

# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

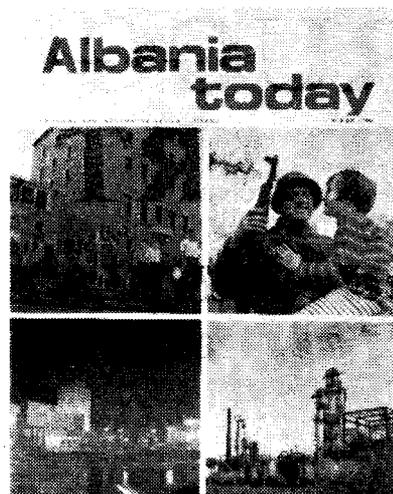
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VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA. — THE CENTRE OF THE CAPITAL  
IN THE EVENING. — A SOLDIER AND A CHILD. — THE OIL INDUSTRY.

«ELECTRIFICATION» (oil) by P. Kokushta



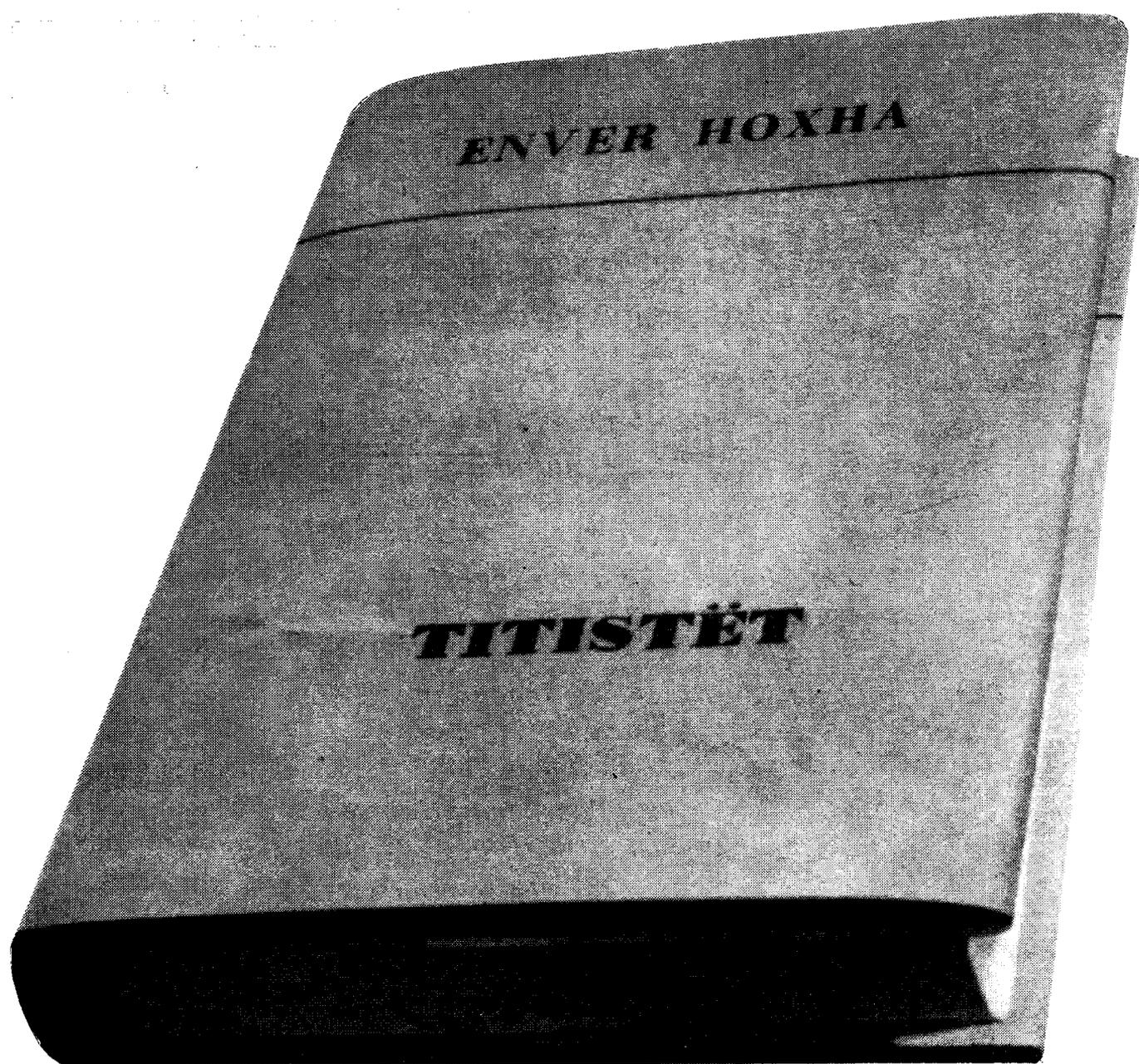


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# HISTORY OF THE HEROIC AND STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR

*About Comrade ENVER HOXHA's  
book «The Titoites» (Historical notes)*



# RESISTANCE OF ALBANIA

THE COMMUNISTS, CADRES AND ALL THE WORKING MASSES OF OUR COUNTRY HAVE RECENTLY HAD IN THEIR HANDS A NEW AND VERY IMPORTANT WORK, THE BOOK «THE TITOITES» BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. THIS BOOK HAS ALSO BEEN PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

THE RELATIONS OF THE CPA (TODAY THE PLA) AND THE ALBANIAN SOCIALIST STATE WITH THE CPY AND THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATIVE STATE, FROM THE FIRST CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES (IN 1941) UNTIL TODAY, ARE IN THE CENTRE OF THE WORK.

These historical notes reflect the specific and very complicated character of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations in all their complexity through a wealth of facts, original documents, personal impressions and theoretical arguments by the author. Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a penetrating analysis of the objective and subjective causes and factors which determined the course in which these relations developed on both sides, pointing out the platforms from which both parties proceeded and the aims which they had in these connections and relations with one another, revealing the interconnection of the events running over a period of 40 years. The materialist methodology applied in the analysis of the particular and the whole, a militant spirit of lofty proletarian partisanship, a pronounced class tendentiousness in the reflection of and the stand towards every event and phenomenon, important conclusions and generalizations, a resilient and vigorous style — these are some of those features which make the new book of Comrade Enver Hoxha one of the most outstanding works of the Albanian political-historical science.

With profound truthfulness, with steel logic, colourful means of expression and an incisive style, this book reveals before the reader one of the most dramatic and at the same time one of the most heroic periods of the history of our Party and people.

This 40-years' long history is written not only by a direct witness of all the events described, not only by the main figure on which were directed right from the beginning the attacks and thrusts of the Titoites who saw that, if they eliminated him and the sound part of the

leadership of the Party, they could reduce to submission and subsequently destroy the entire Party, but also by the inspirer, organizer and direct leader of the gigantic struggle of the PLA for uncovering and foiling the hostile activity of the Titoites. This adds to the truthfulness and great concreteness of the book, to its gripping suspense which goes on from page to page and lasts right through to the end. The work gains in strength and truthfulness, especially from the fact that the author has based his work not only on facts from memory but also on many official documents to be found in the CAP (Central Archives of the Party), as well as on his own authentic notes, which Comrade Enver Hoxha used and still uses to take.

The ten chapters of the book, in which the events of 40 years are described in detail, are a vivid description of the stern struggle between two policies, two stands, and two ideologies diametrically opposed to one another. This because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha concludes, all the history of our relations with the CPY and the revisionist Yugoslav state, «on the one hand... is a history of interferences, traps and unrelenting plots on their part to the detriment of our Party and our socialist state, and on the other hand, a history of the just and consistent struggle of our Party and people to avoid falling for their traps and plots, to uncover and to foil them, without permitting them to cause us serious damage.»

In the book it is affirmed that the leadership of the CPY has proceeded and has acted, from the first moments of the initial contacts with the PLA to the end, from anti-Marxist and deeply anti-Albanian positions. Tito and his associates, in the situations created after the outbreak of the Second World War, counted on the possibility of manipulating and directing the war of the Albanian people against the occupier in such a manner that, at the end of the War, the conditions and possibilities would be created for Yugoslavia to annex Albania. For this to be achieved, the Yugoslav leadership was aware that, as a precondition, it had to get control of the decisive factor which would rouse the Albanian people and lead them in their war — the Communist Party of Albania. Therefore, the immediate aim from which Tito and his accomplices proceeded in their connections with the CPA was its subjugation and transformation into a blind tool trailing at the tail end of the CPY. To this end they would

exploit all the so-called aid which the CPY pretends it has allegedly given the CPA in the war years.

With theoretical and practical arguments based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and with a true description of how events developed, this book rejects the concoctions of the Titoites about the «aid» they allegedly gave in the creation of the CPA and their absurd claim that they supposedly were the «creators of the CPA!» «The CPA,» concludes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book, «was not created because that was what a certain Tito from Yugoslavia fancied, or wanted to, but was created because its creation was imperatively demanded by the Albanian people, by the Albanian communist movement, was demanded by the historical moment the country was going through, was demanded by the past, the present and the future of Albania itself.»

Subsequently, in the work «The Titoites» it is shown that the so-called aid which the CPY has given the CPA and the National Liberation War of the Albanian people during the period 1942-1944 was part of the plans and attempts of the Titoites to submit the PLA to them and make it swerve from its correct road. The heated discussions and arguments of Comrade Enver Hoxha with the two or three emissaries of Tito to Albania, over the «orientations» and «plans» of the Titoites on the role of the Party and the staffs in the leadership of the National Liberation War, on the stand towards the nationalist elements and the traitor organizations, on the notorious «Balkan Staff» of Tito and S. V. Tempo, etc., etc., Comrade Enver Hoxha's stern opposition to the «accusations» and «criticism» of the Titoites over the so-called opportunism and sectarianism in the line of the CPA, are arguments in support of the fact that the leadership of the CPY, as early as that period, was an anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian positions, as well as that the CPA strongly opposed the distorted views and wrong actions of the Titoites right from that moment.

When all these attempts of the Titoites came up against the stern resistance and opposition of the leadership of the CPA, then the Titoites resorted to plots in order to attain their aims.

A special place in the work is occupied by a detailed analysis of the ill-famed and very dangerous plot which the Yugoslav leadership concocted through its envoys V. Stoimic and N. Dizdarevic and its Albanian agents K. Xoxe, N. Spiru, S. Malëshova, L. Gega, P. Kristo and others at the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA called in Berat in November 1944.

By analysing all these anti-Marxist attempts and plots in all their secret details, Comrade Enver Hoxha concludes that the so-called aid which the leadership of the CPY claims to have given the CPA and the National Liberation War of our people was nothing else but «aid» intended to hitch the CPA and the National Liberation Movement of the Albanian people up to the chariot of Titoite Yugoslavia, and eventually to gobble up the whole of Albania.

Of special interest in the book is the Marxist-Leninist presentation Comrade Enver Hoxha makes of the problem of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, and the stands of the PLA and the CPY both during the war years and later. Amongst other things, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out and proves with argument that the policy

of the CPY towards Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia was, from the beginning, the same as that of the Great-Serb chauvinist circles of former times — a policy of chauvinist hatred against the Albanians, disregarding and sabotaging their national liberation war, and negating their national rights, a policy of mass extermination, if the attempts of the Great-Serbs at the assimilation or mass expulsion of the Albanian population from its territories were to fail. It is in this policy pursued since the war years, in the grave mistakes committed since that time, the author emphasizes, that all the present injustices towards Kosova as well as the legitimate and constant revolts and expressions of dissatisfaction of the Kosova people at the relentless Great-Serb oppression, should be sought.

A conscious place in this work is given to analyses, generalizations and conclusions on the mutual relations between the two parties and states in the period 1945-1948. On the basis of concrete facts and profound reflections on the events of that time, Comrade Enver Hoxha denounces the so-called contribution of the CPY to the reconstruction and building of the new Albania, and lays bare all the perfidy hidden behind the «orientations», «advice» and «aid» of the Titoites for the political direction and economic development of Albania, for the organization of our army, the organs of the ministry of the interior, etc. In the work a special analysis is made of the pressures, machinations and conspiratorial activities the Titoites and their henchmen resorted to in order to compel the leadership of the CPA, regardless of the serious objections it had, to sign the ill-famed «Albanian-Yugoslav Economic Convention» (November 1946). Through this Convention, the Yugoslav leadership intensified its predatory policy towards our country and, at the same time, continued to work, still using the mechanisms of the Convention — «unification», «co-ordination commissions», etc., etc., towards realizing the complete economic and, then, political unification of Albania with Yugoslavia.

In this work it emerges clearly that both these treaties and all the neo-colonialist activities of the leadership of the CPY met with the strong resistance of the sound leadership of the CPA, they became fields of the sternest struggle between the CPA and the Titoite leadership. The categorical opposition of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his fierce debates and arguments with the inveterate anti-Albanians, the ill-famed Savo Zllatic, Josif Djerdja, Sergej Krajger, General Kupresanin, and others, which are described in great detail and with extreme accuracy in the work, constitute a total exposure of the Titoites of that and subsequent times, especially of those who still proclaimed the Yugoslav «aid» to Albania in the years 1945-1948. «The Titoite aid to us,» the author concludes, «if it is to be described as aid at all, had only one aim: to help Tito to enslave Albania economically and politically more rapidly.»

When they saw that their plans to gobble up Albania «on quiet» were turned to dust and ashes in front of the heroic stand of the CPA, the Titoites, through their secret agents K. Xoxe, P. Kristo, and others, organized new plots, which, together with the events previous to, during and after the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA (February 1948), are described in the book. Again using their secret

agents and inventing an «imminent danger», which allegedly threatened Albania, etc., in those grave moments for the CPA, they tried to station their divisions inside the territory of the PR of Albania, in other words, to carry out the military occupation of Albania. The situation was extremely serious, the destinies of the CPA and of the independence of socialist Albania was under the gravest threat ever. Precisely in those moments the CC of the CPA received the letters signed by J. V. Stalin, from which it emerged that the leadership of the CPSU, with J. V. Stalin at the head, had reached the same conclusions about the essence and doings of the CPY.

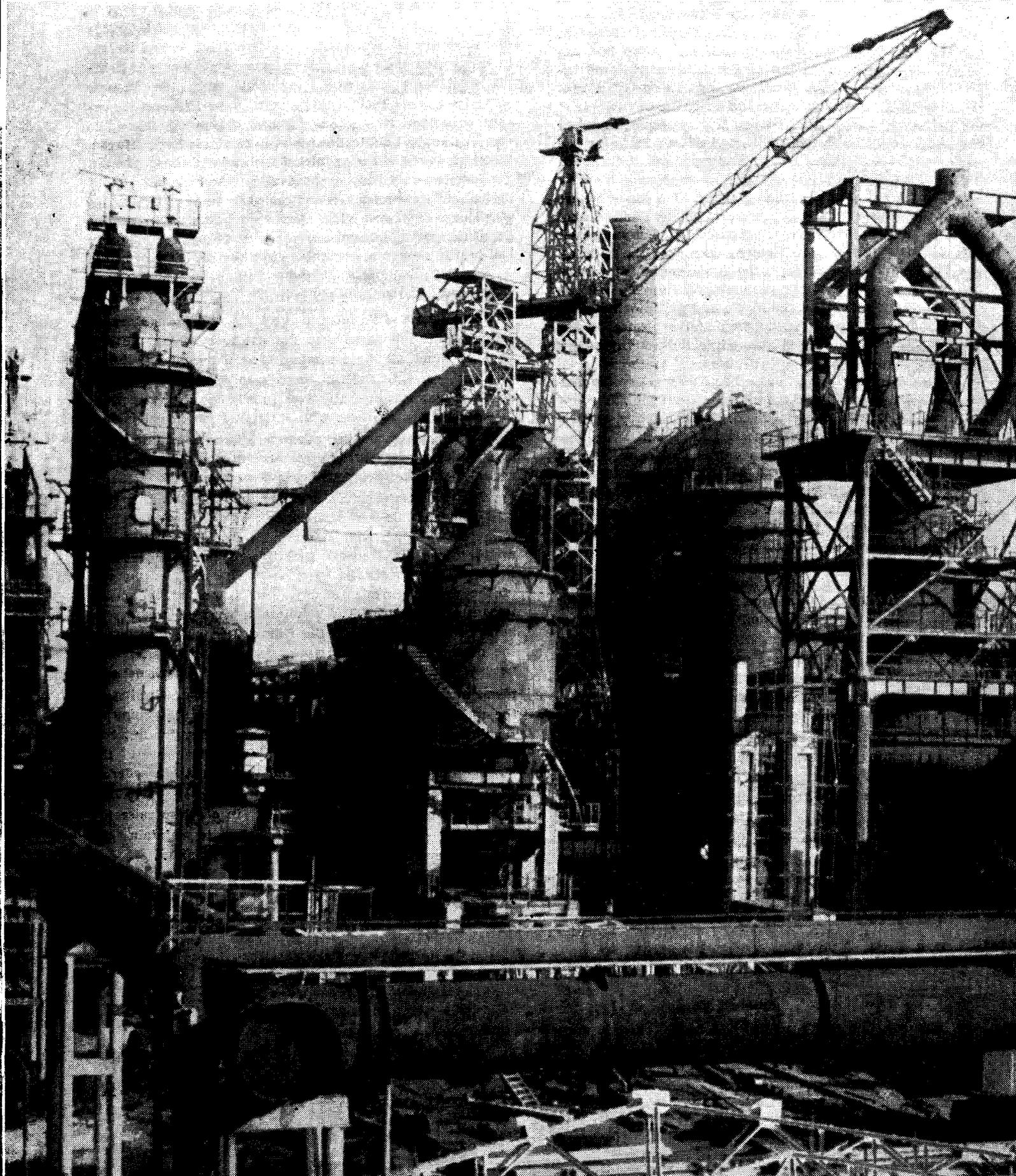
In the work it is affirmed that the CPA was amongst the parties which had first experience of the Titoite interference and plots, which years before had strongly opposed the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian views of the Titoites, and, as a result, was amongst the first communist parties to throw itself with complete conviction, with many and powerful arguments and inexhaustible energy, into the open struggle for the public denunciation and exposure of the anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary line and activity of the leadership of the CPY.

A special place in the book «The Titoites» is occupied by the description of the stern struggle the PLA has constantly waged, since the period 1945-1948 until today, against the Titoite variant of modern revisionism as well as against other ramifications of the same trunk such as the Khrushchevite, Chinese and other variants of revisionism. This struggle on the ideological and political plane Comrade Enver Hoxha treats in its close connection with the gigantic struggle of the PLA during this same period against the incessant interference, secret agents and plots — one more monstrous than the other, which the leadership of the CPY, sometimes alone sometimes in collusion with the Khrushchevites, the Western imperialist powers, and others, resorted to against the Party and our socialist Homeland. Chapter 10 of the book, built on the basis of facts discovered or reported years ago, but more especially on the facts the PLA discovered and the analyses it made after the suicide of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, proves to satisfaction how savage and ruthless the Great Serbs have been and are in their attempts at eliminating the leadership of the PLA and gobbling up Albania, and, at the same time, how vigilant, bold and unyielding the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has been in discovering and smashing all the monstrous plots of the Titoites and of the imperialists, social-imperialists, chauvinists and other their collaborators.

The life-giving ideas, values and teachings of this work are many and all-sided. Above all, it is a major message to the Albanian communists and the people to guard the Party like the apple of their eye, to implement and defend its line in every step they take and in everything they do. If socialist Albania emerged triumphant from the gigantic struggles against such rabid enemies and from most dangerous situations, this is due, first of all, to the Party, its correct line, its bold leadership with Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious son of the people, at its head. All those who did not love the Party and opposed its line and the interests of the people were mistaken and ended up in the garbage bin of history. The work «The Titoites» reproduces in truthful detail the process of metamorphosis of the many anti-party and hostile elements, beginning from the Koçi Xoxes of the first years to the Mehmet Shehus discovered only in recent times. As Comrade Enver Hoxha convincingly proves, all those who had no faith in the Party and in its Marxist-Leninist line, all those who did not love the people and the Homeland, all those who suffered of the old inferiority complex — lack of faith in the colossal force of the people, all those who sought «salvation» in reliance on the «powerful foreigners», all those who suffered from megalomania, from opportunism and sectarianism, all servile and careerist, arrogant and overbearing elements degenerated and ended up as agents in the pay of the foreigners.

The legitimate hatred seething in us against this bastard spawn and its bosses, when we read this book, demands, with just as much legitimacy, that we should further step up the struggle to ensure that this plague which caused incalculable harm to the Party, to its line and the interests of the people, infects nobody. This is one of the many lessons of the work «The Titoites», a work of great value both for the present and the future. Just as valuable are the other lessons of this work, such as those about the necessity of a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, about the constant defence and further steeling of the unity of the Party and the people, the sharpening of revolutionary vigilance, the increase of mobilization in work, action and defence, etc, so that everything serves the strengthening of the present and the future, «in order to keep always honoured the name of our heroic Party,» as Comrade Enver Hoxha calls on us, «in order to raise the prestige of socialist Albania still higher, to maintain the sacred independence of our Homeland inviolable».

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF



# THE POWER INDUSTRY IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by **AGRON ÇUEDARI**

*Albania boasts many energy sources (oil, gas, coal and hydro-power reserves) which constitute one of its greatest assets. The hydro-power reserves of our country per capita of population are among the highest in Europe*

**THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IS RICH IN ENERGY SOURCES. FEW ARE THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SO HIGH A CONCENTRATION OF ENERGY SOURCES IN SO SMALL AN AREA AS ALBANIA (28,750 SQ KM).**

**BEFORE LIBERATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER THE CAPITALIST COMPANIES IN ALBANIA KNEW SOME OF THESE SOURCES AND EXPLOITED THEM IN A BARBAROUS IRRATIONAL MANNER. THE OIL EXTRACTED IN ALBANIA WAS PROCESSED IN ITALY AND A SMALL QUANTITY OF IT WAS RETURNED ONLY TO BE SOLD AT EXORBITANT PRICES. COAL MINING WAS AT ITS BEGINNING AND ALL THE QUANTITY EXTRACTED WENT TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE OCCUPYING ARMIES. THE BUILDING OF HYDRO-POWER STATIONS WAS ALTOGETHER OUT OF THE QUESTION AS LONG AS IT DID NOT COMPLY WITH THE INTERESTS OF FOREIGN CAPITALIST COMPANIES.**

The annual production of electric power by the thermal-power stations in 1938 was equal to the daily mean export of our country at present. This was in a nutshell the state of our power industry before Liberation. On the other hand, even those few projects the occupiers and the local bourgeoisie built for their own needs were almost totally destroyed during the war. Apart from this, all geological documentation and studies were taken away or destroyed and no trace was left of them. In the field of the power industry, as in all other fields, the Party and our people had to start everything from scratch.

The pre-Liberation Albania was a typically agrarian country, with a backward and fragmented agriculture.

**AGRON ÇUEDARI** — Vice-minister of power industry

lacking all industry. In 1938 eighty-seven per cent of the able-bodied population engaged in agricultural pursuits and only 13 per cent found occupation in industry and other branches of the economy. Agriculture accounted for 92.4 per cent of the national income, and industry only 4.5 per cent of it. In these conditions there could be no question of the development of the power industry.

Only one per cent of the national income created in 1938 went to fundamental investments. This can be explained both with the limited volume of national income and the use of the greater part of it for parasiting purposes by the ruling class.

All this proves what has been said about the profoundly agrarian character of the country, and gives a truthful picture of the very backward state of the productive forces.



In an effort to justify the plight of the economy, the ideologists of the ruling classes talked much about the so-called fatality of agriculture, pretending that the economic backwardness of Albania was an inevitable result and reflection of its natural and weather conditions.

In reality, this backwardness had its roots in the feudal-capitalist mode of production, in the deep crisis of the structure and superstructure of the state, in the social and economic contradictions of the country.

The level of the socio-economic development of the country at that time was inextricably linked with the contradiction between the forces of production and the semi-feudal and capitalist relations of production which were a stumbling block to the economic and social development of Albania. This was the principal internal contradiction which constituted the economic base and premise of the social revolution.

After the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, along with the important tasks of the first stage of the revolution, a number of measures began to be taken for the economic and social development of the country. In this context special attention was paid to the development of industry in general, and the power industry, in particular.

The Party of Labour of Albania, faithfully implementing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the construction of socialism in the concrete conditions of the country, has always given priority to the development of power industry.

At the 1st Congress of the CPA (today the PLA) in November 1948, the essence of the fundamental economic task consisted in the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country. This was dictated by the need for setting up a new material-technical base. Fulfilment of this task was based, in the first place, on a more complete exploitation of the riches of the soil and subsoil of the country. Therefore, particular attention was paid to the extraction of oil and coal, and the production of electric power.

The development and strengthening of the national economy and the deepening of the socialist industrialization

have emphasized the need for sources of energy, in general, and for oil and its by-products, coal and electric power, in particular.

The external and internal enemies of our country have constantly tried to impede and sabotage the development of our power industry, and of the oil industry especially. The Party and the Albanian people have foiled all these attempts on the part of the enemies and have meted out the punishment they deserved.

In its struggle to cope with the savage imperialist-revisionist pressure and blockade, the Party of Labour of Albania developed and further perfected its development program for the power industry, envisaging the construction of large power projects and their coming into production. In 1980, as against 1960, coal mining, for example, increased 3.9 fold and the production of electric power 18.1 fold.

The 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) was a period of great importance for the construction and defence of socialism in Albania. During this period major achievements were made in the socio-economic development of our country, thereby ensuring high rates of development of the productive forces and the further perfecting of the socialist relations of production. Total social product grew as twice as rapidly as the growth of the population. This brought about the further strengthening of our economy.

In the 6th Five-year Plan the development of the heavy industry and, in the first place, the development of the power industry, the extracting and processing industry, had priority. The 6th Five-year Plan marked high levels of development in the branches of the power industry.

During the 6th Five-year Plan our oil-workers discovered new oil and gas deposits, extended the known sources, and carrying out intensification work in time and with high quality, successfully accomplished the tasks set to them.

In the 6th Five-year Plan, too, the Party, correctly directing the development of the power industry, gave priority to the sector of geology, which precedes and opens new prospects for extraction and processing industry.

The development and strengthening of the oil industry has developed and

been strengthened in all its links, from seismic soundings and prospecting, drilling and research work to the extraction and processing of oil and gas. In the 6th Five-year Plan progress was also made in mastering and applying the technology of drilling deep oil- and gas-wells. The fact that all the amount of the oil extracted during this five-year plan was processed locally indicates the growth of the productive capacities and the material-technical ability to implement the orientation of the Party for the processing of all raw materials locally.

In the efforts for the realization of the tasks in the coal mining, the Party has combated the view of the revisionists who tried to sabotage the development of this important branch of the power base of Albania. Particular attention has been attached in this branch to mining operations so that it precedes the extraction of coal and the general development of this branch of industry.

The electric power has undergone great development over the years of the 6th Five-year Plan with the building of new hydro-power and thermal-power stations. During this five-year period such major projects as the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station at Fierza, the electric power block, etc have been commissioned, thereby increasing the productive capacities and the effectiveness of production of this branch of industry.

The growth rates of the production and consumption of electric industry in Albania are among the highest in the world. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is among the few countries in the world today with an active power balance which supplies for all the country's needs and creates possibilities for the export of surpluses.

In its policy for the socialist industrialization of the country the PLA has proceeded by the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the power industry plays the leading role in advancing technology and developing the industry and the whole country, in general.

The achievements of the 6th Five-year Plan have great political and economic importance, because they were attained in particularly difficult international conditions for Albania. The results reached prove the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and policy of the Party of Labour of

Albania for the complete construction of socialist society. They are the fruit of the all-round efforts of the working masses to implement the tasks set by the Party and live up to the valuable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The power industry enters the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) more prepared, with a more reliable and powerful base. The 6th Five-year Plan further strengthened the industry of the country, especially the heavy industry and, within it, the power industry, assisting the accomplishment of the great tasks set in the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan.

The objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan both for the power industry and the other branches of the economy are fully realizable, because they are based on preliminary studies.

The main characteristic of this five-year plan is that the tasks and objectives, as envisaged in the directives, will be attained by relying entirely on our own human, material and financial resources. This is the first five-year plan which is based completely on our own forces. Nevertheless, the tasks set and the development rates of the economy, in general, and the power industry, in particular, are higher than in the previous five-year plans. Priority will be given to the development of the power industry to bring about a high-rate increase of its production in order to fully meet the needs of the economy and the increase of exports. In 1985, as against 1980, oil extraction will increase 58-60 per cent, coal — 48 per cent and the production of the electric industry — 16 per cent, of which about 14 per cent by the hydro-power stations.

In oil extraction the sources under exploitation and those discovered and known, which have been tapped, will constitute the main base for its development. Coal mining will be based mainly on the exploitation existing as well as the new mines. Likewise, the fulfilment of tasks in the production of power industry will be based on the complete use of the existing capacities of the hydro-power stations and thermal-power stations, and, at the same time, on the commissioning of new power projects, especially the hydro-power plants at Koman. The pro-

ductive capacities and the material-technical base available guarantee the realization of the major tasks set by the 7th Five-year Plan.

The fulfilment of the important tasks set by the 7th Five-year Plan for the development of industry in general, and the power industry, in particular, face the workers, specialists and cadres with many problems of special economic, political, organizational and scientific importance.

The present stage of development of our country, as well as the great tasks laid down by the 8th Congress of the Party, dictate the need for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, require that scientific studies be transformed into a general method which should determine and precede all work so as to assist the solution of present and future problems with effectivity. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has now a powerful material-technical base and capable cadres and specialists who are in a position to cope with the problems emerging from the deepening of this revolution in the field of the power industry as well.

The experience of the socialist construction in our country has taught us that our economy has developed and continues to develop by correctly combining two roads — both the extensive and intensive road of development. The current five-year plan combines these two roads even better, giving priority to the factors of intensive development. This calls for powerful reliance on science and technique.

In the context of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution the problems of geology assume particular importance. Speaking about this problem, Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized that in order to strengthen the economy further, to guarantee as powerful a basis of raw and power materials for industry as possible, a particular role appertains to geology which must precede the development of industry and open new paths for it. Geological work can go neither by speculation nor by empirical methods. For it to develop geological-geophysical work must be raised to a higher qualitative level and, on this basis, generalizations made and new oil and gas deposits discovered.

Attainment of objectives increasing

oil and gas extraction from the deposits under exploitation is possible only through intensive development. This requires, first of all, a rational exploitation of existing deposits. In coal mining the main attention has been focussed on the mines already under exploitation and on building deep vertical wells in time so as to cope with the tasks of the future five-year plans in advance and to prepare for the exploitation of thin layers. All this calls for all-round studies, designs and generalization in several sources and thereby draw the relative conclusions. In the development of electric power, priority is given to production by the hydro-power stations, both because of the high efficiency of their production, as well as the great possibilities due to the hydro-power resources in which our country is rich. The production of electric power by thermal-power stations will also be increased up to the complete utilization of their productive capacities.

Albania is covered by a whole network of power lines and sub-stations linked with a single centre for the whole Republic. This national grid and sub-stations enable the unified management and supply of electric power, the preservation of all electric parameters down to the farthest consumer, the cutting down on network losses and the rational utilization of production capacities.

The directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan, along with the increase of power production, set important tasks for the thrifty use of electricity.

In the context of the measures for strengthening thriftiness in the use of energy resources, attention is paid, in the first place, to the replacement of liquid fuels with solid and gas fuels. In order to cut on the consumption of gasoil and raise work efficiently further, oil- and gas-drilling rigs are being reconstructed and equipped with electric outfits. These measures will cut costs further and extend the active time of the operation of drilling rigs.

The exploitation of secondary energy components released in the course of the technological process constitutes a huge reserve for the rational utilization of energy. Hence, tasks have been set to use gases in coking factories and blast furnaces, as well as in other

projects. The workers of this sector are faced with important tasks which fall within the complex tasks of the whole national economy.

The great energy crisis that has swept the capitalist-revisionist world today has raised a number of acute problems. Energy problems today figure high on the agenda more than at any other time. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, proceeding from their angle of seeing and assessing things, propose very unpromising prospects to the solution of the energy problems in the future. The course of the development of science through history proves that mankind, in the process of cognition and application of the laws of nature, can penetrate the unfathomable mysteries of nature and discover new kinds of energy of extremely high calorific values. The crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world, however, is linked by many threads with the monetary crisis and the two together, in the framework of the general crisis of this socio-economic system, concur to shatter the foundations of the structure and superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist countries. The problem in the present crisis is linked not just with the lack of energy reserves, but goes deep into the nature of the rotten capitalist-revisionist system and is made still more acute by the global strategy of the two superpowers which are bent on hegemony and the exploitation of other countries.

Albania boasts many energy sources (oil, gas, coal, and hydro-power re-

serves), which constitute one of its greatest assets. The hydro-power reserves of our country per capita of population are among the highest in Europe. The Party of Labour of Albania, implementing a correct and far-sighted energy policy, has increased, strengthened and further developed the power sources of the country, for which all the possibilities of their further development in the future exist.

The broad and thorough work of our geologists and specialists to increase geological reserves and discover new sources of oil, gas and coal assumes particular importance in this direction. The PLA has rejected the reactionary and revisionist theories of the internal and external enemies who claimed that Albania had no energy reserves, or if it had any, their extraction was not profitable. The practice and the development of the oil industry has proved that Albania is rich in oil and gas, and that this branch of industry with the great investments the state has made and is making, is and remains a very profitable branch of high interest for the strengthening of the economy and the defence potential of the country. Studies carried out by Albanian specialists show that the hydro-power reserves of Albania are several times as large as the forecast estimates of the foreign specialists. In their assessment of the oil and hydro-power sources of our country, the foreign specialists have deliberately tried to create the conviction that Albania has no prospects in this field.

The Chinese revisionists who tried to sabotage, among others, the construction of hydro-power stations on the Drin River, also joined this all-round and persistently hostile anti-Albanian activity. However, the plans of our enemies have been foiled thanks to the consistent stand of principle of our Party which turned down their unbased and hostile suggestions.

With the efforts of the Albanian specialists, with our technical-scientific possibilities and means, we began the designing and construction of big hydro-power plants on our own. In the great development program of the hydro-power sources of our country, the Party has also devoted its attention to small and local sources, which have kept increasing and part of which is linked with the national energy system. Only small part of them is under exploitation now. Work for their complete use will go on for some other decades, both to meet the needs of the country and to increase exports. Still more energy reserves and sources will be made available in the future.

The achievements and perspectives in the successful development of the power industry in the PSRA have their roots in the correct policy of the PLA and its consistent application of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the priority development of the power industry as a factor of particular importance for the industrial development of the country, the strengthening of the socialist economy and the constant raising of the material and cultural level of the people.

# THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE NARROWING DOWN OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY *by DEKO RUSI*

*The collectivization of agriculture in Albania opened broad horizons for the all-round development of productive forces in the countryside. Thanks to the new cooperativist order, the self-denying work of the working peasantry and the all-round assistance of the socialist state, agriculture has made great progress and life in the Albanian countryside has been radically transformed*

**THE MANY YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION HAS FULLY PROVED THE CORRECTNESS OF THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM THAT THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE IS AN INDISPENSABLE PROCESS FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE NEW SOCIALIST ORDER. IN ITS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS WORKED OUT ITS STRATEGY AND TACTIC ON THE BASIS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND IMPLEMENTED THEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONCRETE HISTORICAL CONDITIONS IN WHICH SOCIALISM IS BEING BUILT IN ALBANIA.**

From the beginning of all its revolutionary activity for the socialist transformation of the countryside, the PLA has hitherto constantly proceeded from the fundamental principle of the unin-

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terrupted strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry — an indispensable condition for the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism.

The socialist transformation of agri-

culture in our country raised the question: What stand would be maintained towards the big landowner-bourgeois economies and the small economies of the working peasants? The method of revolutionary violence was to be used towards the former, but the dictatorship of the proletariat could not use this same method of revolutionary violence towards the peasantry — the ally of the working class. The transformation of the small private economies into large-scale socialist economies could be done only on the basis of the free will of the peasants.

For the difficulties it entails and its complexity, the solution of the agrarian question requires a long period of time over which the necessary ideological,

political, economic and social conditions mature for the transformation of small economies into large-scale socialist economies. This process in Albania went through three phases: the phase of the democratic transformation of the socio-economic relations in the countryside, the phase of the construction of the economic base of socialism and the phase of the complete construction of socialism in the countryside, which is still going on.

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Pre-Liberation Albania was a backward agrarian country with 87.9 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture. Agriculture which accounted for 92.4 per cent of the national income, was nevertheless, at a very low level of development. The land was tilled with primitive implements and at a very backward agrotechnical level.

The causes of the great backwardness of Albanian agriculture had to be sought in the prevailing landowner-bourgeois relations of production, in the savage exploitation of the peasants by the landowners, the local and foreign capitalists, as well as in the anti-popular policy of the ruling Zogite clique which expended only 2 per cent of the state budget for it, at a time when agriculture constituted the main branch of the economy of the country.

Immediately after the overthrow of the landowner-bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) had to fulfil an age-old legitimate demand of the working peasantry — to be given back the land usurped by the landowners and the rich of the city and country. In the initial process of the revolutionary transformation of the country the dictatorship of the proletariat resolved, in the revolutionary road, one of the fundamental democratic demands that had remained from the past — the solution of the problem of the land for the peasant by consistently implementing a true agrarian reform, such as the working peasantry had long been dreaming of.

The Land Reform was carried out during the period from 1945 up to No-

vember 17, 1946, by consistently implementing the principle that «the land belongs to the tiller». The law envisaged expropriation without exclusion and compensation of all the land that was not tilled by the owner. Working animals were expropriated along with the land. The whole land fund was redistributed in favour of the working peasantry. The land was given gratis to the landless and landpoor peasants. The Reform limited the acres of each peasant economy to five hectares. If the peasant family had more than 5-6 people, then an additional 0.5 hectare of land was given for each family member over the above limit.

As a result, the Land Reform expropriated the land of 8 114 big landowners, of state and religious institutions. The partial expropriation of the land affected an additional 10 617 peasant economies, most of them being property of rich peasants with land above the allowed quota.

The Land Reform gave the land to 21 544 landless peasant families and 48 667 peasant families with little land, which, taken together, accounted for about half of all the peasant families at that time. Apart from the land, the poor peasants received gratis from the state 474 227 olive-trees, 5 923 draught and pack animals, vineyards, fruit plantations, etc. Along with this, as early as 1945, the people's state power had declared null and void all obligations deriving from arrears in rents from the former periods, annulled all the arrears in debts of the peasants, nationalized all irrigation sources and guaranteed their use by the peasantry free of charge, etc.

The Law on the Land Reform prohibited the sale, buying and leasing of land to tenants and any other kind of land speculation. The Law also barred the richer economies from utilizing hired labour. The Land Reform was carried out in the conditions of a stern class struggle. The committees of poor peasants, which were set up in all the villages and were led by the Party, played an important role in breaking down the dogged resistance of the overthrown classes during the implementation of the Land Reform in the countryside.

The Land Reform, which was carried out in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and which marks

the «first revolution» in the socio-economic relations of the countryside, had important political, social and economic consequences and played an important role in developing the socialist revolution in the Albanian countryside further.

The more important result of this Reform was the profound transformation of the relations of land ownership, the land being the main means of agricultural production. By taking this decisive step, the working class in alliance with the working peasantry liquidated the big feudal property of the land — the economic base of the remnants of feudalism in the countryside. However, this Reform went even further — it also expropriated the land owned by the bourgeoisie of the city and most of the land owned by the rich peasantry.

The Land Reform brought about radical changes in the class structure of the peasantry. Its main result was the liquidation of the landowning class, which was the most reactionary class of the Albanian society. It also weakened to a great degree the positions of the rich peasantry, greatly limited the exploitation of the labouring peasantry on the part of the rich peasantry and stemmed the process of disintegration of peasant economies.

The position of the poor peasantry changed in a direction diametrically opposed to that of the exploiting classes. The poor peasantry strengthened its economic positions, while the strengthening of its link with the working class and the ideological influence of the latter enhanced the authority of the poor peasantry and its role as the most reliable support for the further deepening of the revolution in the countryside.

Great changes occurred among the middle peasantry. Its numbers increased as a result of the transition of part of the former poor peasants to the economic status of the middle peasant. The redistribution of the land in favour of the working peasantry strengthened the economic positions of the middle peasantry which received a considerable part of the land through the Land Reform.

The Land Reform, carried out in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, differs in its character, essence and motive forces, from the land reforms carried out in

bourgeois countries. First of all, it brought about essential changes in the relations of land ownership which constitutes the basis of the relations of production in the countryside. Unlike the bourgeois countries, in Albania the old form of private land ownership was not replaced with another. Regardless of its outward form, the Land Reform marked, in fact, the nationalization of the land. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «We carried out the Land Reform. We did not say expressly that the land was nationalized, but the Land Reform says that nobody has the right to sell or buy the land. This is a question of principle on which the future collectivization of agriculture is based.»<sup>1</sup> Thus, the Land Reform comprised elements of an anti-capitalist character. It led practically to the nationalization of the land, although «...We did not carry out this act expressly, and in the conditions and circumstances of Albania in that time, the Party acted well».<sup>2</sup>

With the successful accomplishment of the Land Reform the stage of the democratic transformation of the socio-economic relations in the countryside was realized in the revolutionary road. The fulfilment of the tasks of this stage was closely linked with and made absolutely necessary the transition to the next stage in the solution of the agrarian question — the stage of the construction of the economic base of socialism, because the complete emancipation of the peasantry, just as of all the working people of the country, could be ensured only through deep-going transformations of a socialist character.

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Marxism-Leninism has proven with arguments and the practice of the socialist construction in the PSR of Albania shown that the economy of a country in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot rely for long on two opposing economic bases: the large-scale socialist production based on the social ownership of means of production and the small peasant economies based on the small private property of the peasant of means of production, which inevitably gives birth to capitalist elements «perma-

nently, every day, every hour, spontaneously and on a large scale».<sup>3</sup>

The economic laws of the market which bring about the unavoidable disintegration of private peasant economies and give birth to elements of capitalism — rich peasants, on the one hand, and impoverished peasants, on the other, operate in small-scale private peasant economies. In the small-scale private sector, the main economic laws of socialism and, in particular, the fundamental economic law of socialism — the laws of the proportional development of the economy and that of the concentration of production, the law of socialist reproduction and accumulation, etc. have no direct field of activity.

Being unable to apply modern technique on a large scale and to ensure a broad socialist reproduction, small-scale economies are unable to meet the demands of industry and of the town population for agricultural and livestock products. This causes serious disproportions in the development of large-scale industrial production which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production, on the one hand, and the agricultural production of small-scale private peasant economies. Moreover, the small-scale economies, economically weak and unable to cope with the large expenditure technical advance calls for, cannot pull the peasant out of poverty and the countryside out of economic, social and cultural backwardness. Small-scale private production, by linking the peasant with his narrow interests, becomes a source for the birth of the petty-bourgeois psychology with all the dangerous consequences it entails for the new socialist society.

In the above conditions, in the first stage of the construction of the economic base of socialism, through the historical period of the preservation of small-scale peasant production, there is a contradiction between the most advanced political power, represented by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the large-scale economy, which is created through the revolutionary socialization of private capitalist enterprises, on the one hand, and the mass of small-scale peasant economies, based on small-sized private property, on the other. This contradiction poses a real threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the very destiny of the construction of the socialist society. This contradic-

tion can be resolved only by transforming the small-scale peasant economies, also, into large-scale socialist economies.

The setting out of the economies of the poor and middle peasant on the road of socialism cannot be done by the same methods as those used for the socialization of the capitalist economies. The working peasantry is the ally of the proletariat. The sound alliance of the working class with the working peasantry is an imperative for the dictatorship of the proletariat; any infringement of this alliance, no matter how slight, threatens the basis of this dictatorship. In these circumstances, the socialist transformation of the small-scale peasant economies can be achieved only through the voluntary union of individual economies in big socialist economies based on the experience of social collective work.

The long revolutionary experience of the PLA has proved in theory and practice the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the only correct form to introduce the main mass of the peasantry into the road of socialism is the voluntary union of small-scale peasant economies in large-scale socialist economies in the forms of cooperatives of production. All these circumstances make the collectivization of agriculture a general law of the construction of socialism in the countryside and of the correct and complete solution of the agrarian question.

The program of the PLA for the socialist transformation of the countryside was worked out and implemented on the basis of Lenin's plan for cooperation which is a component part of Lenin's plan for the construction of the socialist society.

Unlike the other revolutions, which only replaced one form of private ownership with another, the socialist revolution, after destroying in the revolutionary road the capitalist relations of exploitation, established relations of a new type which are the opposite of the former. In these circumstances, these relations do not and cannot emerge spontaneously from the old bourgeois society, as the modern revisionists — Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese, Euro-communist and others, make out. For this purpose, the resistance of the overthrown classes has to be broken down, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leftovers in the consciousness of the small

producers have to be eliminated, an uninterrupted struggle against market spontaneity has to be waged and large-scale social production, etc has to be created. This deep-going economic and social transformation cannot be realized without the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist social ownership of the main means of production.

In the long and complicated process of the socialist transformation of the small-scale peasant economies the PLA has consistently proceeded from the principle of rigorously respecting the free will of the working peasants, either in their joining collective socialist economies or in the whole successive process of the strengthening and perfecting of socialist collective property. This stand of the working class and its Party is due to the nature of the poor and middle peasantry as a stratum of working people exploited by the landowners and the bourgeoisie, as the natural and indispensable allies of the proletariat in the revolution.

In defending the principle of the voluntary union of the peasantry in cooperatives of production, the PLA has combated any violation of this principle considering it as a threat to the very base of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, while rejecting any violation of the principle of free will in the question of collectivization, the Party has also refuted the theories and practices of the revisionists who advocate the complete spontaneity of this process, renunciation of the leading role of the working class, its help and support for the peasantry in creating the objective and subjective conditions for the gradual transformation of the small-scale peasant economies into large-scale socialist economies, by means of their collectivization.

In the conditions of small-scale peasant economies based on small private property, spontaneity leaves the way open for the uncontrolled operation of the economic laws of goods production which lead to the development of capitalist elements in the economy. The negative experience of the restoration of capitalism in the countries ruled by the revisionists is proof, by the opposite, of the correctness of this fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

Over the whole period from the establishment of the dictatorship of the

proletariat to the collectivization of small-scale peasant economies, sound economic links must be established between socialist state enterprises and the mass of the small-scale economies of individual peasants. Among the form more suitable and readily acceptable for the peasantry are the market links established through the exchange of goods from the city — the production of socialist industry, with the goods produced by the small-scale individual economies. But while embarking on this course, the PLA took, at the same time, a number of measures which limited the free private market and were intended to obstruct the channels that led to the birth of capitalist elements conditioned by small-scale private property and the operation of the law of value, inevitable concomitants of the private goods production and market. The restriction of the market spontaneity in our countryside was done through the creation of buying-and-selling cooperatives which were set up in 1946 and not only as a means for the education of the peasantry with the collectivist socialist psychology, but also as economic levers to limit market spontaneity, to limit capitalist private trade and to broaden the sphere of activity of organized socialist trade.

With the development of the process of the socialist transformation of the country, the forms of direct productive links by means of contracts between city and country, socialist industry and agricultural economies, emerged to the foreground.

The creation and strengthening of the cooperativist order has been achieved in stern class struggle against the pressure of the capitalist elements in the countryside which, despite the heavy blows it had been dealt at as a result of the revolutionary measure of the socialist state, could not be totally liquidated as long as the small-scale economies of peasants and the private market were maintained. During this period the struggle between the two roads of development — the socialist road and the capitalist road, took place.

In its revolutionary policy for the socialist transformation of agriculture the PLA has always maintained a correct class stand towards the different strata of the peasantry. All-round assistance for the poor peasantry, as

the main support for the working class, and assistance of the middle peasantry, have been followed by uncompromising struggle against capitalist elements. Right from the beginning a number of measures were taken for the economic restriction of capitalist elements, which curbed their exploiting tendencies and drew the greater part of accumulation from the richer economies.

The weakening of the positions of the bourgeoisie of the countryside was also ensured through the resolute measures the Party and the government took for its political isolation. For this purpose, among other things, a special decision was taken thereby barring the kulaks from participation in the ranks of the Democratic Front, a measure which bought about their complete isolation in the political life of the country in the conditions in which, after the establishment of the people's state power, there was no political organization apart from the Democratic Front.

All these revolutionary measures brought about the constant economic weakening and political isolation of the rich peasantry. However, for the kulaks to be liquidated as a class, special socio-economic conditions had to be created, and in the first place the causes which gave birth to capitalism and which stemmed from the small-scale goods production, the private market, etc., had to be done away with. This historic task could be carried out only after the complete transformation of small-scale economies into socialist economies based on social ownership of means of production and the closing of all paths that led to capitalism. The main method to achieve the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, says J.V. Stalin, is the method of mass collectivization.

The broad masses of the working peasantry were aroused in the irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist elements in the countryside. This struggle strengthened more and more the political and ideological consciousness of the poor peasantry, consolidated the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. In this struggle the working peasantry liberated itself from the influence of the bourgeoisie and its ideology and began to lean more and more to the socialist road of development of the countryside as the only

road to emerge from poverty and backwardness.

In opposition to these teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road of the development of the countryside, the modern revisionists have always supported the capitalist road. Having the perpetuation of capitalist relations in the countryside as their objective, the revisionists of the countries where before the revisionist counter-revolution in the collectivization of the countryside had not been accomplished, created all the conditions for capitalism to flourish. Through the concentration of the land in the hands of the bourgeoisie of the countryside, the fiscal policy, the granting of credits, technical aid, etc. in favour of the kulaks, they have assisted in strengthening capitalist relations and impoverishing and ruining the broad peasant masses, by all manner of means. In the Soviet Union, where the collectivization of agriculture had been completed, the modern revisionists, bent on re-establishing capitalism in the countryside, too, liquidated the MTS (Machine and Tractor Stations), turned the means of production of agriculture into market commodity, left all paths open to the capitalist market and took a number of measures which facilitated the emergence of the bourgeoisie of the collective farms and consolidated its positions.

With the embarking of the labouring peasantry en masse on the socialist road through the collectivization of individual economies, our country made a turn which was realized only through a long and patient work of convincing the peasants about the undisputable superiorities of large-scale collective socialist economies over small-scale individual production. «We must give the peasant, who not only in our country, but all over the world is practically and realistically minded,» says Lenin «concrete examples to prove that the commune is better than any other thing».⁴ Such concrete examples and, at the same time, pioneers of socialism in the countryside, became the first seven cooperatives of agricultural production that were set up in 1946 with the more revolutionary elements of the peasantry as well as the state farms and the Machine and Tractor Stations which became basis for the powerful

support of the socialist state in our countryside.

Proceeding from the Leninist principle that «every social order is born only with the financial assistance of a definite class»⁵, our Party, in the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside, has instructed the state cadres to provide constant economic, political and organizational assistance for the creation, strengthening and broadening of the cooperative movement in the countryside. The accomplishment of this task was closely linked, in the first place, with the priority development of socialist industry and especially of the branches of heavy industry as the material and technical base on which the whole socio-economic socialist order develops. Only a powerful socialist industry is able to provide technical equipment for the countryside, and this is an indispensable material condition for the development of the productive forces and the growth of the productivity of labour in agricultural cooperatives, and for enabling them to show the superiority of the large-scale socialist economy over the small-scale individual production of peasants. On the other hand, the strengthening and development of socialist industry is organically linked with the quantitative and qualitative development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the basis for the construction of socialism, in general, including the deep-going transformation of the countryside.

In the long historical process of the construction of socialism in our country the Party of Labour of Albania has worked to establish as correct a ratio as possible in the development of industry and agriculture, with great care, and has considered it a question of principle, a fundamental problem for every country that sets out on the road of socialism and especially for those countries in which the peasantry constitutes the broadest social class and agriculture the basis of production. Proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has always considered industry the leading force of the whole process of socialist construction and development of the country. Proof of this assessment is our powerful, modern and multi-branched industry which has been set up and which, from a weak basis inherited

from the past, and in the epoch of socialism, today produce 130 times more than in 1938. However, without losing sight, even for a moment, of this fundamental principle, the Party has consistently combated the anti-Marxist stands and views of the modern revisionists who, turning back to the so-called theory of productive forces, recommend to the proletariat of the developing countries to wait for centuries until heavy industry is developed in their countries and only then carry out the socialist revolution and the socialist transformation of peasant economies. Our Party has rejected these revisionist views and, while giving priority to the rapid development of socialist industry, has not delayed the collectivization of agriculture on a large scale. On the contrary, these two processes have gone hand in hand and complemented each other, being mutually interconnected. The triumph of the PLA in its plan of the socialist transformation of the countryside proved to the hilt the correctness of the general Marxist-Leninist line for the construction of socialism.

The rapid development of socialist industry and its commanding position in the economy created the preliminary conditions for the socialist state to give an all-round aid, with all political and economic means, with organizational measures and cadres, to the development of agriculture, to prepare the objective and subjective factors for the gradual introduction of the small-scale peasant economies into the socialist road. For this purpose, the socialist state employed its powerful levers — socialist industry, finances, the system of procurement for surplus agricultural products, planning, as well as the state farms and the machine and tractor stations.

The state farms, built on a higher form of socialist ownership, became a powerful support of the socialist state in the field of agriculture. In striving for the creation and strengthening of the socialist state sector in agriculture, the Party followed Lenin's teachings that «the state economy set itself the task of gradually teaching the peasantry how to create a new order, the order of common labour, in which a handful of rich people will never emerge again to oppress the mass of the poor peasantry...»⁶

The creation of new relations in agricultural production coincides with the respective level of development of productive forces. The uninterrupted growth of crop yields cannot be attained without introducing mechanized means on a large scale, without applying modern agrotechnics. This problem became even more acute in the conditions in which agriculture in our country had inherited a very low material and technical level from the past. In these conditions the state power of the working class had to accomplish the historic task of technical equipping the Albanian agriculture throughout. The concentration of the principal means of production in the hands of the state through the MTS created conditions for all the cooperatives to equally utilize modern technique, and this barred all paths to the spontaneous development and economic differentiation of individual cooperatives.

After the completion of the collectivization of our agriculture in all the country the MTS remained the principal form of stable production links between the socialist state industry and the agricultural cooperatives, for the co-ordination and harmonization of the interests of peasant collectives united in cooperatives with those of society. In the conditions of socialism the MTS are the material and technical-industrial base of the cooperativist production, an economic support for the fruitful cooperation of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry for the uninterrupted development of the socialist economy, in general. This has become the more reliable and stable basis for the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. These factors explain the reason why the modern revisionists, among other things, proceeded towards the re-establishment of capitalist relations and the opening of the way for the unrestrained operation of the economic laws of capitalism in agriculture, too, precisely by dismantling the MTS and allowing the free sale of tractors and other principal means of production.

Of great help to the working peasantry of our country has been the colossal expenditure of the socialist state for the all-round development of agriculture and the raising of the economic material and cultural level of the peasant masses. Major investments have

been made for land reclamation, drainage and irrigation, for opening up new land, for building fruit-tree plantation and vineyards, for the improvement of the breed of cattle, etc. Huge funds have been allocated to linking all agricultural cooperatives with motor roads, for the extension of the electric and telephone network to all villages, for the development of education, culture and sanitation. From a rough calculation it emerges that during the period 1950-1980 our socialist state has invested more than 7 billion new leks in agriculture. It has also taken measures from time to time in favour of agricultural cooperatives by raising prices for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products from cooperativist economies, as well as by reducing prices for the sale of farming machines, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, selected seed, breed animals, etc. A number of measures were taken, likewise, to reduce tariffs for the work performed by the MTS in agricultural cooperatives. Even more important measures have been adopted in favour of mountainous cooperatives. These measures of an all-round character helped create the objective and subjective conditions to bring about the great change of setting the mass of the peasantry on the road of socialism through collectivization, as well the constant economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives and the systematic raising of the material and cultural level of the working peasantry of our country.

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The socialist transformation of agriculture, the main and more complex link of which being the collectivization of the small-scale economies of the working peasantry, is a relatively long and difficult process. Relying firmly on the Marxist-Leninist theory and led by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the PLA carried out this transformation of decisive importance for the fates of socialism in our country with complete success. In this «second revolution in agrarian relations» the Party had to blaze new paths in the implementing of the general laws of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction. Both in the practice of the establishment of new, socialist re-

lations in the countryside and in their uninterrupted development and perfecting in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the socialist revolution in our country, original solutions have been found to such problems and the definition of the forms and rates of collectivization of the countryside, the forms and methods of eliminating the class of the village bourgeoisie (kulaks), the problem of the form and method of nationalizing the land, the ways to bringing cooperativist property closer to socialist state property, etc while, at the same time, strengthening and cementing the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. The profound theoretical argumentation of the above problems, as well as of many others emerging from the practical revolutionary activity of the construction of socialism in our country, have found their embodiment in the strategy and tactics of the Party of Labour of Albania and in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have further enriched and developed the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

In the concrete historical conditions of our country, the highest form of cooperation of peasant economies, namely, the agricultural cooperative, became right at the beginning the main form of cooperation, although in the first stage of collectivization lower forms of cooperation also were practised, such as that of collectives working the land jointly. However, these forms were not applied on a large scale because the mass of the working peasantry adopted the highest form of cooperation.

The agricultural cooperatives were set up on the basis of common social ownership of the main means of production and distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done by each cooperative member in the common economy. After a careful study of the problem on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of the concrete historical conditions in which the socialist transformation of the Albanian countryside was taking place, our Party chose the agricultural cooperative as the main form of drawing the working peasantry into the road of collectivization.

Of particular interest for Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking and revolutionary practice is the original solu-

tion the PLA found to the problem of the rates and stages of collectivization of agriculture in Albania. The collectivization of agriculture in our country, which was characterized by high rates in constant rise, after an all-round preparation of objective and subjective, political and ideological, economic, organizational and other conditions, went through two main stages. In each of them the plan of the Party for the socialist transformation of the countryside set concrete tasks and relative measures for their fulfilment. These stages were seen as an integral process with sound political, ideological and economic objectives, principles and criteria, while at the same time, waging a resolute struggle against all manifestations of or tendencies to infringing, no matter how little, the general line for the construction of socialism in the countryside. In this historical process all tendencies to skipping the stages, to hurrying through the creation of new cooperatives inconsiderately and prematurely, as well as the sporadic tendencies to marking time or holding up the setting up of new cooperatives and their economic and organizational strengthening, when all the necessary conditions had matured, were resolutely combated.

The fundamental task of the first stage of collectivization, which approximately comprises the period 1946-1955, was that of preparing the objective and subjective conditions for the mass collectivization of peasant economies. In compliance with this task, the PLA issued the basic directive for this stage, namely, that «we must neither be hasty, nor mark time in the collectivization of agriculture». The objective of the Party during this about ten-year-long preparatory period was that, while taking all the necessary political, economic and organizational measures to assist the first agricultural cooperatives, the latter should be enabled to show in practice, through their concrete example, the superiority of the socialist cooperativist order over the capitalist economies and the individual fragmented economies. This stage was also to serve the Party to accumulate experience and the necessary means so as to take quicker steps for the mass collectivization of the countryside later. During this stage the necessary measures were taken for the political iso-

lation and economic restriction of kulaks, etc. All these measures together prepared the objective and subjective conditions to go over to the second stage of collectivization of agriculture.

In the second stage of the collectivization of agriculture in our country, which comprises the period 1955-1960, the peasantry set out en masse on the road of collectivization. Marx says, «For collective work to replace work on small plots, the form of private appropriation, two things are needed: the economic necessity of this transformation and the material conditions for its implementation.»<sup>7</sup> By 1955 both «the economic necessity» and «the material conditions» had matured for the complete collectivization of agriculture. In this period the high-rate development of socialist industry began to be seriously hampered by an agriculture the development rates of which were lower than those of industry, because the small-scale individual economies of peasants, which accounted for most of agricultural production, could not ensure an extended reproduction to the extent required by the harmonious development of the productive forces of the country, in general. These disproportions could be eliminated only by ensuring higher development rates for extended reproduction in agriculture, too, which could be done through the transformation of the mass of peasant economies into large-scale socialist cooperated economies capable of making effective use of modern technique and agrotechnics.

In this period the political, social and economic conditions for stepping up the rates of collectivization of agriculture had also matured. The strengthening of the leadership of the Party and the people's state power and their increased influence on the masses of working peasants, the consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the actual restriction of the kulak class, the strengthening of the MTS and the expansion of the economic possibilities to help the peasantry, the experience gained by the existing agricultural cooperatives, as well as the good example they set, the strengthening of the internal and external situation of the Republic — all these factors were decisive in assisting our country to step up the rate of collectivization of agriculture.

The various measures of the Party and state over the preparatory period of the mass collectivization of the peasantry, as well as the successes achieved in all fields, by 1955, brought about a radical change in the stand of the large masses of peasants towards collectivization, which was expressed in the increased application on their part to be admitted to the cooperatives. Thus, while in about one decade (1946-1954) only 150 agricultural cooperatives were set up all over the country, in 1955 the number of new cooperatives was 168, and during the 5 first months of 1956 it rose to 376.

All this prove thoroughly that the broad masses of the working peasantry were already convinced about the advantage of uniting in large-scale cooperativist economies. The middle peasants also began to enter these cooperatives en masse. This marked a radical turn in the cooperativist movement, the beginning of a new qualitative advance in the rates of collectivization. Proceeding from the analysis of the new conditions created, the 3rd Congress of the PLA issued the directive for speeding up collectivization rates, so that the collectivization of agriculture be completed in all lowland areas and in most hilly areas within 1960. The Party called on all cadres that, while working to step up collectivization rates, they rigorously respect the principle of free will, allowing no form of dictate or pressure on the peasants, this being an indispensable condition for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and, on this basis, for consolidating the cooperativist order in the countryside.

Life fully indicated the correctness of the orientations of the Party. The working peasantry enthusiastically adopted the program of the 3rd Congress for the stepping up of collectivization rates. By the end of 1959, that is, one year ahead of the time set, the collectivization of agriculture was accomplished with success in the lowlands and in most of the hilly areas of the country. By the end of 1960, 71.3 per cent of peasant economies and 85.1 per cent of the arable land was included in agricultural cooperatives. However, for the complete collectivization of agriculture, this process had to be carried through to the end in the mountainous areas, too. Special

work was needed to prepare the necessary conditions for this purpose.

By 1967 the last peasant economies of the remote mountain areas joined the agricultural cooperatives. Thus the program of the Party for the complete collectivization of agriculture was fully realized. All this proved in practice that the new socialist relations could be established in the countryside regardless of terrain, economic level, habits, customs, etc. This great success of the policy of the Party for the complete collectivization of agriculture became a powerful base not only for narrowing down essential distinctions between town and countryside, in general, but also between the peasantry in the mountains and in the lowlands.

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The complete collectivization of agriculture in the PSR of Albania marked the most radical change in the socio-economic relations of our countryside. The complete transformation of tens of thousands of private peasant economies into large-scale socialist cooperativist economies was achieved within about two decades. The collectivization of agriculture created the socio-economic conditions for the liquidation of the exploitation of the working peasantry, for the complete liquidation of capitalist elements in the countryside. By affirming the socialist relations in the countryside, it ensured the necessary socio-economic conditions so as to bar all paths to the emergence of capitalist economies in the countryside.

With the completion of the socialist collectivization of all small-sized peasant economies, a single economic base was created both in town and countryside, the economic base of socialism, as the only prevailing economic system was set up. This marked the complete disappearance of the contrast between town and countryside on the socio-economic plane, established new relations of social equality, collaboration and mutual assistance in all fields, and enabled the peasantry to march together with the working class towards the complete construction of socialist society.

The complete collectivization of agriculture brought about deep-going transformations of the very class essence of

the peasantry. Instead of the stratum of small, middle and poor proprietors of the countryside, the new cooperativist peasantry emerged as one class, born as a result of the establishment of new, socialist relations of production, based on socialist common group property of the main means of production. With the change in the relations of ownership and the character of work, the mentality of the broad mass of peasants began to change, too. Favourable soil was created for the eradication of religious prejudices, old backward customs and habits which characterized the peasantry in the past.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture and the profound transformation made in the essence and nature of the peasantry as a class, laid the socio-economic foundations to raise the militant alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry to a new higher level, and cement it further as the powerful basis for the uninterrupted development of the construction of socialism and communism with the working class, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, at the head.

The triumph of the policy of the PLA for the collectivization of agriculture is a living proof which refutes the reactionary and anti-Marxist essence of the theories and practices of the modern revisionists who, in fact, negate the Leninist theory of the collectivization of agriculture as a general law of the construction of socialism. With their anti-Marxist theories and practices the modern revisionists have plunged the peasantry of the countries, in which they rule, even deeper in the mire of capitalism. In these countries the laws of capitalism find a free field of operation in the countryside, too, thereby constantly deepening the impoverishment of the working peasantry, the economic differentiation of the countryside, the contradiction between town and countryside, and all the other contradictions typical of the capitalist mode of production.

The collectivization of agriculture in Albania opened broad horizons for the all-round development of productive forces in the countryside. Thanks to the new cooperativist order, the self-denying work of the working peasantry and the all-round assistance of

the socialist state, agriculture has made great progress and life in the Albanian countryside has been radically transformed.

Major, deep-going quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in our agriculture during a relatively short historical period. The acreage of arable land has increased 2.4 fold compared with the pre-Liberation period, all swamps and marches which extended over tens of thousands of hectares, were drained; from 1946 to 1978 about 48 500 hectares of land were reclaimed and another 186 400 improved; a whole irrigation system capable of supplying regular irrigation for more than 52 per cent of the arable land has been set up. This puts Albania in the first place in Europe in regard to irrigated arable land.

Important steps have been taken in the mechanization of farm work. From about 30 tractors our agriculture had in 1938, today in the fields of our country work more than 18 000 tractors of 15 HP, or 4 times as many as in 1960. As a result now many work processes in agriculture are mechanized completely or to a large degree. Our industry supplies agriculture with large quantities of chemical fertilizers, with about 145 kg of active matter per hectare, as against 3 kg of active matter per hectare in 1950. Insecticides, herbicides, etc., with which our agriculture is being provided in ever increasing quantities, are employed extensively.

A one-sided primitive agriculture was replaced with an advanced multi-branched agriculture, in conformity with the soil and climatic conditions of the country, thus, ensuring the development of agriculture, not only in the lowlands, which occupy about 15 per cent of the area of the Republic, but also in the hilly and mountainous areas. In this manner the directive of the Party, «Let us stick to mountains and hillsides and make them as fertile as the lowlands» is implemented. Along with the numerical increase of livestock, the improvement of breeds has also undergone great development. Today the thorough-bred or cross-bred cattle account for 100 per cent of all their number in state farms and 77 per cent in agricultural cooperatives. Considerable development has also been made in the production of

industrial crops, fruits, etc. A valuable contribution to the rapid development of agriculture has been made by thousands of farming specialists trained during the years of the people's state power. As against some dozens of specialists of higher training our country had before Liberation, 5 084 had finished higher agricultural education and 16 952 medium agricultural education up till 1978.

These radical transformations, the emergence and operation of new social and material factors in the countryside, have created the objective and subjective conditions to increase crop and livestock yields and the general agricultural and livestock production at high rates. Compared with 1938, the average yield of wheat per hectare has increased more than 3.5 times, that of maize more than 3 times, etc. Through the rapid increase of crop yields and the extension of the sown acreage, our agriculture today produces about 5 times more bread grain than in the pre-war period. Likewise, total agricultural production is 5 times greater than that of the period before Liberation. Although the population of our country has grown more than 2.5 times as against the pre-Liberation period, total agricultural production per head of population today is twice as high. For the sixth year in succession our agriculture produces all the quantity of bread grain needed to meet all the needs of the population; reserves of bread grain have been ensured and certain quantities of bread grain have been exported. The achievement of self-sufficiency in bread grain is another great victory of the political and economic line of the Party for the construction of socialism. It strengthens the independence of the country as regards the most important item of consumption of the population and the most important factor for the development of the other branches of agriculture and livestock-farming.

Sticking faithfully to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania in all its activity has aimed at creating the conditions needed for the all-round raising of the material and cultural level of the countryside on the basis of development of the productive forces of the countryside and the new, socialist relations of production, so as to bring the level of the village ever

closer to that of the city in all fields. In all its activity, the Party has proceeded from Comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that «Socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well».<sup>8</sup> With the complete collectivization of agriculture, the Albanian peasantry emerged from the poverty, exploitation and ignorance inherited from the old feudal-bourgeois order. The electrification of all villages has been completed, and has been extended to all the villages. Schools, cultural institutions, such as centres of culture, clubs, crèches and kindergartens, messes, health and trade facilities, exist in all villages. The way of living in the countryside has changed in a way that could not be imagined in the past. In the years of the people's state power about 200 000 new houses were built in the countryside — enough to accommodate Albania's entire population in 1938. The villages of the Republic develop according to regulation plans of which the conditions of living in the countryside are intended to be brought as close as possible to those of the city.

Another direction which shows the narrowing down of the essential distinctions between town and countryside are the measures taken by the socialist state in favour of the cooperativist peasantry, the development of education and culture in the countryside, the institution of pensions for the cooperativists and the subsequent equalization of the criteria of their application to those of the working people of the city.

The improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the peasantry and the narrowing down of the essential distinctions between city and country are also expressed in the high growth rates of the real income per capita of the peasantry as against the working people of the city. In 1970, compared with 1960, the real income per capita in the countryside grew 1.4 times more rapidly than in the town, and in the 5th and 6th Five-year Plans (1971-1980) they rose twice as quickly. The same rate is foreseen under the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985). All this has enabled the gradual narrowing down of the distinctions in the real income per capita between town and countryside. The real income per capita in the countryside in 1960 was equal to 65

per cent of the real income per capita in the city, but it rose to 71 in 1975 and 80 per cent in 1980. At the same time, as a result of differentiated measures in favour of cooperatives in mountainous areas, the distinctions in the level of development between the latter and the cooperatives in the lowlands are being steadily narrowed down.

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Along with the socialist transformation of agriculture and the whole economy of the country the process of transition to the stage of the complete construction of socialist society goes on uninterruptedly. This process involves the solution of a number of important problems connected with the raising of the relations of production and the productive forces to a new higher level. The further deepening of the processes of socialist transformation, the transition to the stage of the construction of communism, must lead to such a level of development in which, first, the elimination of distinctions between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry is attained, second, essential socio-economic distinctions between town and countryside are eliminated.

The fundamental direction in the development of productive forces in agriculture, in the elimination of the essential socio-economic distinctions between town and countryside, goes through the further continuation of intensification of agriculture in the lowlands, in the hilly and mountainous areas, by raising crop and livestock yields ever higher. The fulfilment of this task is linked not only with the further expansion and strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, but also with the raising of its efficiency, with a better combination of the material and technical base, with the increase of live work and the application of scientific innovations, as main links and reserves for the increase of agricultural and livestock production. At the same time, another source for the increase of production remains the extension and systematization of the arable land, the opening up of new land, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas.

This program for the rapid development of our socialist agriculture constitutes the groundwork of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) for the development of the economy and culture of the PSR of Albania. It is envisaged that under the 7th Five-year Plan the agricultural production will grow at an annual average of 30-32 per cent as against the 6th Five-year Plan, and 90 per cent of the increase will be ensured through higher yields.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, too, the main task remains the production of bread grain which for the five years taken together will increase about 20 per cent over the 6th Five-Year Plan. The directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan call for a better assessment of the importance of industrial crops and taking all the necessary measures for rapidly increasing their yields so that the annual average production of sugar-beet grows 41-44 per cent; sunflower 56-58 per cent, cotton 55-58 per cent, and tobacco 46-49 per cent, as against the past five-year period. Perceptible increases are envisaged also for livestock products, fruit-growing, etc.

The complete construction of socialist society is dialectically linked with the process of uninterrupted perfection of the socialist relations of production. Basing itself on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the PLA has worked to ensure that the socialist relations of production in the countryside develop uninterruptedly, that the relations of ownership, the forms of socialist organization of labour, distribution, exchange and consumption, are systematically improved. An important direction in the development and further perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside is the raising of the degree of socialization of group property through the merger of agricultural cooperatives into large units. This process has continued from one five-year plan to the other, with the result that the degree of concentration of cooperativist group property has increased. If in 1960 our country had 1 491 agricultural cooperatives with an average acreage of arable land of 220 hectares each, today there are 423 agricultural cooperatives with an average acreage of arable land of 1 220 hectares each, which produce 3.5 times as much on a national scale.

The further narrowing down of the

essential distinctions between town and countryside, the perfection of the socialist relations of production, is being achieved through the transformation of the economically developed agricultural cooperatives of the lowlands into higher-type cooperatives. The higher-type cooperatives which began to be set up in the beginning of the 70's, according to the orientations of the 6th Congress of the PLA, are intended «...to develop agriculture at higher rates in the more fertile plains of our country and ensure a steady increase of those agricultural and livestock products for which the national economy is in more urgent need.»<sup>8</sup> Now the higher-type cooperatives have become socialist economies of large-scale production in which, as a result of the direct participation of the state through fundamental productive investments, the possibilities for a more rapid development of the productive forces in the common cooperatives, for a more efficient utilization of the material and technical base, for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution for the concentration, specialization and cooperation of agricultural production, etc are created.

The higher-type cooperatives mark a step forward in the perfecting and further development of socialist relations of production. The degree of socialization of property in them is higher than in the other cooperatives, and this because the socialist state, as the carrier of the highest form of socialist ownership, participates directly and on a greater degree in them. The relations of exchange and distribution in the higher-type cooperatives are more perfect than in the other cooperatives and resemble those of the socialist state sector. Nonetheless, the higher-type cooperatives remain cooperativist economies and do not come out of the bounds of group property. However, being a more developed form of cooperation of production, they are a means for the gradual preparation of the objective and subjective conditions to bring socialist group property closer to state property, until the former is transformed into property of the whole people.

A very important trend, which is being observed in the further perfecting of the socialist relations of production in agricultural cooperatives, is the reduction of the size of the cooperativist's personal plot and the creation of joint

herds out of individual livestock. As long as the cooperatives were still weak economically and unable to meet the needs of their members for some consumer articles of prime necessity, the small property of the cooperativist's personal plot was an unavoidable, though temporary means «... only as an auxiliary means for meeting some of the needs which the socialist economy will cope with in the future.»<sup>9</sup>

Now that the cooperatives have become stronger and are in a position to meet ever better the material needs of the cooperativist family out of their common economy, the personal plot of the cooperativist is gradually losing its initial function and purpose. In these conditions, from an auxiliary economic factor, the cooperativist's personal plot turns into an obstacle to the further development of the cooperativist system. Now it must gradually disappear. The practice of the recent 2-3 years proves this. The conditions created and the convincing and explanatory work of the Party have sparked off the emergence of initiatives among the cooperativists of some districts to join their personal sheep and goats into common flocks, and in the last year, their personal cows as well. These initiatives now are spreading and being supported in all the cooperatives of the country.

The perfecting and further strengthening of socialist property is a powerful basis to further improve the forms of socialist organization and management of work, to raise the scientific level of planning by adopting such forms as to draw the agricultural cooperatives directly into the single state plan. For this purpose many plan indices of state farms have been brought to cover agricultural cooperatives as well. This raises the scientific level of planning and improves the economic activity of the agricultural cooperatives in the framework of the whole socialist economy of the country.

With the perfecting and development of socialist relations of production a broader horizon opens before the agricultural cooperatives. They will be able to raise their relations of exchange and distribution to a higher level, to develop and perfect their forms of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done, to improve their relations with the state and establish more correct proportions between the

fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, etc. The relations of exchange between the agricultural cooperatives and the socialist state, in the field of procurement of agricultural and livestock products, in the supply of materials and technical means, in the distribution of the product for society, etc. are being constantly perfected, going over to higher forms which respond to the new conditions and to the new and higher level attained in the development of cooperativist property, at a time when its essential distinctions with state property are being narrowed down more and more.

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The many years' experience in the socialist transformation of agriculture in the PSR of Albania fully vindicated the correctness of the policy of the PLA. By consistently following the road of the consolidation of the cooperativist order, according to the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, constantly developing and perfecting the forms of ownership, exchange and distribution in the cooperatives, as well as preventing any distortion of their socialist character, the necessary socio-economic conditions have been created for the coun-

tryside to advance towards the complete construction of socialist and communist society. Thus, the objective and subjective conditions for narrowing down and eventually fully eliminating the essential distinctions between town and countryside are created.

It was proven in practice that the collectivization of agriculture and its uninterrupted development on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of the existence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the only historically tested road for the construction of socialism and communism in the countryside, too. Otherwise, when the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerates into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, new or old, when the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the building and development of the cooperativist order and socialism in general are violated, cooperativist property also disintegrates and degenerates into capitalist property and, together with it, the relations of production in the countryside, and capitalist relations of production, property, exchange and distribution are re-established. The re-establishment of capitalist relations of production paves the way for and creates the ground for the spontaneous laws of capitalism to operate freely, both in town and countryside. From this emerge

all the ills the peasantry suffered in the conditions of capitalism – capitalist exploitation, impoverishment and ruin of peasant's economies, on the one hand, and concentration of property in the hands of the rich, the mass drawing on the countryside, unemployment, etc. Such a bitter picture of the condition of the working people of the countryside is to be seen today in all the former socialist countries, in which the revisionists seized power and re-established capitalism.

1. *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 124, Alb. ed.*

2. *Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 170-171», Tirana 1972, p. 122, Alb. ed.*

3. *V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 8, Alb. ed.*

4. *V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 229, Alb. ed.*

5. *Ibidem, vol. 33, p. 526.*

6. *V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, pp. 33-34, Alb. ed.*

7. *K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 27, p. 684, Russian edition.*

8. *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 65, Eng. ed.*

9. *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, p. 81, Alb. ed.*

10. *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 33, p. 26, Alb. ed.*

# THE ALBANIAN SCHOOL AND THE OUTSTANDING OF WORLD CULTURE

*The present Albanian school, the present Albanian culture, with a sound national and socialist*

*spirit, are closely integrated with the traditional values and of world culture, while always maintaining towards its phenomenon a consistent struggle on both sides—both against xenophobia and against cosmopolitan submission and blind imitation*

**THE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATIONAL POLICY WHICH HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE CARRIED OUT IN THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA HAS TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES, FIRST, IT AIMS TO MAKE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOL THE PROPERTY OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES, TO DEMOCRATIZE EDUCATION AND GIVE IT AN EVER MORE MASSIVE CHARACTER AT ALL LEVELS OF SCHOOLING. THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA IN THIS FIELD DURING THE FOUR RECENT DECADES OF ITS INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT ARE WELL KNOWN. WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, ALBANIA HAS BEEN RAPIDLY TRANSFORMED FROM A COUNTRY OF MASS ILLITERACY INTO A COUNTRY OF MASS EDUCATION. IT HAS LONG AGO WIPED OUT ILLITERACY, DEFINITELY REALIZED COMPULSORY 8-YEAR GENERAL EDUCATION, AND NOW DRAWS INTO FOUR-YEAR SCHOOLS OF GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION MORE THAN HALF OF THE STUDENTS WHO FINISH THE 8-YEAR SCHOOL IN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE. IT HAS A SUFFICIENTLY DEVELOPED NETWORK OF HIGH SCHOOLS WITH ALL THE SPECIALITIES NEEDED FOR TRAINING ALL THE SPECIALISTS FOR THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY, CULTURE, SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE ADMINISTRATION.**

Second, the educational policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always considered education and the school as means of carrying out an ideological and cultural revolution of a socialist character or, more precisely, the communist education of the new man of socialist society, the development of his personality and the all-round formation of the younger generation.

By consistently implementing these Marxist-Leninist principles, struggling for the achievement of these objectives, in practice, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have, especially in the two recent decades, further enriched their Marxist-

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Leninist educational policy, working out a comprehensive program for the further revolutionization of our socialist school, which has been applied in an intensive way for a long time now. The aim of this program is, while continuing the struggle against reactionary concepts, old and new, and affirming the new revolutionary socialist concepts, to ensure the radical solution of some cardinal problems of socialist education such as: the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist axis in all the structures and in the whole teaching and educational process of the school; ensuring ever stronger and more effective links of the school with the life of socialist society, of teaching with productive labour and physical

and military training: the socialist revolutionization of the methods of teaching and education, as well as of the method and style of management of people's education and the socialist school, in struggle against alien liberal and conservative, bureaucratic, technocratic and intellectualistic influences and manifestations. In the consistency and originality of this program is also seen the contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania in the creative development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking.

However, it would be a mistake to think that this original development of the Albanian socialist school has shut it out, has barred it from all links with world culture, from modern science and pedagogy, from their achievements, as well as from many unsolved problems of a scientific and pedagogical character which preoccupy almost the whole of mankind today.

The question is that the process of the all-round harmonious development of the personality of the new man of socialist society necessarily calls for a solid scientific and cultural formation of the younger generation and, possibly, also of the grown-ups. This formation begins at school and goes on during all the life, by organically integrating the outstanding values not only of national culture, but also of world culture, both of the present and the past.

The scientific and cultural formation of the younger generation and of all

# SCHOOL

# ING ACHIEVEMENTS URE *by HAMIT BEQJA*

*progressive achievements  
ena a critical stand and waging a principled and  
against xenomania, both against sectarian exclusiveness  
of foreign things*

the working masses of the country is in complete conformity with the Marxist-Leninist views on the communist education of the new man and with the needs of the socialist society for educated and knowledgeable cultured and capable people.

As is known, the Marxist-Leninist view on the communist education of the new man has been masterfully worked out by Lenin when he answered questions about the significance of communism and communist formation. According to Lenin's concept, only he who has enriched and continues to enrich his mind with the outstanding progressive achievements of the whole historical development of mankind, who, in this process of broad cultural communication, has gained the ability of assimilating this knowledge in a conscious manner, who has mastered the scientific bases of modern technology, which calls for solid modern polytechnical education, can be considered a man formed in the communist way. Such a concept of the formation of the new man on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialist approach to the cultural legacy of the whole mankind and modern knowledge and science is the complete opposite of any cultural nihilism, national isolation and xenophobic spirit. At the same time it excludes any spirit of submissiveness to things of the past or coming from abroad, any spirit of uncritical idealization of the national and world development in the field of culture, in-

cluding the harmful tendency to xenomania which is so zealously cultivated especially by the big imperialist and social-imperialist powers.

In socialist Albania the whole teaching and educational work of the school, just as all other educational, cultural and schooling activities, are built and developed in complete conformity with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of knowledge, culture and science.

Beside other things, these principled theoretical-scientific stands in complete unity, this treatment of the problem and its rational and scientific solution are also needed for the construction of the socialist society, taking especially into account the high rates at which this process has to be developed. It is known that socialism cannot be built with success and at necessary rapid rates without strongly relying on contemporary knowledge and education, on modern science and technology, without equipping the cadres, specialists and technicians, indeed all the working masses and, in particular, the younger generation, with them. The greater the past backwardness of the country which sets out on the road of socialist construction, the more imperative this task becomes for it. So, proceeding both from general considerations about the road of socialist construction and the specific conditions of our country in this process, from the beginning of its development to this day the Albanian socialist school has always worked for a solid cultural

and scientific formation of the younger generation.

Today we live in the epoch of a far-reaching technical-scientific revolution which has included the whole world, of course, with all its social and class differences. A fundamental characteristic of this revolution is the enhancement of the great role of science, which has become a direct productive force, and the rapid increase of knowledge and the expansion of its theoretical and practical range, which calls for a more modern education and higher scientific formation.

This technical-scientific revolution now develops with great speed in our country, and puts on the agenda the active utilization of the more valuable achievements of contemporary science and knowledge, and especially their application in modern production, in its many technical and technological processes.

The principle of self-reliance does not in the least prevent us from attentively following the advance of world science, the contemporary technical and technological progress and struggling to put them in practice, that is, reflecting them in the teaching and educational process of our school as well.

On these theoretical-scientific bases and socio-economic considerations are built the relations between the modern Albanian socialist school and world culture as a whole. We see these links embodied in all categories and kinds

of schools, at all levels of schooling, in all subjects and disciplines, in all structures and teaching and educational procedures.

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In Albania today the stress is laid on the need for the general qualitative strengthening of schooling at all its levels. At the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held in November 1981, the leader of the Albanian people Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Now the time has come for all the forces of our education and teaching front to concentrate more seriously and in a more qualified way on raising the quality of the work of the school, without neglecting constant care to further increase the mass participation in education in general, and especially in certain of its links. This need is dictated not only by the specific internal development of education, the school and pedagogy but in the first place, by the general economic, social, scientific and technical development of the entire life of the country» (Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 140, Eng. ed.).

Among others, our school works, better than heretofore, to endow our younger generation with the necessary knowledge of contemporary level. It must be kept in mind that, in our time, knowledge develops uninterruptedly in very large proportions and at very quick rates. This phenomenon is apparent in all the disciplines that are taught in the school. However, an important development and importance have assumed today those sciences which are called the fundamental natural sciences — mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, which renovate the theoretical foundation of many disciplines applied in technique and technology, have assumed great development and importance today. In compliance with this task active and intensive work is being done to raise the level of teaching of those subject matters in all categories of schools, to build such teaching programs that reflect the latest achievements of contemporary science.

As is known, the time dividing one scientific discovery from another and its practical application in production

has become very short today. This, too, is another feature of the present-day technical-scientific revolution. On this basis, the problem of the rapid didactical processing and reflection of the newest achievements of the different special and applied sciences in teaching programs and the live teaching process has become very topical and acute. In our country, this is important especially for medium vocational education and higher education.

In the present period of development of our secondary education, the vocational schools of all types, especially agricultural and industrial, predominate. They train the new work force for all the branches of the people's economy as well as medium training technicians it needs so greatly.

The teaching process in these schools is closely linked with modern production, with its technical and technological achievements and trends. So, being closely linked with our socialist production at its present stage and in its perspective development, they reflect these processes, also, from the angle of the more recent achievements of contemporary science and technical progress.

In our higher schools, too, efforts are made to train many and different specialists of the level of contemporary science, so as to meet all the needs of the different branches of the economy and culture of the country. These schools reflect the achievements of contemporary science and technology, as a rule, on a broader profile which applies better to a small country and enables narrower specializations mainly through post-university courses.

Obviously, the Albanian school applies the world experience of teaching of the natural and technical sciences in a critical way, without ever neglecting the scientific struggle between various viewpoints. This in order to close all paths for the penetration of any idealistic and metaphysical conception. It handles these problems on the philosophical theoretical-scientific basis of dialectical materialism.

To attain all these objectives, the Albanian school today is carrying out radical changes in its teaching plans and programs, textbooks and methods of teaching, renovating all these pedagogical structures and combating all outdated concepts and practices, thereby open-

ing the way and creating broader possibilities for the application of modern science and didactics in the work and life of school. This is the acute and complex task of the scientific-pedagogical modernization of the Albanian school which is being carried out in struggle against any narrow conservative stand.

The question is that the present-day scientific-pedagogical modernization of our school bears and should bear deeply on both the content of teaching and the forms and methods of its organization and development. However, precisely in these fields there is more traditionalism and conservatism, and the school has lagged more behind life. This is one of the reasons why everywhere in the world there is much talk about a crisis of the school and pedagogy. However, in many so-called advanced countries the way out of this crisis is sought in the transition from the traditional pedagogy to a new pedagogy — the so-called kibernetic pedagogy, which is linked especially with a certain fetishism of teaching technique, of teaching machines, in particular. Without neglecting the achievements of contemporary didactics, its broad application of kibernetics and informatics, the ever larger use of machines, we can never accept the abandoning of sound pedagogical traditions, especially the tendency towards exaggerated technicism which leads to the undervaluation of the educational aspects of teaching and of role of the teacher as organizer of the teaching process and, particularly, as educator.

The new pedagogical, didactic and educational problems that face the Albanian school today are of a complex nature. In order to make up for the new and necessary scientific information, the volume of knowledge should not only be mechanically increased, as has often happened, but also a radical change of its conceptual apparatus and a re-systematization of information into adequate didactic equivalents should be brought about, making its structures more compact and more universal so as to increase its proportion and perceptibly broaden the field of the applications of science. For a certain traditionalism which is met with also in the teaching process of our school, even in the teaching of the fundamental scientific disciplines, to be overcome, one cannot go on with grafts of the new on the old,

with patchings, with improvizations, but on the basis of a modern comprehensive conception of the whole teaching which must be graduated according to all categories of schools and years of schooling. In the live process of teaching and education more attention must be paid to the position of the student, considering him not merely as the object, but as the subject of study and education, developing his vivid creative thinking and practical spirit by integrating him into a system of independent work ranging from the formation of the habits of independent systematic learning to the intensive development of his scientific and technical imagination.

By critically utilizing the more advanced achievements of contemporary world psychology and didactics in the solution of all these problems, the Albanian school strongly relies, in the first place, on the fundamental principles of socialist pedagogy, on developing and enriching them in the process of its own revolutionization, on the new theoretical and practical experience gained during this process.

During the school-year 1981-1982 a broad popular discussion took place in the education and pedagogical circles of the country, at meetings and in the press, in which the problems of improving the quality of teaching, its scientific-pedagogical modernization were dealt with especially. As a result, measures have also been defined to solving the problems, which has already begun, gradually.

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In regard to the reflection of the outstanding achievements of world culture in the activity of the present-day Albanian school, the teaching of social and humanitarian subjects raises weightier, more acute and complex problems. These subjects deal broadly, both in the historical and actual plane, with the relationship between the past and the present, the national and the foreign, the progressive and the reactionary. Here the need emerges for a critical, differentiated approach to these problems over which a fierce struggle of ideo-scientific views has been and continues to be waged. In this struggle of a strong class character reactionary ide-

alistic, metaphysical, cosmopolitan, bourgeois and revisionist views clash with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist materialist and dialectical views. All this stresses the need for the defence and cultivation of socialist culture, the culture of a sound national and popular spirit. A correct solution to these complex problems is also found in the consistent maintenance of a Marxist-Leninist stand towards world culture, a stand which our school takes, especially in the teaching of social subjects and, among them, of those which occupy a more important place — history, literature, geography, which are extensively taught in the 8-year school and in the secondary school of general education, in the first place.

Along with a broad study of the national history of Albania, our school pays great attention, with due consideration of the age of the students, to the general history of the world divided into separate courses according to historical epochs. The Modern History and the History of the Middle Ages are dealt with in the second higher cycle of school of general compulsory 8-year education. Taking into account the importance and actuality of events, Modern and Contemporary History are taught both in the 8-year school (more simply) and in the secondary school (more deeply and extensively). Obviously the teaching of general history focusses on the main, more important and more typical events of all historical epochs, from Antiquity to our days, and deals with historical problems from the Marxist-Leninist positions of the materialist interpretation of history, treating the objective laws of the historical process, proving the role of the class struggle as a motive force of this process, and underlining the major role of the popular masses as creators of history. The teaching of history dwells especially on historical events of a progressive character in all epochs of social development.

From these same positions is taught world literature, too. The students of the 8-year school acquaint themselves, by means of beautiful passages of a sound content and an excellent artistic form selected according to their age, with the main foreign progressive authors. The secondary school, for its part, has a relatively more complete historical-literary course, which gives the students

a general panoramic view of the whole world literature from Antiquity to our days and this course deals with the main literary-artistic epochs, directions and trends — the classical literature of the Antiquity, of the Renaissance and Humanism, of Classicism and Illuminism, of Critical and Socialist Realism. The concrete literary-artistic analysis in this course is carried out, in the first place, through the major works of such outstanding authors as Homer, Aeschylus, Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Molière, Byron, Goethe, Balzac, Tolstoy, London, Gorky, Mayakovsky and others. Along with the study of these progressive authors and the analyses of their major works, the students are taught to take the right stand towards the complicated phenomena of the historical-literary process, to criticize reactionary tendencies and, in particular, the more blatant manifestations of decadent and modernist art and literature of the past century and the present century. In this manner, the teaching of literature serves the ideological education of the younger generation in the communist spirit.

The study of world geography, especially of its political and economic aspects, is also imparted in a spiral process, first in the 8-year school and then in the secondary school. In his geography lessons the students get to know the situation and the evolution of the political map and the economic development of the world today, focussing, here too, on the main and more characteristic regions and countries. Along with information from modern history, the teaching of the political and economic geography of the world prepares the student to take a critical stand towards the phenomena of decay of the present imperialist and revisionist world, proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theses and the contribution the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made and continue to make to the study of these processes.

Besides these subjects, the students develop correct philosophical, ethical, and aesthetic concepts through classes on the elements of Marxism-Leninism, as well as through the broad educational activity carried out out of school by the teachers and the organizations of the youth and the young pioneers. In this manner, they have a broader picture of the outstanding and progressive

values of human thought in the past and present, both in the socio-political aspects and others.

It is evident that the 8-year and secondary schools teach only the fundamentals of the world progressive culture of the past and present. Its more profound study, with richer information and more comprehensive treatment, with confrontations and stands, is done especially in the specialized courses of the higher school, in the faculties of the historical, philological, geographical, political, philosophical, juridical, artistic and other branches.

Here we must add that the teaching of foreign languages, organized in a systematic manner, helps the pupils and students to get into direct contact with world culture and science from authentic sources. Beginning from the 5th form of the 8-year school the pupils have to choose one of these three main languages: English, French and Russian.

While dealing in brief with the place world culture occupies in the teaching of social subjects in the Albanian school, we cannot fail to point out here that national culture is also extensively taught in all its fundamental aspects and manifestations, past and present, dwelling especially on its outstanding and progressive values, as well as its present development. Objective is to create in the students a sound socialist national spirit opposed to any narrow nationalist tendencies, in conformity with the principle of proletarian internationalism. Without elaborating on this problem, we must stress that this stand is becoming more and more actual today, and is absolutely necessary in our struggle against the ideological diversion and cultural aggression from the capitalist and revisionist world, especially from the great powers, the more so since under the banner of

the so-called modern internationalization of culture, it is carried out with the aim of denigrating the national culture of the smaller peoples. Although small in number, the Albanian people have an ancient history and culture, outstanding cultural traditions and their present socialist culture of a high level. They, too, have made and are making their modest contribution to the treasury of world culture. On this basis a consistent struggle is waged, both against xenophobia and xenomania, and this is reflected in the activity of the school.

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It is obvious that our school lays only the foundations for an ulterior systematic acquaintance of the younger generation with the outstanding values of culture and science. It is the first systematic source of their acquaintance with these values. In the school and then in life the youth have the possibility to acquaint themselves with these values through the many and powerful mass media. Our school is faced with the task of better harmonizing its activity with the activity of these media which complement, indeed increase, the influence of the teaching-educational process of the school. Although this is a broad problem in itself, we cannot fail to say something about it.

A great diversity of artistic, scientific and technical literature have been translated into Albanian. Valuable work has been done especially in translating and publishing in large circulations especially the famous works of the outstanding classics of other countries, from Antiquity to our days, as well as of contemporary progressive authors from all the countries of the world. A

particular place among them is given to the works of the best children's writers. The current information of the achievements of world culture, science and technology is reflected in dailies and periodicals. All these sources of knowledge are also to our reader available in the broad network of libraries which have their funds of scientific and technical works in foreign languages.

The radio and TV carry out broad activities. In their daily broadcasts the Albanian radio and TV regularly inform their listeners and watchers about international political, economic, cultural, scientific, technical, musical, artistic and other events. Our TV has regular programs of foreign films, which are selected according to their artistic and ideological values. Foreign films, chosen according to the same criteria, are shown in all the cinemas of the country. The theatres and the other cultural institutions work in the same spirit.

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The links between the Albanian school and world culture are established on correct ideological, scientific and pedagogical criteria which take account of current progressive values. The present Albanian school, the present Albanian culture, with a sound national and socialist spirit, are closely integrated with the traditional values and progressive achievements of world culture, while always maintaining towards its phenomena a critical stand and waging a principled and consistent struggle on both sides — both against xenophobia and against xenomania, both against sectarian exclusiveness and against cosmopolitan submission and blind imitation of foreign things.

# ACHIEVEMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE ECONOMIC SCIENCES IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

*The construction of socialism has never been treated by the Albanian economic sciences as a mere process of technical and material development of the productive forces. Instead it has been considered and treated in close connection with the solution of economic productive problems the construction of socialism raises and with the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist relations of production*

**by PRIAMO BOLLANO**

**SCIENTIFIC-RESEARCH ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF THE ECONOMY PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM.**

**THE BACKWARD SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF PRE-WAR ALBANIA DETERMINED THE LOW LEVEL OF THE SCIENTIFIC ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE COUNTRY. IN THAT PERIOD ADVANCED AND INDEPENDENT SCIENTIFIC ECONOMIC THINKING WAS QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION.**

**WITH THE DECLINE OF THE FEUDAL RELATIONS AND THE EMERGENCE OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, THE ALBANIAN MEN OF THE RENAISSANCE, PARALLEL WITH THEIR EXTENSIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND POLITICS, DID NOT FAIL TO TAKE UP AND ELABORATE VARIOUS THESES AND IDEAS CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC PROCESSES AND PHENOMENA IN ALBANIA AND ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENT. THE ALBANIAN THINKERS OF THE RENAISSANCE TOOK UPON THEMSELVES, AS THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVE, TO RAISE THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOMELAND, AND THE DEFENCE OF ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.**

Fragmentary as they were, these ideas of theirs, about the economic development of the country played an im-

portant role in the formation of the national awareness and the building up of convictions about the possibilities and perspectives of the independent and all-round development of the eco-

nomy of the country, relying on its own natural and human resources.

The triumph of the people's revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist relations of production marked a great historic turn in the life of Albania. They brought about the emergence of Albania from the centuries-old darkness to the light of socialism. At the same time they opened up broad perspectives and new horizons to the development of the economic science as a separate field of social sciences.

1. In the second half of the 20th century Albanian economic thought emerged on the front line of the theoretical and practical treatment of the questions of scientific socialism. This is connected with a number of circumstances — with the uninterrupted work for the construction of socialist society in Albania and with the fierce polemics with the modern revisionists of various hues and with the defence of the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine.

Outstanding in this is the ideological, theoretical and practical thought of the Party of Labour of Albania and the great work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, represented, first of all, in the series of his *Collected Works* and in many of his separate publications. They represent a scientific summing up of the rich revolutionary experience of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Albanian people in the construction and defence of socialism, provide the explanation to many ideological, theoretical and practical problems of the construction and organization of a genuine socialist economy.

In the whole range of problems raised in the construction of socialism in Albania, Albanian economic thought, relying on Marxism-Leninism, has had to solve and carry out in the practice of the PSR of Albania the organization and construction of a real socialist society. The innovation Albanian economic thought contributed to this field was the restitution of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the correct application of the essence and fundamental features of socialism in the field of the economy. This was immediately connected with the absolute need for dispelling the fog created about this problem by the many variants of «socialism» churned out and spread about by the modern revisionists and the bourgeois propaganda in order to distort the real ideals of socialism. «Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully.»<sup>1</sup>

The time demanded the creation of a clear idea of the socialist society in conformity with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, true to the principles and general laws of socialist society, so as, on this basis, to proceed towards organizing in practice a genuine socialist society. Albanian economic thought defended with scientific argument the view that genuine socialism in the field of the economy distinguishes itself by the presence of the socialist social ownership of the means of production, by relations of mutual aid and collaboration amongst working people, by liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, by distribution according to the principle «each according to his abilities and to each according to his work», by the planned and proportionate development of the economy, by its management and organization in a centralized manner, by the socialist state on the basis of the requirements

of the objective economic laws of socialism, etc.

Treatment, from Marxist-Leninist positions, of the essence and contents of socialism permitted Albanian economic science to realize in practice the organization of the functioning of an original socialist economy, as the socialist economy of Albania is.

2. Uppermost in this question has been and is the solution of the problems and the overcoming of difficulties connected with the creation of a strong and complex economy which, relying on its own resources, can meet the fundamental needs of the population, of the economic reproduction and of defence. The task of setting up this kind of economy constituted an historical necessity and was the decisive factor for consolidating and advancing the cause of the political independence of the Homeland, of creating the conditions for the activation and employment of all the able-bodied forces, of raising the standard of living and of strengthening the defence potential of the country.

Consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, the policy of the creation of a modern industry relying on the primary materials of the country and of an advanced collectivized agriculture to ensure the food of the people with its own products, the training of a sufficient number of technical and scientific cadres to work in and run every sector of the economy — these constitute the main questions Albanian economic thought coped with in this field. At the same time, they constitute those solid foundations on which the vigorous economic and cultural development of Albania is based.

The socialist industrialization of Albania was put forward as an objective necessity, not only in order to overcome the great technical-productive backwardness inherited from the past, but also in order to support the all-round development and advance of all the life of the country on the road of socialism. Without advanced industry there can be no advanced working class.

Besides, industry creates the conditions for the social property to be equipped with the necessary technical means, and for supporting its own further development and that of the other branches of the economy, first of all, of agriculture.

However, the socialist industrialization of Albania raised a series of problems. The Albanian economic science, proceeding from the conditions of Albania, worked out and solved in

practice such problems as the transformation of Albania through stages, first, from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial one, and then its rapid transformation into an industrial-agricultural country, and eventually, a country with developed industry and advanced agriculture; the procurement of financial means and primary materials; the training of qualified workers and cadres, technicians and engineers needed for industrialization, etc.

In the course of industrialization, clarity about the method of industrialization of the country was an important question. Right from the start of this process, Albanian economic science has faithfully applied the Marxist-Leninist concept of the simultaneous development of both the light and heavy industries, giving priority to the extracting and processing heavy industry. The branches of the production of means of production, such as machinery and technological equipment, electric power, metallic products, oil, coal, etc. have always been the pivot of the industrialization of the country. Of course, this rapid development of heavy industry has not been regarded as an aim in itself. On the contrary, it has been carried out in order to guarantee the all-round and many-sided development of the economy, to continuously strengthen the economic independence of the country.

The application of this concept was bound to bring Albanian economic thought face to face with anti-Marxist views with which it has clashed and struggled. One of them has been the concept of giving priority to light industry, proceeding from well-known, though worn-out, arguments (the relatively lower demand for fundamental investments, the more rapid return of the means invested, higher profitability, etc.) so as to renounce the development of heavy industry. Likewise, Albanian economic science has stuck to the principle of sovereignty in the exploitation of the natural and other resources of the country, in the course of which it has coped with success and rejected both the direct pressures and the «theorizations» of the modern revisionists which sought to undermine the socialist industrialization of Albania and transform the Albanian economy into a trailing appendage of primary material sources for the revisionist metropolises.

The close connection of the process of socialist industrialization with the construction of socialism in the countryside, with the all-round develop-

ment and advance of agriculture and the countryside itself and with the need of its further intensification, has always been a very important issue for our economic science. In giving solution to this question, it based itself firmly on both its feet, on developed industry and advanced agriculture. This is the reason why the industrialization of our country has been carried on and continues to be deepened not only not to the detriment of agriculture, but also continuously supporting the development of agriculture.

This has been realized through the harmonization of the fundamental funds and investments needed for the development of industry and agriculture, the definition of correct ratios between them, the planned and organized channelling of the mechanical movement of the work force for the needs of industry and the other branches, both in town and in countryside, the expansion of the market in town and in countryside, regulating the exchange of agricultural products for industrial goods, etc.

Our experience in this field shows that any disproportion between industry and agriculture, or any haste in the rates of development of industry to the detriment of agriculture, is fraught with serious consequences of a political, economic and social nature. In essence, they not only jeopardize the subsequent development of industry itself, prejudice the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and the process of socialist construction, but also endanger the political and economic independence of the country. This harmonization is realized when the principle of the leading role of industry in the development of the whole economy and, on this basis, of the development at rapid rates of agriculture, is applied correctly. Besides this, Albanian economic science proved that the priority development of industry does not diminish the role and importance of agriculture as the basic branch of the economy.

In the correct solution of the agrarian question, Albanian economic thought has had to cope, from the beginning, with two main tasks closely connected with one another: the socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-round development of agriculture on the road of its modernization and intensification, so that it can feed the population of the countryside and make its contribution to the industrialization of the country and

the development of the national economy as a whole.

Attainment of these objectives required that the Albanian Marxist-Leninist economic science correctly defined the roads of development of agriculture in the country. Only the setting out of agriculture on the road of socialist development, on the basis of large-scale modern production and in close connection with the other branches of the economy, could guarantee their attainment. The most suitable form for this was the organization of the fragmented peasants' economies into large-scale economies of socialist production through the union of the peasants in agricultural cooperatives of their own free will.

The agricultural cooperative is a socialist collective economy. It is based on the socialist cooperativist property and the common work of the cooperative members. Distribution of incomes is made according to the quantity and quality of work done and the results achieved in production. The cooperative is the most suitable form of collectivization, in which the personal interests of the cooperativists are combined with the interests of the cooperative and with those of society, always placing the interests of the cooperative above personal interests, and the interests of society above those of the cooperative.

Firm reliance of the Albanian economy on both its feet, industry and agriculture, has been the unchanged line in its creation and continuous strengthening. It has never been a temporary task dictated by passing circumstances, or a particular phase of the construction of socialism, and was never aimed at transforming the Albanian socialist economy into a closed autarkic economy. It is the result of the strict implementation of the line that enabled Albania, relying on its own natural and financial resources, to create a powerful and modern multi-branched industry distributed all over the territory of the country, and a modern and collectivized agriculture.

The great progress the Albanian industry is seen in the fact that it ensures, through its own resources, the fundamental needs of the population, the economy in general and the defence, that it constitutes the main source of the incomes from exports, that it guarantees the independent development of the entire economy. It is the primary factor of complete self-reliance. The Albanian industry produces pig-iron, steel, nickel and cobalt, various metallic alloys, oil refined through catalytic processes, etc. Albania is

among the few countries of Europe with a positive energy balance, which is continually strengthened, and where the electrification of the whole country has been accomplished. The Albanian engineering industry, set up in the post-Liberation period, is in a position to build tractors, machinery and industrial equipment, and even complete factories; it also ensures about 95 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts. The chemical industry turns out a series of products such as mineral salts, nitrogenous fertilizers, sulphuric and hydrochloride acid, vinylic monomers and polymers, etc. which satisfy the requirements of the internal market and those of the export. The light and food-processing industries, too, ensure more than 85 per cent of the broad consumer goods, thus relieving the economy from the heavy burden of their import, and even enabling the export of some of their products. Agriculture today is in an advanced stage, applying ever better the new achievements of science and technique, extensively working on the road of intensification and increasing its yields. It guarantees, in an independent manner, the food supply of the population, the primary materials for the light and food-processing industries and ensures an important part of the national accumulation and strong currency. All this has fully proven that the orientation of the Albanian Marxist-Leninist economic thought for the creation of a complex and many-branched economy relying firmly on both its feet, industry and agriculture, has been and remains correct and entirely realizable.

3. Another achievement of the Albanian scientific economic thought, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, is the elaboration in theory and the carrying out in practice of the mechanism of the functioning of the socialist economy. This mechanism has always had its foundations built on the principle of the planned management and proportionate development of the economy, in conformity with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, on the basis of a single general state plan, which is drafted and approved according to the principle of democratic centralism and which embodies and substantiates the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the construction of socialism. This mechanism underlies the foundations of the economy of the PSR of Albania, constitutes an internal distinctive feature of a genuine socialist economy.

The social product in Albania is common property. It is distributed and

used in the interest of the working masses, with due regard to the strengthening of the independence of the country, the fulfilment of the essential needs of the population, the extended reproduction, and the defence of the country.

The Albanian economic science attaches great attention to the effectiveness of production in socialism. The bread and steel, oil and cement, textiles and food products are just as important as financial resources, because decrease in the production of the former will inevitably lead to reduction of the latter. Therefore, only that increase of the national income which is accompanied with the absolute increase of accumulation and the improvement of the well-being of the working people is valid for the real increase of the efficiency of the economy.

The criterion of gauging the efficiency of the entire socialist economy in general holds good also for gauging the efficiency of each branch or sector. As a consequence what is necessary and profitable to be produced in the context of the entire economy, is at the same time necessary and profitable for each productive unit of the economy. This criterion of the efficiency of production, as the practice of the construction of socialism in Albania based on self-reliance proves, is a correct criterion. Application of this criterion ensures the uninterrupted development of the economy at high and stable rates, the increase of accumulation, the uninterrupted increase of the standard of living of the people, the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country. It permits the employment of all the work force, the exploitation of all the productive capacities, the liquidation of the cyclical character of social production and crises, price rises and inflation.

The reality of socialist Albania speaks clearly of the strength of the economic system as worked out by the Albanian economic science on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine. Expressed in a nutshell, this is reflected in the indices of the socio-economic development of Socialist Albania, which are incomparably higher than those of the period before Liberation and even of 15-20 years before. So, in 1980 against 1960, social product has increased 3.8 fold, and calculated per capita of the population — 2.4 fold. Industrial product for the said period has increased 5.5 fold and calculated per head of the population — 3.4 fold; agricultural production has

increased 2.6 fold and calculated per head of population — 1.6 fold, etc. for the same period, at a time when the population has increased 1.7 fold over these years.

Work is guaranteed to all citizens not only to the old generation, but also to the young one, while economic emigration does not exist. The number of people occupied in work today in Albania is greater than the total population of the country before Liberation. Work is the basis of the well-being for the working people.

A new legislation regulates work relations. Immediately upon beginning of work the citizens are guaranteed against temporary inability to work (in case of illness), against cases of invalidity, they enjoy the right to old age pension, etc. The system of social insurance and pensions covers the agricultural cooperatives, too. Special solicitude is shown for pregnant women and children. Beginning from 1981 the child-birth leave for women of the town and countryside is 135 calendar days (against 49) and, together with the leave prior to child-birth, totals nearly 6 months.

In socialist Albania wages for every category of work are unified all over the Republic, just as prices for goods, independently of their origin of production, are the same all over the country. From Liberation until today, prices for retail goods not only have never been raised, but, on the contrary, have been reduced. The market and the currency are stable and grow stronger due to the entire development and advance of the economy.

Albania is the country in which everything is produced and built for and in the interest of the working people. Education and medical care are given free of charge, whereas moral corruption and degenerate ways of life have been liquidated for good. House rents are very low. An average two-days' pay is sufficient to pay the rent.

Distinctions in the level of incomes between working people are among the narrowest in the world, the ratio being 1:2. Personal incomes of citizens are not impaired by any sort of taxes or fees. State finances and the budget are stable, and during the entire period of the existence of the people's state power there has always been a positive balance of incomes over expenditure. «Socialist Albania is an entirely free and independent country and state which owes nothing to anyone. Tutelage and dictate, interference and debts, which have afflicted not only many small states, but also big ones, are alien and unacceptable to it.»<sup>2</sup>

All these factors, taken in their complexity, constitute those fundamental features which characterize a socialist state and society. At the same time, they represent the historical experience of the construction of socialism in Albania, as well as the contribution and role the economic sciences have always played in the complicated process of the construction of socialism.

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Albania has now entered a phase of socialist development which raises new problems for solution, and about which the experience needed to tackle them is lacking. In these circumstances, the economic science faces the task of further developing its creative thought, relying on the Marxist-Leninist principles and on the experience gained so far, in order to cope with courage with the great problems life puts forward and to corroborate with theoretical arguments the perspectives of the development.

The creation and further development of the key branches of the economy, such as the electric power industry, mining, metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, etc. have had and will continue to have vital importance for the construction of socialism with our own forces and for the ceaseless strengthening of the independence of the Homeland. In this context, before the scientific economic thought emerges the task of coping with and solving a number of problems of an economic-financial character such as the definition of the possibilities, order and profitability of development of this or that branch of the economy, the optimal solution of problems of the economic efficiency of fundamental investments and constructions so as to ensure that yearly expenditure on production decrease and the net social income increase.

The above-mentioned problems are connected with the new, higher, stage of socialist industrialization in Albania which has begun in the 70's. The main feature of this stage is the concentration of forces on the all-round development of the heavy processing industry. Amongst other things, the economic thought stresses, as a strict norm, the absolute need for the exploitation of the productive capacities with the highest possible efficiency, making extensive use of the reconstruction and refitting of the existing capacities. As a result of the implementation of this line, in the 7th Five-year

Plan (1981-1985), nearly 4/5 of the increase of industrial production will be ensured from the existing productive capacities and their reconstruction. To this end about 40 per cent of investments in industry and other branches of the economy will be utilized for the expansion, reconstruction and modernization of the existing enterprises. This is a profitable way which saves funds for construction and accelerates the rates of expansion of productive capacities with new equipment and technology.

The deepening of the intensive character of the development of the economy is bringing out more and more the role and importance of increasing labour productivity and reducing costs as the fundamental factor for increasing production and socialist accumulation. Only through securing the greatest part of the increase of social product from the increase of the productivity of labour and the greatest part of the net incomes of enterprises from the reduction of costs, is it possible to maintain a relatively high norm of accumulation and gradually raise the level of the general well-being of the people. In the years of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the increase of the productivity of labour will ensure savings equal to the amount of work turned out by 160000 workers. On the other hand, reduction of costs will ensure nearly 3/4 of the increase of the

net incomes of socialist enterprises. Fulfilment of these tasks raises before the economic science the need to work out new ways for setting in motion all the internal reserves of the country, which the socialist economy always creates.

The uninterrupted high-rate development of the Albanian economy has guaranteed the employment of all the active population of the country, in town and countryside. In the conditions of a high-rate increase of population, when the new active forces increase from one year to another, their occupation in work is not a problem which can be solved automatically, without difficulties and efforts. During the 7th Five-year Plan all the new active work force, which is estimated at about 210 000 people, will find employment. This circumstance, together with the fact that expenditure for creating new jobs tends to increase, makes the economic and political-social significance of this problem quite clear. Therefore, Albanian economic science faces the task of making its concrete contribution to finding more profitable directions in the creation of new jobs, in town and countryside, in the productive and the non-productive spheres, in the various branches of the economy and within each of them.

The construction of socialism has never been treated by the Albanian

economic science as a mere process of technical and material development of the productive forces. Instead, it has been considered and treated in close connection with the solution of economic-productive problems the construction of socialism raises and with the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist relations of production.

A summed-up expression of the contribution of our economic sciences are the high rates and stability of the development of the Albanian economy, materialized, in the final analysis, in the uninterrupted raising of the standard of living of the Albanian people. Successes in this field are great and irrefutable. However, when speaking of the achievements and levels of the present, we, the contemporaries of socialism in Albania, always remember and never forget the miserable past of our people. From this point of reference, the Albanian people know how to correctly estimate the rise they see in their standard of living, achieved under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania. The essential thing is that in socialist Albania everything has been achieved with our own forces, with the toil of the Albanian people. This is the greatest victory and the best guarantee for the future.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 227, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Address to the electors, November 1982, p. 8, Alb. ed.

# THE PROCLAMATION OF OF ALBANIA - A GREAT TURNING-POINT OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

*With the act of November 28, 1912, the undeniable historic right of the Albanian nation to be free and independent in their territories, along with the other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, gained full legal sanction. This right stemmed from the fact that the Albanians are a people with their own language, culture, individuality and history, a right won through countless strivings and sacrifices in bloody battles, a right which they had earned through their valuable contribution to ousting the Ottoman foreign rulers from the Balkans*

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1912, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE CELEBRATED THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA IS ONE OF THE THOSE MAJOR EVENTS WHICH HAVE MARKED IMPORTANT TURNING-POINTS IN THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE. ON THE ONE HAND, IT CLOSED UP A WHOLE EPOCH OF CENTURIES OF EFFORTS AND STRUGGLES TO THROW OFF THE FOREIGN YOKE, TO PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE HOMELAND AND TO FORM THE FREE ALBANIAN NATIONAL STATE, CROWNING THE BRILLIANT WORK OF THE RENAISSANCE, WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND, IT OPENED A NEW EPOCH. AN EPOCH OF NEW STRUGGLES AND EFFORTS TO DEFEND THE INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED FROM INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DANGERS, TO SAFEGUARD THE GRAVELY MUTILATED NATIONAL UNITY AND TO ESTABLISH THE DEMOCRATIC ORDER.

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1912 THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, HEADED BY THE OUTSTANDING PATRIOT ISMAIL QEMALI, GATHERED IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF VLORA, UNANIMOUSLY DECIDED THAT ALBANIA BECOME «...SEPARATE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT.»<sup>1</sup> THIS HISTORIC DECISION EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS WILL OF THE ALBANIAN NATION AND THE GENERAL ASPIRATION OF THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE THIRSTING FOR FREEDOM AND ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THE BEHEST OF THOUSANDS WHO HAD FALLEN IN UPRISINGS FOR LIBERATION DURING THE CENTURIES.

The raising of the national flag in Vlora represented the common victory of all the Albanian territories from the

STEFANAQ POLLO — Prof., Director of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA.

Dukagjin Plateau in the North up to Çamëria in the South, from the shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian seas in the West to the plains of Kosova and Tetova in the East. By taking part actively, with rifle and pen, in the

movement for national liberation, they laid the foundations of Albanian Independence, cemented them with the blood of their finest sons and paved the way to the formation of the Albanian state.

With the act of November 28, 1912, the undeniable historic right of the Albanian nation to be free and independent in their territories, along with the other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, gained full legal sanction. This right stemmed from the fact that the Albanians are a people with their own language, culture, individuality and history, a right won through countless strivings and sacrifices in bloody battles, a right which they had earned through their valuable contribution to ousting the Ottoman foreign rulers from the Balkans.

The Proclamation of Independence in November of 1912 was made at a crucial moment in the history of the Balkans and Albania, in the very difficult

# THE INDEPENDENCE

## T IN THE HISTORY

**E** by **STEFANAQ POLLO**

conditions created by the First Balkan War, when the neighbouring monarchies, backed by various Great Powers, had put the very existence of the Albanian nation in jeopardy. Wanting to grab as much as possible from the Ottoman legacy as a result of their victorious war against Turkey, these monarchies had drafted plans to wipe Albania from the map of the Balkans and were putting them into practice. In such circumstances, when the very existence of Albania was in question, when its fate was hanging on a thread, the proclamation of independence in Vloera was not just a challenge to the imperialist and chauvinist enemies, but a far-sighted act that saved the situation and had important consequences for the future of the Homeland.

«The deed of Ismail Qemali and the other patriots,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «was a glorious historic deed which will always remain unforgettable. It showed the entire world that Albania, which had contributed energetically to the liberation of all the peoples of the Balkans, not merely existed, a thing which the enemies had tried to deny, but was now free and independent and that it would live and develop as a separate state with its own government. Let us stress that had the struggle not been waged with that fury and had that act not been carried out in those difficult times, when the imperialist beasts were preparing the bloodbath of the First World War, then the winning of independence would have become more difficult and per-

haps even graver tragedies would have befallen our Homeland.»<sup>2</sup>

The decisions of the convention of Vloera laid the foundations of the new sovereign Albanian state, by creating its supreme state organs and the respective apparatus in the regions where the National Government exerted its authority. This government, headed by Ismail Qemali, continued, in new conditions and at a higher level, the great patriotic work of the Albanian League of Prizren, defending the supreme interests of the Albanian nation within the country and abroad. The decisions of the convention of Vloera marked the beginning of the existence of the independent Albanian state, which, irrespective of the storms of history which burst upon it, became in later years, in the conditions of new foreign occupations and in the struggle for liberation from them, an important reference point for the re-establishment of independence and the continuation of the free existence as a state.

With the Proclamation of Independence and the creation of the national state the main objective of the Renaissance was achieved. However, the change marked was neither complete nor lasting. Foreign factors intervened brutally with their anti-Albanian policy in the historic course of the Albanian people, this time in a new more aggressive and predatory edition than that followed in the years of the Albanian League of Prizren, raising the danger that the wheel of history would be reserved and the victory achieved wiped

out. Besides these, internal, political and social factors further hindered and complicated the already complicated accomplishment of the tasks put forward by the Albanian League of Prizren. In the new Albanian state the interests and rivalries of the imperialists were entangled as never before with the insatiable predatory appetites of the neighbours, so that the pro-Albanian demagogy and the savage anti-Albanian genocide, the brutal interference in the organization and the internal affairs of the Albanian state and the intrigues of the treacherous feudal chiefs, the military actions of the Balkan War and the general uncertainty about the future of the country collided with exceptional violence. And the newly formed, weak and unconsolidated Albanian state and its government, a big landowner-bourgeois state, with a government which reflected this alignment of class forces, which functioned in a restricted, backward territory devastated by the uprisings and the Balkan War, had to face up to all these nefarious internal and external forces and phenomena.

Thus, independence and the Albanian state emerged in very grave, turbulent, internal and external circumstances, fraught with dangers, at a time when the imperialist powers made the law, especially in the case of the small nations. In these circumstances and contrary to the imperialist will, independence was proclaimed and the first major task of the Renaissance was accomplished, but the other important

objective, that of uniting all the Albanian territories in the national state was not achieved. These external and internal circumstances also prevented the new independent Albanian state from accomplishing a series of other tasks vital to the country, which the generation of the proclamation of independence left to later generations to complete.

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Like any other major historical event, Albanian independence has its remote and immediate pre-history with which it is linked indissolubly by a thousand and one threads as a component part inseparable from it.

Precisely these close links with the former national movement and the patriotic content of the event itself, as a conscious expression of the will of the Albanian people, have been denied by most of bourgeois historiography in the past and are still denied to this day by individual authors, especially by Greek and Yugoslav authors. Although using a sophisticated phraseology, in essence they echo the sinister, chauvinist, anti-Albanian tradition of the past that presents the independence and the autonomous Albanian state as a «solution», a «product» of the Great Powers, as an «invention» of theirs established in a «vacuum», that is, on a territory where nothing existed about a people without any history, to whom independence came as a gift from on high. It is superfluous to point out the false and biased character of such claims, both past and present. There is a whole series of documents to give the lie to such claims.

The Albanian League of Prizren (1877-1881) with its program of full autonomy, its modern organizations, its extension over the whole of Albania and its revolutionary action, had a powerful influence on the subsequent events of the National Movement, becoming an inspiring example to it in all directions and, especially, bequeathing it the tasks

the League was unable to accomplish and a wealth of experience on the ways and means to do so.

The general line, the fundamental strategic task of the movement to ensure independence remained unaltered, a constant plank of its program. This struggle had two fundamental components: the recognition of the Albanian nation as an indivisible entity and the preservation of the integrity of the national territories.

The suppression of the League of Prizren had created a very grave situation for the National Movement in Albania. The entire Ottoman reaction and the chauvinist reaction of the neighbouring monarchies did everything in their power to deny the existence of the Albanian nationality, to ignore and denigrate the National Movement, to assimilate the Albanians from the cultural viewpoint by means of opening foreign schools which began to become widespread after the Tanzimati. Thus, the keeping alive, strengthening and raising of the national consciousness, which was an essential premise for recognition of the Albanian nation as an indivisible entity, emerged as a primary task of exceptional importance. The most brilliant and cultured minds of the Renaissance undertook this task with passion, enthusiasm and patience.

In fact, these national ideas had been implanted deeply and lastingly among the masses of the people and it was precisely these ideas that set them in motion, both during the years of relatively quiet development and in the years of crises and armed clashes with the enemies.

The national consciousness was further developed and reinforced not only through intense political and cultural work. The armed struggle with the enemies, in response to the organized or spontaneous national and social oppression, on a local, inter-regional, or all-Albanian scale, played an exceptionally important role in the final period of the Renaissance, too, as a powerful factor for strengthening the feeling of nationality and the conscious

desire to win national rights by any means.

The anti-Ottoman uprisings, especially those of 1910-1912, occupy a special place and play a first-rate role in the Proclamation of Independence. The great anti-Ottoman liberation uprisings of the years 1910-1912 were a result of the extreme exacerbation of the economic, ideological, political and cultural contradictions between the Albanian people and the regime of the Young Turks and of the fact that the broad masses of the people adopted the program of autonomy. These uprisings were preceded and accompanied by programs, memorandums and decisions of various patriotic groups which expressed the unanimous will of the fighters and the entire people for recognition of the autonomy of the Albanian regions, united in a single administrative unit.

The great Albanian uprisings shook the rule of the Sublime Porte to its very foundations. The general uprising of 1912 liberated a number of main cities, almost totally liquidated the activity of the civil and military administration of the Young Turks in our country and eventually forced the Sublime Porte to recognize certain rights of the Albanians to autonomy. Thus, the armed uprisings of 1910-1912 opened the way to the proclamation of independence on a terrain prepared for this major event during the whole of our National Renaissance.

Thus, independence found the overwhelming majority of the Albanian population in all its territories with a political consciousness already formed, aware of its tasks and its national rights and determined to win and defend them at any cost.

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Generally speaking, for the small countries within exploiting systems, world history has reserved a bitter fate. On many occasions they have been occupied, oppressed, partitioned or assi-

militated by the powerful states. The small peoples that have managed to survive the storms of history are those that, although under the domination of bigger powers, have striven with fanaticism to preserve their culture, have never given up the struggle to free themselves, and even, when vanquished, have never lost hope of seeing better days. The Albanians are one of these peoples. They provide an example not only of the cruel, merciless, humiliating treatment by the other occupying empires and countries but also of the staunch resistance to preserve and defend their existence and identity.

The course followed by our people, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «... was not an easy one, a course of yielding and grovelling, of submission and intimidation before the stronger, but a course of clashes with savage, internal and external enemies, both open and disguised, a course on which the people, with their great political acumen and maturity, wielding the pen and the rifle, have forged ahead at the cost of bloodshed and countless sacrifices.»<sup>3</sup>

For centuries the Albanian people have shared a common fate with the neighbouring peoples of the Balkans. This common fate and their common aspiration to be free and independent have brought them together as brother-in-arms, made them establish relations of economic and cultural collaboration, and help one another. At the beginning of the 9th century, when the Serbian national liberation revolution and, later, the Greek and the Rumanian revolutions broke out, their sense of Balkan solidarity made the Albanians rush as volunteers to the aid of the insurgents. They filled the ranks of the military units and also brought forth outstanding commanders, as is the case of the Greek and the Rumanian revolutions. And these volunteers were not only Orthodox Christians but also Muslims and Catholics, a rare phenomenon this for the time and circumstances, which showed that it was not simply the community of religious beliefs that impelled the Albanians to take part as volunteers in these revolutions, but

mainly the aspiration to free themselves from the Ottoman feudal oppression and exploitation, to win the freedom and independence which they considered a common course of the oppressed peoples of the Balkans.

However, when the national bourgeoisie in the various Balkan countries formed their own states and took power in their hands, they began to pursue a new official policy towards the neighbouring peoples. Having the support of the state, an organized army and diplomacy and the encouragement of their imperialist protectors, Serbian and Greek nationalism and, later, Bulgarian nationalism assumed an expansionist character. With their plans to form big states which exceeded the bounds of their respective national territories to the detriment of other neighbouring peoples, they inaugurated the policy of national conflicts between the Balkan countries themselves. These plans were aimed against the Albanian people, too, against their national movement and their aspirations to freedom and independence, because the intention was to replace the Ottoman domination with Serbian, Greek or Bulgarian domination. In these conditions, facing the great-state nationalism of the neighbouring countries with its expansionist character, with its insatiable territorial greed and savage aggressiveness, the weaker Albanian nationalism, obliged to fight on several fronts simultaneously against many powerful enemies who were either ruling Albania, or attacking it from the North, the East or the South, had a generally defensive character from start to finish.

The Albanian National Movement, more than any other in the Balkans, felt the need for cooperation with the neighbouring peoples and reciprocal aid between them in their joint fight for liberation, on condition that each would get what belonged to it. Here lies the source of that spirit of solidarity characteristic of the Albanian National Movement.

Concerning the role and contribution of the Albanians to the collapse of the

Ottoman domination in the Balkans, the new Albanian historiography has not ceased and will not cease to strive to throw light on the historical truth which has been obscured and distorted for scores of years by foreign bourgeois historiography, especially that of Balkan countries, which to this day is still treating the First Balkan War from its own narrow chauvinist stand-point. When it deals with the character and consequences of the First Balkan War, our historiography bases itself completely on the Marxist analyses and assessments of V.I. Lenin which are fully confirmed by a wealth of published and unpublished documents about this event.

This article is too limited to permit us to go into the details of the problem, but we consider it necessary to say a few words about the role and contribution of the Albanians to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, a role ignored or denied both in the past and at present by the chauvinist politicians, propaganda and historiography of the neighbouring countries.

The Albanians were just as interested as the other oppressed peoples of the Balkans in freeing themselves of the Ottoman yoke. On more than one occasion their representatives strove to establish links with the neighbours in the common struggle against the Ottomans. The blame for the failure of these attempts falls on the chiefs of the Balkan alliance, who did not want to have the Albanians as partners with equal rights in this alliance, because they had agreed amongst themselves that in case of a victory over the Ottoman Empire, they would divide up the Albanian territories. Their plans for partitioning Albania underlay the entire foreign policy of the neighbouring Balkan monarchies, and guided them in all their negotiations over the Albanian question. It is understandable that in these circumstances the Albanians could not enter into an alliance, the chiefs of which intended to use them only as cannon fodder in the war against Turkey and for their anti-AI-

banian aims. Participation of the Albanians in such an alliance without official recognition of their rights, would have been a suicide.

In these extremely complicated circumstances, at this crossroads of history, the progressive patriotic Albanian circles, with their political maturity, defined the most correct course: that of defence of the Albanian territories from the new invaders, not to strengthen the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, not as allies of the Sublime Porte, but by demanding the combining of these territories into an autonomous province, the same course which the League of Prizren and that of Peja had chosen in the past. And this is how they acted. The volunteer units, which were joined by Albanian soldiers who deserted en masse from the ranks of the Ottoman army, defended the national territories which were being encroached upon by the new invaders, arms in hand, as masters of the country.

Albanian historiography, with which a considerable part of the foreign historiography is in agreement, has now proved convincingly that the great anti-Ottoman uprisings of the years 1910-1912 in Albania brought to light the decay of the Ottoman Empire, hailed down a considerable part of its forces and means, spread the seeds of disintegration in the ranks of the Ottoman army and of revolt in the other regions of the Empire. These uprisings encouraged the Balkan states but, on the other hand, with their conscious national character and program for autonomy they embarrassed the chauvinist circles of those states. Thus, the Albanian uprisings accelerated the formation of the Balkan alliance and the declaration of war against the Sublime Porte.

During those troubled, disturbing days, fraught with dangers of a Balkan War, only the Balkan and international socialist movement was for a policy of solidarity with the Albanian people, for recognition of their national demands, for treating them as an ally in the common fight. The international Congress of socialist parties in

Basle of Switzerland, in November 1912 in which the representatives of the Russian bolsheviks led by V.I. Lenin took part, defended the rights of the Albanian people, expressing its opposition both to the imperialist aims of the Great Powers and to the predatory aims of the Balkan bourgeoisie. On the other hand as V.I. Lenin pointed out, the conscious workers of the Balkan countries and their revolutionary parties fought for a consistently democratic solution of the national question in the Balkans, for genuine and complete liberation of the peoples of the Balkans. However the worker and democratic movement in this region was weak, not organized at the necessary level, and hence, unable to restrain the chauvinism of the ruling classes and influence the development of events.

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One of the distinguishing features of the Albanian National Movement which was manifested with special force in the years of the Albanian League of Prizren, the League of Peja, the First Balkan War, and after the proclamation of Independence, has been the close interconnection of the task of the preservation of the integrity of the Albanian territories with that of their liberation and unification in a free national state. Nations emerged and developed on a given territory where the linguistic, economic and spiritual community of each nation was formed. Thus its territory became an inseparable, component part of the nation, the material basis of its existence. Consequently there can be no national community without territorial community.

However, it is well-known that the borders of states have not always coincided with the borders of national territories. Some states have extended their political borders to the detriment of other nations and have formed multinational states, others have been formed initially on part of their national territory and, while struggling to unite the

whole territory within their borders, have also tried to include foreign territories. The Albanian nation encountered states of both these categories and this created a peculiar, profoundly contradictory situation for it. It was formed under the domination of the multinational Ottoman Empire, against which it took up arms to win its freedom. At the same time it had to resist the expansionist ambitions of the neighbouring Balkan monarchies — Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro, and of the Italian and Austro-Hungarian imperialists, towards its territories. With the continuous weakening of the Ottoman Empire, first of all, from the blows dealt it by the oppressed peoples, its collapse and expulsion from the Balkans were approaching. But the brilliant future of the liberation of the Albanian people was overshadowed by the threats of the new aggressors. These factors operated with ever greater intensity until the Proclamation of Independence and after it. In these circumstances, freedom and territorial integrity conditioned each other. The threat of partition was hanging over the heads of the Albanian people, just as heavily as the Ottoman yoke. And here it was not simply a question of the ancestral territories, the ancient historical homeland of a people who had shed their blood to defend it through the centuries. Here it was also a question of the grave violation and disturbance of the equilibrium of the historically-formed economic community, and even of the elimination of the Albanians, as a people and a nation, from the political map of the Balkans.

The consequences of the possible partitioning of the Homeland very quickly became clear to all the Albanians and awareness of this threat was deeply rooted in the consciousness of the nation, setting it in motion whenever the threat loomed on the horizon. There are few countries over which the threat of partition has hung so long like the sword of Democles, in which such an act has been carried out so cruelly and in which its grave consequences have been felt so deeply, as in Albania.

The memory of the heroic struggle of the Albanian League of Prizren against the partitioning of the country was still alive when a new danger threatened it at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The imperialist Great Powers, most interested in the question of the Balkans — Russia, Austro-Hungary and Italy, took advantage of the anti-Ottoman liberation struggles in Macedonia to intervene anew in the Balkans, allegedly in order to establish peace in this zone.

The years of the First Balkan War mark a new stage in the struggle of the Albanian people for the autonomy and defence of the integrity of the national territory against the aggression of neighbouring monarchies. These are the most dramatic years in Albanian modern history, in the course of which the interests of the Albanian people were entangled and defended with arms on the battlefield and with diplomacy at the negotiating table, against the aims of chauvinist neighbours and imperialism, while the lawful rights of the Albanian people were violated more brutally than ever before.

This time, although they had profound contradictions amongst themselves, the Balkan monarchies united in the struggle against the common enemy — the Ottoman Empire, in order to drive it from the Balkans. However, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, the historic tasks facing the peoples of the Balkans were not accomplished through revolution but through a war that was guided by bourgeois and dynastic interest.<sup>4</sup> Such a war could never provide just solution to the national question in the Balkans. Thus, the war against Turkey, which, objectively, performed a progressive function, since its aim was the liberation and national unity of the Balkan peoples, was led by the monarchies, was waged under the banner of bourgeois nationalism, and, in fact, was turned into a predatory war against Albania.

Having superiority in numbers, armaments and organization, the armies of the Balkan allies routed the Ottoman army, poured in to the Albanian

territories and occupied the greatest part of them. Just as in 1877-1878 the occupation by the Serbian troops was accompanied by massacres and mass expulsions of the local population from their homes with the aim, as Prime Minister Pašić himself expressed in his orders, «to assimilate the Albanians from the cultural and national standpoints, to completely integrate their territories into Serbia, as Niš, Piroti, Leskovc and Vranja were integrated in 1878.»<sup>5</sup>

These were moments when the life and death of a nation, the fate of a whole people, who had done so much for their own freedom and for the cause of the freedom and the neighbouring peoples, were placed in the balance, as rarely before in history. At these critical moments the Independence of Albania was proclaimed in Vlora and the National Government, which extended its authority over an extremely restricted territory, was formed. The new state needed the national territorial base, not only because it belonged to it historically, but because there could be no development and advance without it. Precisely at this time, however, the Albanian question, the question of the independence and the political borders of the Albanian state, became caught up in the machinery of imperialist diplomacy and under the savage pressure of the armies of the Balkan alliance. And, as is known, Albania, which was recognized as a state by the imperialist powers, emerged gravely mutilated. Nearly half of the national territory and the Albanian population that inhabited it, passed under the foreign yoke.

The Government of Vlora and the whole Albanian people never reconciled themselves to this flagrant injustice and brutal violation of the principle on nationality. They protested and fought against it.

Ismail Qemali declared, «We regret just one thing — that the success of a war, which had the liberation of all the peoples of the Balkans as its aim, did so much harm to our neighbours that now it seems they think they have

the right to oppress the Albanians, who for their part, have no less right to exist, since they are the most ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula and were the first to fight the Turks for their national freedom» (reference here is to the uprisings on the eve of the Balkan War — Stefanq Pollo). «However,» he continued, «...we are going to defend the cause, not only in the interests of our own people, but also for the benefit of those countries which have become our opponents, instead of becoming our friends.»

The treatment of the Albanian question by the imperialist powers in these years is one of the rare examples in which imperialist brutality, disdain and unscrupulous violation of the legitimate rights of the small peoples, selfishness, lack of any adherence to principle, and the total absence of conformity between word and deeds are flaunted so openly in all their nakedness. They serve as a model to give a clear and full understanding of the real character, physiognomy, and morality of imperialism, which its apologists and the bourgeois historians try so zealously to conceal.

In the years of the Balkan War, V.I. Lenin accused the reactionary European bourgeoisie over the interference and pressure it exerted in the Balkans in order to ensure the maximum gains for itself, over its incitement of chauvinism and national enmity in order to apply its predatory policy more easily, and to make the free development of the oppressed classes in the Balkans more difficult.<sup>6</sup>

Albania suffered the gravest consequences of this policy not only through the loss of half its territories, but also through the disruptive and colonialist policy of the representatives of imperialism in independent Albania and, worse still, through their subsequent anti-Albanian activity to cut other territories from it in favour of their Balkan clients.

The fundamental features of the policy that the imperialists pursued towards Albania before and after the Proclamation of Independence emerge

clearly in the years 1912-1914. Whole generations in our country have felt the consequences of this policy «...to the point that the strongest anti-imperialist sentiments have become deep-rooted in the psychology of the Albanian people, becoming one of the most characteristic features of their national consciousness.»

In support of the decision of the Great Powers for the dismemberment of Albania, the propaganda and historiography of the neighbouring chauvinist circles put into circulation the most monstrous fabrications, presenting the Albanian people as a primitive national, amorphous mass, without historical traditions or the capacity to form their own state. All this was done to form the belief among internal and foreign opinion, that by including Albanians in the neighbouring states, a «humane civilizing» mission was being performed. Following the tragic events in Kosova in 1981 year, the Great-Serb historians and politicians have echoed the ugliest emanations of this historiography, such as those of V. Djordjević, St. Protić, Dr. Jakšić, P. Pipinelis, etc. For example Belgrade professor V. Dimitrević claims, amongst other things, that: «Albania was created by the Great Powers», and Ismail Qemali «was an agent of the Austrians», that in London, the representatives of the Government of Vlora displayed «territorial greed».

If there is a question of territorial greed, this accusation cannot be directed against the Government of Vlora, which demanded from the Conference of London that the territories in which the entire population, or the overwhelming majority of it was Albanian, should be included within the borders of Albania, but must be made first of all, against the Great-Serb Government in Belgrade, which between 1877 and 1925, through the force of arms, with the blessing of the imperialist powers or through tricks and pressure, carved off pieces of the Albanian national territory on five separate occasions, annexing a large part of it. Unlike the other Balkan national states, which after their formation continually ex-

tended their territorial borders, Albania is the only country the national territory of which was reduced time after time and which was continuously under the threat of total dismemberment.

The national community of Albanians had become so strong and the idea of the national unity had been implanted so deeply in the people's consciousness that the partitioning of the territory imposed by the foreigners could not fail to encounter the powerful counteraction both of the Government of Vlora and of the broad masses of the people. A powerful movement for the unification of all the Albanian territories in the independent state burst out both within Albania and in the Albanian territories annexed by the Serbs and Montenegrins.

This movement, which expressed the aspirations of a people for justice and respect for their most elementary rights, served the Great-Serb chauvinists as a pretext to continue the genocide and the mass expulsions of the Albanians from their territories on an even larger scale, with the purpose of changing the Albanian ethnic character of the occupied zones through violence.

Although it was brutally suppressed in 1913, this movement revived in 1914 in Kosova and assumed broad proportions and special force after the First World War, where the mass movement for national liberation and unity through armed struggle inscribed brilliant pages in the history of the Albanian people. However this movement too, was suppressed by the Yugoslav troops without having achieved its objectives.

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Independence found the bulk of the Albanian territories under the Ottoman rule or occupied by the armies of the Balkan alliance. At first the National Government of Vlora exercised its authority in a very limited zone, but this was to become the nucleus around which the other regions

of independent Albania would gradually unite.

What did this Albania present from the economic and social standpoint? What problems confronted Albanian society at that time? To answer these questions, one must point out at the same time those colossal difficulties that faced the handful of patriots who undertook the responsibility of running a state, which had to be set up and organized from scratch, and a society, which although on the European continent, was the last to emerge into the light after five centuries of mediaeval bondage.

These were difficulties of a political, economic and social character. Although Albania was recognized internationally as an independent state in a terribly reduced territory, whole regions in the north, east and south remained for years on end under the arbitrary rule of Serbia and Greece which, unsatisfied with what they received after the First Balkan War, sought to annex other parts of the Albanian territory, contrary to the decisions of the Conference of London, in 1913, but with the secret consent of their big protectors. Even in those regions which remained free, the National Government of Vlora had to cope with the ill-intentioned interference of the International Control Commission, which, sent allegedly to give assistance, in fact, set out to smash the new administration of the country and the unity of the Albanian state.

On the other hand, the dismemberment of the country was not simply a division of the national territory in two. It was such a division that detached from the trunk of Albania not only the territories which had been outstanding hot-beds of the liberation movement and centres of its most important organisations, but also the most fertile regions. The poorest regions, for the most part mountainous with the flat land mainly marshy, inhabited by a population consisting mostly of peasants. Even in the years of good harvests these regions did not fulfil the annual needs of the local population

for grain. They were burdened by marked feudal remnants and the profound ignorance of the overwhelming majority of the population who were illiterate. Thus, the food crisis, which became a grave chronic problem, appeared in independent Albania right from its birth as a state.

The ruling classes that placed themselves at the head of the new state, also bore the brand of that backward society. The commercial and industrial national bourgeoisie remained from start to finish an economically weak class, divided into groups with separate interests. It is true that during the Renaissance, especially in its final stage, the democratic wing, the elements that had emerged from the commercial and handicraft middle bourgeoisie, as well as from the peasantry, began to predominate in the leadership of the movement, but they never succeeded in becoming the sole leading force either in the National Movement or in the independent state. They shared the leadership with the big landowners, consequently, the Albanian state emerged as a bourgeois-landowning state and so it remained until it was finally smashed by the victory of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement and was replaced by the socialist state.

This alignment of forces was reflected in the National Government of Vlora, too. However, it is the merit of the bourgeois-democratic representatives of this Government, that they set the tone for it from the beginning and, with the development of events, imposed their will in internal and external policy, bringing about the polarization of the class and political forces of the country.

In these circumstances the government of Ismail Qemali pressed on through innumerable difficulties. Nevertheless, bold political and social acts of a patriotic and democratic character were proclaimed, acts which honour the Government of Vlora, bearing in mind the circumstances and the short period it remained in power. Without doubt, special merit belongs to Ismail Qemali, who was one of the most out-

standing, and most experienced, as a statesman and a diplomat.

Among the most important acts, intended to lay the foundations of the new state and pave the way for its development and progress, but which in the conditions of the time could not be carried through to the end and, in some cases, retain only their symbolic value, mention should be made of the uniting of a good part of the regions within the borders recognized by the Conference of London under the authority of the Central government, the creation of the new civil administration, of state courts separate from those of the shariat and a nucleus of the armed forces; the establishment of the Albanian language as the official language and the setting up of the national school system; the breaking of religious dependence of Shey Ul Islam and adoption of the law on the modernization of the state apparatus on the European bourgeois model; the efforts to stop the theft of state property by the big landlords and the promise of an agrarian reform, etc.

Although the Government of Vlora remained in power for little more than one year, during this short time the differences between the democratic wing and the reactionary landowner wing, which had appeared during the National Movement, manifested themselves with special force. The independent state life brought to the fore the acute problems of the country and the role of the various classes in power, of democracy, of economic and social reforms, of independence from the Great Powers, etc.

Democratic activists of the National Movement (some of the members of the government), who had become acquainted abroad with the progressive ideas of the time and sought to apply them in Albania, had gathered in Vlora.

This breeze of democracy that began to blow in independent Albania did spare the government itself from criticism over certain of its acts. However, it incurred the wrath especially of the landowning beys and pashas, who hurled themselves into struggle

against it and into separatist anti-state activities, as well as of the representatives of the imperialist powers, the reactionary bourgeoisie of which, as V.I. Lenin said at that time, feared genuine freedom in their own countries and in the Balkans.<sup>7</sup>

The government of Vlora, for its part, suffered from its own class limitations, from those limitations that characterized even the democratic wing of the bourgeoisie, in general. This accounts for the waverings, the compromises, the lack of determination to carry things through to the end and, especially, the underrating of the role of the masses of the people, as an important positive factor for the setting up of the new state and for social progress. Without negating the great patriotic merits of this Government, and its head, Ismail Qemali, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, amongst others, one fundamental shortcoming characteristic of bourgeois governments, which is the source of a series of weaknesses in its internal and foreign policy and, precisely, its underrating of close links with the popular masses, of the work with them, of relying firmly and concretely on these masses, which would have strengthened the political, organizational and military power of the state and its independence.<sup>8</sup> This shortcoming has its source in the idealist concept which bourgeois politicians in general, have of the role of the masses in history.

Although in difficult circumstances, the Government of Vlora maintained an intelligent and courageous stand in defence of independence. While exercising limited authority from the viewpoint of territory and being under strong pressure from the Balkan armies of occupation, the diplomacy of the Great Powers and internal enemies, it acted courageously without falling into the innumerable traps set on its course, pursuing an independent policy in the interests of the Albanian national state. It resisted the efforts of Austro-Hungary and Italy to turn it into an instrument serving their interests in its zone. Although he had an

excessive faith in the role that the Great Powers would play in the just solution of the Albanian question, Ismail Qemali was very quickly convinced of the contrary and tried to manoeuvre adroitly in the imperialist labyrinth to save what could be saved.

Its patriotic stand brought the Government of Vlora into open conflict with the policy of the imperialist powers, which led to another brutal intervention by the Great Powers and the overthrow of the government.

With the act of the Proclamation of Independence and its profoundly patriotic stand in defence of the supreme national interests at those extremely critical moments for the fate of the Homeland, the Government of Vlora occupies a place of honour in the modern history of the Albanian people.

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As can be seen from what was said above, the independence proclaimed in 1912 did not accomplish all the fundamental political, economic and social tasks of the National Movement. The reason must be sought in the landowner-bourgeois character of the independent state, as well as in the complicated negative internal and external circumstances. It was to take further decades before Albanian society, passing through wars and revolutions, was able, under the leadership of the communists, to carry out the greatest and the most profound revolution in its history — the people's revolution, and to establish the socialist order, and, in this context to finally accomplish the tasks which independence left unresolved.

History bequeathed to the new generation of Albanian communists the heavy burden of leading the democratic and workers' movement and, later, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement and of carrying through to the end those revolutionary measures which Albanian society had long required, but

which were not proclaimed at all, or were undertaken but abandoned halfway, both by the Government of Vlora and by that which emerged from the June Revolution of 1924.

With the founding of the Communist Party in November 1941, a new subjective factor emerged, a new revolutionary leadership of the people's movement for national and social liberation, which neither the Renaissance nor the democratic movement had known in the past.

Those premises which made it possible to carry through to the end the democratic tasks left over from the period of the independence and the transformation of Albania into a socialist country, have their roots in the people's revolution led by the Party. From this stand-point, the liberation of the Homeland in 1944 marked a radical turning-point in the history of the Albanian people — the end of the landowner-bourgeois era and the start of the socialist era. This time the triumph of freedom and independence was complete and final. This was not because the external and internal enemies ceased their struggle against it. After the liberation of the country the imperialist states and, later, the social-imperialist states and their allies in the Balkans, aided by internal reaction, left no stone unturned to wrest the victories achieved from the hands of our people. The reason why all their efforts failed is that in the new Albania all state power had passed into the hands of the people, that its freedom and independence was defended by an armed people and their army tempered in the National Liberation War, who did not lay down their weapons after the victory, but kept a firm hold of them in order to guarantee the victory once and for all.

The National Liberation War took up again the banner of democracy, but this time it was held not by the representatives of the bourgeoisie, even the most progressive of them, but by the representatives of the bourgeoisie, even the most progressive of them, but by

the communists, the insurgent people and their national liberation councils, who conceived freedom, independence and democracy as a single indivisible entity, in order to go on after Liberation to a higher stage — to socialism.

The Great Powers and the neighbouring monarchies regarded Albania of 1912 and 1924 as «a negligible quantity», as a small, weak country, on which the bigger states could impose their will and could violate its rights with impunity. During the Anti-fascist National Liberation War our people developed the awareness that they are the all-powerful masters of the country and their own fate and no longer permitted foreigners to behave with it as they had done in the past. Socialist Albania raised its dignity in the international arena to a high level. With its just, sincere and principled policy it has gained authority as never before and occupies a place of honour in the great revolutionary movement of our times.

All these brilliant achievements, however, have their origin in the National Independence of 1912, the 70th anniversary of which we are commemorating with a profound feeling of respect for everything that our men of the Renaissance did for the benefit of our beloved Homeland — Albania.

1 «Acts of Albanian National Renaissance 1878-1912», Tirana 1978, p.261, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol.24, p.15, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol.24, p.7, Alb. ed.

4 V.I.Lenin, Collected Works, vol.19, p.21, Alb. ed.

5 «The History of the Albanian People», Prishtina 1979, addendum, p.795.

6 V.I.Lenin, Collected Works, vol.19, p.21, Alb. ed.

7 V.I.Lenin, Collected Works, vol.19, p.22, Alb. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol.23, p.148 160, Alb. ed.

# THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE *by MAHIR DOMI*

*The thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language and the Albanian people, with its further development and its backing with new arguments and facts, has imposed itself as more credible in archaeology, linguistics, history and ethnography*

**1. THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE, LIKE THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND NATIONALITY, CONSTITUTES A DIFFICULT COMPLEX PROBLEM OF GREAT IMPORTANCE: IN THIS CASE WE HAVE TO DO WITH AN ANCIENT PEOPLE, INDEED ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS, AND THEIR JUST AS ANCIENT LANGUAGE — ALTHOUGH ITS WRITTEN DOCUMENTS HAVE COME DOWN TO US LATE WITH A LANGUAGE WHICH HAS PRESERVED ITS OWN ORIGINALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY AS THE ONLY REPRESENTATIVE OF A GROUP OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES, ALTHOUGH AS A RESULT OF GEOGRAPHICAL-HISTORICAL FACTORS, IT HAS HAD IN THE CENTURIES MANY CONTACTS, AT TIMES VERY INTENSIVE, WITH OTHER LANGUAGES, BORROWING WORDS FROM THEM OR GIVING THEM WORDS OF ITS OWN. THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE AND, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, INVOLVES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DISRUPTED LINKS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION AND COMPLETION OF UNKNOWN PROCESSES AND PHASES OF THEIR CENTURIES-LONG DEVELOPMENT.**

The formation of a language is closely connected with the formation of the people who speak it. History and philology complement and throw light on each other. Language, as a social phenomenon, is a historical category, one of the fundamental characteristics of an ethnic entity, of a people. In the course of time it changes according to its own laws, in conformity with the social and political development of the people who speak it.

Being a reflection of the history of the people who speak it, language provides interesting material information

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about their past, frequently completing and correcting other sources, mainly historical. Of special importance is the linguistic information regarding undocumented periods and aspects of the past historical development.

The importance of information data from the history of language is especially great for the history of our people, since we lack direct information over entire centuries (4th-10th centuries) and, as a result, must reconstruct processes and phases of this history on the basis of various indirect facts and testimonies. The history of the Albanian language, the elucidation

of the problems of its formation, enable us to throw light on many aspects of these processes and phases, to solve important problems of the genesis of the Albanian people, and of the factors and the historical conditions which determined it.

The solution of the fundamental problems of the genesis of the Albanian language involves all sorts of difficulties and obstacles. But they are not insuperable. Albanian is an Indo-European language apart which, although directly and marginally linked with the more ancient languages of the Balkans, is, at the same time, a language written at late date and which has reached us, for most of it, in a very evolved form. As is known, written Albanian reached us only about the second half of the 15th century, although testimony of it goes back to the 13th century. The materials available from the non-Greek ancient languages of the Balkans are scanty and one-sided, mainly of onomastic character. However, what our language lost in the course of time, all the blanks created in its history, can be complemented, with relatively satisfactory results, by

drawing on the linguistic material of the current language which constitutes an irreplaceable historical document, and by reconstructing, on this basis, all information from the first centuries of the written Albanian, the past phases on which documentation is lacking, through internal and external comparison and through an historical survey.

The history of the formation, crystallization and consolidation of Albanian as the language of a people presupposes a very lengthy process, and is a problem of many and broad aspects involving a number of questions. This calls for the determination of its origin, of its components and other elements integrated into it, of their role and weight, of the time and place of the formation of the Albanian, the examination of its main convergencies and contacts with other languages and the impact of the latter on the Albanian language, of its different stratifications, etc. The object of this study is the examination of the more important questions of this complex.

**2. Illyrian origin of the Albanian language.** When we speak of the original source of the Albanian language we intend its direct genealogical relationship with some other language of the ancient Balkans, the identification of the pre-Albanian language, that language which continues in modern Albanian, and not its pre-historical origin. These problems have attracted the attention of all those who have studied the origin of the Albanian people, the students of the history of the Albanian language, and many of those who have dealt with historical-comparative linguistics and Balkan linguistics. On this subject a very copious literature exists. Hence, the need for a very careful examination, as exhaustive as possible, of all these studies in writing the history and assessing the present situation of the treatment of these problems with all the aspects involved, for a critical analysis of the facts and arguments and of the opinions and ideas expressed in them. This would help, amongst other things, to make a

more accurate and correct outline of the future tasks and research.

The main spoken languages in the Balkan Peninsula of ancient times were Greek, Illyrian and Thracian, respectively in the South, in the West and in the East. A few decades ago Thracian has been divided into Thracian and Daco-Mysian by the Bulgarian linguist V. Georgiev.

The problem of the origin of the Albanian people was raised and treated for the first time 2000 years ago (1774), on a scientific basis, by the German historian Johan Thunmann. Drawing on facts from history and geography, but also utilizing linguistic sources, he rejected the unfounded hypotheses of some of his contemporaries, and stressed the autochthony of the Albanians — a thesis which he defended on the basis of their origin from the Illyrians whom he regarded as a people closely related to the Thracians. From an analysis of the Albanian language, he observes, it is impossible not to see that the Albanian-speaking population has been for centuries a neighbour of the Greeks and a subject of ancient Rome; and both facts lead to the same ancient Illyrians. He underlines that the Albanian people have retained the ancient Illyrian elements in their language, and its borrowings from other languages are a reflection of the vicissitudes of the different periods of their history.

After more than one century and a half, the work «Albanian Studies» (1854) of the Austrian scholar J. Hahn marked the beginning of a new epoch in several fields of Albanology. He posed the question whether or not the Albanians were autochthonous on their present territories, and answered it in the affirmative. He regarded the Albanians as the direct descendants of the Illyrians, whom he considered to be closely connected to the Epirotes and the Macedonians, and earlier still, to the pre-historical Pelasgians. In order to back his thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians and their language, Hahn also based himself on linguistic sources. The theory of the origin of Albanian from Pelasgian,

through Illyrian, was expounded, both before and after Hahn, in the studies of a number of Arbëreshi authors — Nikoll Keta of the 18th century and the great Arbëreshi poet Jeronim De Rada, who ardently defended the thesis of the Pelasgian origin of the Albanians to the end of his life. This thesis was widespread among the men of the Albanian National Revival, who through this emphasis on the ancient character of the Albanian people wanted to support their rights to be masters of their own country and to take the place they deserved amongst the other free and sovereign peoples of Europe.

At the turn of the last century the famous Albanologist Gustav Mayer adopted a clear-cut stand on the issue of the origin of the Albanians and the Albanian language, a stand which he based on real historical facts. He epitomized his thesis in the following words: «Calling the Albanians modern Illyrians is just as correct as calling present-day Greeks modern Greeks». In his opinion, the Albanian language represents the most recent phase of one of the Illyrian dialects. The thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians and the Albanian language was supported by broad scientific circles and a number of outstanding scientists and scholars of the end of the last century and the beginning of this century, such as Paul Kretschmer, Albert Thumb, V. Meyer-Lübcke, Holger Pedersen, Fr. Ribezzo, and many others.

At the end of the last century H. Paul was the first to relate Albanian to Thracian. His theory was adopted by a number of other linguists, amongst whom the Balkanologist C. Weygand put it in a more complete form. His thesis was based exclusively on linguistic facts, on a number of proper names and place names of Thrace and Dacia and on some Greek glosses compared with Albanian words, on specific relations between Albanian and Rumanian and their common pre-Latin and Latin elements which some interpret as proof of the geographical proximity of the cradles of these two

languages and, finally, on the criticism of some facts advanced in support of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians. The thesis of the Thracian origin of the Albanians, which lacks all historical basis, places the cradle of the Albanian people and the Albanian language further East, considerably removed from the Adriatic coast, thereby opposing the autochthony of the Albanians from the period of antiquity on their present territories.

Some scholars have pointed out the double relationship of Albanian to both Illyrian and Thracian, regarding these two ancient languages of the Balkans as very closely connected to each other. This thesis was, to some extent, expressed by Thunmann in the 18th century. This thesis was put in more complete and crystallized form in the works of the outstanding Austrian Albanologist Norbert Jokl who pointed out a number of coincidences and analogies between Albanian, on the one hand, and Illyrian and Thracian, on the other, mainly as regards their lexical, phonetic and word-building systems, concluding that the Albanian language was very akin to both Illyrian and Thracian. N. Jokl says: «Whatever the issue, we notice that the linguistic material left over from the languages of the ancient peoples of the Balkans, the Illyrians and the Thracians, is very closely connected with the language of the Albanians. This double connection can be explained only by the relationship existing between the Illyrians and the Thracians.»

The study of the Illyrian and Thracian languages has entered a more advanced phase in the last decades with materials from these languages being treated from a new more critical angle, and a new approach to the study of their phonetic and grammatical systems, mainly on word-building and its patterns.

Progress was also made in the study of the origin of the Albanian language and Albanian people, while the difference of opinions between those who supported the thesis of the Illyrian origin and those who were for the Thracian origin (or Daco-Mysian, ac-

ording to some others) of the Albanians, continued.

The thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language and the Albanian people, with its further development and its backing with new arguments and facts, has imposed itself as more credible, especially due to the fruitful work of the Albanian scientists in archaeology, linguistics, history and ethnography. A great contribution in this field was made by the scientific session «The Illyrians and the Genesis of the Albanians» (1969) and by the 1st Assembly of Illyrian Studies (1972).

The Albanian linguistics carried these problems to a very advanced level, in the first place, through the very fruitful studies of Prof. Eqrem Çabej, who has repeatedly examined the various problems of the origin of the Albanian language in close connection with the origin of the Albanian people. He has brought numerous facts and ample information which throw light on these complex problems, irrefutable arguments which reject the criticism and invalidate the basic points of the supporters of the thesis of the origin of the Albanians, while adding further credibility to the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians and their language. The thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians is also held by a number of foreign linguists and is well entrenched in world scientific opinion.

The material available directly from Illyrian is scanty and comprises mainly proper names and place names, names of deities, tribes and inhabitants (about 1 000 altogether) and three or four glosses. To these there must be added materials from Messapian which, despite the reservations of some students today, is considered to be Illyrian. The latter appears to be rather richer, with some short texts, of which, unfortunately, only a small part has been explained, and about 450 proper names and place names. Attempts have been made to enrich the linguistic material of Illyrian by identifying Illyrian words in the body of Greek and Latin, the southern and northern Italic languages, the dialects of the zone of the Alps, etc. In this way has been collected a

certain amount of material whereby it is possible to form an idea of the lexicon of Illyrian, its phonetic system and, to some extent, its word-building patterns and compare it with other languages.

Hence, we have facts on which to rely in the examination of the nature of Illyrian-Albanian relationships. Besides, there are other linguistic facts, apart from geographical-historical facts which permit us to reach the conclusion that the Albanians today live on a territory inhabited since ancient times by the Illyrians, of whom history does not mention any important migration or as some claim without any foundation, invasion at the end of the antiquity or, even less, in the Middle Ages.

The facts and arguments which support and add to the credibility of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians are many and sundry. They are taken up and exhaustively explained in the works of Prof. E. Çabej. Our intention here is to present them in a summarized form.

Among the facts that indicate the Illyrian origin of Albanian the following can be mentioned:

a — the Illyrian-Albanian continuity established on the basis of the connection of the national name of the Albanians in the Middle Ages (in Byzantine sources «Arbanoi», «Arbanitai», the place name of «Arbanon»; in Latin sources «Albanenses, Arbanenses»; in Albanian «arbër, arbëresh, arbënor, arbëror») with the name «Arbanoi» (an Illyrian tribe in the vicinity of Durrës);

b — frequent concordances between Illyrian words and relics in other languages and Albanian words, as observed by a great number of scholars;

c — parallels and similarities between the phonetical systems of Illyrian and Albanian;

d — concordances in their word-building patterns and in a number of common suffixals;

e — the presence of a number of borrowings from ancient Greek, mainly from the northern Doric dialect, and, simultaneously, the important place and proportion of elements borrowed

from Latin in the Albanian language, which shows that the forefathers of the Albanians lived on territories north of those inhabited by the Greeks since ancient times, and that they experienced for centuries the powerful political, cultural and linguistic pressure of the Latins on those territories in which Illyrians appear to have lived in the antiquity;

f — the preservation of a great number of toponyms, mainly of Illyrian — names of cities, rivers and mountains, from ancient times to our days in the Albanian territories, and what is more important, the general tendency for them to appear in a form that corresponds to the phonetical developments of the Albanian language, which indicates that these names have at all times been used by Albanians and by no other people;

g — the continued use of some proper names of Illyrian anthroponymy among the present-day Albanians;

h — the presence of a relatively rich Albanian nautical and marine terminology connected both with the sea animal and plant life, as well as with navigation and fishing, which speak of the ancient peopling of the coast by Albanians.

Besides this, the relations of Albanian with Thracian (or with Daco-Mysian) are not so numerous, important and specific as to indicate a direct relationship between them, as has been suggested by some supporters of the thesis of the Thracian origin of the Albanians. From the comparison of Thracian linguistic material with Albanian emerges that along with some similarities and common features in the lexic and phonetics, the elements that distinguish them from one another are far more numerous. Many of the Thracian-Albanian concordances are triple Thraco-Illyrian-Albanian concordances. We have another testimony, though indirect, in the fact that there is no complete concordance between Albanian and the Geto-Dacian substratum of Rumanian, that, apart from pre-Latin, Indo-European words common to Rumanian and Albanian, Rumanian language has other words

which are supposed to come from a Dacian substratum.

These facts, testimonies and arguments are in favour of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of Albanian and the Albanians, and consequently, of the thesis of their autochthony on the present-day territories. And they become even more convincing and credible when seen in their entirety and in their inter-relationship.

When we assume that Albanian is derived from Illyrian and not Thracian, this does not imply that the Albanian language has no relation whatsoever with Thraco-Dacian. A number of students, although supporters of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of Albanian, have not failed to point out a number of concordances and analogies in various fields between Albanian and Thraco-Dacian. N. Jokl pointed out various relations of Albanian with both Illyrian and Thracian. These he explained with the proximity of the Illyrian and Thracian languages, which led him to consider these two languages as forming one language unit.

Illyrian and Thraco-Dacian were geographically close to one another, in constant and intense contacts during the centuries, acting on and inter-acting with each other as an adstratum on the border territories.

Many students have observed and pointed out a series of Thraco-Illyrian lexical isoglosses. Thracian nouns and proper names have been compared with Albanian words and attempts have been made to explain them by means of Albanian words.

There are cases of phonetical concordances and analogies between Albanian and Daco-Mysian in the reflection of some sounds of Indo-European. V. Georgiev's conclusion about the connection between these two languages from the comparative tables of these sounds in Albanian and Daco-Mysian is too far-fetched. His assertion that the phonematic system of the Albanian language represents a development on the phonematic system of Daco-Mysian is not convincing.

The presence of many cases of analogies and concordances between Al-

banian and Thracian, their points in common and similarities, are no proof of the Thraco-Dacian origin of Albanian, but only of the integration of a number of Thraco-Dacian elements into the Albanian language. Elucidation of the connections between these two languages requires the preliminary elucidation of a number of questions: the relations between Thracian and Illyrian, distinguishing between special Thraco-Albanian linguistic concordances and peculiarities of a more general character which can be explained by historical conditions, etc.

3. **Place of formation of the Albanian language.** The history of the Albanian language and the Albanian people poses important problems regarding the place of formation of this language and people and, closely related with them, their source and origin as well as the time in which the process of formation of the Albanian language and its development to the stage of a national language, took place.

Copious scientific literature exists on the problem of the area of origin of the Albanian language and Albanian people. Various, often contradictory, views have been expressed over and over again, without mentioning here outright amateurish and fanciful opinions which present matters as if the Albanians came to their present territories from parts outside the Balkans, such as Scotland, the Caucasus, etc. in the Middle Ages, and other such opinions which are repeated even in our days. About the place of formation of the Albanian people and their language, however, two main different theses have been expressed. The supporters of the first thesis place the area of origin of the Albanians in the lands where they live today, either on the relatively narrow territories of Dardania and Mat, or on a more extensive territory. The supporters of the second thesis, the thesis of the Thracian origin of the Albanians, place it further inside the Balkans, close to or directly bordering on the area of origin of Rumanian. E. Çabej has repeatedly pointed out that the territories of the Albanians have shrunk, not ex-

panded, over the ages, that the area of origin of the Albanian people and of the Albanian language could not have been a small, circumscribed and isolated territory. Proceeding from linguistic sources and arguments he has shown that the Albanians are autochthonous on their present territories.

In order to find a correct solution to the problem of the genesis of the Albanian language we must examine it in an all-round manner and its various aspects, taking into consideration linguistic, historical, archaeological and etymological sources. The process of formation of the Albanian language is closely connected with the process of formation of the Albanian people and has developed over a long time. Linguistic and other sources show that it has developed on an extensive territory, coinciding more or less with the present Albanian territories.

This very complex and long process could not possibly have developed in any social conditions. Besides, it must not be regarded, in a one-sided mechanical manner, as merely the preservation of the language and the ethnical character of the local population of some small isolated country which has remained unaffected, to its geographical position, by the overwhelming process of Romanization and the migrations of various tribes and populations which poured into the Balkans at the end of the antiquity and in the beginnings of the Middle Ages. This process should be regarded as a further development conditioned by the historical circumstances and transformations, as a transition from one stage to another. In these conditions the area of origin of the Albanians and of the formation of the Albanian language could not have been a narrow and remote mountainous zone like Mat, which was inhabited by herdsmen of a backward cultural level, unaffected by the Roman penetration due to natural difficulties, as G. Stadtmüller claimed. The primary and only area of formation of the Albanian people and the Albanian language could not have been the peripheral territory of Dardania, either, as N. Jokl, and

other students proposed. This is based on the ancient local toponymy which persists, down to our days, on all the territories inhabited by the Albanian population and which consists of names of cities, rivers, mountains from the northernmost to the southernmost extremity of the country. An important achievement of the Albanian science of linguistics and the great merit of Prof. E. Çabej has been the refutation of the assertions of those who claimed that the toponymy of the present territories inhabited by the Albanian people allegedly shows its Slav origin, which has led some of them to the point of presuming that the Albanians have come next after the Slavs to their present territories. On the contrary, accurate analyses have shown and proved that the phonetical development of these toponyms from ancient to present forms has proceeded in line with the phonetical laws of the Albanian language and no other language. Moreover, in a number of these toponyms some Slav forms are proved to have originated from the respective forms of the Albanian language; their phonetical mutations can be explained only through the intermediary of the Albanian language.

E. Çabej has analysed a series of Albanian toponyms of regular phonetical development, and these are to be found on all the Albanian territories: in Dardania — present-day Kosovo, in part of Macedonia and some other border zone: Scupi — Shkup, Naissus — Nish, Astibus — Shtip, Scardus (mons) — Sharr; in Northwestern Albania: Scodra — Shkodra, Drinus, — Drilon — Drin, Barbanna — Buna, Lissus — Lesh, Mathis — Mat; north of Shkodra: Ulcinium — Ulqin; in Central Albania: Dyrrachium — Durrës, Isamnus — Ishëm, Skampis, Skampinus — Shkumbin; in south Albania: Aulon — Vlora, Thyemis — Çam, Çamëria, etc. There are other names from the antiquity the evolution of which into their present forms can be explained by the rules of the Albanian language, such as: Tomaros — Tomorr, Axoas — Vjosa, Pistum — Bisht, etc.

G. Stadtmüller opposed the inclusion

of Dardania in the territory of the formation of the Albanian language and of the Albanian people, claiming that it was entirely Romanized in the Roman and Byzantine period. This assertion does not correspond to the truth, since the autochthonous population of Dardania was still existing during the second half of the 3rd century of our era. If there was Romanization it was not uniform everywhere and did not penetrate all strata to the same degree. Studies have shown that the process of Romanization was very mild in Dardania. Proof of this are the above-mentioned toponyms of this territory and the neighbouring zones.

The frequency of the ancient toponyms in the area around Shkodra, analysed according to the historical phonetics of the Albanian language, refutes the claims of Selischev and I. Popović that what the Slavs met there was not an Albanian, but a completely Romanized population.

Worth our attention is also the great frequency of local toponyms in Central Albania, where the name of an Illyrian tribe — the «Albanoi», coincides with the name of the Albanian people in the Middle Ages, and is mentioned for the first time by Byzantine chroniclers in the 11th century in connection with their participation in the political events that took place in those parts.

**4. Time of formation of the Albanian language.** In the long and complex process of the formation of the Albanian language we distinguish several stages which mark its different levels. The lack of direct evidence creates a number of difficulties. However, a retrospective analysis of linguistic sources, examination of archaeological and historical information, enable us to build a basis from which to determine the time of the formation of the Albanian language and outline its phases.

We can distinguish a first phase, which is characterized by confrontation of Illyrian with Latin and initial contacts of Illyrian with Byzantine, Greek and other languages in the conditions of Roman domination and the beginning of Byzantine rule, as well

as of the inflow of various people in the time of the migration of the peoples. This is the phase of the transition of Illyrian to Albanian and of the formation of early Albanian. Illyrian proves superior to the attempts of political and cultural Romanization. It won in the process, though a large number of Latin words were integrated into its body. The result, however, was not a Latin language, but an independent Indo-European language which, in the main, preserved its former grammatical structure. The beginning of this phase can be put approximately at the end of the 1st century and the onset of the 2nd century of our era when Rome, after crushing the great Illyrian uprisings of that time, strengthened its grip on Southern Illyria. This first phase may be extended up to the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century. At the end of this phase, early Albanian, which resulted from the further development of Illyrian, was completely formed with its own individuality and features. It develops as a relatively well crystallized single unit, and as such reacts to all contacts with other languages.

The period from the 7th century up to the middle of the 11th century is the second phase of the formation of the Albanian language and the Albanian people, the phase of their consolidation, crystallization and further development in new political and social conditions. Our historians have pointed out that the period from the 7th to the 12th century constitutes a key link in the history of the Albanian people, in their economic, social and ethnic-cultural development.

At this phase of the development of the Albanian language some old phonetical rules ceased to operate. These internal changes must be traced out and determined with accuracy both in their chronological order and in the circumstances of their occurrence, their radiation and the transformations which they brought about in the language system. By now the Albanian language has a higher functional role, is no longer a means of communication of small tribal communities, but of ever larger regional and inter-regional communities. At the

end of the second phase of its formation, the Albanian language is the distinguishing feature of a none-too-small ethnic unit which serves as a means of communication for a nation — the Albanian nation. In the 12th century the Albanians had their own state, the State of Arbën, which marks a new epoch in the history of our people.

##### 5. Latin elements in the Albanian language.

For more than eight centuries on end Illyrian was subjected to the direct and powerful pressure of the Latin language. Since the occupation of Southern Illyria, which was complete in the second half of the 2nd century b.o.e., to the end of the 4th century, when the Roman Empire was divided into the Western Empire and the Eastern Empire, Roman domination continued uninterruptedly over the Illyrian tribes with all its economic, cultural and political implications. The Latin language continued as the official language of the Eastern Empire, too, in which Southern Illyria was included, for two centuries after the division. Frederik Engels, in his Work «The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State» (Tirana 1970, p. 223), says: «The levelling plane of the Roman domination over the world has passed for a number of centuries on all the countries of the Mediterranean basin. There where the Greek language put up no resistance, all national languages had to cede their place to vulgar Latin...; there were no more Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, Rhetians, all were Romanized.» In Europe the only language that escaped Romanization was Greek, and this only thanks to the superiority of Greek culture and the prestige this language enjoyed through this fact. This process of Romanization did not affect Illyrian which continued to exist in Albanian as an individual language. This «miracle» was not due to an accident. Here the question was not about some small tribe or ethnical group, hidden in some remote corner inaccessible to foreign military, political, economic, cultural and linguistic influences. The question here was about a population firmly rooted in a key part

of the Balkans, on a broad territory on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and which attracted the attention of Rome and soon became the target for its expansionist ambitions. In the first place, it was the staunch resistance of the Illyrian tribes which stemmed the process of Romanization. Another fact which must be taken into consideration is that Southern Illyria, which occupied more or less the present territories of the present-day Albania, was characterized by a high level of socio-economic development before the Roman conquest.

The widespread opinion that the Illyrians did not exist beyond the 3rd century, that after this they were completely Romanized, does not correspond to the truth. Various testimonies and facts contradict this opinion. Illyrian names continue to appear in inscriptions as late as the 4th century. The Latin writer of Dalmato-Illyrian origin, Hieronymus (4th-5th century), affirms that in his time Dalmatia and neighbouring Pannonia had a barbarian language, that is, not Latin, but their own local language. Despite the geographical proximity of Rome and the long duration of Roman occupation, Romanization did not operate everywhere with the same intensity in all Illyrian. It did not have the same result everywhere. The historian of ancient Rome, T. Mommsen, points out the intensity of Romanization of Dalmatia as against its slow development in the neighbouring central province of Macedonia which included a good part of the present-day Albanian territories. A. Buda with good reason writes: «Acculturation in Southern Illyria was a restricted graduated phenomenon depending on the social situation and the geographical position of the subject population. Against the resistance of the exploited classes, Romanization failed to lead to the mass assimilation of the language and culture of the southern territories of Illyria, also because, in intensive contacts with the culture of the Empire, they acquired new elements which, while enriching their culture, did not change its fundamental elements and did not affect its origin-

ality.» The language of the people was Illyrian. In the conditions of the simultaneous use of both languages, Illyrian was used by the masses of the people of the city as the colloquial language.

The local language came off well, for the reasons we mentioned above, in the long disputed struggle with Latin. It preserved its own individual features, except that many lexical elements of Latin were incorporated in it.

The Southern Illyrian language, when it entered its process of development as Albanian language, had attained a degree of crystallization sufficient to permit it to emerge as a single unit in its reaction to the pressure of Latin and the later impact of other languages.

Since the pressure of Latin on Albanian continued over several centuries, Latinisms in the Albanian language appear in forms which belong to different time stratifications. Many Latinisms in Albanian belong to an earlier stage than that of the Latin elements in Rumanian and, at times, even earlier than that of those elements in Roman languages. They show that they have entered at an early phase into the southern Illyrian language, partly as early as the time of the Republic, therefore, they have preserved the earliest Latin form, unaffected by later innovation.

As has been observed, Latin borrowings in Albanian consist mainly of primary words, whereas Latin words in Rumanian consist of derivatives. The latter may have their source in a later stratum, in a more evolved and popular stage of the language, whereas the former may have a more literary character. It has been observed that Albanian has in its body more literary forms of Latin than the Rumanian language, or even the Roman languages. If the general literary character of Latin borrowings in Albanian is confirmed, this may throw some light on the manner and roads of their penetration into the Illyrian language, mainly through a thin stratum of learned people, and not through close relations between the masses of the Illyrians and the masses of the Latin colonists.

Relative to their number, the extent of their usage, and their radiation, La-

tin words occupy first place among loan words in Albanian. They belong, in most cases, to the general sphere of the language. Part of them appertain to the main fund of words. The place they occupy is explained with the strong pressure of Latin as the state language, as the language of economic and trade relations, as the language of culture over a long period, and as the language of the Catholic Church in the last phase.

From the great changes Latinisms have undergone according to the phonetic and grammatical laws of the Albanian language, it is often difficult to distinguish a Latinism from a local Indo-European word, or from some Latin-Albanian isogloss — particular or general. Failure of Latin to penetrate the grammatical structure of Albanian, the latter's ability to preserve its original and individual character as an Indo-European language in itself, refute the opinion that the Illyrians were completely Romanized, apart from some tribes living in remote mountain corners, and that later, about the Early Middle Ages, this large Romanized population was Albanized by a minority of Albanians who came down from the mountains. Everything in the Albanian language shows that Illyrian was always used side by side with Latin and that in the course of this simultaneous use they acted on each other, which accounts for the Latin loan words the Albanian language has today. This is not a case of one language falling into disuse and its remnants surviving in the triumphant language, but a case of the operation of an adstratum.

#### 6. Slav borrowings in the Albanian language.

Slav borrowings present an interest in Albanian not as regards the formation of the Albanian language, because by the time of the Slav migrations to the Balkans, the Albanian language had been formed as such, had its own features. Slav borrowings clearly show that Albanian has reacted to them in the character of a completely formed language. They belong to the sphere of vocabulary; the grammatical structure was not affected.

Slavisms on Albanian were studied since the last century. Amongst the first to deal with this problem were Fr. Miklošić and G. Mayer, followed by N. Jokl, H. Barić, P. Skok, and others in our century. The Russian linguist A. Selishchev in his work «The Slav Population in Albania», published in Sophia in 1931, and though now surpassed, republished recently with great publicity, is an attempt at a comprehensive survey and treatment of the problem of Slav borrowings in Albanian. Basing himself mainly on Slav sources, and with ulterior political motives, the author of this work presents a completely one-sided and, at times, distorted picture of the conditions and nature of Albanian-Slav linguistic relations. This work is characterized by frequent and serious errors in the interpretation of lexical and toponomastic material and unfounded and incorrect conclusions. Selishchev did not examine the facts with due objectiveness, put forward or repeated baseless tendentious theses. Today this work is a source to which uninformed and non-objective students, who write on the problems of the Albanian language, often refer.

In recent decades Slav borrowings in Albanian have been treated by a number of foreign and Albanian students who have corrected a series of wrong or distorted conclusions. They have pointed out that there was no significant difference in the social, economic and cultural level between the Albanians and the Slavs who settled in Albania, that it is very unlikely that Slav borrowings represent economic, social and cultural innovations which the Slavs allegedly transmitted to the Albanians in a one-sided process, that Slav borrowings, in most cases, have a dialectical character. Notwithstanding this, there are linguists today who still follow in the footsteps of Selishchev, and some of them go still further ahead on the line of mistakes and distortions. Therefore, the Albanian linguistics faces the task of carrying out a more comprehensive and objective study of Slavisms, defining their part and weight in Albanian, and the task of

carrying out a more profound study of the influence of the Albanian language on the south Slav languages.

From their extension and usage, Slavisms in Albanian do not constitute a homogenous whole. There is a no small number of Slav words in Albanian, although they are mainly peripheral and narrowly local. It must also be pointed out that many of them have a synonymous character. Many Slavisms in literary Albanian have an emotional tinge and are used as lexical-stylistic variants. Dialectological research of Slavisms has brought interesting information which will be reflected in the «Dialectological Atlas of Albanian», now waiting publication.

The grammatical structure of the Albanian language shows no sign of Slav influence. Some Slav prefixes, with a few exceptions, have a limited use of local character.

The history of Albanian dialects has provided argument enough to prove, from linguistic analyses, that the initial processes of the internal development of Albanian, which led to the emergence of the earliest distinctive features of the present two dialects, took place on the territories where the Albanians live today, and were completed or were well in the way of their formation long before the Slavs came.

Slav rule has left his imprints also on the toponymy of Albania, just as it has in Rumania and less so in Greece and Peloponnesus. Proceeding from this, some linguists, mainly Slav, have tried to jump to far-reaching, extralinguistic conclusions distorting the reality. Attempts have been made to increase the number of Slav toponyms

considering as Slav a number of autochthonous appellatives, such as *baltë* (mud), *gardh* (hedge), etc. and elements of Albanian word-building. More often than once, Slav suffixes work together with Albanian suffixes, but seldom Slav suffixes have a general use in the Albanian language. It is ludicrous to try at all costs to present as Slav toponyms which are not such, as in the case of the Bulgarian linguist J. Zaimov, in whose opinion all the Albanian toponyms with the *-an* suffix are built with the Bulgarian *-jan* suffix, whether they are of Slav or non-Slav stem.

Some authors, mainly Slav, have attempted to connect this toponymy with the existence of a large Slav population in Albania in the Middle Ages, a population which is supposed to have been later Albanianized or to have subsequently migrated, or to link it also with ancient Slav migrations to and settlements in Albania. The truth is the other way round.

Naturally, part of the Slav toponyms belongs to Slav elements in Mediaeval Albania, which though negligible in the beginning, later gained strength due to the rule of the Bulgarian and Serb kings in the Albanian territories. First, it must be said that all the toponyms of Slav origin, which have penetrated into the Albanian language during the contacts of the Albanians with the Slavs, are place names given not by a Slav population, but by the Albanians themselves. On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that in Albania's Slav toponymy the intervention of the Slav administration, as some studies carried out in recent years in our

country have proved, played a major role. Not always and everywhere does toponymy say anything about the ethnical appartenance of the inhabitants of a given country. In no few cases we see that Slav toponyms are only translations of former Albanian toponyms (*Ujëmirë — Dobrovoda*, *Gur — Kamenica*, *Mali i Thatë — Suhogore*). Against the attempts to link up toponyms, just as loan words, with Slav invasions and settlements and not with later historical factors, such as the rule of Slav kings on Albanian territories, the facts show that there are very few borrowings and toponyms of an early date, most of them belonging to later periods, when Bulgarian and Serb kings established their rule on the Albanian territories. One of the students of Slav toponymy in 15th century Albania (*J. Zaimov*) is compelled to admit the less archaic character of the Slav toponymy of Albania in comparison with the Slav toponymy of Greece. However, instead of reaching the conclusion that Slav toponymy in Albania is relatively late, he alleges that the Slav toponymy of Albania had continued to develop side by side with the expansion of the Bulgarian population in Albania, therefore, it could not preserve its earlier forms.

In the foregoing we dealt with some main problems of the history of the formation of the Albanian language and some aspects of its historical development, in an attempt to outline the present state of these studies, and in particular, the achievements of the Albanian science, as well as some of the tasks which emerge for future research and the work that must be done to carry forward and deepen the results achieved.

# THE PRESENT AND THE HISTORICAL PAST IN THE MODERN ALBANIAN NOVEL

by **DALAN SHAPLLO**

*The Albanian novel of socialist realism, as one of the more important literary genres, has produced works of national value and has won recognition outside the borders of the Homeland*

**THE NOVEL IS OCCUPYING AN EVER MORE IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE DIFFERENT LITERARY GENRES WHICH ARE DEVELOPED IN ALBANIA TODAY. WITH LITTLE TRADITION IN THE PAST AND WITH A NEW EXPERIENCE, THE NOVEL OF THE PERIOD OF SOCIALIST REALISM IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY CULTIVATED FOR SOME DECADES NOW AND MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE READERS WHOSE CULTURAL AND AESTHETIC LEVEL GO ON RISING.**

**BEFORE THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND THE ALBANIAN NOVEL WAS LITTLE DEVELOPED. ONLY SOME NOVELS ON A PATRIOTIC AND SENTIMENTAL LINE, WHICH ALSO DEALT WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS, MAINLY THAT OF THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WOMAN OPPRESSED BY THE PATRIARCHAL, FEUDAL AND BOURGEOIS WAY OF LIFE, WERE WRITTEN IN THAT PERIOD.**

The Albanian novel was not cultivated in the years of the anti-fascist struggle, because there was no time for that and more experience was needed. The novel which developed in the years of the consolidation of the new literature also filled some gaps which had remained from the past when realism in prose was little cultivated. The modern Albanian novel has reached new levels, tackling ever more complex and posing ever more problems of Albanian society. World progressive tradition, and realist tradition, in particular, has played an important role in

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the art of novel writing which has essentially national peculiarity and originality.

As a literary genre with an epic tendency, with broader possibilities of portraying life in all its complexity, the novel is always in the process of development. In progressive world literature and in our literature which is developing in the best national and international traditions, the novel gives broad and complex pictures of life and the class struggle. The novel as a genre tackles subjects ranging from the adventures and vicissitudes of man and to the deep contradictions between ca-

pital and the working people, the stern criticism of bourgeois society and man's disillusion of this society.

For its part the novel of socialist realism reflects the new traits of the proletarian world which would set out on a great revolutionary movement under the leadership of the communists; it stands for proletarian humanism and the class struggle, penetrating into the dialectics of consciousness and voicing the hope of the future. The Albanian novel of socialist realism has traversed this road, firmly based on its national soil, dealing with the themes and problems of our society, with the different phases of its development — the history of the country, the epoch of the National Liberation War and that of the construction of socialism.

The modern Albanian novel has its problems and difficulties of development but on a whole it goes along an ascending road. Looking back at this road from today, we see its evident successes — the increased number of novels, the enrichment of the range of problems they deal with, the skill of the writers, the swelling of the

ranks of the novel writers and the formation of many creative individualities in this field.

In the progressive literature of different countries the novel is cultivated in the realist tradition, with a marked national colouring and a sound essence and through an apparent evolution of forms. Parallel with this trend, there is the other trend of the development of the novel which describes the degeneration of man and the decay of society — a development which departs from any realist and progressive tradition. Thus, many experiments are being made, which are justified by proclaiming the **crisis of the novel** which is nothing other but the **crisis of the hero**, the inability of the novel writers to give the true picture of bourgeois society in all its complexity and contradictions and to explain the true causes of the social crisis. However, the theories of the **anti-novel, of the new novel, of the new wave** and many other theories which consider the subject and characters and the very idea of the novel as already overcome, are being exploded one after the other. The novel continues its development as a very democratic genre, open to the most varied forms, expressing philosophical, poetical, lyrical, epic, or dramatic tendencies, using description and reasoning, the direct narration or putting its message through poetical images interlaced with legends, etc but always on the path it has blazed in the centuries so as to deserve the appellation of **the epic of the modern times**. Our novel, a genre in constant growth and development, loyal to the truth and revolutionary thinking, also makes its contribution to this development.

Our novel advances in struggle against modern bourgeois and revisionist trends of alienation of man from society, of his despair before difficulties and contradictions, of the distortion of history, of deheroization and deep-going and irreversible moral crises. The best of our novel shows how the realist tradition and socialist realism are carried forward, how works of **ideo-aesthetic value** are created proceeding from the truth of life, from man and his world, from the determination of the artist to put his talent in the service of the people. Our reality itself, our working man, has led our novel writers on to

this road. They have always been led by the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on partisanship of a literature and art of high artistic qualities.

Along with the already known authors new ones have emerged who cultivate this genre, and their number is increasing parallel with the development of our life and the rising cultural level of the people. Outstanding works which have won or are winning their place among the readers have been published, such as the works that reflect the period of the construction of socialism. — «The Great Winter» by I. Kadare, «The Face-up» by T.Laço, «The Bread of a Snowy Season» by K. Kosta; the works that deal with the period of the National Liberation War — «The Man with the Gun» by D. Agolli, «The Singer of Folk Songs» by Sh. Musaraj, «The Salt Flower» by J.Xoxa, «The Councillors» by F.Gjata, or the historical novel of the past — «Skanderbeg» by S.Godo, the trilogy on the activists of the National Renaissance by S.Spasse, «The Fall of the Idols» by S.Drini, etc. These novels, and many more published in the last decade, the whole creativeness of this period, carried further forward the tradition of the new novel of the **social type** based on **live characters** with their psychological and lyrical inclinations, which, however, operate within the epical nature of the objective reflection of reality, with a stronger tendency for judgment of facts and events and analyses of social and political conflicts. Another phenomenon is connected with the novel of the historical periods and raises problems of national dimensions, **confronting man with the time** and rendering, in the first place, the **political colouring** and tackling the social aspect of national and patriotic problems. Tendencies and phenomena are the offspring of the time. And ours is a time full of dynamism, with the struggle of our people against the imperialist-revisionist blockade for the affirmation of their historical road, and their consistent efforts for the formation of the moral traits of the new man.

The better novels tend to delve deeper into the consciousness and the process of formation of characters, reflect life more truthfully and in a more poetical manner, while at the same time extending from the structural stand-

point into a kind of polyphonicism, with the combination of many planes and lines, which, in the best cases, have led to the successful reflection of life in all its multiplicity at the present important stage of our history.

Styles have been enriched and a more varied language, based on the popular idiom, has been used. Writers have contributed more than in the past to the development of literary language. The vivid and polished language of many novels reflects a greater concern of the writers for the culture of writing. Despite certain shortcomings, the individualization of characters through the language has made progress, drawing on the inexhaustible source of popular phraseology, the treasury of the colourful and nuanced language of the people, rich in individualizing and emotional values.

During the recent years notable achievements have been made especially as far as the rise of the average level of works is concerned. However, some acute problems remain, especially those connected with a deeper and broader reflection of the socialist reality, with a greater mastery in the treatment of themes and the improvement of technique, particularly among the younger novelists.

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In this period, especially in the recent 4-5 years, contemporary themes have been dealt with more broadly and with the participation of a greater number of authors. There are some fine works of this category both by well-established and by gifted young authors. There is, however, a considerable number of novels on these themes (although they, too, have their merits and make their contribution to the treatment of contemporary themes) which are not up to the required level. Their shortcomings consist in prolixity, in sufficient individualization of their characters or superficial description of events, weaknesses that are met with also in novels dealing with themes from the past or the National Liberation War. However, it must be admitted that the authors of the novels of the latter category have been more successful in brushing broad pictures of the life and struggle of our

people in the past, in tackling some fundamental problems of our history. The results achieved by the historical novel raise the need that the present reality should be better and more broadly reflected in the works dealing with contemporary themes, that life should be reflected in all its complexity and epic grandeur.

The novel of the period of the construction of socialism that centres on the problems of the time and the various stages and aspects of this period, has been developed further in the recent years availing itself of the best tradition of the contemporary novel. The best achievements are «The Marsh» by F.Gjata, «Again on Foot» by Dh.Xhuvani, «The White South Wind» by J.Xoxa, «The Great Duel» by A. Abdihojha, etc. The more recent productions which now occupy an important place in our literature and which have gained recognition, are the novels «The Great Winter» by I.Kadare, «The Face-up» by Th.Laço and some others. «The Great Winter» (1977) marked an important achievement in the field of the political novel built on contemporary events — the struggle against Soviet revisionism and the stand taken by the masses, the various strata of our society under the leadership of the Party. As our literary criticism has acknowledged, the author of this novel has succeeded in interlacing, on different planes, outstanding figures such as that of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which is portrayed in a lapidary and concise manner at particular culminating moments, with figures from the ranks of intellectuals and common people. The tense conflict with the revisionists is masterfully developed into a suspense of dramatic effect which arouses the interest of the reader and captures his mind.

The cultivation of the political-historical novel is a positive trend of our literature which is also observed in genres other than the novel — poetry, play-writing, etc. The merit of the novel «The Great Winter» is that it describes political events with a high artistic level and through a polyphonic construction of characters and types taken from real life, reproduces the spirit of the time in all its dramatically impact, showing that right and spiritual vitality are on our side. The style of the author stands out for its laconism and its almost palpable ima-

ges, for the fulness of its poetic figures.

Th. Laço's novel, which deals with another period and theme (the first years after Liberation and the relations between city and country), in a distinctly realist style, has attracted the attention of our literary criticism and of the readers with its truthfulness to life, the characters (especially the communists) and its realistically rendered situations arising in the course of everyday events. These and other novels on contemporary themes deal with both the struggle against revisionism and the class struggle within the country, with the economic, moral and social problems coming up constantly.

If we look back at the novels written in recent years, although the subjects they deal with are interwoven with each other, we would more or less notice this relationship of man with reality, with society: **the man in relation to the time and political events; the man in relation to morality and the moral aesthetic criterium of judgment; the man confronted with class antagonisms at given periods of time after Liberation, etc.**

One of the novels dealing with the theme of the work and struggle for the local production of bread grain in difficult natural conditions and in fierce class struggle is the novel «The Bread of a Snowy Season» by K.Kosta. Its value consists mainly in the truthful reflection of everyday events, in the portraying of some characters like Pelik Baduni, Puravel Duka and others, in the creation of conflicts which stem from facts. No matter how complicated the clashes and some characters may seem, the author comes to correct conclusions and proceeds from the intention of doing away with the old and bringing about the affirmation of the new in society. The positive characters breathe a strong lyrical element which is combined with a warm feeling towards the good people. The structure of this novel rests, more than on an interesting subject, on the action of its characters who enter into certain relationship and create a subject which perhaps is not such in the classic sense.

The education of man through work, at the construction site of the Fierza hydro-power station, men's friendship, the struggle between the mentality

created by common socialist work and the mentality based on private property — this is what A.Cerga's novel «The Brothers» centers on. With its lyrical tones of descriptions and the cordial comradesly relations created among people of various professions, but working on the same front, the novel takes the reader through to the end.

Maintaining his style, but in a different manner from his previous novels, in this period D.Agolli wrote «The Rose in the Glass» dealing with the relationship of a writer with the life of lumbermen of a northern region. This is a novel of the lyrical-psychological type, in which many moral problems are raised. The active role of the intellectual in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society, intimate relations given through a spiritual dialectics, a realistic stand towards life and events, the struggle against sordid interests and gossip — these elements of its content given in a clear and thickly woven texture, with few characters rendered in forceful language, give the novel its artistic value. Another noteworthy element of this novel is an excursion into the realm of the beautiful, rendered through dialogue, which departs from many schematic ideas on this subject. Works such as «The Rose in the Glass» and «Budi Street» by R.Pulaha, or some other novel on social and moral themes, in which the main criterion for the assessment of man is the moral-aesthetic one, attract the attention of the reader and assist his moral formation.

A moral analysis of the man of our time against the background of life and people, his workmates, neighbours and friends, is found in Z.Çela's novel «A Summer Without Farewell» which is written with an effort at the purity of the Albanian and with poetical feeling. There is no typical subject and no development of a central conflict on which the action of the novel would be centred. Nevertheless, the author succeeds in his analysis of the central character, the veterinary doctor Visar who is transferred to Tirana and is happy about it, but does not hurry to leave his work and his comrades. Together with his wife, he carries along with him to the capital the certainty of a well-spent period of his life.

Moral and ethical relations, the struggle for the emancipation of the woman, the formation of the consciousness of the Albanian woman through struggle and work, are problems which have attracted the attention of many writers. In the field of novels treating mainly these themes, to the name of E.Kadare other names of female writers like Dh.Bozdo, N.Lako, E.Mandia, have been added. They make their contribution to the development of our novel and enrich it in the psychological and informative aspect.

The problems of work and its creative role, of the struggle against revisionism, of city life and others are dealt with in some novels like «Life and Love» by M.Qillari, «The Last Cab» by K.Blushi, etc.

In the treatment of the actual theme, along with successes, there are also shortcomings and weaknesses. Our socialist reality raises many more problems than those dealt with in our novels and, apart from this, some problems have not yet been delved into in all the depth of their political, social and moral aspects. Characters are at times schematic, colourless, the writers think and act for them, and the readers immediately understand what the writers drive at. This is the result of a shallow acquaintance with the reality and, in other cases, of a hasty interpretation of types of people and phenomena.

The problems of cognition and world outlook, the interpretation of the reality and the art of writing are frequently interconnected. In this aspect, shortcomings in dealing with contemporary themes, but also with other themes, are noticed.

First, amongst them is **descriptivism** which is noticed in some works (not only novels), lack of immediate generalizations, shallowness in the reflection of life. This weakness is due to the insufficient experience of some authors, their superficial philosophical culture and their inadequate knowledge of life or historical documents, shortcomings in the organization of the material from life into the appropriate literary form. This is also connected with insufficient research in the field of the art of the novel, with the continuation of a routine which prevents the writer from singling out and duly interpreting the

facts and reduces his product to a superficial narration.

Second, a schematic treatment is noticed in individual works on different themes, with the subject being developed according to frequently used schemes, resulting in unconvincing characters that remotely resemble real men and women. This shortcoming is at times connected with a narrow view of conflicts, with haggling after stereotyped conflicts which weaken the action of the novel and slacken the interest of the reader. The struggle against schematism is linked with a deeper knowledge of life and the enrichment of the writer's concepts, proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and a well-defined ideo-aesthetic angle.

These shortcomings and weaknesses can be overcome if the writers acquaint themselves more profoundly, in the first place, with the man of our time, with his broad political, social and moral interests, the active, resolute and enthusiastic man of our socialist society who lives in a turbulent and difficult international situation, but always clearly guided by the line of our Party. With all the efforts and achievements made, much remains to be done for the creation of a more credible hero in our novels, a hero of broader dimensions, with a rich and complex inner world, with a consistent dialectics and clear about his ideals. This hero has both his personal and social life, his work and his family, his comrades and friends. Of course, not everything goes smoothly in his everyday life: in his consciousness and activity he has successes and setbacks, he makes efforts towards progress. The range of events is much broader now. Life cannot be depicted in simplistic and petrified forms, therefore the novel has to focus on all the richness of present-day life.

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The National Liberation War has been well reflected in our novel in recent years, and the themes based on it have been enriched with others scarcely dealt with formerly; there are deeper analyses of the inner world of the man of that time. These themes have been treated mainly by authors

who have a personal experience of that time, who have lived through its events. The motifs prevailing in the novels based on the motifs of the National Liberation War are those connected with the popular character of the struggle led by the Party, the role of the national liberation councils, the newly emerging state power and its authority with the people, the moral formation of man in the process of the struggle, his general emancipation at a time when the revolution was solving political problems, and sowing, at the same time, the seed of social transformations. They are linked up with the educational work for the solution of some contradictions among friends, with the struggle of opposite motivations going on in people's consciousness, as well as the moral strength and beauty of the Albanian at the moments when the supreme sacrifice is required.

We find aspects from the epic and heroism of the war in the works of our prose writers — «The Singer of Folk Songs» by Shevqet Musaraj and «The Councillors» by F.Gjata. In his book, Shevqet Musaraj is concerned about the problem of the formation of the consciousness of his hero — Sino Boraku, a man of the people, he describes the hardships and vicissitudes of the partisan war, the relation of the partisan fighters with the common people, the patriotism of the masses and the role of the leaders in the war, as well as other aspects of life. His characters, rendered through the recreation of personal reminiscences and impressions of the writer, are very convincing, moving and not easily forgotten. Previously, too, our prose has dealt with these aspects of partisan life, with the popular character of the National Liberation War, but this novel gives a new dimension of it, makes an attempt to portray characters through the description of real events, a series of typical portraits expressing the collective physiognomy of the people.

In «The Councillors» which was first published as a story and later expanded into a novel, F.Gjata treats the National Liberation War on a new plane and in a style full of pathos and lyricism. This novel, just as other outstanding works of prose and poetry, as well as of the figurative arts, enrich our literature and art by reconstructing

the atmosphere of the time of the emergence from among the masses of the new state power, a profoundly democratic state form, and its constant strengthening. The subject of the novel and the development of events bring something new to our literature: captured by the enemy, the members of a people's council keep a cool head despite all threats. As their death sentence is to be executed, they sentence some of the traitors to death and charge a young man, whom they cover with their own bodies when they are gunned down, to execute the order. This subject has enabled the author to make a broad description of the reality of the war and give moving aspects from the heroic struggle of the peasantry led by the communists.

Battle scenes from the war against the enemy and inner contradictions are given in S.Godo's «The Fire Test» and L.Qafëzezi's «The Stars and the Helmet». The former is a realistically written novel on the life and fight of partisan battalions, the strength of character, the courage and cool-headedness of the men and women from the people in this war. The hero of the novel goes through many tests and a spiritual struggle which at times comes also from an exaggerated sense of self-respect, through delicate feelings of love, which the author gives sparingly, recreating the colouring of the time. The end of the enemy, their degeneration, is given in convincing details and constitutes one of the more important elements of the work.

For its part, the novel «The Stars and the Helmet» deals, on the one line, with some hitherto untreated aspects of inner contradictions between two partisan leaders, comrades-in-arms, who have a different approach to tactical matters, while, on the other line, there is the fundamental conflict of the struggle against the enemy rendered through the description of many battles, heroic stands and portraits of men from the people closely linked with the partisans. The novel is realistically written, has a wealth of material from life and represents an attempt to delve deeper into individual aspects of the National Liberation War.

F.Arapi has written his novel «The Comrades» in a style different from the novels just mentioned, although with the same depth affecting and based

on the same reality of the National Liberation War. The author takes his inspiration from a poetical tradition of our people which has it that those who have fallen in the same battle should be laid in graves close to each other. This subject is developed, so to say, on a symbolical plane, in which the heroism and stoicism of the people stand out in all their majesty.

The different stands of the different classes and strata towards the war constitute the material reflected in our new novel right from its beginnings. Successively, this trend becomes broader and deeper, enveloping many milieus which had formerly escaped its attention. Thus S.Drini's novel «Between Two Times» is a reflection, in broad tableau and recurrent lines, of the participation of the men of the people, of the intellectuals who have emerged from its bosom, in the National Liberation War and their confrontation with the clergy who was making desperate attempts to hinder the people's struggle and poison the consciousness of the believers. The hypocrisy of clerical reaction is skilfully exposed in this novel which is built on precise and well-studied analyses and whose subject is based on many concrete facts and data recreated with great imaginative power and truthfulness by the writer.

The reflection of pre-war and war events on a political, social and patriotic plane, combined with class relations and clashes of opposing world outlooks, as in the novel «Between Two Times», becomes very forceful in «The Salt Flower», the last work of J.Xoxa. This writer, who with his talent, experience of life and tireless work gave much to our literature, created in this work, too, unforgettable types of people, describing the enrichment of the mine-owners and land-owners, on the one hand, and the exploitation of the mine workers and the impoverishment of the peasants, on the other. In this work he has created such positive types as Petrit or Broken Thread and given broad tableaus of the life, the ideological struggle and activity of the masses on the eve of the founding of the Party and after it. The novel is rich in descriptions of milieus and various aspects of life in that time.

V.Koreshi, especially in his novel «The Mountain over the Marsh», which

focuses on social relations, the suffering and revolt of the peasantry and the patriotic spirit of the people in a village of the Myzeqe plain, has also dealt with the period immediately before the war.

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Our writers have turned their attention to the history of our people for two main reasons: to make better known, in the language of art, the past of our people, their heroism, their struggle against the invaders and traitors, and their everyday life as they see it from facts and imagination, and to explain contemporary events, by tracing back the origin, and showing the continuity of the nation, the ancient roots of the heroism and the uninterruptedness of the battles of the people. When speaking of the progress of contemporary novel on themes of today, we cannot pass in silence the novel on historical themes — on the patriotism of the people, their unity and class battles in the past. The task of the writer in this field resembles, to some extent, that of the historian: he has to collect the facts and make a careful artistic interpretation of them. According to individual styles and preferences, history may be more or less prominent, and imagination may occupy more or less place, but the merger of these two elements is indispensable for a work in this field to be a success. It is also known that the writer of a historical novel does not, as a rule, engage in the investigation of unrecorded events, but takes up the great events of the history of the nation which have left their imprint in the consciousness of the people and colours them with his emotions and skapes them in line with his ideological stand.

That is how our writers have proceeded in dealing with historical themes — from the «Castle» by I.Kadare and «Skanderbeg» of S.Godo to the novels that have been produced later.

The events of the Albanian League of Prizren are reflected in several novels or works of other genres which have been prompted by the centenary of this League. The novels «Mic Sokoli» by S. Krasniqi and «The Wrath» by F.Cakaj recreate that heroic time

which is part of the militant tradition of our people. The novel of S.Krasniqi built as a broad epic treats a subject in which the people are the protagonists. The figure of such outstanding fighters as Mic Sokoli, or the leaders of the popular movement as Abdyl Frashëri and others, are interwoven with many characters from the people, with their roots going deep into the people's national soil. The flow of historical events, the life of people, mass scenes, battles such as that of Kaçanik, etc represent the lines of a rich, though at times lengthy and overloaded, subject. «The Wrath» has also aroused interest with the clarity of its descriptions, some moving scenes and well-portrayed historical and imaginary characters. These, and some other novels like them, are correctly set against the historical background and based on the historical truth of the struggle against the Turkish occupiers and the manoeuvres and schemes of the neighbouring chauvinists.

An important place among historical novels is occupied by S.Spasse's trilogy devoted to the men of our National Renaissance, which describes major historical events in various regions of our country in that period. The epic character of this work stems from the central idea that it is the peoples who shape the major historical events. The author has done a great amount of work in collecting and selecting facts, as well as in giving them an artistic form and interweaving the historical line with the social line, historical types with characters that represent different strata of the people. A merit of this work, whose third part under the title «Death or Freedom» deals with the uprising of the Northern Mountains in 1911, consists in its patriotic pathos, its historical truthfulness, and the creative artistic approach towards historical facts. In the novel «Death or Freedom», the author narrates the revolt and struggle of our people against the Turkish occupier, their revolt, and portrays such historical figures as Ded Gjo Luli and many others, among whom there are also women — Tringa, Dava and Nora. The author exposes the hostility and schemes of Montenegro who uses religious differences to sow divisions among the peasants, and shows the determination and intelligence of the northern highlanders and their leaders.

Skënder Drini devotes his novel «Kill the Treason!» to this period, focussing mainly on the events in Shkodra. He describes the struggle of our people against the representatives of the Ottoman Empire in Albania, against their cunning and use of brutal force, as well as against the chauvinist stand of the neighbouring states. Writing, this time, in a more contained and rational style, the author achieves his aim of recreating events and characters, such as Braho Shkreli, and of stigmatizing treason personified by Esad Toptani in particular. His novel is a general indictment of treason at all times and a description of the people's disgust and hatred of it.

Our children's writers have dealt with historical themes. Among them worth mentioning is G.Bushaka's «The Black Gown» which arouses heroic feelings and develops the imagination of children.

The novels «Neither for Me nor for You» by M.Kallamata, «The Castle on the Barbana» by J.Dini, «Shots in Paris» and others occupy a particular place among literary-historical works. Apart from purely historical novels, novels on social themes from the past have been produced and achieved success. T. Laço's novel «The Meadow of Tears» focusses on the ulcer of emigration, the social relations and the hardships of life in pre-War Albania. Its success is mainly due to the portraying of types and characters from the plain folk to the representatives of the bourgeoisie of the time, their tools and some spineless intellectual.

The trilogy «The Village among the Waters» by K.Jakova and «Kiu Muza-ka with the Goad» by G.Kongoli have been added in this period to our satiric novels on themes from the past like «Under the Shade of Scarecrows» by M.Kallamata, or «The Career of Mr Maksut» by Q.Buxheli. Our satiric novel is still developing, though it must be said that it has attained some results in the creation of positive characters through the artistic language of humour, as well as through better assimilation of people's humour.

As emerges from this brief survey, the novel of the national liberation struggle and history in general has made important achievements. Still there are periods of our history that have been insufficiently reflected or have not

been reflected at all by our novel writers. So along with contemporary themes, the reflection of which should make a perceptible qualitative advance, the themes from the national liberation struggle and the history of our people will continue to occupy an honoured place in our novels.

When we speak of our novel and especially of its treatment of the national historical theme we think of works written both in the PSR of Albania and in Kosova, as well as by Albanian writers in Macedonia and Montenegro. The general problems of the contemporary Albanian novel were discussed at a conference held in November 1980 in Tirana, with the participation of novelists and critics from Kosova. As was said at that conference, the novels written in Kosova take up, in the first place; national historical problems — love for the Homeland, the ulcer of emigration and the social and class struggle for freedom, land and justice. The novels on themes from the life in post-War Kosova deal with problems of the emancipation of the woman and society as a whole, the fight against blood feuds, the right of development of the national culture and language against the regressive elements and forces that persecute the men of culture and the common people. The Albanian writers in Kosova have written works of a progressive and democratic content dedicated to the love for the Homeland and the friendship among peoples.

After the tragic events in Kosova, the apologists of Yugoslav revisionism in the field of culture, the anti-Albanian Great-Serbs and their tools are talking a great deal about a kind of «historical romanticism» which allegedly exists in the field of culture, education and art, trying to divert the attention of the writers of Kosova from the Albanian history and even to prevent them from dealing with themes from our national history, which is an attempt on their part to wipe out Albanian culture and tradition.

The treatment of historical themes by Albanian writers both in Albania and in Kosova is always done from the positions of historical realism and incontrovertible truth. The history of our people and the history of many other peoples in the world shows that all the attempts of reaction to deny

a nation its tradition, its culture and its history, have ended in failure.

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Something has recently been said, though not enough, about the problems of form of the novel, its structure and other elements of this constantly dynamic genre. Some problems, especially of structure, of our novel have been taken up at various symposia and discussions.

It has been observed that, as to its structure, our novel is of the extensive type, with its composition following a direct flow of time, and of the intensive type — with time alternations, with parallel development of time or with regressions which are intended to complete the physiognomy of characters and to link up the different periods of time.

According to the material from life and the aims of each writer, in novels on contemporary themes composition has generally been extensive with a poliphonic structure or, in other cases, taking history in its chronological course, but more concentrated forms, in which action develops among few characters which are more deeply analysed, have also been attempted with success.

From the structural standpoint, the novel of characters has been more cultivated than the purely narrative novel in which the fable, the event, occupies the main place. Such a division is, to a certain extent, conventional because events are interwoven with characters, still a distinction can be made.

As regards the treatment of time there are cases in which the author deals with a limited section of time — one night or a few days. This requires

a deeper analysis of characters and the use of retrospective, but all should be done with a sense of measure, without affecting the intensive development of the subject.

We have novels in many volumes like S.Spasse's trilogy or the last novel of J.Xoxa, as well as more concise works in which time and events are more condensed, such as «A Chronicle on Stone», «The Man with the Gun», «Again on Foot» and others. A new kind of novel is also developing, in which events are condensed in time, but life is taken in a more comprehensive manner, in broader class relationships, like, for example «The Bread of a Snowy Season».

Our novel is making up for some of its former shortcomings by giving broad tableaux of a cognitive value, of course, within the limits of art. This trend and the broader reflections on and deeper insight of the writer into events and people are adding to the diversity of styles and contributing to a better knowledge of the reality.

Another aspect of the skill of the writer is the degree of his presence in his work. The author should be omnipresent, but invisible in his work, says Flaubert. Naturally here, too, there are different styles and variants, a manner in which action is let to speak for itself and another in which the interpretation becomes more apparent through the judgments, personal interventions and meditations of the author who may break in between chapters and carry on the development of action. Elimination of descriptivism and schematism would call for more frequent intervention of the author, not through outright moralizing, but through action of the different characters and in lyrical or more direct poetical forms. Our novel needs greater variety of forms here, too.

Novels are varied and different in forms, but the main place in them is occupied by man, by life with its drama and poetry of everyday. There is no literature outside them. Hence, a more penetrating analysis of characters, a more comprehensive reflection of man and life in all its multiplicity is another problem our novel has to cope with, and this calls for a further broadening of the knowledge and culture of our writers.

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Our novel of socialist realism has made great progress and is more and more arousing the interest of the readers. Some of our novels have been screened or staged, which shows that our novel is in a position to help other genres of art.

The present situation and the problems facing our novel call on the writers to form a better knowledge of our socialist reality, the working man, to work more persistently and be more demanding on themselves, being always aware of the great educational and aesthetic role literary works, and especially a genre like the novel, play.

Our writers and artists will further enhance their militancy, will raise the ideo-artistic level of their works as demanded by our present society, reader and spectator. The Albanian novel of socialist realism, as one of the more important literary genres, has produced works of national value and has won recognition outside the borders of the Homeland. With its realism, with its ever deeper analysis of life and character, with the variety of forms and growing quality, our novel will acquire ever new values for the education and aesthetic pleasure of its many readers.

# COMMUNIQUE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA ON THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EARTHQUAKE OF NOVEMBER 17, 1982

On the eve of the New Year 1982, the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania informs the entire people that the consequences of the earthquake of November 17, 1982 which hit the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Berat, Vlora and some other zones have been completely liquidated within the time limit. This is an important success in the series of continuous achievements and victories of our working masses, under the leadership of the Party, for the honourable fulfilment of all the tasks set.

On instructions by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Council of Ministers, the organs of the Party and the people's state power in the districts took instant measures in order to assist the earthquake victims hit in the winter conditions, organized and directed the work in such a manner that the New Year should find the population accommodated in their new houses.

In order to liquidate the consequences of this earthquake rapidly, at the call of the Party, like brothers and sisters of the one ideal, together with the population hit by the earthquake, thousands of workers and cooperativists, young men and women from all over Albania, rose to their feet. The banner of socialist solidarity, «All for one and one for all», the high mobilization and readiness, the revolutionary enthusiasm of our people were strongly manifested also in this great political, ideological and economic action. Side by side with the working people of the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Berat and Vlora, 25,000 specialists, brick-layers, carpenters, drivers and mechanizers, technicians and engineers from all over the country, made their tireless contribution. Most outstanding in this action were the working people from the districts of Tirana, Dibra, Korça, Shkodra, Gjirokastra, Kukës, Gramsh, Pogradec, Saranda and Durrës.

In 40 days of selfless and persistent work, with high determination and consciousness, the population of the zones damaged by the earthquake and the volunteers carried out their tasks. They repaired 16 000 dwelling houses, 600 socio-economic buildings and built 371 new houses, at a total cost of 42 million leks. All expenditure was met by the state.

The liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake of November 17 within such a short period is another expression of the vitality and unity of our people, of their fighting unity around the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance, of the strength of our economy, of the vitality of our socialist order. This new triumph over the blind elements of nature is a clear expression of the great solicitude of the Party and our entire society for man, shows what a genuinely socialist country can do when it is led by a Party which is always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the loftiest interests of the people.

The successful conclusion of the action for the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake is the doing of the entire people led by the Party. Let us develop further the experience of this new action in order to carry our work forward at more rapid rates and in all fields of socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

Let the year 1983, the decisive year of the 7th Five-year Plan, be a period of ceaseless revolutionary drive for new achievements in the fulfilment of the plan, for the attainment of the objectives set by the 8th Congress of the Party, for boldly overcoming the difficulties of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, relying powerfully and entirely on our own forces, to make our socialist Homeland ever more impregnable, and the life of the people ever happier.

# ***press review***

## **WHY DEMOCRATIC SWITZERLAND WORRIES BELGRADE?**

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

By the end of last year a considerable number of Albanians from Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, whom destitution and national oppression have compelled to take the road of emigration, organized in Geneva of Switzerland a manifestation in support of the demands of their brothers and sisters in their native country. They demanded for Kosova the status of a Republic within the framework of the Federation, the end of the discrimination of the Albanians of Yugoslavia in the field of education and national culture, the release of prisoners and the cessation of chauvinist violence.

The manifestation, according to reports from news agencies, was peaceful and correct and carried out in full respect of the laws and rules of the country. Swiss public opinion, which knows the Albanians as honest hardworking people who never create problems, not only did not complain about it but even openly expressed its sympathy with this manifestation of the representatives of a people who demanded the national and democratic rights negated to them. Moreover, the manifestation in Geneva was given a positive coverage in many press organs of different countries.

Nevertheless, Belgrade began to thunder against Switzerland. The Foreign Ministry, the Socialist League, radio stations and newspapers, associations of veterans, etc., take turns at accusing the Swiss authorities that, by permitting this manifestation in their own country, they, neither more nor less, help destabilize Yugoslavia!

The Yugoslav chiefs are notorious for political blackmail of this, or even lower, degree. They have gained a great skill in presenting themselves as threatened and endangered, as the centre of world equilibrium. On this basis they try to get dollars and rubles, ammunition and food, diplomatic privileges and economic facilities. Nevertheless, it is hard to explain all their bile against neutral and democratic Switzerland, as previously, against Belgium and the FR of Germany when manifestations of the poor Albanian emigrants, who demanded recognition of their rights, were organized there.

However, it is hardly probable that, by means of tricks such as is the present anti-Swiss campaign, they can make any capital, and less so political capital. It is known world-wide that Switzerland is a free and democratic coun-

try which has given asylum and jobs to those persecuted by fascism or other reactionary regimes, a state which has never meddled in international quarrels and which has not favoured one country to the detriment of another. Because of this, the UNO has established many of its organisms on Swiss territory, and they carry out their activities freely and without any impediment there.

As it seems, all this is not to the liking of the Yugoslav gentlemen. For example, they are displeased that the Kosovar demonstrators, as the news agencies reported, presented a petition with their demands to the Centre of the UNO for human rights. Now these gentlemen want not only to teach Switzerland what to permit and what to prohibit on its own territory, but also to show the UNO what its rights are. But Geneva is not Prishtina where the Great Serbs can send in their tanks to crush demonstrations, and the functionaries of the UNO are not the rulers of Belgrade who turn a deaf ear to the demands of the Kosovars.

World public opinion is getting more and more thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Kosova and more and more supporting the Al-

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banians in their demands. This explains the unjustified Yugoslavs' tirade against the Swiss authorities and their torrent of shameless abuse directed against the Kosovar emigrants. The Yugoslav authorities can expect nothing from their claim that the Final Act of Helsinki cannot be applied to the Albanian demonstrators in Switzerland. So, the Yugoslavs understand and interpret the Chart of Helsinki to their liking. They do not

desist from telling others that human rights are infringed when, for instance, shop's signs in Korushka of Austria are not written also in the Slovene, but when thousands of Albanians are thrown into prison, tortured and murdered, only because they demand their national rights in a peaceful manner and without violating the law, this, according to them, is not infringement of human rights!

Just as the voice of Kosova and of the Albanian population of Yugoslavia cannot be silenced by means of tanks, imprisonment, threats and insults, so world opinion cannot be forced into silence when, right in the heart of Europe, an entire people is oppressed and persecuted, because Belgrade dislikes to see its chauvinist and anti-Albanian policy exposed and condemned more and more every day.

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## «COMPENSATED» SOVEREIGNTY

### «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In order to justify to some extent their curtailment and violation of the national sovereignty of the East-European countries, the Soviet social-imperialists are fabricating many absurd «theories». Following the «limited sovereignty» another kind of sovereignty has recently emerged and is being greatly publicized in the political and scientific press of the Soviet revisionists. Going by its content we may describe it without fear of mistake «compensated sovereignty».

According to the theoreticians of Soviet social-imperialism «socialist economic integration leads to the crea-

tion of a single socio-economic organism» for the countries of the «socialist community» or to the «interconnection of the economic and political structures of the integrated countries». Always according to them, this developing process «is connected with a change in content and form of the exercise of sovereign rights» by these countries. Thus, national independence, national and state sovereignty, exercise of national rights, national laws etc. now must be seen in a light different from that in which they were considered in the centuries' long life of various peoples and states, in the long practice of internatio-

nal relations and international law. All these, at least regarding the countries which are part of their empire, the Soviet revisionists proclaim outdated, not only in form but also in content.

The Soviet social-imperialists want to prove that life, the creation of international societies and organisms, and social progress in general oblige every Comecon member country to exercise its sovereignty «in a new form: in that of taking decisions jointly with the governments of the other countries». In other words this means that the East-European countries are not recognized even formally the right to de-

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cide for themselves, according to their national and state interests, that the peoples of these countries are not considered, be it only formally, masters of their land, their wealth and the fruits of their work.

Let us take an example as reported in the Soviet revisionist magazine «New Times» to see what is the «new» content of the sovereignty of the Comecon member countries and to have an idea of how things stand with the national and state sovereignty of these countries. «Let us suppose,» writes the above-mentioned magazine, «that the government of one country deposits 100 million rubles in the Investment Bank. In this

case,» always according to the above magazine, «not only this country, but all the member countries of the Comecon will have a say on the utilization of this part of its national funds.» This means that colossal national assets can be used against or independently of your will and according to the desires and interests of others. According to the same magazine «just as one country has lost the faculty of deciding for itself about the utilization of the funds it has deposited (in the Investment Bank of the Comecon) and given, say, to the 7 other countries the right of having a say about it, so is entitled to decide about the utilization of the funds deposited by the

7 other countries.» According to this way of reasoning, the lost sovereignty of one country is compensated with little pieces of the sovereignty the other countries have lost!

It is not difficult to see that the «compensated» sovereignty has been invented in order to create confusion and justify the notorious doctrine of «limited sovereignty». In essence, this is only a variant of it. So the sovereignty of the countries of the «socialist community» is put at the mercy of the voting mechanism, of the base bargainings according to the narrow egoistical national-chauvinist interests of the almighty sovereigns of the Kremlin.

## THE MISFORTUNE OF EUROPE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

From the Balkans to the northern expanses Europe has been turned into a zone of constant new conflicts and dangerous tensions due to the interference of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This is a bitter reality which the Americans and the Soviets try to cover up and which the West-European bourgeoisie and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe pretend not to see.

The heavy political, economic and military chains the two superpowers have put on Europe speak of the existence of a great national problem both in the East and in the West.

This great national problem the European political chancelleries try to conceal by spreading the illusion that, if warmer winds begin to blow in Soviet-American relations, ampler space will be created

for the independent activity of the European states. This is being heard especially at present, when Washington and Moscow, along with demonstrations of strength, are making new gestures of détente towards each other. There are many people in Europe who support the American-Soviet thesis that the lowering of tension in the relations of the United States with the Soviet

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Union and collaboration with them create better conditions for peace and international security. The irony of the European position is that Europe itself has fallen a prey to these illusions. The American Department of State has re-emphasized the Sonnefeld Doctrine, according to which America recognizes Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. This thesis was recently re-affirmed by the newspaper «New York Times» which wrote that «Eastern Europe is a zone which enters into the Soviet sphere of influence». In exchange, the Kremlin and the political observers of the Soviet Union recognize the «legitimacy» of American interests and influence in Western Europe.

It is clear that the recognition of the right of one superpower to exercise its influence in its sphere is based on the recognition of the same right of the other superpower. Both the United States and the Soviet Union consider their rule over their allies a historical right of theirs. «I want to re-affirm to our allies,» declared Reagan, «that we accept the responsibility for the role of international leadership America has assumed from the historical evolution of events following the Second World War.» The claim expressed by the Soviet theoretical journal «The USA: the Economy, Politics, Ideology» has essentially the same character. It states: «The Soviet Union is the ideological and political centre of the world

revolutionary and liberation movement.» However, recognition of the right of influence, according to the division of spheres, does not in the least exclude the increased efforts of either superpower to expanding this sphere in Europe through the inclusion of other countries or to interfering in one way or the other in that part which is traditionally considered as belonging to its rival.

One of the regions in which the superpowers are more active in demanding ever new concessions to their further penetration is the Balkans. Here there is a growing threat due to the participation of the different Balkan countries in the military blocs of the superpowers and the intrigues of the superpowers trying to incite the Balkan countries and peoples against one another.

The fact that the superpowers go beyond the bounds of their spheres of influence on our continent (in general on the border of the countries participating in the blocs ruled by the superpowers) explains in part the grave situation in Europe and the great national problem that exists on this continent. We have said and still say that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and political blocs of the superpowers is the cause of its misfortune. The great danger of this participation is due not only to the all-round political, economic, military,

and cultural control of the superpowers over the member countries of their blocs, but also to the attempts of the Americans and Soviets to transform these countries into tools for their strategic and tactical, political and military activities which highly endanger the freedom and independence of all the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

The possibility created for NATO and the Warsaw Treaty to take actions outside the European geographic perimeter, which is being talked about at high level meetings of the two blocs, is very significant. Despite the fierce contradictions that break out between the superpowers and their allies, it is Washington and Moscow that make decisions, both in regard to the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the member countries of NATO.

The participation of the European countries in the military and political blocs of the superpowers has created a suitable climate for the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism to step up their hegemony-seeking and expansionist policies. It is a hard truth which brings out with even greater force the correctness of the thesis of the PLA that there can be no talk about the freedom and independence of the European countries, about security and peace on the European continent without the disappea-

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rance of these blocs and the elimination of the presence of the superpowers in Europe. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it in his address to the electors; «The development and prosperity of the European states, the

defence of their culture, traditions and civilization are achieved and strengthened by opposing the hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by giving neither of them any possibility to exploit their po-

litical, economic and other links with the European countries in order to attack other countries, to put in danger the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security».

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## THE CARD OF THE SANCTIONS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

After returning from the Soviet embassy in Washington where he had gone to present his condolences on the occasion of Brezhnev's death, the «inflexible» Reagan sat at his presidential desk and ordered the lifting of sanctions against the trans-Siberian gas-line. At the same time he dispatched to Moscow an «army» of 200 businessmen to take part in a conference organized there on the development of Soviet-American economic relations. When his administration imposed these sanctions unilaterally and without consulting its Western partners, it intended to kill two birds with one stone: on the one hand, to break the «stubbornness» of its partners, who without Washington's approval had decided to develop their economic relations with the East and, on the other, to put its main rival, Moscow, in a difficult position in the im-

plementation of the «accord on the construction of the gas-line.»

However, the «electronic brain» of the American policy had not made its reckonings well and things turned the other way round. The allies of the Washington not only did not submit to the American dictate, but, on the contrary resolutely demanded that the White House give up its policy of interference in their internal affairs. They accused it of violation of international norms and impermissible stands. France decided to implement all the obligations of the agreement; a little later the other countries followed suit. The Soviet Union did not like the sanctions, but it was very pleased with the split that occurred in the Atlantic alliance and pledged to implement the agreement regardless of any «sacrifice». However, there was a thing unclear in the game of sanc-

tions. The United States that raised the fist against its partners, increased its trade with the Soviet Union 40 per cent and imposed no embargo at all on the export of its grain to the deficitary Soviet market. This made the Atlantic partners even more determined to oppose the American dictate. Faced with this situation Reagan looked for another tactic: he let go the stick and stuck to the carrot.

Reagan tried to patch up the crisis that broke out between the United States and its partners, presenting it as «a kind of family quarrel; the family may quarrel but it remains united.» Then he turned to a more wily tactic, preaching that it was in the interest of the «united family» to work out a common strategy, not only over the sanctions, but also over the East-West relations in general. Of course, all this had to be done under American con-

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control and according to the American taste. The Western partners categorically refused to enter into such agreements with Washington because they infringed their sovereignty, and blamed all responsibility for the imposition of sanctions on it. Moreover, even when Reagan lifted these sanctions and the White House alluded that this had to be done after it had reached agreement with its Atlantic partners, the latter publicly denounced the rumours spread by the Americans. A spokesman for the Ministry for Relations with Foreign Countries of France declared: «France, which has also stressed its stand in regard to the East-West trade, has entered into no agreement with the United States about lifting the American embargo». The same statement was made by the head of British diplomacy who added that «the imposition of sanctions was a unilateral American decision. Their lifting was also a unilateral decision.» In order to dispel the clouds of these fierce quarrels in the bosom of the «united family», Washington dispatched to Europe the head of the American diplomacy, Shultz, with the declared mission of «cooling tempers» while in reality his task was to keep the «East-West relations» under control of the White House.

Reagan lifted the sanctions on the trans-Siberian gas-line, but for it he chose the moment of the change in the Soviet leadership. In lifting these sanctions the Reagan admini-

nistration is again playing a double game. Now it is ready to do what it formerly blamed its partners for, giving them to understand that it was making a compromise. Here are some significant facts: it is not by chance that the fierce notes in Reagan's message to the Soviet Union are somewhat toned down, indeed there is something more about it. Nor is George Bush's trip to Moscow and his half hour meeting with Yuri Andropov in the Kremlin accidental. At the same time 200 American businessmen went to the Soviet Union and were warmly received by the Soviet prime-minister Tikhonov. «All this,» declared George Bush after his return from Moscow, «shows that we are ready to engage in the game of the improvement of relations.» Significant are also the declarations of the American senator Robert Dole who took part in the great American-Soviet trade conference, as the commentators called it. According to him, «the American administration has made a fresh start with the leadership in the Kremlin and there are signs of a thaw in the relations between the two countries». Washington lifted its sanctions not so much to please its partners as to engage in a new game in which it will have the initiative and play the main role in the counter-revolutionary collaboration between the East and the West.

Without easing its pressure on its allies, the Reagan administration is also playing

another card, that of strengthening its expansionist positions on the Eastern market by intensifying its counter-revolutionary collaboration with Moscow. Speaking recently about the Soviet-American relations, Reagan pointed out, «We have seen that things are much better when we collaborate with each other instead of one carrying out an aggressive policy and the other trying to oppose him». New bridges are being built for the collaboration between Washington and Moscow. This is seen in the good understanding between the Soviet and American businessmen, as reported by the foreign news agencies, «over a great increase of bilateral trade».

The superpowers give signs of an «easing of tension» between them so as to have their hands free to raise tension to the detriment of their victims. «The Soviet Union,» declared Tikhonov, the Soviet prime-minister, «has always been and is for ever better and more friendly relations with the United States.» There is no doubt that, in the content of collaboration with the West, the Soviet Union gives priority to collaboration with American imperialism in order to attract its more advanced technology, of which it is in great need. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is following with great interest the splits among the Western partners in order to make the eventual profits in its rivalry with the other superpower — the United States.

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review****ZIONIST LOGIC**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Tell-Aviv informs that the Israeli Government has worked out a new plan for the Israelization of the occupied Arab lands on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. This plan is not confined to the creation of dwelling centres of the Kibutz type. Now the appetite of the Israeli expansionists has grown and they intend to found a number of big cities on the West Bank. Tell-Aviv reckons to quadruple the Jewish population in the occupied Arab lands until 1987.

The Israelization of the occupied Arab lands has begun with their occupation. Since then hundreds of colonies with hundreds of thousands of Jewish colonists have been set up, mainly members of fanatical Zionist groups such as «Gush Emunim», etc. Their intention is to have the whole of «Erets Israel» (the Biblical Israel), the boundaries of which are laid down in the «Holy Book» peopled with Jews. More than 60 per cent of the occupied lands is or will be soon con-

fiscated by the Israeli state for military purposes or for Jewish settlements. In the meantime, the Israeli authorities encourage of emigration of the Arab inhabitants of these territories by every possible means. Resorting to violence, they have succeeded in settling an average of 20 000 Jews each year in these lands. The military authorities have also created, apart from large occupation forces, more than 1 000 fascist para-military groups which are employed to keep «law and order».

The Zionist policy intends to people the occupied Arab lands with Jewish settlers in order to have the pretext to tell world opinion that «in these lands dwell many Jews whose desire is that the lands they inhabit should not remain outside Israeli sovereignty». This is a known practice of all occupiers.

With the logic of the aggressor and occupier, the Zionists think that they can do what they like in the Middle East, that they can expel by

force entire populations to other regions; that they can change governments and regimes in other countries that they can colonize lands which for centuries belong to their autochthonous inhabitants; that they can present the history of the peoples as it suits them, etc. etc. These Zionist ambitions remind the peoples of the crimes of the Hitlerites during the Second World War. Going by its aggressor logic, Israeli Zionism stops before nothing for the realization of its expansionist plans — neither before massacres, nor the most savage terror. These expansionist ambitions become even greater when the Israeli aggressors see that American imperialism and the whole world reaction approve of their crimes and give them all possible military, political and economic assistance.

These measures of the Zionist authorities are increasing the hatred of the Arab peoples and the other peoples of the world.

**KGB — THE BLACK SCOURGE OF THE KREMLIN**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Soviet KGB is the main secret centre of the Kremlin. It is charged with espionage and counter-espionage, and with the tasks of the se-

cret police and the «maintenance of law and order» in the Soviet Union. Despite the complete silence and the mystery that surrounds this es-

pionage centre, its name is being mentioned more and more frequently. It has become synonymous with savagery and perfidy, intrigues

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and plots, assassinations and massacres. Together with the American spying agencies, it belongs to the same school, to the school of the fiercest enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The Soviet espionage network is the vanguard of the Russian tanks and divisions in the streets of Prague and Kabul, of its mercenaries in Africa and elsewhere. In a speech Fedorchuk, the chief of this sinister organization, held recently, it was said that the KGB was «the eye and the sword of our policy. Its role transcends the bounds of the Soviet Union». There are many facts which speak about the feverish activity of the Soviet KGB and its despicable role in carrying out the aggressive policy of the Kremlin in the world. The Soviet embassies, consulates and commercial offices, cultural centres and information offices, says the foreign press, have been turned into nests of Soviet secret agents. According to various sources of information, about 75 per cent of the Soviet diplomats

in other countries are KGB and GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence) men. They collect information of a secret character, compromise vacillating people, concoct intrigues and overthrow governments, as happened in Afghanistan.

In order to be able to carry out its hateful mission, the KGB has a whole army of agents under its orders. According to the admissions of a former Soviet agent who has worked 30 years for the KGB, in 1980 its effective was upwards of 500 000 thousand men. In foreign espionage alone are engaged 250 000 active agents and their collaborators. According to incomplete data, the Kremlin expends over 7.5 billion rubles for the KGB. Expenditure on espionage is increasing at rapid rates, parallel with military expenditure. The KGB carries out a savage oppressing activity within the Soviet Union as well. It shadows, follows and eventually eliminates any opponent of the oppressive policy of the Kremlin within and outside the country. Li-

kewise, it pays great attention to compromising many foreign students and specialists that are «invited» to the Soviet Union under the pretext «of internationalist aid, for the development and advancement of other countries». The «Lumumba» University of Moscow, according to a recent article of the Latin-American magazine «Vision», is a worthy rival of the Stanford University in the United States. It has become a school of espionage with recruits from many foreign students. «There is everything for this purpose there, from pretty girls to blackmail and open threats».

Being what it is, the KGB cannot avoid being hated by all the peoples of the world. The peoples have sharpened their vigilance against the feverish activity of the secret spying agencies of the two imperialist superpowers. Only during the recent 25 years thousands of KGB and CIA agents and their collaborators have been caught red-handed and meted out the deserved punishment in more than 70 countries of the world.

*National costume*



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