very attentively and was frequently punctuated by strong applause and ovations.



# THE 45<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2<sup>nd</sup> MEETING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL

## **Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders attending-**

On October 22, 45 years to the day of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which gave Albania its first Democratic Government, was held in Berat.

Thousands of people gathered in the ancient city, renewed in the epoch of the Party, to commemorate this event, one of the more remarkable in the history of our country. With the unforgettable memories of these days of October 1944 in their minds, the former members of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, who represented the entire Albanian people at that historic meetings, came to celebrate its anniversary.

The rejoicing of those present increased when Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other Party and state leaders came to attend this celebration.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades went to the museum-house, in which 45 years ago the Democratic Government of Albania was founded and paid a visit to the Museum of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the district, which was the seat of the First Democratic Government until November 27, 1944. From there Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the joyful tidings of the liberation of the capital on November 17, 1944.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders, as well as the former delegates, put their sig-

natures in the commemorative book.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Government of Albania, the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the Party Committee and Executive Committee of Berat district put on a dinner in «Tomorri» Hotel.

Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to greet those present:

First of all, on behalf of the Party and the comrades that have come here, I would like to congratulate you on this great festivity we are celebrating today. I want, especially, to greet the former participants in the historic Meeting of Berat, who, with their decisions, performed an act of historic importance for the fate of the country, as well as the people of this city who received the first Democratic Government with great hospitality and affection, creating the necessary conditions for it to exercise its functions.

The Meeting of Berat, the 45th anniversary of which we are commemorating today, represents a far-sighted historic act of our glorious Party and its unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It endorsed the people's will to set out on a new road, which would be the road of the advance to socialism and democracy, the road of independence and national progress. The people had voted in advance in favour of this Meeting in their blow-for-blow

battles with the foreign enemies and their stooges. The decisions of this Meeting were the conclusion of the heroic struggle of the masses.

Our people are proud of the road they have chosen. Even if they were again to experience the same historic conditions, the Party and the people would act against precisely the same way they did 45 years ago. We would establish again the people's power, as we did; we would keep again the red star as the symbol of liberation and progress, as we do today.

The road on which the Party has always led our people has proved best its effectiveness and usefulness. Albania has experienced everything, from the foreign yoke and the concessions to and interference by big capital to the monarchy and rule of beys and bajraktars. These regimes left the country and the people in dire poverty, in profound ignorance and backwardness.

Socialism alone was capable of saving this country and this people. Not only did it not disappoint the generations of freedom fighters, but on the contrary, it did more than fulfil their ideals and aspirations. Hence, our people love and defend their indivisible power. This state freed from oppression and exploitation the people so that they could enjoy the fruit of their work; it liberated the masses from the centuries-old bondage of ignorance; it emancipated them from their spiritual slavery, made them the masters of their own

country and relieved them of their insecurity and anxiety about the future. The new state abolished the inferiority of ordinary citizens before the law, the organs of administration.

The all-round economic and social transformations of the country would have been impossible, and the glorious victories which have entered history such as socialist industrialization, collectivization and modernization of agriculture, large-scale extension of education and national culture, social emancipation, the socialist civilization and many others would have been impossible without the people enjoying the fundamental freedoms the new state power brought them.

We should take these historic victories further ahead. The Party teaches us to assess the past and draw lessons from it. At present Albania is confronted with important tasks. We should work to strengthen the economy, increase social production and improve the guaranteed well-being and its prospects; we should struggle for more material blessings to be created from our natural resources, through better use of technique and technology, increased work and knowledge and more efficient utilization of the material base.

The program of the economic and social development which the Party has worked out represents its commitment towards the people. And our Party has never separated words from deeds. It has no greater commitment than that it has to its people. Therefore, all the organs of state power and economy, the social organizations and state organisms, should fight with all their might to make them a reality.

The people's state power should fully perform all its high functions, all the attributes the Constitution recognizes to it. Its organs should not permit that their competences are taken over by the apparatuses, administrations and bureaucrats. These manifestations weaken the state power and the democracy of the masses.

The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party pointed out once again the need for deepening

socialist democracy and increasing the role of the masses as a decisive factor for strengthening the people's state power. This is the essence of the decisions of this Plenum. All of us should have a profound understanding of this, just as we should understand the necessity of fighting incessantly against bureaucracy and other alien manifestations which affect the character of the people's state power. Implementation of the decisions of the 8th Plenum requires persistent work, not words and propaganda in general, but concrete actions. We should review laws, decrees, norms and acts, make changes in the personnel and its competences, adapting them to the conditions and needs of the time. This is a pressing duty. Our state power should feel fresh and active at all times, so as to be able to meet the requirements of our socialist society today.

Now, on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, in the festive atmosphere of this jubilee year, we are involved in intense work to fulfil the planned targets, to complete the 8th Five-year Plan and determine the targets for the new five-year plan. We should celebrate these events with new achievements and higher results in all fields.

Once again I wish the people of the district of Berat successes in the accomplishment of their tasks.

*Comrade Ramiz Alia's address at this joyful dinner was frequently punctuated by stormy applause and cheers.*

*On the occasion of this festivity, a rally was organized in the central square of the city. Comrade Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered the speech of the occasion.*

Whenever we commemorate events of historic significance for the fate of the country, he said among other things, today, too, we feel profound gratitude and respect to our people who

cemented with their blood the foundations of the people's state power, to our glorious Party which organized and led the people with loyalty, clarity and far-sightedness, and to the founder of the Party and the architect of the new people's state power, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Being a continuation of the Conference of Peza and Labinot and the Congress of Përmet, he went on, the Meeting of Berat opened a new page in the history. At that time the National Liberation War was going towards its successful conclusion. Under the concrete conditions it was natural for the Party to direct its attention to the future of the revolution. The major work of the setting up of the people's state power and the establishment of the new people's democratic state had to be carried through to the end. The system of organs set up during the National Liberation War had to be replaced on a complete state structure. Preparations had to be done for the new period, and the fulfilment of the major program for the socialist construction in Albania.

The founding of the Democratic Government was a shattering blow at internal and external reaction.

For the first time in the history of our country the Meeting of Berat approved «The Statement on the Rights of Citizens». It was an expression of the people's will.

There is no doubt that socialist Albania will consolidate and expand the freedoms and rights of its people further. Socialism alone is capable of guaranteeing and enhancing human dignity.

The struggle of our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for the all-round strengthening of the people's state power runs like a red thread through all its activity in the course of these 45 years after Liberation. The new state power, one of the corner-stones of which are also the decisions of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council in Berat, was set up as a people's state power, a state the content of which is genuine democracy and the large-scale and di-

rect participation of the masses. With us the opinion and will of the masses is a law. It has found its synthesized expression in the great constitutional principle that the state power in our country stems from and belongs to the people.

At the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the ever-lasting link with the broad masses remains to date the decisive force of our state power, which enables it to fulfil the major tasks deriving from the implementation of the line of the Party and the advance of the country.

*Speaking later of the present developments in the world, Comrade Manush Myftiu said:*

With its resolute stand of principle, its realistic and far-sighted analysis of the present developments on a regional or world scale, and the consistent and principled policy of

its Party, today more than ever Albania enjoys great respect and sympathy, an honoured name and a constantly growing authority on the international arena.

One of the principal features of our foreign policy is good neighbourliness. We are in favour of maintaining and developing state, economic, and cultural relations of mutual interest with all the neighbouring countries.

We have always tried to have the same kind of relations with our northern neighbour, Yugoslavia. However, we are forced to say that our efforts have not yielded the same results as with the other neighbouring states. It is evident that in the Yugoslav foreign policy there exists a strong current of hostility towards Albania and the Albanians, which stems from old prejudices and chauvinist anti-Albanian tendencies.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered, nor will it interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, because the principle of non-interference is consistently applied in our foreign policy. Nevertheless, socialist Albania, first of all, has the right and duty to raise its voice and come out in support of the Albanians when their rights are violated. This is in complete conformity with international norms.

*Winding up his speech, Comrade Manush Myftiu said:*

The leading role of the Party has been decisive in all the successes and victories we have achieved in these 45 years. The socialist construction in our country could not advance at the rates and in the proportions it did without our Marxist-Leninist Party, and its inspiring, organizational and leading force.

# THE 81<sup>st</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF COMR.

## PAYING HOMAGE AND LAYING WREATHES

On October 16, the 81st anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious founder of our heroic Party and our beloved and unforgettable leader, homage was paid to and wreathes were laid at his grave in the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other leaders of the Party and state came to pay homage to the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Heku-

ran Isai laid a wreath with the inscription: «Glory to the great leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.» Wreathes were also laid on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Party Committee and Executive Committee of the People's Council of Tirana district, as well as by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and family.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders stood in silence at and honoured with clenched-fist salute the grave of the outstanding man of our nation, Comrade Enver Hoxha. During the ceremony a brass band executed marches and the National Anthem. Militarymen and

Enver's young pioneers stood guard of honour.

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On the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha and in the context of «Enver's Week», as it has become a tradition, numerous political, social, cultural and artistic activities were organized throughout the country, in which people manifested their respect and veneration to the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, thus, once again expressing their steel-like unity round the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, determined to carry always forward the successes achieved in these 45 years of the liberation of the Homeland.

## HIS GLORY INCREASES THROUGH THE YEARS

It is a happy coincidence that, on the threshold of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, the Party and our entire people will commemorate with profound respect and gratitude the 81st anniversary of the birth of Enver Hoxha, the glorious founder of our heroic Party, the unforgettable leader and the architect of new Albania, the legendary commander of the

Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the far-sighted designer and inspirer of the epoch-making socio-economic transformations of the country for nearly half a century. Throughout his life he worked and fought to the last beat of his heart, putting in the service of the lofty interests of the Party and people all his inexhaustible intellectual and physical potential, all his rare and outstanding capacities as a great

statesman, all his great qualities as a communist, a reformer and leader of the all-round emancipation of Albanian society, and our socialist civilization, remaining for ever the greatest and most powerful figure to whom Albania has given birth. He was charged with this major historic mission, which he brilliantly performed as the son of the people and the modest soldier of the Party. Enver Hoxha worked and

**DE ENVER HOXHA**



fought with this conviction throughout his life, hence, while he was alive, in their boundless love the people called him «Son!». These powerful and steel-like links between the Party and people, which are ceaselessly being strengthened, underlie the major victories and successes of our beloved Albania on the road of socialist construction and the defence of freedom and independence, won at the cost of much blood and innumerable sacrifices.

Everything achieved in the epoch of the Party is the result of its far-sighted leadership and the deed of the broad working masses. As the outstanding Marxist-Leninist leader he was, Enver Hoxha devoted everything to strengthening the leading role of the Party: his versatile political and ideological activity, which constitutes an exemplary contribution of ever-lasting value. His message occupies our minds and hearts whenever we refer with respect and gratitude to Enver Hoxha's work, when we call for advice and inspiration. Everything which is the product of his acute mind and his tested and powerful pen serves, first of all, the major aim: the continuous and uninterrupted strengthening of the leading role of the Party at every cell of the country's life. If today our Party of Labour, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, are taking the people from one victory to another, this is due to the strength of our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the heroic work of the masses and the vitality of our socialist order which in the course of these 45 years has demonstrated its superiority as the most advanced social order. The success in the socialist construction of the country, which have been achieved on the basis of self-reliance and are incontrovertible historical evidence which frontally and all-powerfully refutes the current reactionary theses,

which try to prevent the catastrophic consequences of revisionism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, their political, ideological, economic and moral degeneration, as the failures of communism. Time has proved and is ever more forcefully proving with each passing day the validity of our Party's realistic and scientific exposure of modern revisionism and Enver Hoxha's far-sighted warnings of the grave consequences of the revisionist course and the deviation from the socialist principles and development. Enver Hoxha's contribution in this field, like his whole work, will be for us a permanent source of national pride and inspiration to advance our country on the road of socialist construction, always with the Party in the lead, as the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party instructed recently.

Honouring Enver Hoxha, we often say that as the great Marxist-Leninist thinker, leader and statesman he was, he devoted everything to socialism in Albania. Learning from Enver's life and work all communists and working people, all citizens, referring to his work, knowledge and culture, ask themselves; What did I give socialism today? In concrete terms this means in what militant spirit, with what productivity and at what level everyone fulfils his tasks on his own front of work, in his social, scientific and cultural activity, or in defence of the country. The results attained in this jubilee year in industry and agriculture, and in other fields, including the results our working people are achieving in these days of «Enver's Week», are evidence of the high sense of responsibility of the working masses as the builders of socialism. These successes testify to a profound understanding of the directives of the Party to the effect that at present all com-

munists and working people should display their creative abilities and militancy more than ever, because we have to give a fresh impulse to the all-round development of our society through further strengthening the economy and ceaselessly raising the standard of living of the people, which is the main aim of the Party. Only in this way does everybody become a standard-bearer of the teachings of Enver and a fighter for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party.

For socialism to advance at any moment and every day, everybody and all of us should all-round develop the creative spirit at work and courageous innovative thinking, engage in revolutionary initiatives and independent actions, seek more fruitful and efficient solutions, and more actively support innovations and qualified scientific opinion which offers concrete prospects for the development of all the sectors of the economy. These demands are on the agenda at the present stage of our development and in the future. They are also requirements of the time for the Party which is the promotor of all our advance. Enver Hoxha's example in this field is brilliant, his legacy is invaluable and all-encompassing, it is like a big book open for generations of communists and working people to learn. How many creative and original solutions, all in conformity with our concrete conditions, were called for by the industrialization of the country or the collectivization of agriculture? How many practical and theoretical solutions were required in the everyday work and struggle for the constant consolidation and revolutionization of the activity of the organs of state and all the other levers of the Party? How much devotion and scientific knowledge, besides other things, were needed for the creation of the new

socialist culture and a whole army of intellectuals from among the ranks of the people? Similar questions may be posed endlessly. They have their concrete answers in the present reality of our country, in Enver's Work and theoretical legacy; all of them bear the stamp of his all-sided creative work. All the communists and working people are learning and should learn continuously, with a militant will and persistence at the great school of Enver's creative activity, because the numerous problems that emerge will be coped with, as it has been done hitherto, if more effective ways are found for their solution. From this point of view, all the communists must encourage the creative spirit and the method of analysis everywhere. Each step which is taken must become a subject of discussion by the masses and cadres, the

specialists and experts. «We are aware also,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party, «that not everything has been or is being solved to perfection. This is natural, because the socialist society which we are building is a relatively new society, which is guided by a clear strategy and lofty ideals, but the road towards these ideals is full of unknown hazards.» With his life and work Enver Hoxha will always inspire us to respond with creative work to the needs of the development of the country in the present and in the future.

In its 45th anniversary socialist Albania is a red socialist fortress, as it was designed and built by the Party and the people. The great personality of Enver Hoxha, who has won Albania an honoured and respected place in the world through its independent policy and its ma-

ior transformations, as well as through its consistent stand against the aggressive and expansionist aims of the two superpowers — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, through its struggle against modern revisionism and reaction, and in support of the forces fighting for social progress and freedom everywhere in the world, which is rising with each passing day to the height of the victories which have been achieved and will be achieved in the brilliant development of the country.

With the Party headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, in the lead, our people work and fight to make socialist Albania ever more beautiful, more prosperous and more powerful. With his work Enver Hoxha has been and will always remain an unforgettable leader, present in all our successes, present and future.

## ENVER WILL INSPIRE US ALWAYS

### *From Comrade Ramiz Alia's Our Enver*

Who is Enver Hoxha? What does he represent for our people? What is the role he has played and what is the place he occupies in the present and the future of socialist Albania?

Men like him are born from revolutions and belong as much to the time they live in as to the future. Therefore, everything which has to do with Enver is sacred and valuable to us. Our people are proud that whenever the name of this glorious son of ours is mentioned all over the

world, Albania, socialism and communism, freedom and genuine social and national independence are meant.

His name related to the whole of our contemporary history. The Liberation of the Homeland and its deep-going economic and cultural transformations, its internal and external policy, every event that has entered the history of recent times is directly linked with Enver Hoxha's contribution and role.

Continuity on the road of so-

cialism and the continuity on the road of Enver are one and the same thing. We know that marching on this road is not simple. We are aware that to be standard-bearers of the implementation of the teachings of Enver Hoxha means to be revolutionary in all actions, to be innovative, and courageous, to be creative and invincible fighters. And our people and Party will advance resolutely from victory to victory.

Such leaders as Enver Hoxha

are brought forth by the epochs and have epochal dimensions. Just as epochs are mentioned in history, so their heroes remain always alive, honoured and respected.

For five hundred years on end our people have kept alive the legendary figure of Skanderbeg

and have been kept alive by it. Like the wars and feats of Skanderbeg and the more dramatic moments in the life of our nation have been a source of inspiration for the Albanians' spirit of patriotism and resistance, so the name and work of Enver Hoxha will remain a banner of the

struggle of our people for socialism and the prosperity of the Homeland in the course of centuries.

With his magnificent work Enver Hoxha will always be a source of inspiration for the communists and the people for greater deeds and further advance.

## RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION

On October 15, in the context of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the 81st anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, a retrospective exhibition «Enver Hoxha in the figurative arts» was inaugurated in one of the halls of the «Enver Hoxha» Museum.

Working people of work and production centres and various representatives of institutions, painters, sculptors, writers and artists, young men and women

and others attended the ceremony.

Comrade Pirro Kondi, Candidate of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and First Secretary of the Party Committee of Tirana district, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and other comrades were also present.

The People's Sculptor, Muntaz

Dhrami, delivered the speech of the occasion.

Then those present visited the exhibition. It had over 100 drawings and paintings and sculptures devoted to the revolutionary life and work of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the socialist construction of the country, as well as his unforgettable meetings with people, the common folk, his comrades and cofighters.



# MEETING OF BALKAN UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION

On October 18-19, the meeting of the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations held its proceedings successfully.

The delegations of the six Balkan countries adopted unanimously the following joint press communiqué:

On the initiative of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and on the recommendation of the first meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, the representatives of the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations met on October 18-19, 1989 in Tirana.

The meeting was attended by the delegation of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by the chairman of this Committee, **Boris Velchev**; the Greek delegation represented by members of the Committee for World Detente and Peace (EEDYE), headed by **Stratis Kounias**, vice-president of the Movement for National Independence, Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA), headed by **Jorgos Dolianitis**, member of the Central Council and the Independent Movement for Peace (AKE), headed by **Panajotis Galanos**, member of the Secretariat; the delegation of the Rumanian Committee for Understanding and Cooperation of the Balkan people, headed by the member of its Council, **Mircea Nicolaescu**; the delegation of the Institute of Foreign Policy of Turkey, headed

by its director, **Sejfi Tashan**; the delegation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality among the Peoples, headed by the member of its Standing Committee, **Mirko Ostojić**, and the delegation of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by its chairman, **Dhimitër Shuteriqi**, who was also elected chairman of the Meeting.

By expressing the feelings of public opinion of their respective countries, the participants in the Meeting hailed the process of Balkan cooperation and pointed out the need for carrying it ahead and consolidating it.

In a constructive atmosphere, the participants in the Meeting exchanged opinions and expressed their conviction that the activity of the organizations and the establishment of contacts and promotion of cooperation among them would serve understanding and the creation of a healthy climate in the Balkans.

Proceeding from the vital interests of the peoples of the region, the committees and similar organizations will work to strengthen mutual trust and understanding for disarmament, peace, security and stability in the Balkans, which may be achieved through the individual and joint activities of its peoples.

To achieve these lofty and noble aims, the participants in the Meeting called on the broad freedom- and peace-loving public opinion to support Balkan understanding and cooperation, this aspiration of all Balkan peoples, to cope with difficulties and problems through a constructive

dialogue, so that the peoples of the region strengthen their relations of friendship, understanding and good neighbourliness.

The participating delegations stressed the importance and necessity of mutual knowledge of the historical, cultural and artistic values of the Balkan peoples. The Meeting recommended that the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations cooperate with scientific, cultural, art, sports and other institutions for the organization of various activities in their respective countries on a Balkan scale such as culture days, music and film festivals, symposiums, seminars, etc., manifestations of friendship in border towns, where this is possible, and other activities.

The Meeting took note of the proposal of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation to organize a Balkan assembly with broad participation.

The Meeting devoted special attention to the activities of the participating organizations and cooperation among them in the protection of the environment, especially, through ecological movements and organizations.

The participating delegations expressed their conviction that the second meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, which will be held in Tirana next year, will make a positive contribution to carrying the process of regional understanding and cooperation further ahead. They supported the idea of working out a document of the principles of good neighbourliness among the Bal-

kan countries, as an important contribution to strengthening mutual trust and expanding multi-lateral and bilateral relations.

The Meeting reached the conclusion that the participating

organizations should maintain continuous relations among them and hold periodical meetings to carry these aims into effect. The next meeting will take place in Athens.

The participants in the Meeting expressed their thanks to the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation for its hospitality and good organization of the Meeting.

## COMRADE RITA MARKO RECEIVED THE DELEGATIONS THAT TOOK PART IN THE BALKAN MEETING

In the morning of October 19th, the Vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, received the delegations that took part in the Meeting of the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

After wishing them welcome, Comrade Rita Marko expressed his congratulations on the successful conclusion of this Meeting. **Your activity, he said, is a noble service and an important contribution to the further development of cooperation and the strengthening of the spirit of understanding among the peoples and states of the region. He pointed out the existing possibilities for further developing and strengthening relations in various fields of the economy, culture, art, sports, etc., which serve the rapprochement of the peoples and peace in our Peninsula. The meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states to be held in the coming year in Tirana will also serve this purpose. Our peoples, he continued, love and value friendship and freedom, and I think that this Meeting and others of**

**this kind fulfil these desires of our peoples. Friendship is strengthened through increasing contacts and mutual acquaintance. Let the past help us strengthen our friendship. The Albanian Government has always supported the steps taken to promote the process of cooperation, peace and security in the Balkans.**

**Our people, Comrade Rita Marko said further on, welcomed this Meeting, just as they have always welcomed such initiatives, which serve both the present and the future.**

On their part, the heads of the delegations, after pointing out the complete success of the Meeting, laid the stress on the importance of creating such public opinion which plays an important positive role in strengthening cooperation among the countries of the region, promoting good neighbourliness and friendship among the Balkan peoples, as well as the spirit of mutual understanding and trust, peace and security in the Balkans. They thanked the Albanian side for the very good organization of the Meeting and its successful proceeding.

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The delegations which took part in the Meeting of the Commit-

tees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations were also received by the Albanian minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile.

At the reception, which went on in a warm and friendly atmosphere, after welcoming them and wishing them success, the minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, expressed his conviction that this Meeting would make its contribution to the further development of cooperation and the strengthening of the spirit of good understanding among the peoples and states of the region. The Albanian government, he said, welcomes any step towards peace and security in the Balkans.

After dwelling on past activities on a Balkan scale, and those to be organized in the future, including the second meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkans, which, as is made known, will take place in Tirana in the autumn next year, the Albanian foreign minister expressed his conviction that all these things will contribute to strengthening friendship among the peoples and expanding bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region.

# THE 18<sup>th</sup> INTERNATIONAL SPECIALIZATION COURSE OF THE BALKAN MEDICAL UNION CARRIED OUT ITS PROCEEDINGS IN TIRANA

On September 8-9, the 18th International Specialization Course of the Balkan Medical Union carried out its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

Participating in the proceedings were outstanding personalities of medical science from the Balkan countries — Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey, as well as other European countries — France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Austria and Hungary, authorities of Albanian medicine, doctors and specialists from all the districts of the country, heads of chairs and teachers at the Faculty of Medicine of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana.

Attending the proceedings were also the Minister of Health, Ahmet Kamberi, the Minister of Education, Skënder Gjinushi, the chairman of the Executive Committee of People's Council of the Tirana district, Llambi Gegprifti, the head of the Albanian Committee for Understanding and Cooperation in the Balkans, prof. Dhimitër Shuteriqi, and others.

At the plenary session of the Course, the Minister of Health of the PSR of Albania, Ahmet Kamberi, read the greeting of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, addressed to the 18th International Specialization Course of the Balkan Medical Union.

• It is with special satisfaction, he said among other things, that I warmly greet you on behalf of the Government of the

People's Socialist Republic of Albania and on my own behalf and wish complete success to the Balkan activities of the 18th International Course of Specialization which is carrying out its proceedings in Tirana.

• The Albanian Government is seriously involved in the protection and improvement of the health of the people, so it sees with interest and supports this activity which serves the further development of medical sciences and the exchange of experience in this important field for the health of man.

• Your initiatives and efforts hitherto are praiseworthy and an encouragement for the future. They are an expression of the existing desire and possibilities for cooperation and serve the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of the Balkans.

• Wishing once more the 18th International Specialization Course complete success, I express the conviction of the Albanian Government that Balkan cooperation in the field of medicine, just as in other fields, will be carried ahead to the common benefit of the countries of the region.

Comrade Adil Çarçani's greetings was received with warm applause by those present.

On behalf of the General Council of the Balkan Medical Association those present were greeted by Prof. C. Ilić of Yugoslavia, who thanked the organizing commission of the Course and the Albanian Medical Asso-

ciation for their warm reception. «This reception», he said, «is an expression of the vitality of the Balkan Medical Association which is already consolidated. It is a pleasure for us to be here among you.»

Then, on behalf of the French Academy of Medicine, the Course was greeted by Prof. R. Doudert, and on behalf of the Medical Association AIRMEC, by Prof. M. Payet, who conveyed the warm feelings of the organizations they represent and assessed this event as a significant example of good relations and cooperation for all the countries of Europe.

After a short recess, the Course went on with its proceedings in the sections of Cardiology, Cardiovascular Surgery, Neurology and Neurosurgery.

The conclusions of the 18th International Specialization Course of the Balkan Medical Union were made by the Head of the Albanian Section of the Balkan Medical Association, Prof. Ylli Popa, who, among other things, pointed out that in the course of those two days outstanding personalities of medical science in the Balkans and Europe exchanged opinions about disorders of blood circulation, adding new results to this field, and at the same time exchanged their professional and human experience. On behalf of the Organizing Commission and the participants in the Course, he thanked the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani under whose high auspices this Course was organized.

# SYMPOSIUM

## «THE POLYPHONY OF THE BALKAN PEOPLES»

From October 6-7, 1989, one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana housed the symposium «The Polyphony of the Balkan Peoples», organized under the solicitude of the Institute of Popular Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania.

Attending this marked event in our cultural and scientific life were scholars of renown from Albania and from the Balkans and Europe. It focussed on the important problem of the polyphonic musical culture of our peninsula, which represents a living proof of the artistic talents of the Balkan peoples. Along with the homophonic folk song, the city folk song and the instrumental folk music, this music constitutes an inseparable part of their art.

Always relying on the previous achievements of ethnical-musical studies, the papers read by outstanding authors of the scientific circles of our country and abroad, made the symposium a success in the enrichment of the problems with new interpretations. It shed more light on those problems which have to do with the fundamental aspects of the polyphony of the Balkan peoples. Such problems include the genesis, the fundamental distinguishing features, the general intonative-modal basis, the means of musical expression, the internal laws of development,

structures, characteristic musical styles, the proximity between polyphony and the other related musical genres, and so on. The symposium also made observations about polyphonic phenomena in non-Balkan countries, which helped to widen the circle of problems discussed in this event. Along with the various analyses, concrete examples, valuable conclusions and the scientific seriousness, the papers that were read in the symposium made valuable comparisons, which marked the general trend or its work.

In the efforts to illuminate fundamental scientific problems, which the symposium concentrated on, along with the scholars from other countries such as Prof. Dr. Rudolf Brendl (FR of Germany), Dr. Todor Djidjev (Bulgaria), Dr. Dimitrie Buzarovski (Yugoslavia), Dr. Engelbert Logar (Austria), Prof. Dr. Nicolae Kaufmann (Bulgaria), Dr. Nikos Dionyssopoulos (Greece), Dr.

Murat Karbulut (Turkey), Dr. Dorothea Schubarth (Switzerland), Dr. Jerko Bežić (Yugoslavia), and others, a special contribution was made by the Albanian ethno-musicologists; the Senior Scientific Worker Benjamin Kruta, Candidate of Sciences Piro Miso, Candidate of Sciences Spiro Shituni, Candidate of Sciences Ferial Daja, and others. Working within the general pro-

blems of the subject, they tried to provide stronger arguments about the antiquity of polyphony in the Albanian folk music, its originality and local character, the wealth of intonations and modalities, historical development, the relations between vocal and instrumental polyphonies, the relations between polyphony and the rest of the folk musical culture, its influence on the reflex music, the proximity of the Albanian polyphonic song with that of the neighbouring peoples and so on. In this manner, a more comprehensive explanation was given about the place of the Albanian musical polyphony in the Balkan and Mediterranean area.

The conclusions of this symposium were made by the director of the Institute of Popular Culture, Doctor of Sciences Ali Xhiku. Among other things, he emphasized that the symposium put in the centre of attention an important problem for the science of ethnomusicology — that of the polyphonic musical culture of our peninsula. In the 20 papers and the contributions to the discussion by local and foreign scholars the symposium, also, emphasized the possibilities which folk polyphony provides for the development of professional musical art. The success of this activity, he said in conclusion, will serve as a starting-point for more research and conclusions of greater fruitfulness in the future.

# NARROWING DOWN DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

*by HASAN HOXHA*

Socio-economic transformations, laying the foundations of, and building socialism according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions and peculiarities of our country, have their own history of development. After the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, socialist industrialization and the complete establishment of the social ownership over the means of production was realized within a relatively short period in industry and in the city, in general. Whereas in agriculture and in the countryside, for many reasons, the process of socialist transformations did not start immediately. Only about two years after the establishment of the people's state power, in the end of 1946, began the implementation of the Agrarian Reform which, as is known, settled once and for all time the problem of ownership over the land and other means of production. From this stand point, as early as 1946, the collectivization of agriculture set on with the purpose of eliminating antagonistic contradictions which still existed between the socialist social ownership over the means of production in industry and in the city, and the small private

property in agriculture and in the countryside, with the limitations set by the Law of the Land Reform.

The gradual development of this process through its known phases, in complete accordance with Leninist principles, constantly expanded the boundaries of the socialist group property (alongside state property which emerged as a result of the creation, expansion and strengthening of agricultural enterprises and other enterprises of the socialist system of agriculture). As a result, in 1960, when collectivization of agriculture had on a whole been completed, the construction of the economic base of socialism was also considered complete. Later, in 1968, when collectivization was completed all over the country, our economy assumed its full socialist aspect, basing itself on the two socialist forms of ownership: the social ownership of the whole people in industry, enterprises of the system of agriculture and other sectors, and the socialist group ownership in agricultural cooperatives. Nevertheless although antagonistic contradictions and the centuries old contrast between the city and the countryside were resolved, essential distinctions between them as the classics of Marxism-Leninism ha-

ve indicated, still remained in our country, too. «Some distinction, be it not essential, «Stalin says, «is bound to remain because of the existing distinctions in the conditions of work in industry and agriculture.»<sup>1</sup> Apart from this, other circumstances of a historical and social character cannot fail to leave their imprint on the level of the economic and cultural development of the countryside, which has an objectively existing relative backwardness in development as compared with the city. Precisely from these and other circumstances Comrade Enver Hoxha proceeded when he emphasized that «Differences in the real income (but also in other indices of well-being and the mode of living — the note is ours, H. H.) between the city and the countryside stem from the objective conditions of the great economic and social backwardness our village has inherited from the past.»

Nevertheless, the aim of narrowing down distinctions between the city and the countryside in the field of economic and social development has been and is one of the main directions of our development, has been and remains at the centre of the economic and social policy of the Party and our socialist state. In

this question the Party has proceeded from the principle that «socialism is not built only in the city and only for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry.»<sup>2</sup> And as is proved by a practice of several decades, along with the creation and strengthening of two socialist form of ownership, the development of the city along with the countryside, and the process of narrowing down socio-economic distinctions between them has also taken place within this framework. This positive phenomenon can be seen in the educational and cultural development, the expansion of the health and communal services, the changes in the mode of life and other transformations in the countryside. However, the coming of the countryside closer to the city and the narrowing down of the essential distinctions between them are more clearly apparent in the material indices of development, the constant reduction of the difference in real income per head of population. Even though real income per head of population has increased in the city from one decade to the other, its higher-rate increase in the countryside has brought the income of the country population closer to that of the city population. So, if in 1960 the real income per capita in the countryside made up 61.2 per cent of the relative index for the city, in 1970 the ratio of the real income per capita between the city and the countryside was 1 to 0.65, and it has been reduced even more in the following years.

The methods that have been and are being followed in our country for narrowing down differences in real income and, in general, socio-economic distinctions between the city and the countryside are of a very com-

prehensive nature. On a whole, they have been and continue to be based both on the ceaseless development of the production forces and in the constant perfection of the socialist relations in production.

In agriculture and in the countryside, in general, productive forces have been strengthened and developed step by step, through large-scale investments for land improvement and irrigation, land systematization, the extension of the arable land and the increase of its fertility, the improvement of crop strains and animal breeds, etc. The State has made large investments to increase the number of farming machines and tractors. Through the general strengthening of the material and technical base, the constant increase of the work force, as well as the ever more efficient utilization of the material and technical base and live work, agricultural and livestock production has constantly increased. During the whole period of socialist construction, agricultural production has grown about twice as rapidly as the village population, and more than 1.5 times as rapidly in the period 1960-1988.

It is evident that the growth of agricultural production at rates higher than that of the population has created possibilities for increasing the income per capita from work in the cooperative and other real income, which has had a positive influence on the improvement of the well-being of the population of the countryside and brought its standards of living closer than those of the population of the city. However, as the increase of production has been and remains the main road for improving the well-being of the population, five-year and one-year plans set ever increasing tasks which, in some cases, have not been fulfilled. This, of

course, has slowed down the increase of income according to plan, as well as the narrowing of distinctions between the city and the countryside down to the levels envisaged. That is why, some years ago, Comrade Enver Hoxha called on us: «... with our physical forces, with our mechanical means and all other possibilities at our disposal and a pure revolutionary spirit let us shoulder work in agriculture better than at any other time, let us make agriculture a high income sector in the economy of our country.»<sup>3</sup> Raising yields in all crops and in all kinds of livestock has fundamental importance for the achievement of this purpose. Here there are greater reserves and possibilities both in the sphere of utilization of material elements and in the organization of live work.

Only from bringing closer yields of zones, districts and agricultural economies which operate in more or less similar conditions, there would be a perceptible increase in agricultural production and income, which would result in the growth of the income per capita of the village population and its coming closer to that of the population of the city.

Along with the process of narrowing down distinctions, increase in income and strengthening economic factors, as well as additional fundamental funds would also favour the necessary improvements in the structure of agricultural production. Possibilities exist everywhere, but especially in the northeastern part of the country and in other mountainous and hilly districts and economies, for fruit-growing to add to the income and the net product. Development of fruit-growing in special plots, as well as in its more traditional forms, as experience has shown in many

districts, is economically profitable, so it must represent a direction of the development of these zones and the countryside as a whole.

Along with yield increases of crops, a socio-economic interest presents also the expansion of livestock-raising, the quantitative growth of the livestock, perfection of its structure and improvement of breeds. The switching over of some economies to livestock-raising has shown that the development of this branch in some remote zones is profitable both economically and socially, as it enables better utilization of extensive reserves.

In our countryside, especially

in hilly and mountainous zones, there are many natural resources which enable a more rapid development of non-agricultural activities. There exist, for example, possibilities to expand activities of an industrial character, to cultivate and procure more medicinal plants, to produce materials for productive and non-productive constructions, to extend services and improve their quality, etc. In the hilly and mountainous zones, because of their harsher climatic conditions and the scarcity of the land, these directions of development make up a good basis for increasing both the general income and the

income per capital of the population.

Another important direction of the development of the productive forces in the countryside is, and will continue to be in the future, the development of industry and other social sectors. At present about 20 per cent of the active work force of the countryside is in relations of work with the state. These workers not only ensure their cooperativist families considerable income, but also contribute to the development of the village, by bringing there the more advanced mode of living of the city, and exercising a positive influence on the strengthening of the alliance of the work-

*Our new village, reflection of the permanent concern of the Party about the well-being and prosperity of the peasantry.*



ing class with the cooperativist peasantry. «The road the Party has followed and is following for a broader introduction of non-agricultural activities into the village is one of the roads for bringing the village closer to the city and narrowing down essential distinctions between them.»<sup>4</sup> Comrade Ramiz Alia has said. By means of this process the village is not depopulated and the density of its population remains high, while at the same time industrial features of production and urban life are implanted in agriculture and in the countryside. . .

The narrowing down of distinctions between city and country has been and is being realized through **the ceaseless perfection of the socialist relations of production.** In the first place, the degree of socialization of the socialist property in agriculture has increased. State property has been expanded, but the social character of socialist property has constantly been extended and deepened at the same time. This process has taken place through the enlargement of cooperatives, the setting up of higher-type cooperatives, the transformation of some of these into agricultural enterprises, the priority intensification of a considerable area in the plains, the switching over of some cooperatives of the country and the whole Skrapar district to a livestock-raising direction, the deepening of specialization and perfection of the territorial distribution of crops and various kinds of livestock, the process of the disappearance of the cooperativist's individual plot, etc. In this manner the social character of the cooperativist property has been gradually expanded and strengthened as one of the directions of further bringing the countryside closer to the city.

«To go towards raising group property to the level of the property of the whole people (which must be understood to mean a very developed property and not a property merely at the present level of state property in agriculture) means to go towards the elimination of the essential distinctions between city and countryside. . .»<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, in the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the whole people one must proceed with measured steps. This is and must be a long process of development, which calls for the creation of some conditions and factors of an economic and social character, and for social and organizational development. Ever-growing stability, and high levels of production increased net income and ensured a high degree of profitability, proper distribution of the work forces and high effectiveness of live work, and many other factors must play their role to such a degree as to raise the contribution of the agricultural economy to the general development of society. «The eventual transformation of this intermediate form of the socialist property in agriculture (the question is about the group property, the note is ours, H.H.) into property of the whole people, «Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, «will be done in the natural way and without haste. For a long time to come the property of the group will not have exhausted its possibilities for development and advance.»<sup>6</sup>

Second, there has been a constant perfection of the relations of exchange in agriculture, which have contributed to the further narrowing down of distinctions between city and country and among different zones in the countryside itself. In the first

years after Liberation, a policy of procurement of surpluses of products, especially cereals, was implemented so as to create the necessary funds of agricultural and livestock commodities. In 1949 a new system of procurement was adopted: the amount of the obligation of the peasant was set according to the acreage and the category of the land. After fulfilling their obligations, the peasants were free to dispose of their surpluses, which they could sell to the state at higher prices than those of compulsory procurement, or sell on the peasant market. Later, the system of procurement was further perfected, prices for state purchases were raised, retail prices were reduced, etc. With the abrogation of the rationing system in 1957 new prices were set for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products, while at the same time unifying and raising purchase prices for the compulsory procurement of cereals, beans, meat, etc.

The relations of exchange have constantly been perfected even after the building of the economic base of socialism. In the sixties and seventies, for example, there was a big increase in state investments for land improvement and irrigation, land systematization and the expansion of the material and technical base, unpaid loans were remitted, MTS tariffs improved, prices for production means for agricultural cooperatives reduced, while procurement prices for agricultural and livestock products were raised, etc. In 1971 the system of compulsory procurement was abrogated and the system of free contracting was introduced, with differentiated prices according to the different zones of the country. The relations of exchange and relations between the state and the cooperative as a function of nar-



rowing down distinctions were further perfected by special decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers in mid-seventies. In the countryside, too, the state took upon itself all expenditure for ambulances, consultation rooms, maternity homes, kindergartens and crechès, the pay of the personnel of the culture homes in the centres of the enlarged cooperatives, the expenditure for the maintenance of the telephone network down to the centre of enlarged cooperatives, etc.

All this policy in the field of the relations of exchange has, along other things, served for narrowing down socio-economic distinctions between city and country and among different zones in the countryside. Nevertheless, in this field there are still problems which call for further study for their proper solution so as to raise profitability in different agricultural branches and crops. As was emphasized at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party, problems which call for solution are: «stimulation of cooperatives which still have a limited production for the market, raising purchase prices for agricultural and livestock products handed over above plan, as well as their further differentiation according to zones and cooperatives.»<sup>8</sup>

Third, measures for perfecting distribution have also served and continue to serve the narrowing down of distinctions between city and country. Establishment, of a correct ratio among the different branches of industry, between workers and employees, as well as constant perfection of these ratios have always made up the foundation of the work for narrowing down distinctions in these fields. Ratios in pay levels have been adjusted and impro-

ved from time to time. So, in 1976 by decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers wages of workers in the farms and fruit-tree plots of agricultural enterprises were raised, linking remuneration of their work also with the fulfilment of planned production tasks.

Improvements in the field of distribution and remuneration have been made from time to time. Ten years ago remuneration of work for cooperativists and workers of agricultural enterprises was linked also with production and expenditure, which was done to different degrees for different branches. They have had a positive effect, but this form of remuneration has also allowed a certain equalitarianism in the distribution among production collectives. So, the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee made many corrections in this direction. «The brigades which overfulfil planned tasks should be given as remuneration the whole value of above plan production for every crop taken separately, subtracting expenditure above, plan as well as a sum for accumulation,»<sup>9</sup> the Plenum recommended.

At the same time the narrowing down of distinctions between city and country has been favoured also by broader utilization of the increased social fund of consumption. During the period of socialist construction, the Party has taken measures for the fund of social consumption, both in the city and in the countryside, to grow at rates higher than the fund of individual consumption, giving priority in its distribution to the fulfilment of the needs of the cooperativist peasantry. These needs are met through funds for education, the health service and culture, through the extension of the network of trade

and communal services, as well as state investments for electrification, telephonization supplying villages with drinking water, etc.

The social fund of consumption has grown especially with the establishment of the system of pensions in the countryside.

In accordance with these recommendations and the proposals made by the cooperativists in the process of the discussion of the draft-constitution of the agricultural cooperatives about lowering the pensioning age for mothers with many children and men, and according to the decision of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers is charged with the study of these proposals with a view to finding the possibilities for their implementation.

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- 1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana 1976, p. 77, Alb. ed.
  - 2 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana 1976, p. 77, Alb. ed.
  - 3 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1974-1975*, p. 355, Alb. ed.
  - 4 Ramiz Alia, *Speeches and Talks*, No. 3, 1986, p. 65, Alb. ed.
  - 5 Ramiz Alia, *Speeches and Talks*, No. 3, 1986, p. 78, Alb. ed.
  - 6 Ramiz Alia, *Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana 1986, p. 52, Alb. ed.
  - 7 *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 8, p. 16.
  - 8 Adil Çarçani, *Report to the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA*, pamphlet, p. 37, Alb. ed.
  - 9 Adil Çarçani, *The 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party*, pamphlet, p. 14.
  - 10 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 83, Alb. ed.
  - 11 Ramiz Alia, *Speeches and Talks*, No. 3, 1986, p. 83.

# THE SERVICE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION IN OUR COUNTRY

by **GENC XHUVANI**

As is known, in many developed countries, especially after the sixties, the service of elaboration and distribution of scientific and technical information and documentation has made great progress, utilizing achievements in the field of electronic processing and application of data and the development of informatics. At an international scientific conference, which held its proceedings in 1980, it was said that in the last twenty years science had made more progress than in the past twenty centuries.

Scientific institutions and researchers of many countries today attach great importance to the role of scientific and technical information and documentation, considering it «the factor number three for the development of production, after the work force and investments,» with the capability of selecting the more effective information being «the factor number four», etc.

In Europe, America and Asia there are more than 2 500 «bases» and «banks» of numerical, factual or integral bibliographical data in special or interdisciplinary scientific or technical fields, and their number is constantly increasing.

This jubilee year, the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, along with major achievements in all fields, finds our socialist Albania with many

achievements in the field of science and technology, and among them, with a service for the processing and distribution of scientific information and documentation, which, especially in the last years, as our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, instructed us in June 1980, when he proposed the creation of our Centre, is making its contribution to rising the effectiveness of scientific activities in our country.

Our National System and Centre of Scientific Information and Documentation at the Academy of sciences are functioning for 6 years now. During this relatively short period, ten documentation nuclei, which are working with institutes of scientific research in geology, mining, agriculture, mechanics and linguistics, have been set up. Soon other documentation nuclei will be established for social, natural and technical sciences. During the same period modern methods of analysis, indexation and, in general, informatization of scientific documents were gradually assimilated, as required by the science of information and documentation and the automatized service of the electronic elaboration of data at its modern level of development. The workers of the Centre and nuclei processed over 60 000 secondary documents, selected mainly from among articles of scientific and technical periodicals of our country and other countries, materials of the central and specialized libraries of our

country and documents of international and national congresses and symposiums, monographs, etc. Over the last 7-8 years as a result of analyzing and informatizing the more important articles of about 400 foreign periodicals (in more than 8 languages in the main fields covered by the Centre ten analytical, thematical and other bulletins are being published. They comprise over 20 000 secondary documents in the form of bibliographical references with extensive summaries or abstracts, simple signalizations. These are regularly distributed free of charge in one or two copies among 1 500 users such as research institutes of relative fields, libraries, industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, as well as students and cadres of all levels. Analytical bulletins with bibliographical references and summaries of articles from Albanian scientific periodicals dealing with problems of the economy, agriculture, geology, etc., are published in foreign languages, too. For purposes of exchanging information and making known the achievements of our socialist science, they have been sent to dozens of scientific research institutes in other countries involved in various fields of science (such as research institutes in geology, mining, agriculture, mechanics, etc., in various European countries), as well as some international information organisms and organizations, with which our Centre maintains links or of which it is a member (such as the speciali-

*GENC XHUVANI — Director of the Centre of Scientific and Technical Documentation*

zed organisms of UNESCO, the coordinating centres of scientific information of AGRIS and CARIS of FO, FID (the International Federation of Information and Documentation), etc.

Also, during this period two «bases of bibliographical data», with their own structure and program, have been formed. They enable the storage and recall of data and information in 24 fields and their subdivisions in natural, technical and social sciences, which makes the Centre of Scientific Information and Documentation one of the main users of our information network. In the memory of the centre of this network, since the MISTRAL program was put into operation in our two bases of bibliographical data two years ago, over 11 000 secondary documents out of a total of 60 000 bibliographical references have been stored. The above storage fund is already at the disposal of our students and cadres through the terminals of some research institutes and the Centre itself.

It is important that such «bases», which will be transformed into data banks in the future, are set up not only in the special centres of information processing and distribution, like our Centre and its documentation units, but, gradually, also in most central and specialized libraries of our country, which are the main source of «the raw material» for the above-mentioned centres and nuclei of documentation.

By the end of the seventies

scientific periodicals published over 100 000 articles in several languages each year and it is envisaged that by the end of this century this figure will rise to one million (with publications increasing at a rate of 5-10 per cent annually). It is clear that, if conventional methods are used, the huge funds that are being piled up in our libraries create arduous problems for their storage, preservation, and utilization, although reforms have been undertaken in this direction from time to time. So, the informatization of library funds, creation of «information bases or banks» and specialization of them according to scientific disciplines have become an urgent necessity.

The fact that thousands of science workers, innovators and specialists of research institutions and the base have been enabled, through the publications of the Centre (and the storage of documents in the memory of the informatic network), to get acquainted with the essential content of a great number of primary scientific and technical documents of the fund of our libraries (over 20 000 bibliographical references published), is evidence of the assistance given by our information service to raising the effectiveness of scientific work of our students, in general. And this contribution is highly valuable, especially if account is taken of the fact that otherwise the colossal funds of our libraries, for reasons that are known, such as ignorance by no small part of students of

the original languages of primary documents, the long time needed to sift materials and select those which bear on a given problem, etc., would remain something like hoarded money out of circulation.

Apart from the above achievements, others may also be mentioned such as the work done for the first time in our country for the compilation of controlled lexica and thesauri of some thousands of terms in the scientific divisions and subdivisions covered by the Centre, which are synthetical expressions of the notions and assessments of subjects dealt with in the original documents and indispensable elements for the indexation of secondary documents, for their storage in the automatically utilizable bibliographical data bases, etc., or provision of thousands of primary documents from research institutes of some European countries for the institutes and enterprises working in the sectors of geology, oil, agriculture, etc.

Speaking about achievements, their picture would not be complete were we not to mention, on this occasion, also the efficient assistance given our workers for assimilating and applying contemporary methods of analysis and informatization of documents by the UNESCO and FAO consultants who have come to our country in the period 1983-1987, such as Dr. A. Deweze, outstanding student in the field of scientific and technical information and documentation, Mrs Vivianne Cabanes, Lrs Claudine Choublin, Mr. G.F. Ro-

meria, head of the Operational department of PGI at the UNESCO.

Despite these achievements, which were made within a relatively short period of time and in a scientific field almost unknown in our country, nobody in our Centre, documentation bases or libraries, where valuable work is done especially for the preservation and management of the funds of primary documents, as well as for the diffusion of new and advanced ideas in science and technology, is satisfied with what has been done up to now.

We must be aware that, considering that our country today has over 60 000 cadres of higher training and over 270 000 cadres of medium training and that this great mass of cadres and specialists (whom the people and the Party have trained with so many sacrifices) must be supplied with fresh information so as to enable them to keep alive not only the knowledge they have acquired at school, but also to advance in step with the time and make an effective contribution to the technical-scientific revolution in our country — much still remains to be done, and this not only by the workers of the service of scientific and technical information and documentation.

However, these notes are not intended to be a comprehensive and detailed report on the more than six years of activity of the service of information and documentation in our country after the setting up of the Centre of Scientific Information and Documentation and its documen-

tation nuclei. This is only an attempt at pointing out only some of the main tasks of this service to carry the technical and scientific revolution forward in our country, to support and «feed» the specialists, innovators, cadres with new and advanced ideas in science and technology

Our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, when, at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA in 1980, he proposed the creation in our country of a centre of scientific and technical information and documentation, among other things, said: «The demands and tasks that face this centre call for a high technical and a scientific level. This applies both to the people who will work there and the technical means it will be equipped with...» Keeping this recommendation in mind, our aim has been and continues to be that every scientific worker or any other worker of our national system of technical information and documentation, every analyst and, why not, every librarian, while constantly raising the level of his *ideo-professional* training as a specialist in his field and as an informatician, and cooperating with the scientific workers of research institutes and specialists of the base (as well as activating them as analysts in the informatization of the original documents they study) should be a systematic observer, processor, and disseminator of new and advanced ideas that appear in the scientific publications of their individual specialities, affirm himself as «reference point» for the students and workers of the base and help them with documents and materials for solving

scientific problems or coping with current problems of production. Only in this way will their work contribute to raising the effectiveness of scientific work of students and the mass of innovators and specialists in all fields of activity. Naturally, for all this to become a reality, some problems must be solved, such as those of the further expansion of the procurement of publications, which provide the primary material for the processing of information. Our workers must also go through a cycle of training as informaticians to back up their university and post-university courses, possess printing equipment (for the rapid publication of bulletins, etc.) and individual equipment (like mini-computers and «local systems» of micro-computers with the related terminals), because, with its many programs and users, our computer network is already overloaded and, in a near future, will be unable to cope with the expansion of the service of the automatic distribution of scientific and technical information and documentation. Also, terminals in study and production centres should be increased and connected directly with the data bases of the Centre and data bases set up for the central and specialized libraries with the relative equipment.

A qualitative step in the said direction would contribute to our information, centre advancing in step with the time and serving scientific activities ever better. «Our scientific information,», Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «would remain at an artisan level, were it not to rely also on an organized and specialized service.»

# A mirror of social emancipation

by **LAVDIE MALO**

The Albanian woman today can have her say competently as a fighter for the new, as a mother and educator of the healthy new generations, as a talented worker and leading force in all fields of social activity and in the scientific-technical progress.

The rapid social and economic growth of our country has its foundations in the efforts and thinking of all the generations of women and girls, who today occupy 46 per cent of the total number of working people and who, side by side with men; give life and vitality to work in the fields; plants; scientific institution, and in the families. The Albanian woman can have her say competently as a fighter for the new, as a mother and educator of the healthy new generations, as a talented worker and leading force in all fields of social activity and in the scientific-technical progress. Only the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania employs 65 women as scientific workers, whereas the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana and the other higher institutes of learning have 347 women teachers. A considerable number of women and girls do qualified work in the scientific institutions attached to the central departments, in the scientific centres of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The number of women comrades who make

their contribution to the movement of innovators and rationalizers is increasing constantly.

These few facts can prove that the present bears no comparison with the past, when the women were the object of scorn, when they were under a two fold oppression. The present reality speaks clearly about the new intellectual horizons which have been opened before the Albanian woman, about the high level of emancipation of our whole society, about the conviction that «socialism cannot be understood and the socialist construction of the country cannot advance,»<sup>1</sup> without the emancipation of the Albanian woman.

This definition made by unforgettable leader of our country is an accurate synthesis of what the Albanian woman has achieved in the years of socialism. It is also a duty and a clear objective for the realization of which our whole society, especially, the masses of women themselves, are striving on all the fronts of the construction and defence of the socialist Homeland.

1.

The emancipation of the Albanian woman has proceeded hand

in hand with all the social and economic transformations and developments of the country. The steps of progress which she has taken are the result of the all-sided development in our socialist society, which has made her an irreplaceable active force and a tireless worker with knowledge and culture, imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and a force which puts all its energies and talents to the advance of our whole reality. The vigorous participation of the masses of women in the industrial and agricultural production, and in the political and social activities, her level of education, and the very advanced legislation which we have, all these problems have been given definitive solution in favour of the Albanian woman by the Party. She participates in these daily activities, supported by the necessary concept of the whole society which evaluates this major source of revolutionary strength and energy, seeing it as one of the main constituents of life. The fact that 33 per cent of the membership of the Party and 40 per cent of those elected to the people's councils are women, or that the educational level of women under 45 years of age responds

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to the requirements of the jobs they have, whereas for women aged under 30 there is almost no difference of educational level with men, are a clear expression of the great advance the women have made. As a result, the emancipation of the social opinion has reached such a level that the woman is accepted very naturally by the social opinion in all fields and spheres of social activity.

These achievements, in the framework of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, reveal in contrast a number of problems regarding the social relations of the women in the present stage of the construction of socialism in Albania. In the present conditions, the problem is raised of the fullest possible representation of the women in all activities. The question is how to enable them to occupy the place which they have earned with their knowledge, strength, love of work and revolutionary spirit. The high assessment of the role of women, which Comrade Ramiz Alia made in his speech at the plenum of the Party Committee of Vlora, in March 1988, once again speaks of the honoured place which the Party has given them and the major tasks which they have before society.

Putting women to work in the management of affairs, not for sentimental reasons, but from their real values, is a real affirmation of their intellectual capacity. This creates a healthy atmosphere in society and in the family which rises as a barrier against pettishness and distrust towards them. Promotion of women and girls to posts of responsibility, on the other hand, is a must for our time. It reflects, in a realistic and convincing manner, the advance of our society and

the active participation of women in all spheres of life.

The question is raised today that subjectivism — which in many cases impedes the further advance and progress of the women — should be combated on all fronts. Thus, the further emancipation of society as regards the stand towards the women must be seen in greater depth. It must be accompanied with the effort to discard all patriarchal and conservative remnants in the treatment of women, in general, and in the more correct concept about their multiple functions. This is achieved in practice by increasing the respect and assessment of women as mothers and sisters, and by enhancing the sense of duty of everyone in the family.

## 2.

**Every objective and subjective condition exists for the Albanian women, who have political maturity and a considerable educational and professional capacity, to play an ever more active role also in the encouragement and promotion of the scientific thought and activities.** But this can be achieved when the women themselves and the whole of our society are fully convinced that, as the Party teaches us, nothing can be built well, nothing can advance on the right road, if the Albanian woman does not emerge in the forefront of all our work and efforts for progress.

The achievement of this objective, which has a complex character, is possible only with the active participation and the all-sided work of the society as a whole.

Daily life shows that the level of the women's professionalism is

conditioned, also, by the level of their scientific preparation. Our society is deeply interested in affirming the women as a capable and talented force of inexhaustible physical and mental forces in all walks of life. The society can stimulate women's advance by encouraging new stands and creating a warm atmosphere for them in work and in the family. The result of this all-sided work and struggle of the women and of our society, in general, is the portrait of the emancipated Albanian woman today, who is present and active in all fields: in production, lessons, in the political and social affairs of the country and elsewhere. Women in Albania make up 45.1 per cent of the agricultural workers, 45.3 per cent of industrial workers, whereas in education and trade they make up over 50 per cent and in health service 79.3 per cent of the total number of working people. There is a continuous increase in the number of women and girls working as innovators, carrying out experiments and studies in different branches of our economic and social sciences.

All these facts speak about the broad participation of women in productive activities. But, from the rostrum of the 9th Congress, the Party demanded, apart from other things, that more intensive work should be done for the further uplift of the cultural, technical and professional level of the women. Of course, this task has to do with all the members of society. Comrade Ramiz Alia instructs us: «In the existing conditions of the socialist construction and the development of the technical-scientific revolution, when the question of raising the social productivity of labour, the rapid development of the produc-

tive forces and increasing economic efficiency is on the order of the day, a major task for our people is to master the natural and technical sciences, to gain thorough knowledge of the objective laws of the development of the economy and the latest developments and achievements in technique and technology, and to work to put those in the service of the country.»<sup>2</sup>

For the masses of women, however, this task assumes special significance. What is required today is not simply ensuring participation of women in work, but also equipping them, as we pointed out above, with learning, which is one of the signal achievements of socialism. Today women must also be skilled workers capable of putting their energies, like men, in the service of the Homeland and, thus, affirm their personality in production, in culture and science with dignity. This task is within their possibilities and must be carried out. Not only from the viewpoint of number, but also as regards their spiritual and intellectual potential, women are an important factor for progress in production, in the family and everywhere.

Apart from the social factors, which in our country are a source of inspiration and encouragement, there are also a number of **subjective and organizational factors which play a decisive role in the enhancement of the level and the increased participation of women in the technical-scientific revolution.**

It is important that the people, in general, and, especially, men should have a sound opinion and awareness of the need for facilitating women's work. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the husbands and sons must examine

their conscience thoroughly and if they do so they will see that they are indebted to their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. «The search of one's conscience,» says he, «is absolutely necessary because it is the interest of the homeland, and the interest of the socialist society and of our family which require this.»<sup>3</sup>

Experience shows that harmful concepts of undervaluation of women's abilities, which are encountered in practice, can be combated and done away with both by strengthening the educational work and by enhancing the quality of the work of women, who for their part must take part systematically in the scientific activities and in various studies. Only in these conditions the participation of the women in production and in the scientific solution of problems can become an effective and stable factor always on the ascendancy. In this case, too, we have the invaluable teaching of Comrade Ramiz Alia who says that it is in the practical process of production and other activities that efficient solutions can be found, that people can be mobilized and inspired to throw themselves into actions and to achieve new results.

**The mass organizations play a major role in ensuring the more regular participation of women comrades in social and scientific activities.** A well-studied socialization of family work among members who are convinced about the need for it creates the sufficient spare time for the women who can use it for their education and further qualification.

The free time is a problem in itself and has major importance for the women, because it is connected not only with

the regeneration of their physical and spiritual energies, but also with the raising of their cultural, professional and scientific level. The socialization of house duties with the aim of creating more free time for the women, apart from other things, makes the family more joyous, harmonious, and more solid. This, in the final analysis, is one of the most noble aims and the greatest achievement of socialism.

Of course, this task is the concern of all organizations of the masses, but the Women's Organization has its specific tasks for the encouragement of women's participation in scientific activities, for making them more interested in gaining educational, technical and scientific preparation, in all these fields in which they have had great results. But the organizations of the Women's Union of Albania must devote greater care to and work still more for encouraging women scientists and innovators in their creative work and in drawing them into the social activities of the women's organization. The aim of this work is to increase the number of women with high qualifications and thus further improve the effectiveness of their activity.

### 3.

The requirements of the Party in our time for the affirmation of the personality and the creative and leading abilities of the women concern the whole society and have become the object of continuous work of the mass media and the cultural and artistic institutions. A creative work with imagination in publicizing the women as creators and

scientists, as innovators and vanguard workers exerts very positive influence. In this manner, not only the role and place of women is represented in a better light, but also this serves as an inspiration and encouragement for the whole mass of women to advance in our economic and social life.

The Albanian women has been a progressive social force and a bearer of sound culture and education by tradition. The popular heritage and our history as a whole show that women have been a fundamental element for the reproduction of life and an example of devotion to work. They are outstanding for their efforts for imbuing the younger generation with profound love of the Homeland, selflessness and courage. And this is historically true, irrespective of the unfavourable juridical position in which religion, the reactionary ideology and the institutions of law placed them in the past.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the historical experience of our people, from the beginning of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War our Party made the drawing and activation of the masses of Albanian women in the war one of the primary tasks of its programme and activity. The women responded to the call of the Party with the readiness of patriot and fighter, with their vigorous participation in all the aspects of the war: in the ideological, moral and military fields, without sparing their energies and forces. In this war, side by side with their brothers, the Albanian women broke off the shackles of the old world which had confined them within the four walls of the house. The women, who until then were valued only for their function

as mechanisms for the reproduction of life, now asserted their will and, with their sacrifices, wisdom and heroic spirit in the major difficulties of the war, emerged as a great force and as one of the strong pillars of the popular uprising for national and social liberation. They made their outstanding contribution to the great war effort with their work to secure food and clothing, to distribute leaflets, to collect ammunition for the freedom fighters under the savage terror imposed by the invaders and the traitors. More than 6 000 women boldly took up arms and left their homes to take to the mountains and fight in the life-and-death struggle against the hated enemy.

In the new Albania which began to be built after November 29, 1944, the Party and the new democratic state gave the women, for the first time in their history, all the rights which they had never enjoyed in the centuries. The socialist revolution showed them the broad way of knowledge and progress, of dignity and happiness. Together with the industrialization, with the plants and factories, with the plains and hills embellished by the hand of man, the liberation, which found 90 per cent of the women population illiterate, opened the doors of education and production to them and made them masters of their own destinies and a great force in our economic and social progress. Women were raised, side by side with men, to the highest level of all our work, science and technique, the running of the country and the defence of the socialist Homeland. By participating in production as a large force, the women freed themselves, at the same time, from the economic dependence on men. This independence, which they won in the

years of the people's state power through their participation in production and other useful activities, is a high indication of the level of emancipation of our society as a whole.

The Party and the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha gave a new content and dimension to our traditions. «Nothing can be built well, nothing can advance on the right road if the Albanian woman does not emerge in the forefront of the efforts, work and progress,» Comrade Enver has pointed out, thus, emphasizing the Party's requirement that we must always measure the advance of society with the advance of the women. The Party has always assessed them as a major political and social strength in the life of the country.

The Party and the state, and the outstanding thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha worked persistently to open before the women the roads for their advance and for the affirmation of their personality. They created favourable social and spiritual conditions for women in work in the family, created facilities and gave them free time so that they could assert their moral and intellectual strength and beauty. After discarding the old legacy in the popular struggle against the backward customs and alien remnants, conditions were created for proper mother and child care through a series of important social and economic measures (pregnancy leave is 6 months). The setting up of a whole network of health institutions in city and countryside, protection of women by excluding them from heavy jobs, the creation of cultured environments and other achievements — all these speak clearly of the honoured position of women in the Alba-



nian society, of the correct evaluation of their role in and contribution to the construction and advance of the Homeland.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to stress that the affirmation of women as political and social personalities is connected not only with the jobs and the functions they fulfil, but also with the contribution they make and must make to the solution of present-day problems which the Party raises. A woman deputy or manager of enterprise, a woman pedagogue or cultured creator today is assessed not only by the level and quality with which she carries out her tasks, but also by the degree of her individual progress and the measure of her contribution to the front of work in which she militates. An advanced and militant woman is a bearer of the problems and preoccupations of our time. She raises her voice and settles them with her revolutionary ideas and actions. Only in this way, her being in leading positions or in the elected organs is materialized in concrete activities for the good of the Homeland and the people.

The raising of women's cultural and professional level is an indispensable condition both for the further affirmation of her personality and for the invigoration of women's organization. A cultured woman would certainly demand that the activities of her organization be distinguished for high cultural values. The education and the technical-scientific and cultural qualifications of the women comrades constitute an important element of their further emancipation. On the other hand, an emancipated woman is the very embodiment of culture. If the woman reaches this level, she will always have the courage of her opinions in every sector of the productive,

political and social activities, in public life and in the family.

By emphasizing new aspects of the work of women, at its 5th Plenum of the CC, the Party pointed out that culture is an attribute of the broad masses and not only of a number of people with university education. In this aspect, our woman faces new tasks which require a profound revolutionary examination and understanding. The stimulation of the advanced and innovative thinking, of new stands towards work and common property, of the vanguard examples of women, which affirm the features of the communist morality, make the Homeland stronger and more prosperous.

But the women who have no passion and will learn and raise the level of qualification and scientific knowledge cannot be on the vanguard. Women's personality and culture are two elements which go together and manifest themselves in those women who have high demands on themselves and work with a spirit of militancy in everything, are correct in their own families and in public. The Albanian women today have incalculable potential possibilities. In the sphere of social services, in trade, health service; education and other fields the women, as bearers of the vanguard opinion, occupy a central place with the weight they have in these sectors. Here they assume the role of a real standard-bearer for the dissemination of socialist culture.

The culture of living and the improvement of its quality is a broad sphere for the activity of the Women's Organization in city and the rural area. The new work places, the new living conditions and the many environmental changes have created a new men-

tality and stand towards the beautiful, the good and the useful. This is a nourishment which, more than anywhere else, is given in the family through sound aesthetic concepts which create the sense of beauty and which embellish and enrich the spiritual world of the new man. The Women's Organization, which has always had the cultured life at the centre of its activity, has done a great work adapting it to the different zones, by exchanging the experience from the North to the South and vice-versa. This work, along with the achievements for the further improvement of the way of life and the invigoration of the very organization of women, helps to create a spirit of mutual cooperation among women of different regions.

The women of our country, like our whole socialist society, have put all their energies to the work for the carrying out of the historic decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party, with a broader prospect, as Comrade Ramiz Alia instructs us. This struggle has further enlivened the internal life of the Women's Organization and enhanced the enthusiasm and drive in all the fields in which women work and militate. The vigorous revolutionary atmosphere which has been created in the daily work and struggle for new victories on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland serves to enhance this spirit.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 193.

2 Ramiz Alia, *Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA*, p. 137, *Eng. ed.*

3 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 50, p. 345.

# THE APOLOGIA OF V

-About the book «Kosovo - Past and Present», published b

**by Prof. SOFOKLI LAZRI**

Not very long ago, a book, *Kosovo — Past and Present* appeared in Belgrade. It was translated into foreign languages and hastily distributed in UNO and in different places. In fact, it is a compendium of some biased and anti-scientific propaganda articles suitable only for the yellow press.

The official Yugoslav organs pretended long ago that the publication of a «white book» would illuminate the Kosovar problem, would prove that they have always treated it correctly and that the terror against and killing of Albanians are justifiable. The book was published in the context of Yugoslavia's efforts to create for itself the image of an emancipated, highly civilized European country; indeed the pioneer of the political and economic ideologies of the 21st century. But when reading the wishywashy articles of the «white book» for Kosova, full of vulgar phrases, expressing the savage hatred against the Albanians as a people and nation, one cannot help thinking that the words friendship and equality among nations, justice and social emancipation, which the Yugoslavs use for export, are pure hypocrisy.

Yugoslavia poses as the standard-bearer of the non-aligned countries. It even pretends to advise others how to advance, how to solve disagreements, how to understand the concepts of our time and how to make progress. But the «white book» reveals the other face of Belgrade, that of the suppression of democratic

rights and freedoms of citizens. In a book of over 380 pages, there is not a single line to explain why tens of peaceful Albanians have been killed, why thousands of boys and girls have been imprisoned, why Albanian intelligentsia, scientists and teachers, as well as the Albanian education, language and culture are discriminated against. Instead of explaining to public opinion why 35 per cent of the able-bodied population in Kosova is unemployed and why income per capita in Kosova is one third of that of Serbia, every effort is made to deprive the Albanians of their history (it is not known where they have come from), to deny their present (the Constitution deprives them of their autonomy), and to deny their future (it is not known what awaits them).

According to this book, the Albanians have not had and do not have anything good in themselves. They just happened to be in Kosova. They have come down from the mountains only to discriminate against the Serbs! From the early Middle Ages, in the time of the Ottoman invasion, under the Serbo-Croat Kingdom of Karageorgevićs, in the time of fascism, to the present-day Federal Yugoslavia, the Albanians have allegedly been reactionary people of savage customs and way of life, without culture and without a history. There is not a single page or paragraph in the whole book which condemns any of the chauvinist acts committed against the Albanians, not only in the new Yugoslavia of the time of Ranković, for instan-

ce, but also in the time of četniks, the blackest reaction or of the kings, which the Yugoslav socialists and communists and revolutionaries like D. Tučović and others have sternly exposed.

It is regrettable that scientists of reknown like V. Garašanin, inebriated with vapours of chauvinism, go so far as to contradict themselves. It is known that until recently, this author held the thesis on the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, whereas in the present book he says the opposite. This comes as no surprise to us. When he, as the scientist he is, permits himself to put his signature to a book together with that of a policeman like a certain Spasoje Djaković, the ex-chief of UDB in Kosova, close collaborator of Ranković, notorious for the killing of thousands of Kosovar young men in 1945, hangman in the campaign for the seizure of weapons in 1956, it is useless to talk about intellectual or scientific seriousness and integrity.

Any unbiased reader who has the patience to go through to the end of this book cannot fail to notice how low Yugoslavia has fallen, how backward and primitive is the political thought of that section of the leadership which guides and influences the public opinion inside the country.

After reading this book one can immediately understand that what is occurring in Kosova and in the whole of Yugoslavia now is a reaction against the contemporary concepts and democratic developments on our continent and in the world at large. This

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regressive process, which is expressed with all its strength in the policy towards the Albanians of Kosova and of other territories and which is fully reflected in the «white book» is connected with the present complicated situation full of contradictions in Yugoslav society.

Yugoslavia is in a general economic, political, institutional and ethnic crisis. But there is also a major spiritual crisis arising from the lack of a clear prospect in the near future. It is suffering the consequences of a very specific factor: the fact that the conditions in which the Great Powers, in rivalry and confrontation with one another, created a very precarious balance, depending on political circumstances and their day-to-day compromises and deals, no longer exist. The East and the West, the third world and the non-aligned, the yellow and the white, all have blandished Yugoslavia for their various interests and reasons. The international community has treated it as a sickly only child, pardoning all its mistakes and satisfying all its fancies.

But now that it has to march on its own feet, Yugoslavia is at a loss to find the right way for the preservation of its independence and freedom, for ensuring the stability it needs for democratic and progressive development. What is worse, as is obvious from the book *Kosovo - Past and Present*, some political phenomena which have emerged there are putting the country on a course full of dangers for itself and for the others. Serbian nationalism, which is primitive

and extremely aggressive, has emerged on the Yugoslav scene. Under its dictate they have dished up to the public scores of books with a chauvinistic and anti-Albanian content, as is the «white book» about Kosova, without mentioning the innumerable articles which have filled the pages of the Belgrade press in the last 8 years and which falsify the truth about the Albanians' past and the present.

The program of the Serbian nationalists is evident and goes much farther than the borders of Kosova. They are after the destruction of the federal system of Yugoslavia built on the principles of AVNOJ. They want to put it back to the pre-war unitarian, centralist and hegemonic Serbian rule, of course, in new forms, appearance and garb. The first act of this tragedy of the peoples of Yugoslavia is over. Kosova and Vojvodina, the two constitutional units of the Federation, have been robbed of their autonomy and have been practically transformed into regional administrative units of Serbia. After the violent overthrow of the previous leadership, Montenegro was attached to Serbia. The inclusion of Macedonia seems imminent and without any major resistance. The Serbian march is now directed northwards. No one knows whether and when it will be stopped.

Likewise, whether outside will interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, to what extent and in what forms they will do so, and what the consequences will be to the Balkan relations, to the present ratios and balance

in Europe, to the processes and the dialogues which are actually taking place in this continent, this remains to be seen.

What is known is that the peoples of Yugoslavia cannot easily accept the hegemonic rule of Serbia. It is hard to believe that they will be ready to relinquish the ideal of the liberation war and a 45-year-long historical practice.

Only this can explain all the international interest in the events of Yugoslavia, all the pre-occupation over the dangerous tendencies of Serbian nationalism, which the European Parliament and the American Senate have displayed; this also explains why writers and journalists all over the world, various social organizations and distinguished political and social personalities condemned the suppression of the Albanians in Kosova and the violation of human rights in Yugoslavia.

Some time ago, a Yugoslav newspaper wrote that «Yugoslavia will be transformed into Kosova if it fails to settle the problem of Kosova.» This is true. But there is more to it. Without openly admitting openly and publicly that mistakes have been made in Kosova there can be no solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The writings included in the book *Kosovo - Past and Present*, like the whole present policy of Serbian and Yugoslav leadership, show that there is no sign that Yugoslavia is going to make this change. In these circumstances, the inter-ethnic relations will inevitably grow worse.

People in Slovenia and Croa-

tia and to a smaller extent, in Bosnia, too, have begun to grow wise to the threat from Serbian hegemonism. But there is a paradox in the fact that, while they sound the alarm against it, at the same time they generally approve the Great-Serb propaganda thesis about Kosova and the repressive measures against the Albanians, for which they voted in unison with the Serb nationalists in various assemblies.

The Croatian-Slovenian stands towards the events in Kosova after Tito's death, the compromises and concessions that have been made and, above all, the ominous silence about the crimes of the anti-Albanian Mafia, cannot be explained with their political naivety only. This cannot help to explain the tactical stand which is aimed at directing the Serbian nationalist hordes towards the South so that the North will remain calm. There is only one explanation. All these opportunist stands are guided by the idea that if the appetite of Serbian nationalism is satisfied, it would accept to share the state power. This reckoning was no wrong, but they had forgotten that appetite grows with what is feeds on.

Practice is showing that there was something wrong and counter-productive in the idea that the Yugoslav crisis could be solved with the creation of a Serbo-Croatian or Serbo-Croatian-Slovene axis for exercising joint economic and political power.

By abandoning Kosova to the mercy of Serbian nationalism and failing to defend the principles of federalism and the existing state and social practice sanctioned in the 1974 Constitution, the Croats and Slovenes relinquished the weapons with which they could defend themselves in

face of the direct attacks of Great-Serb hegemonism and unitarianism.

In his speech on the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosova at Gazi Mestan, Milošević said that from the time the Turks entered Serbia in the 14th century, «only this year the people of Serbia have become free and their state, national and spiritual sovereignty has been returned to them.» Hence, the National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Tito, AVNOJ, the Federation and other symbols and notions of the New Yugoslavia can be lumped together with the Turks of Sultan Murad as enemies of Serbia. He told the mass rally that post-war Yugoslavia must be thrown into the wastepaper basket of history and, if this was not done by peaceful means, it must be done with weapons.

It is interesting to note that the official representatives of the federation in the other republics heard these statements and harsh threats of the Serbian president without the slightest reaction.

Of course, it is unacceptable to think that their «stand to attention» before the leader of the nationalist Serbs is due to the lack of political and personal courage, or undervaluation of what he said.

This came about because they had given the green light to and incited the arrogance of Serbian nationalists from the moment they endorsed the amendments to Serbia's constitution which restricted the autonomy of the provinces, or when they voted for the state of emergency in Kosova, when they failed to demand an account for the killing of the Albanians, and when they failed to see that the destiny

of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ depended on the attitude towards the events in Stari Terg.

The stand of those who wield power at present in the Republic of Macedonia towards the Albanians and the future of their fellow-countrymen is utterly irresponsible.

Although Macedonia is under the direct threat of being gobbled up by Serbia and the danger of its complete assimilation within a short time is real, the Macedonians have unleashed an ultra-nationalist campaign against the Albanians, with whom they have shared the same fate and have fought together against Great-Serb nationalism and hegemonism.

It is a fact that the policy of national oppression and the restriction of democratic rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia has become a general concrete programme of Serbian nationalism for the establishment of its rule in the whole country. The present conflicts between Slovenia and Serbia and between Croatia and Serbia, which are being exacerbated at an astonishing speed, speak clearly of this. Present-day Kosova is the mirror of the future that awaits the other republics.

The articles published in the «white book» about Kosova show that the Serbian nationalists justify the national oppression in Kosova by trying to put the blame on the so-called Albanian separatists who want secession from Yugoslavia.

We are not going to judge whether or not there are Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosova, or how many and where they are. Probably such people exist there, since they exist in Slovenia, in Serbia, and in Montenegro. Let it be so. But if there is separation in Kosova,

why eliminate its autonomy, restrict education in the mother tongue, and deny the historical traditions of the Albanians?

Even a child, let alone a political leadership, can see that these repressive measures directly assist separatism, provide it with weapons, facts and arguments, and the objective ground for its revival and for warranting the justice of its ends.

The repressive measures in Kosova, which the authors of the «white book» strive to justify, were sufficient to set forth the idea of Slovenia's separation from Yugoslavia. This idea has grown into a movement demanding that the right of republics to secede should be sanctioned in the republic constitutions. Separatists in Yugoslavia are the spawn of Serbian nationalism with its hegemonic claims and the national oppression of the other peoples. It creates the danger for the disintegration of the federation.

Because the political crisis is accompanied by a profound economic crisis, an idea has gained circulation, especially outside Yugoslavia, that the improvement of the economic situation will solve all its other problems. Even the Croatians and Slovenes entertained this idea, although many of them are beginning to have doubts about it. They think that, by adopting some rules of free commerce, by getting some foreign loans and by some other injection of this kind, calm will return in the country. This is an illusion, because to this day no economy has developed and advanced in an undemocratic environment. The recent events in Yugoslavia have shown once again that the key problem of this country, on which the settlement of other problems depends, is a political one, i.e. the conflict between federalism and Serbian unitarianism, between democracy

and nationalist centralism. If federalism and democracy win, then the economic problem will be settled. Otherwise, the economy will become the ground of dispute for diverse political groupings, which will judge and act economic matters according to the logic of the struggle for power and not according to the logic of its own laws.

Because of its national structure, its historical traditions and the composition of its population, none of the nationalities in present-day Yugoslavia is capable of dominating the others by force. Even Serbia, which aspires to this, lacks not only the military and economic power, but also ideological and cultural power to achieve domination. The democratic alternative only can settle the national conflicts and pull Yugoslavia out of the crisis. No sound logic can accept that Kosova's autonomy and the existence of the other republics weaken Serbia and Yugoslavia, as Belgrade is trying to make out. On the contrary, Kosova's broad autonomy, the national and democratic emancipation of its population would introduce a spirit of harmony and reconciliation in Serbia and in Yugoslavia, would influence the democratization of the state and social life, understanding and confidence among its peoples. Whereas the restrictions of the autonomy and of the national and democratic rights of the Albanians and the other peoples would only create unavoidable frictions, resistance and revolt among them. But the use of violence to impose restrictions would generate racist and obscurantist ideas and would become a destructive weapon for the very existence of Serbia. These consequences are obvious in many directions now.

In their unrestrainable nation-

alist euphoria, the Serbian nationalists have said and written everything they fancy about the Albanians. This is reflected also in the so-called «white book» about Kosova. In opposition to the historical truth, some of the writings go as far as to claim that the Albanians have no historical traditions of their own, that they have been a people with a touchy ethnic conscience and have lacked state-building abilities and other such inventions which are the product of a morbid chauvinist fantasy. The aim of this propaganda is clear. By denying the Albanians their ancient existence in these territories, their national history and traditions, their original way of life, their contribution to the Anti-fascist War and the building of Federal Yugoslavia, the self-styled Yugoslav scholars want to deny the efforts of the Albanians of Kosova for the defence of their national rights, for equality in the Yugoslav state, and for autonomy and other democratic rights which belong to them.

But chauvinism knows no bounds and has no sense of measure. In recent times, the Serb nationalists have begun to deny the national and historical heritage of the Montenegrins, too, or to describe the Bosnians as Islamized Serbs and the Macedonians as Southern Serbs. The historic legacy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav Federation has also come under attack and is accused of being the main cause for all the evils which have come to Serbia and Yugoslavia. The aim in this is the same as that pursued against the Albanians: to pull down the barriers which impede the establishment of the absolute rule of Serbian nationalism. The ideology is the same; it is the ideology of scorn and hatred of the other peoples.

The Serbian nationalists' efforts for the settlement of ethnic problems in a multi-national state on the basis of the mentalities of Mediaeval principalities and with the means of old colonialism are utterly unacceptable for all the progressive forces and in open contradiction with the present reality. But whatever they do and whatever happens, they cannot keep Kosova as a colony and make the Albanians as emigrants.

The present time is not that of feudal kings, of the conquistadors and colonialists, and of the oppression and assimilation of nations. We are living in the epoch when all continents are awakening, when all the peoples are gaining national and social consciousness, when intra-national relations are democratized. The world moves towards progress and not regress. Therefore, some state theses, which smell of mediaeval moldiness and have become heavy chains on the feet of progressive forces in Yugoslavia, must be discarded.

One of these theses, which is also reflected in the «white book», is that Kosova is the historical cradle of the Serbian people and of the creation of their state. This is a literary myth conceived by the Serbian nationalist-romantic poets of the past century, and an expansionist slogan of the Serb state during the Balkan wars of invasion.

It is known that the Slavs came very late to the Balkans. They came at a time when the ancient indigenous peoples of this peninsula, the Hellenes and the Illyrians, had a highly developed civilization. It is true that the vanguard of the Slav invasions advanced as far south as the Peloponesus and Vlora, just as they came to Kosova, but this cannot serve as an argument to

justify the Slav pretensions to these territories.

It is easy to imagine what could happen in Europe if the history of invasions and migrations of the Roman and Greek, Slav and German, Anglo-Saxon and Norse, Arab and other peoples were to be politicized as the Serbian nationalists are doing, who cannot rest unless they know the extent of the ethnic borders of this or that nation, the historical site of the creation of the this or that state, the cradle of this or that people, the burial place of this or that prince and saint, or the battle which saved Europe, and so and so forth what if there is a mediaeval Serbian church in Kosova? In the present territory of Yugoslavia there are monuments of a much older date and of a much clearer national identity than that, like those of the Illyrian-Albanian character.

But civilized nations do not live with myths and, moreover, they do not place myths at the basis of their present-day concrete political activity. Of course, the Serbian chauvinists are not the first who refuse to recognize the historical realities or the existing ones. There have been others like them before, but, as is known, they all have ended up badly, in defeat.

The next propaganda thesis and a potentially absurd one, which has almost gained a legal status, is that the Albanians in Yugoslavia are a minority. Compared with whom are they a minority? Compared with the Slovenes, the Macedonians, the Croatians or the Montenegrins? If they are a minority compared with the Serbs, then so are the Croatians and the Slovenes and the other peoples in Yugoslavia.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia are about 2.5 million. They live for centuries in a compact terri-

tory, have their ancient and original culture, traditions and language. They represent the third largest nation next to the Serbs and the Croatians. As the Constitution of the SFRY puts it, they are a constituent element of it. In the Yugoslav legislation, the Albanian population is not treated as or identified with a minority, but as a nationality in its own. This finds its expression in the Yugoslav constitutional right which places it on an equal footing with the other subjects of the Yugoslav Federation.

In a multi-national state, it is natural that there will be big, medium and small nations. But this does not mean that, from the juridical and constitutional aspect, they should not be equal, or that one should be treated as a majority and the other as a minority, or that one should have more rights than the other. Not only political wisdom and sound state reason, but also unavoidable objectivity require that all nations and nationalities in a multi-national state must enjoy the same juridical and social status regardless of the time and manner they have been formed, of their kinship and of their economic and cultural development. They must be allowed to govern themselves; the right to settle their own problems on their own must be recognized to them.

There is wide speculation with another thesis in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. It is said that the Serbs are shifting from Kosova under the Albanians' pressure. This claim is only a stale and empty statement. It is true that many Serbs have shifted from Kosova, but not less Albanians have done the same. If the Serbs who have shifted from Kosova number scores of thousands, the

Albanians number hundreds of thousands.

Most of the emigrants from Kosova have economic reasons. This province is undeveloped, backward and without any prospect for progress in the near future. The Serbs can find much better jobs in Belgrade, Niš; Kragujevac and other parts of Serbia, where industrialization has been rapid and intensive.

The draining of poor peasant areas and the massive shift to the developed industrial ones is not a phenomenon unique for Yugoslavia only. But that this typical social fact is transformed into a political factor, a motive for the national oppression of a whole population, as is happening with the Albanians in Kosova, this is really a Yugoslav phenomenon.

In Yugoslavia, however, there is another phenomenon, which is passed over in silence. Several hundred thousand Albanians have been expelled from Kosova and sent to Turkey by force from 1945 to date. They have been deprived of their Yugoslav citizenship and have been denied the right to return. Such a thing has not been done to the other Yugoslav emigrants.

The historical reality and facts cannot be changed with propaganda or violence. That is the principle and experience from which we have proceeded when we say that without the Albanians, and moreover against them, the problem of Kosova and the other problems of Yugoslavia cannot be settled.

We have proceeded from the same spirit when we say that the problems which have cropped up today in Kosova and in Yugoslavia should be treated with political wisdom, realism and objectiveness, that the future should be understood correctly not by looking backwards, that the historical

past can serve to draw lessons from but not to settle the present problems by mechanically repeating it.

The statements in some writings of the «white book» (which are only a fraction of the unrestrained Yugoslav propaganda) about the «interference» of the PSR of Albania in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia are in opposition to the truth. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. It has not done so because non-interference in the others' internal affairs is one of the basic constant principles of its foreign policy. It has not done so because it wants Yugoslavia, the Balkans and Europe to be stable. This is not a propaganda slogan, but a stand derived from a simple political reasoning. The destabilization of Yugoslavia and the eventual meddling of others in the ensuing developments, would endanger neighbouring Albania. Socialist Albania has declared that it is ready to help Yugoslavia with whatever it can, but not at the expense of Kosova. And even if Albania did so, this would solve nothing. Apart from other things, that action would be in the opposite sense to the realistic and objective solutions required for surmounting the crisis. And the fires in Yugoslavia would not be quelled. The fact is that the flames of national quarrels are spreading from Kosova throughout the whole of Yugoslavia, that the national and democratic rights, not only of the Albanians but also of the other peoples of this country, are put in doubt.

Yugoslavia is a state made up of many nations with very strong national characteristics, specific original and ancient stable cultures, different languages and beliefs. It has in itself peoples

of different sympathies, friendships and international connections. The only basis for their coexistence, cooperation and harmony would be a policy which takes into consideration the interests of all the peoples, and which has a Yugoslav common denominator.

The problem whether Yugoslavia would be a state under the rule of the Serbian monarchy or under any kind of Serbian hegemony, or a federation built on the basis of a broad autonomy of its nations, was solved in the time of the anti-fascist war. The peoples of Yugoslavia made the supreme sacrifice, giving 1,7 million killed for its settlement. And it was settled in favour of the federal system which recognized equality, autonomy and national rights of all its peoples without exception: the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Macedonians, Albanians and others. These principles were sanctioned in the decisions of AVNOJ and were further legitimized in the Yugoslav constitutions that were endorsed later. Yugoslavia has lived and developed until today on this basis.

Good or bad, it was with this state system that Yugoslavia ensured, in the first place, an acceptable coexistence for all its nations, complete international recognition without any pretention towards it, and a normal economic and cultural development. Therefore, any national oppression of efforts for the assimilation of the other nations in the name of any ideology would arouse resistance, quarrels and conflicts, which would not help to strengthen the so-called «state, popular, political and ideological unity», but would lead to a situation in which it will be difficult to foresee the internal and external consequences.





# **DEPENDENT POLICY ALBANIA FULFILLING SERVICE TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SECURITY**

***Affairs, Comrade Reis Malile, head of the  
delegation, addressed the 44th Session of the General Assembly  
on other things, said:***

peoples and states must be free to choose for themselves the road of their sovereign development, to preserve their national identity and play the role they deserve in the course of world events.

«There is no doubt that the international community is interested to avoid having regional crises and conflicts, because they constitute hot-beds of tension, fanned up and manipulated by others against the interests of the peoples. Therefore, the parties directly involved and concerned, not the external forces, should play the decisive role in settling them. Conjunctural solutions, especially those imposed from outside, cannot be lasting. The formula of 'national reconciliation', applied under the tutelage of the superpowers, leaves the door open for interference and destabilization, as is the case of Afghanistan. Interferences in Central America and Southeast Asia must be put an end to, and solutions should be in conformity with the aspirations of the respective peoples in the interest of their independent development and peace. Likewise, the Korean people must not be prevented from achieving the unification of the homeland free from external interference.

«As a Mediterranean country,» Comrade Reis Malile went on, «Albania considers that any step towards the creation of a favourable political climate in the Mediterranean requires that it should be freed from the naval fleets and warships of the superpowers. This step would be conducive to turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendship among the peoples of the countries that border on it, and a bridge of cooperation with the other parts of the world.

«When we speak of the Mediterranean, we cannot help thinking of Lebanon, which is going through a real tragedy. A protracted war with fratricidal consequences has been imposed on it by Israel and reaction. It is up to the Lebanese people themselves to establish their own national unity in a sovereign way. In the Middle East, the Arab peoples have been fighting against imperialist-zionist aggression for decades. Standing out in high relief in this context is the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, which bears witness to the dauntless efforts of a valiant people, who can be conquered neither by use of violence or tanks, nor by the genocide of the aggressors.

«The Albanian people and their

government, who have always felt themselves close to the fraternal Arab peoples in their just struggle, regard the proclamation of the Palestinian state and its wide-scale recognition internationally as a very important development which offers greater possibilities for the settlement of this key problem of the Middle East. The uprising of the Palestinian peoples — the «Intifada», which is continuing for about two years now in the occupied territories, enjoys the unreserved support of the Albanian people as a legitimate struggle. The Albanian people have also hailed the positive steps towards the strengthening of the unity in the Arab world, and consider it a decisive factor for the just solution of the Palestinian problem and of the whole Middle-East crisis.

«Against the background of the developments and endeavours to achieve political settlements for the conflicts and hot-beds of tension, the ceasefire agreement in Angola and the agreement on granting independence to Namibia cannot fail to exert an appreciable impact on the general situation in the southern part of the African continent. The Albanian delegation condemns the violence and crimes of Souther-

-Africa regime, which is still persisting in its detested colonial and racial discrimination policy.

«The Albanian people support the African countries in their just struggle against the imperialist-neocolonial exploitation. We associate ourselves with the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to strengthen its unity in support of the struggle of the Azanian people, in order to put an end to the hated regime of apartheid in South Africa, this anachronism of our time, which constitutes a challenge to the whole mankind.

«Looking back over the development of events in the world since the last session of the UN General Assembly, we witness an intensification of inter-nation contradictions in a number of countries, the negative consequences of which go even beyond national borders. The multinational states, which are a reality in the world today, cannot speak of genuine democracy so long as they fail to achieve democratic relations between the nations, nationalities and minorities comprising them. If an aggravation of inter-nation relations is noticed today, this shows that in those states the national issues have not been put on the right course.

«Albania has always upheld that the minorities, wherever they are, should enjoy equal rights with the rest of the population in the country, in conformity with the norms of international law. We have always maintained that the minorities should be important factors for rapprochement and friendship between peoples and states.

«Of late, a process of cooperation has started among the countries of the Balkans,» he pointed out. «The Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of

the Balkan states, which was held last year, was followed by a number of other activities of a political, economic, scientific and technical character. This process constitutes a positive tendency which responds to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Peninsula and to the cause of peace in the region and Europe.

«What the peoples in our Peninsula aspire to and want is peace and understanding, cooperation and friendship, not destabilization and animosity.

«The Albanian government will work untiringly so that this process does not come to a halt, but be further advanced, and consolidated. We hope and wish that the other Balkan countries, too, will do the same, by overcoming certain recent developments which run counter to the spirit of understanding and to the commitments undertaken in the context of Balkan cooperation.

«Albania has not interfered, nor does she intend to interfere in the internal affairs of others. But, prompted by the sincere preoccupation about the promotion of Balkan cooperation and confidence, by the moral rights, democratic and humane considerations enshrined in the UN Charter itself and in other international acts, she cannot fail to point out that the tragic events which took place in Kosova in the spring of this year along with the repressions of the Albanians and their national and democratic rights which keep going on to this day, are in defiance of every norm of freedom, democracy, social and cultural emancipation. The Albanian people and government, like the world public opinion, including the sound Yugoslav opinion, have condemned and condemn the killings and imprisonments of

hundreds of thousands of Albanians who demand equality and the same rights as all the fellow citizens of their federal state, that their autonomy, language, culture, national traditions be retained.

«White or yellow books may be written, but they cannot justify the fact that it is the tanks and policemen that make the law in Kosova, that after the constitutional amendments the number of Albanian schools has been reduced and the Kosova intellectuals and youth are being persecuted. The so-called differentiation, which is an isolation, an unprecedented and inhuman moral, economic and political boycott, has affected the best-known intellectuals, academicians and teachers down to the school children.

«Albania has been and is directly interested in the stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia, because their freedom and independence are linked with one another. Any evil in one country affects the other, too. The normalization of the situation in Kosova, the national and economic emancipation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, who make up an entity of roughly three million inhabitants, their equality of rights with the other nations and nationalities of the Federation, would be in favour of the strengthening of Yugoslavia itself.

«The interests of the peoples of the region require that the bitter legacy of the past should be overcome, that no new difficulties be added, but real efforts be made to improve the friendly atmosphere and strengthen fruitful cooperation.

«As has been made known, in autumn next year the second meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states will

be held in Albania. It is our desire and conviction that, through the concerted efforts of all the states of the region, this important meeting, facing up the present-day realities, will mark a new, more advanced stage towards multilateral cooperation and the strengthening of relations of good neighbourliness. We consider neighbourliness as an expression of common obligations, of the desire and interests of our peoples and countries to live in peace with one another.

«Albania, who has sincerely committed herself to the process of Balkan cooperation, regards it as a realistic alternative for the strengthening of peace in the region. She thinks that as part of Europe, the Balkans, which has suffered so much from feuds, disturbances and wars, today more than ever needs peace, tranquility and stability, both to overcome the bitter past and its relative backwardness as compared with the rest of the continent, and to demonstrate our region's interests in and contribution to the development of the positive European processes beneficial to peace.»

After pointing out that «an important aspect of the democratization of international relations, which makes itself felt greatly today, is that connected with economic relations on a world scale,» he said: «Inequality in trade exchanges, the imposition of protectionist measures and tariff barriers, as well as the use on a wide scale of the mechanism of debts by the industrially developed countries have led to the widening of the economic

gap between the latter and the developing countries. The huge debts have become a heavy burden which is suffocating the economies of the developing countries. The continued worsening of this situation directly affects the stability of international relations, of which economic relations, today more than ever before, are intertwined with and inseparable from political relations. The demands of the developing countries, frequently referred to as the 'club of the poor', but which constitute the overwhelming majority of the UN member states, for the establishment of equality in international economic relations, are legitimate, they must be listened to and a just solution be sought and found.

«The illicit trafficking in and the use of drugs have become a serious problem and social evil in many countries. In Albania this phenomenon has never existed and does not exist, either. Besides the good tradition and educational measures, the state through stringent laws envisages severe punishments for the illicit use, possession or sale of narcotics. At the same time, our state has taken measures to prevent any eventual trafficking in drugs through Albanian territory. We think that combat against drugs should not be exploited as a camouflage for certain political designs.

«In our time, ecological problems have become extremely acute, and the danger coming from the pollution of the environment has increased still more. «It is now an acknowledged fact

that the greatest ecological damage through pollution on a global scale is caused by the super-industrialized countries, which are the greatest consumers and processors of raw materials.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania shows the greatest concern for the protection of the environment in its own territory and in the Adriatic region, and it joins its voice with the other countries which are rightly demanding from those that bear the greatest responsibility for this state of affairs, that they feel their obligation to alleviate this situation, correct and put it to order.

«For the Albanian people who have fought through the centuries for their land, freedom and existence,» Comrade Reis Malile said in conclusion, «the safeguarding of independence and complete national sovereignty is sacred. Placing the principle of independence at the very foundation of its policy, Albania has at the same time rendered her modest contribution to the cause of peace and security.

«The reality of Albania in these 45 years since Liberation, its transformations and progress in various fields of life, are the successful outcome of its socialist course.

«We are aware that what has already been accomplished through the toil and sweat of our people does not mean everything, but the important thing is that we are convinced of the correctness of our road which has opened up to us the prospect of continued progress.»

# *press review*

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## **THE SECOND WORLD WAR — THE SPAWN OF THE IMPERIALIST POLICY FOR HEGEMONY AND WORLD DOMINATION**

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

The Second World War, which began with the attack of Hitler's Germany on Poland on September 1, 1939, is the largest military confrontation of the more than 14,500 wars the historians have recorded from ancient times to day.

The western bourgeois historiography, and that of the USA, in particular, has always tried to blame the outbreak of the Second World War on what it describes as the «aggressive spirit of communism», claiming that the Comintern and the communist parties, the workers and democratic movement «had upset the normal balance of historic development» by causing political and social confusion and crises fraught with war. Until recently, the Soviet revisionist historiography, in its treatment of the question of the causes that led to the outbreak of the Second World War, put the stress on the lack of readiness on the part of the Western imperialist states to come to an accord with the Soviet state. The view that if the western imperialists had come to terms with the Soviet Union, it would have been possible to impede the forces of ag-

gression and to prevent the Second World War from breaking out, has become almost obsolete. In fact, this view is still maintained today among the modern Soviet historiographers who are inspired by Gorbachov's political line and put the blame for the failure to reach this agreement between the imperialist states and the Soviet Union not so much on the Western governments as on Stalin, who, according to them, were not very determined to reach the agreement.

A large-scale and complex war, as was the Second World War, had its causes in the irreconcilable contradictions between the imperialist states, in the policy of hegemony and world domination pursued by the imperialist powers and the two military blocs that were created immediately after the First World War. The type of war is always determined by the contents of the epoch in which they break out, by the ratio of forces, the real contradictions among the states and military blocs which confront one another and by the policy which the governments follow on the eve

of the outbreak of the war.

The Second World War was neither an accident nor the result of a simple cause. It did not break out suddenly and inadvertently within one day. It did not come like a bolt from the blue. It has a whole history of political and ideological, military and economic preparations.

The danger of the outbreak of a new world war became a tangible reality with the advent to power of nazism in Germany, with the complete support of the German monopoly capital for Hitler. In the Nazi party it saw the staunchest defender of the interests of monopolies and the financial oligarchy, concentrated mainly in the production of heavy armaments. The US financial capital was a direct help in the economic revival of Germany and of its war industry.

The advent to power of nazism and its feverish preparations for war showed that a very dangerous hotbed was growing, one which could start an all-round conflagration to achieve world leadership and domination.

The October Socialist Re-

revolution divided the world into two opposed political-social systems. The building of the socialist bases in the Soviet Union and the unprecedented upsurge of the revolutionary movements of the working masses and the other oppressed sections in the capitalist countries, of the democratic and the national liberation revolutionary movements in the colonial countries constituted a very real threat for the world imperialist bourgeoisie; without avoiding this threat it could not be sure about its rule in the metropolises and about the continuation of the colonial system. The struggle for world leadership and domination by each imperialist state or a coalition of them, in open rivalry with their opponents, separately or in joint efforts, was directly connected with the internal policy of crushing any democratic and revolutionary movement, especially the workers' movement within the country, and the democratic and national liberation revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies. That was the reason why the imperialist powers trained their guns for total war on the Soviet Union which was the only socialist state and the only support for the democratic, revolutionary and national liberation and anti-colonialist movements in the world. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «The imperialists, the

reactionary bourgeoisie, the European and world social-democracy, together with the other parties of capital, prepared the war against the Soviet Union. Together with the Hitlerites, with the Italian and Japanese fascists, they prepared the Second World War.»

In the efforts to incite the nazi aggression towards the Soviet Union, the western states sabotaged the concrete proposals of the Soviet Government in the League of Nations over the question of collective security and peace. The western imperialist governments did whatever they could to bury these proposals in the archives of the League of Nations, and in fact they were never taken into consideration.

The culminating points of the dealings among the main imperialist powers of Europe was the notorious Münich agreement, reached in September 1938, between the heads of state of England and France, on the one hand, and Hitler and Mussolini, on the other. Under this new agreement, Germany was given the right to occupy the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. A few months later, in March 1939, Germany occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia, which was betrayed from within and abandoned by the Great Powers. The Münich agreement encouraged fascist Italy to begin the implementation of

its plan for the occupation of Albania. Mussolini was convinced once again that the western imperialist powers would not put themselves in his way. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «Great Britain was interested that Italy occupied Albania, because its plan was to unleash Italian fascism and German nazism, which it was financing, against the Soviet Union.»

The Soviet Union, led by Stalin, came up with concrete proposals for the organization of a joint front with Great Britain and France against the aggressive fascist powers. But its proposals were taken up with great delay, and after discussion, were rejected by the western governments. France had done the same in rejecting the proposal of the Soviet government to give Czechoslovakia military protection in the spirit of the existing treaties. After seeing that all its efforts to secure a mutual agreement with Great Britain and France against the fascist aggressors ended in failure, and when it had no doubts about the aims of these countries to isolate the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government was compelled to accept Germany's proposal to sign the non-aggression pact. In these conditions, the Molotov-Ribentrop pact, about which the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda has made endless speculations in order to

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smear Stalin's figure, was the only alternative to avoiding an immediate aggression of Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union. For the Soviet Government, led by Stalin, it was clear beyond the slightest doubt that the main aim of Hitler's Germany was, first of all, to make total war on the Soviet Union. Therefore, it had to play for time to build

defence along its western borders.

The causes which led to the outbreak of the Second World War cannot fail to attract the attention of the peoples, the democratic and revolutionary forces, to make comparisons and draw parallels with the situation which has been created in the world today. The inter-imperialist contradictions for

hegemony and domination have been exacerbated more than in any other time in the history of this century. The two superpowers, with their aggressive, expansionist policies, and with their strategy for world leadership and domination, are the main cause of the exacerbation and the increasing threat of a new war in the world today.

## **CEASELESS IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH DIFFERENT PSEUDO-COMMUNIST CURRENTS**

ZËRI I POPULLIT

Recently it was 125 years to the day of the founding of the International Workers' Association, which is known under the name of the Communist International.

The founding of the First International is closely related to the names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The emergence of this international workers' organization was prepared by a whole range of theoretical and practical activities, including the organization of the League of Communists. However, the founders of scientific communism have the great historical merit of working out and formulating the theoretical and ideologi-

cal bases on which it was created, and of mapping out its general revolutionary line.

Speaking about the *Communist Manifesto* which summed up the fundamental principles of the First International, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «it showed the proletariat the road towards the elimination of private ownership over the means of production, the creation of the party of the proletariat for the seizure of power on the revolutionary road, as well as the struggle against capitalism and opportunism».

The activity of the First International was broad and many-sided. It played a great

role in the diffusion of the ideas of scientific socialism, the extension of the worker movement and its setting out on the road of genuine revolutionary struggle, in the unification of the workers' national organizations under a central leadership, in tempering the internationalist unity of the proletariat, by giving great inspiring and mobilizing strength to the slogan of the *Communist Manifesto* «Workers of All Countries, Unite!» The Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution and the first attempt in the history of mankind at setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat under its ideological influence was prepared. The

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First International made an important contribution also to the preparation of conditions for the creation of independent parties of the proletariat, which would initially emerge in England, France, Germany and then in some other countries of Europe.

Today just as in the past, the enemies of Marxism, the social-democrats and revisionists, have tried and continue trying to devalue and uncrown the revolutionary theoretical and practical work of the First International and its leaders, K. Marx and F. Engels. Distorting many events connected with its activity, or treating them from opportunist positions, especially the struggle it waged against petty-bourgeois socialist currents, they have tried to justify their line of political and ideological pluralism, their compromises and alliance with the bourgeoisie and its parties, their views about many «models»

of socialism and roads of its achievement. On this course, among other things, they have also tried to support those theories and views against which Marx and Engels fought in the First International.

With all sorts of fabrications and inventions about the history of the world communist and revolutionary movement, including the history of the worker movement in the period of the First International, the present-day Gorbachovite Soviet revisionists also try to justify their counter-revolutionary reformism. Actually all their theses and views in support of the restructuring processes in the economic and political system of the Soviet Union, and their search for a «human» and «modern» socialism are in essence only a repetition of the doctrines of petty-bourgeois, liberal and christian socialism, all of them based on the exploitation of man

by man, the division of society into antagonistic classes, and the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Regardless of the anti-communist tirades and attacks of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, regardless of the revisionist betrayal and the zig-zags it has brought about, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist ideals will be always alive, active and in constant development. They preserve all their values in our epoch and show all the oppressed and exploited, all the peoples and progressive men and women the only right road of struggle and victory. The revolution and socialist construction in our country represent a rich experience in this direction. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «Albania is an example of the broad vistas opened up by the revolution, an example of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and the strength of the people in power.»

## THE SOVIET CRISIS IS A CRISIS OF REVISIONISM

ZËRI I POPULLIT

It is some time now that events in the Soviet Union are in the centre of attention of world opinion. It is four years and a half now since the Gorbachov team seized

the leadership of the Soviet party and state. The Gorbachov course of perestroika and glasnost was presented as the magic key which would solve all the acute

problems of Soviet society. Everything was done to create the impression among the public within and outside the Soviet Union that the situation would change, «social-

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lism would be regenerated,» etc. The Soviet theoreticians worked out «the new political thought,» which, in their opinion, would be valid not only for them, but for others, too. The clamour about perestroika, Gorbachov's endless speeches and glasnost have deceived and continue to deceive people into thinking that things will be put in order and that the crisis of the Soviet society will be overcome. But what has been achieved up to now?

In the economic field crises and difficulties not only were not overcome, but the situation is becoming more and more critical. The Western models of organization, foreign credits and aid, the revival of the private sector in the city, and the leasing of the land in the countryside cannot heal the ulcers of the Soviet economy. The economic reorganizations that have been carried out or are being envisaged by Soviet experts have added to the confusion in the economy. At the last September session of the Supreme Soviet Gorbachov had to admit that «the present situation in the economy is more difficult than it was at the time of the summer session.» The increasing deficit in foreign trade, the continuous taking of loans from the West and the creation of joint enterprises with foreign capital were insufficient to achieve what the Soviet leaders claimed they would do. Soviet

industry has an obsolete technological base in many of its branches. So, according to Soviet authors, the mechanical engineering industry, which is the basic branch of the economy, meets the requirements of modern production only 25 per cent. The Soviet leaders have found no other way out than to hold out the hand to the capitalist states, but time has shown that these know how much credit they give, on what conditions they give it and how to control its utilization.

The Soviet crisis is as deep in the economic field as it is acute in the political and social fields. Reforms of the political system have been made or are being designed, many cadres of various ranks have been replaced and other measures have been taken, but political instability has increased. The Soviet revisionists claim that through glasnost they have created a new approach to socialism. According to Gorbachov's words at the latest plenum of the Soviet party, «our country has taken steps ahead towards democracy, freedom and glasnost,» and he called for further progress on this road. But what did this road actually give the Soviet Union? The campaign of slanders against the name and work of J. V. Stalin was stepped up, the history was falsified, a number of enemies of socialism were re-

habilitated and proclaimed innocent victims, etc.

The course of perestroika deepened the social polarization in Soviet society. Strikes have now become part and parcel of Soviet life. In particular the strikes of this year, which called for the improvement of the conditions of life and work, caused panic in Moscow and, the Soviet leaders tried to manoeuvre by laying the blame on the bureaucrats of the provinces. Especially on the national plane such problems and contradictions have emerged that Moscow is often unable to keep the situation under control and is forced to employ special troops for this purpose. In the Baltic republics, Moldavia, the Caucasus, Central Asia and, more recently, in the Ukraine, too, hundreds of thousands of people have come out in protest against the great-Russian chauvinist policy and disregard of national languages, traditions and culture. The crisis in Nagorny Karabakh, with ethnic clashes between the Azeris and Armenians, remains open. The Soviet leaders themselves have been forced to admit that an extremely critical situation has been created in intra-national relations, tendencies to seceding from the federation are becoming ever more apparent and, in general, there is general confusion. The Soviet leadership lays the blame for this situation on «irresponsi-



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ble elements bent on sowing discord.» So, the finger is not put on the sore spot, for it is well-known that national strife set in with the advent of the Khrushchevites to power in the Soviet Union.

On the international plane the Soviet revisionists have sought and are seeking the assistance of the Western capitalist states, and these have not failed to give it, exploiting the situation in the Soviet Union for their political and economic ends. The bourgeoisie presents the crisis in the Soviet Union and the

countries of Eastern Europe as the crisis of socialism and socialism itself as a social order without a future. Actually the crisis in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe is the logical result of the triumph of the Khrushchevite revisionist counter-revolution, and the anti-Marxist line followed by the revisionist Soviet party. This crisis is the product of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the negation of the ideals of socialism. Experience has clearly shown that who goes down this road

will inevitably land in this bitter predicament with grave consequences for the working masses. At the 6th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out once again that the revisionist betrayal «with Gorbachov's perestroika and the present wave of counter-revolutionary reformism is carrying through to the end the process of the transition of Soviet society and the countries of Eastern Europe on to fully capitalist rails.»

## THE FRUIT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REFORMIST IDEOLOGY

### ZËRI I POPULLIT

The counter-revolutionary reformist wave which has swept the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries, has ended up in Hungary with the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party according to the model of social-democratic parties of the bourgeois west. This event marks the logical conclusion of the anti-communist process which developed on a broad scale for almost three decades within the ranks of the Hungarian party and which its last congress sanctioned definitively. This official change of the Hungarian party into a

counter-revolutionary force found its expression in the statement of the party chief Peszo Niers, who said that the historical role of the party came to an end, and that the country now needs a social party of a new style. He pointed out that the party should abandon ideological matters to the individual and try to rally around itself all the social groups of the country, including entrepreneurs. One of the members of the reformist leadership, Imre Poszgay, was vehement in his demand to altogether discard the party, which he

described as a monster that has functioned not as a party, but as a state establishment in Hungary. Whereas the secretary for ideology, Janos Barabas, pointed out that the new party follows the model of the liberal and social-democratic parties of the West.

The Hungarian party got down in this mire especially after the four rounds of parliamentary regional elections which were held there in recent months. The complete crisis which has gripped the party can also be seen in the haemorrhage of its membership, which has been fal-

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ling by almost ten thousand each month. In these conditions it is expected that the party will not be able to get more than 30 per cent of the votes in the next multi-party national elections which will be held in 1990. Experiments on the pluralist system in Hungary began early this year, when many opposition forces that have organized themselves into real independent parties, have come out openly on the political scene. Among these parties there are also the Popular Democratic Forum which won three times as many votes as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the regional parliamentary elections, the Reforms' League, the Independent Party of Small Owners, the Radical Alliance of Free Democrats and other anti-communist conglomerations. The Revived Social-Democratic Party appears to be especially active within and outside the country. It has even applied for membership in the Socialist International.

As for the programme of the new Hungarian Socialist Party, it must be said that it contains premises to carry through to the end the process of putting the Hungarian society on the rails of capitalism. This can be seen in the radical reforms for the implementation of the pluralist political system and the embarkment of the economy on the western style market economy. In this framework,

the congress called for «free elections» as a premise for the separation of the party from the state in favour of the other political forces. The programme that was endorsed puts it explicitly that «private property is the essential motive force of economic growth.» The congress also endorsed the new party statute and a number of documents which officially proclaim the rehabilitation of reformism and every counter-revolutionary trend in the economic and political activity of the country. A very significant fact in this direction is the reference of the documents of this congress to the capitalist reforms of the Soviet perestroika, in which the anti-socialist forces in Hungary have found their guiding compass.

It is reported also that the congress decided that the 23rd of October — the day of the outbreak of the Hungarian counter-revolution of 1956 — be proclaimed a national memorial day and that the counter-revolutionaries who were sentenced by the people's tribunals at that time, but who have been rehabilitated and are considered as victims, should receive compensation.

The congress declared that the coming elections, in which all the political parties of the country will participate, will be «completely free and their conclusions implemented in practice.» Apart

from the law which recognizes the official status of the opposition parties, they will discuss the drafting of a new constitution of the western model, the setting up of a constitutional court and the creation of a new post for the executive president of the republic.

The Hungarian political parties have offered the post of the president even to the overthrown monarchic forces of the Habsburg dynasty. All this is the consequence of the revisionist course of which the Party of Labour of Albania, with its far-seeing teachings, has warned long ago. The correctness of this profound judgement of our Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «has been confirmed by the all-round crisis which has engulfed the Soviet Union, not to speak of Hungary or Poland which are not only immersed in debts and experiencing numerous economic, social and political difficulties, but after 45 years are even handing state power over to the most rabid anti-communist forces.» What is happening in Hungary at present is the transition of the party from the hands of the modern revisionists, who adopted the anti-Marxist course, over to the hands of the extreme right reactionary forces which have proclaimed the capitalist restoration in an open and complete manner.

Finals of the 6th National Spartakiad organized on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Liberation of the country. In the photo: Physical-culture and sports manifestation in the «Qemal Stafa» stadium, Tirana.



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