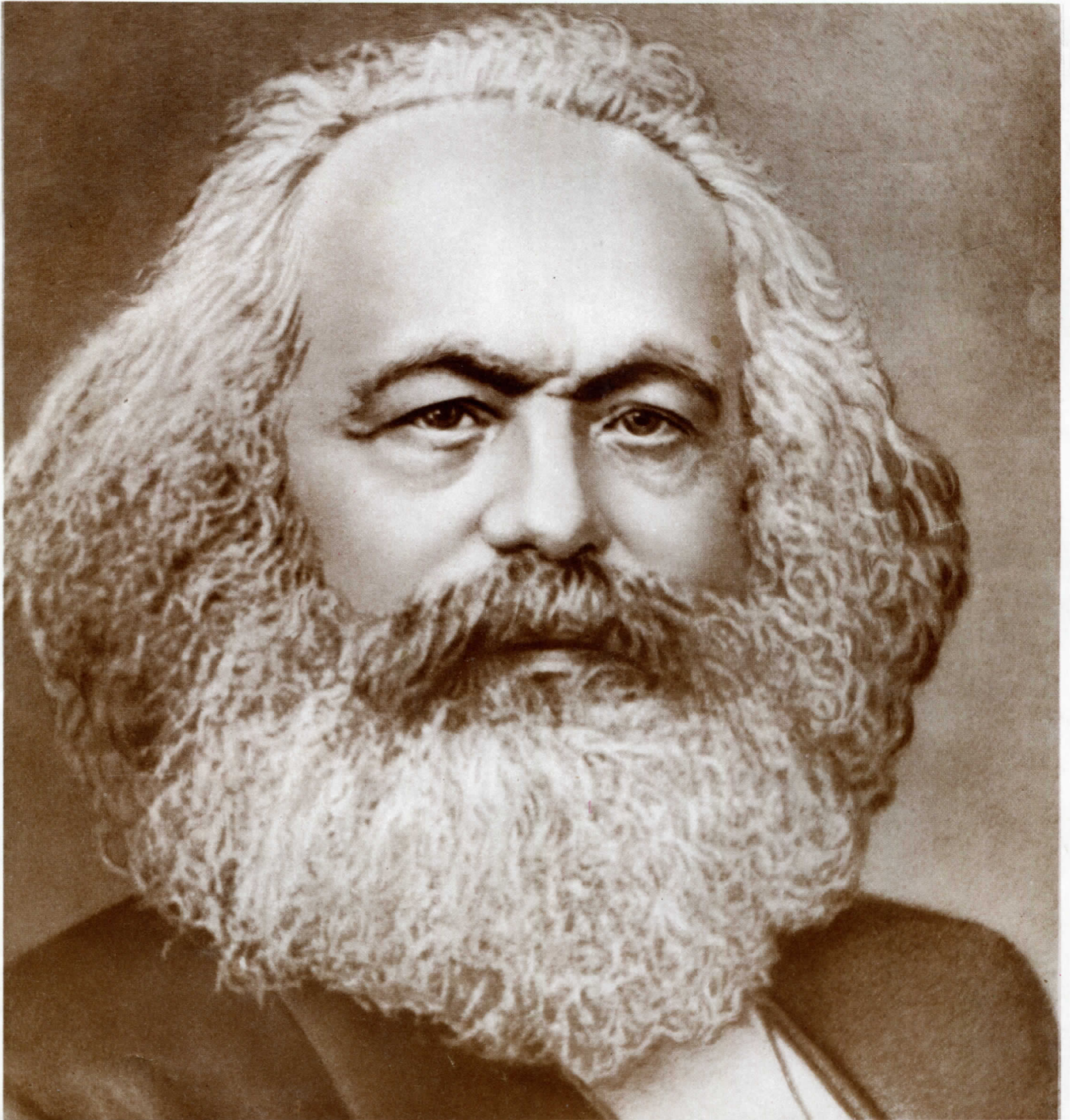


# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 2 (69) / 1983



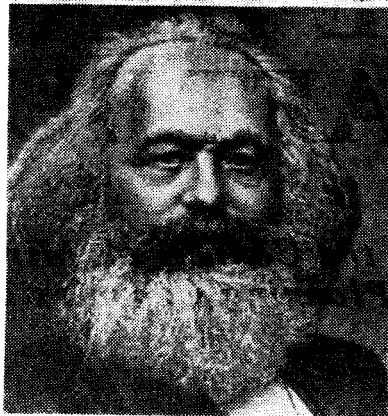


◀ **KARL MARX 1818-1883**

*At the pig iron plant of the «STEEL OF THE PARTY» metallurgical complex in Elbasan.*



# Albania today



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# REPORT «ON THE FULFILMENT OF THE STATE PLAN AND AND THE DRAFT PLAN AND DRAFT BUDGET FOR

*Presented on behalf of the Council of Ministers by Comrade HARILLA Chairman of the State Planning Commission, at the 2<sup>nd</sup> session of the 10*

Comrade Deputies,

The working masses of town and countryside everywhere in our country, under the leadership of the Party, came to the new year 1983 with greater mobilization for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

The last year was characterized by a series of new achievements in the dynamic development of the country, the advance of the economy and culture, and the steeling of the defence potential of the Homeland. In struggle with the internal and external enemies, we coped successfully with the

pressures of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the deep crisis of the capitalist world, further strengthened the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. A victory of extremely great importance for the Party and our people was the uncovering and smashing of the hostile activity of the arch-agent Mehmet Shehu and his band. The successes achieved have their source in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in the all-round mo-

bilization of the broad working masses, in the indisputable superiority of our socialist socio-economic order.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers allow me to present to this session of the People's Assembly the main achievements in the fulfilment of the state plan and budget for the past year, the tasks of the state draft-plan and draft-budget for the year 1983 and some directions in which the Council of Ministers and the state and economic organs will concentrate themselves especially.

## THE FULFILMENT OF THE STATE PLAN AND BUDGET FOR 1982

During the past year the productive forces in industry, agriculture, and in other branches and sectors of the economy made further progress. As against 1981 total social product increased 4.4 per cent and the national income 4.5 per cent. Industry was fur-

ther strengthened and total industrial production grew 4.7 per cent. The second blast furnace, the second coke battery, and the continuous steel pouring line at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the chromium-enrichment plant at Kalimash and

the copper-enrichment plant at Fushë-Arrëz, and two copper mines, were brought into production; while several mines producing coal, chromium and other minerals, the nails-and-bolt plant in Kavaja, the radio-TV plant in Durrës, the abrasive materials plant



# MENT BUDGET FOR 1982

## 1983»

*PAJORGJI,  
legislature of the People's Assembly*

in Tirana, and several production lines of the light and food industry were extended. Work continued on the reconstruction of the wire-drawing plant at Shkodra, the textile combines and on many enterprises of the engineering, chemical, and building materials industries and in other branches.

Production of the main branches of the heavy extracting and processing industries increased at rapid rates. Gas extraction increased 17 per cent, coal - 9 per cent, the production of iron concentrate - 19 per cent, of phosphorite ore - 61 per cent, carbonic ferrochrome - 40 per cent, blister copper - 12 per cent, etc. The engineering industry increased its production of machinery and equipment 17 per cent and that of spare parts 10 per cent.

The uninterrupted fulfilment of the requirements of the economy and the population with electric power even in the grave conditions that were greater in the hydro-power plants due to the lack of rainfall, was a great victory that proved the correctness of the line and the economic policy of the Party for the development of the energy industry with priority.

The development of the light and food-processing industry proceeded at more rapid rates, too. Many of its articles, such as confections, footwear, plastic articles, edible fast, glassware, etc increased from 5 to 20 per cent.

The increase in agricultural production marked an increase of about 5 per cent against 1981. The average yield of wheat, 27 quintals per hectare over the whole area planted in the country, was the highest ever achieved, and the production of bread grain increased about 9 per cent. We took in 17 thousand tons of vegetables, 35 thousand tons of milk, 6 thousand tons of sugar-beet, 28 million eggs, more than in 1981. The tasks were fulfilled and overfulfilled in the production of fruit, citruses and grapes.

A distinctive feature of the work in agriculture in the last year is the achievement of high yields for large tracts of land. In 60 thousand hectares planted with wheat in the plain's zone of the country, they took in an average yield of 40 quintals per hectare, and in 30 thousand hectares of the hilly-mountainous zone - 28 quintals per hectare. Over the entire area sown to maize the yield was 5 quintals per hectare higher than in 1981. Outstanding for high results were, especially, the districts of Saranda, Kruja, Lezha, Shkodra, Fusha e Korçës and the district of Tirana.

A total volume of 4 billion 470 million leks were invested in the development of the economy and culture, a sum which was fully covered by our material, financial and monetary resources. Along with industrial projects,

9 livestock-raising complexes, and a number of irrigation projects which increased the irrigable acreage with another 5 thousand hectares, were built. Important investments were made in land improvement schemes, etc. Likewise, the Lezha-Shkodra railway line and some sidings were commissioned, and the transport of goods increased 10 per cent. Important funds were used for the construction of socio-cultural objects in town and countryside.

The dynamic development of production, the reduction in costs and the increase of the profitability of the economy further strengthened the financial situation of the country. Total financial income increased about 9 per cent. The state budget met all the needs for financing the development of the economy, the measures of a socio-cultural character and strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

The well-being of the people was maintained and raised higher on the basis of the development of production and the socio-cultural sectors. Over the whole country more than 50 thousand young workers were given occupation in useful social work. Great successes of the policy of the Party were the new reduction of prices with an annual gain of 75 million leks to the people, and the elimination of the damage caused by the earthquake of 17

November 1982 in a very short time, with the state meeting all the expenditure of about 42 million leks. Of great importance for increasing the incomes of the cooperativist peasantry were the measures taken for the financing by the state of a series of productive investments in the hilly-mountainous cooperatives, totalling over 50 million leks. As a result of the development of production and other measures, the purchasing power

of the population increased, and the turnover of retail goods increased nearly 7 per cent. The market was better supplied, and the consumption per capita of the main food and industrial products was further increased. In this manner, the purchasing power of the lek was increased and the targets in the field of monetary circulation were fulfilled.

Education culture, the arts and science made further progress. All the

schools of the country were attended by more than 707 thousand people, and a number of measures were taken for the qualitative improvement of the work of the school. The health service was improved, too. Communal services for the people were extended in town and countryside. During the past year about 9 thousand flats were built by the state and about 45 thousand people were accommodated in new homes.

## II

# THE MAIN TASKS OF THE STATE DRAFT-PLAN AND DRAFT-BUDGET OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE

Comrade Deputies,

On the basis of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan, the tasks set by the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and on the basis of the achievements made until today, the Council of Ministers puts forward for examination and endorsement the state draft-plan and draft-budget of the development of the economy and culture for 1983.

The characteristics of this plan are the same as those of the 7th Five-year Plan. The economy will develop at higher rates than those realized in the past two years. The total social product and the national income will increase 8.1 and 8.3 per cent respectively. Industrial and agricultural production, taken together, is envisaged to increase about 9 per cent, investments will increase about 15 per cent and the export of goods over 16 per cent. There will be further increases in the productivity of labour and the financial income of the state,

The plan of 1983 has its specific characteristics and objectives for the different branches and sectors.

Along with the increase of industrial production, its structure will be improved through the construction, reconstruction and extension of some important projects, using about 49 per cent of the state investments for this purpose.

The energy industry, and especially the oil industry, as the main link in it, will continue to have priority. On the basis of the tasks the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party set and the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Energy, the executive committees of the people's councils of the respective districts and all the enterprises and institutions of the system of oil exploitation will work to establish a stronger discipline of work and technical-scientific discipline everywhere. The main attention will be focused on the discovery of new oil - and gas-bearing fields, on the more scientific

study and exploitation of the existing fields, on the more extensive application of secondary methods, on the most economical exploitation of the resources discovered in recent years and in the extension of their circuit. The Geological Oil Institute should place itself in more scientific positions of work and responsibility in order to fulfil the tasks of the present and the perspective.

Big tasks are set for the coal mining industry, the production of which will increase by more than 10 per cent in comparison with 1982. Further measures will continue to be taken so that the coal enterprises fully exploit the coal-bearing zones, applying the most advanced methods, increase the degree of mechanization and improve the quality of coal, in order to ensure the required calorific value of coal.

In order to strengthen the energy base, measures have been envisaged and are being taken to speed up construction work on the hydro-power plant at Koman, the hydro-power



plant at Gjang, the 400 kW high tension transmission line, the gas purification plant at Cakran and the lubrication oil plant.

During 1983 work will continue to extend the extraction and enrichment of minerals, as well as for a better solution of a series of problems of processing and exporting them. A change must be made in order to reduce losses and impoverishment of minerals and to raise the coefficient of the recuperation of metals. Similarly, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical plants must step up their efforts further in order to ensure a higher degree of the mastery of the technique and technology of production, to improve quality and to make the fullest possible use of productive capacities. All these tasks will be realized through a greater mobilization and more extensive application of science and technique by the great army of miners, metallurgists, the specialists who work in these branches, especially by the working collectives of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the mineral-enrichment plants, the chromium mines and the copper-smelting plant at Laç.

In the spirit of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party, the engineering industry is charged to focus more intensively on the production of machinery and equipment for the new projects and the reconstruction and extension of the existing capacities. Their production is envisaged to increase more than 30 per cent, involving the production of 9 thousand items of 673 kinds of equipment and machinery for 173 projects that will be built. The increase of the production of spare parts, the improvement of quality, and the extension of their regeneration remain important targets for the engineering industry.

For these targets to be attained, tasks have been set and work is done to place cooperation, especially among the big plants, on a sounder basis. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, regardless of the administrative dependence, working under a more scientific plan of cooperation, the engineering

industry should meet all the needs of the country, combating with greater determination the narrow local and ministerial interests. Further measures will be taken for the strengthening of all the work in designing the production of machinery and equipment at a higher technical and technological level.

Our Party has always seen the development of heavy industry as closely linked with the advance of the branches of the light and food-processing industry, the production of which will rise 5 per cent, or twice as quickly as the increase of the population. Textiles of cotton polyester mixtures will be increased 2.6 fold, Jacquard-type stocking more than 2 fold, footwear of natural and artificial leather more than 24 per cent, rubber boots 45 per cent, etc.

Further measures will be taken to strengthen the food-processing industry, to improve the technological processes, and the work of the wholesale purchase sector and at the bases for the storing of the agricultural and livestock products. There will also lead to the increase of the value of agricultural products, the increase of the incomes of the peasantry and the better fulfilment of the needs of the population and the demands of exports. Measures have been taken and continue to be taken in order to ensure the timely construction of the works under plan, so as to increase the processing capacity for agricultural and livestock products of the season during this year. Likewise, the leaders of the enterprises of the food-processing industry should further strengthen the links of collaboration with agricultural economies so that no amount of product, however small, should go waste.

In the draft-plan under examination, agriculture will advance on a broad front and at higher rates towards the implementation of the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party, and the very important instructions which Comrade Enver Hoxha gave in Drilon of Pogradec.

Total agricultural production is en-

visaged to grow at rapid rates. As against 1982, the production of field crops will increase as follows: bread grain by 90 thousand tons, potatoes 60 thousand tons, sunflower more than 15 thousand tons, haricot beans by 12 thousand tons, etc. On the basis of the tasks the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party set, along with the priority that it has given to the production of bread grain, it is important to evaluate correctly all crops, especially potato, beans, olive and some industrial plants in which manifestations of one-sidedness and underevaluation have been observed.

For the tasks in agriculture to be fulfilled, the implementation of a series of important measures connected with improvements of the structure of sowing, is envisaged. During this year, the experience of the agricultural cooperative of Plasa will be propagated on a broad front in the districts of Korça, Pogradec, Durrës, Lushnja and Tirana and in many agricultural economies of other districts. Important measures have been taken by the Ministry of Agriculture and the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts in connection with the concentration of the forces and means in about 1/4 of the whole coastal plain's zone which is to be intensified with priority. The irrigation capacity will increase by 12 thousand hectares as against 7 thousand hectares envisaged in the five-year plan.

To fulfil the tasks in agriculture, 32 per cent of all the investments envisaged for the plan of 1983, or 170 million leks more than the five-year plan envisaged for this year, will be used. This volume of investments has been supported more than at other times on a material-technical base and accompanied by strong organizational and technical measures.

The increase of the production of bread grain is based mainly on the increase of yields. On this factor is based also the greatest part of the increase of other agricultural products. The application of the advanced experience of many agricultural economies constitutes a great reserve in this di-

LAVDI MA



*The deputies adopting  
the law on the state plan  
of the development  
of the PSR of Albania  
for 1983.*



# KSIZEM - LENINIZMIT



rection. The yields of 65.3 quintals of wheat per hectare in the agricultural cooperative of Plasa, and 58 quintals of wheat per hectare in the state farm of Maliq, 90 quintals of maize per hectare in the agricultural cooperative of Dajç and 85 quintals of maize per hectare in the state farm of Vrina, 24 quintals of cotton per hectare in the agricultural cooperative of Lapardha, etc over their whole respective areas speak of the great possibilities agriculture has today when the production is organized and directed on sound scientific bases.

The introduction of science in production and the spread of the advanced experience should lead to the increase of our care for the fertility of the land, its irrigation, the use of strains with high productive capacity, the elaboration of intensive methods in the use of organic manure, the protection of the plants against pests and other measures which require knowledge, preoccupation and strict organization.

The Council of Ministers has laid down measures for the development of animal husbandry and for the solution of many of its present and perspective problems. Twenty nine hilly-mountainous cooperatives will be given a livestock-raising orientation, organizing their production on scientific bases. Measures have been envisaged and the work is being accelerated to build several centres for the concentrated raising of cattle and replacement stock, and measures will be taken for the intensification of forage crops all over the country, while increasing the area of them with another 14 thousand hectares. These and other measures should serve to achieve without fail the objectives for the increase of the number of stock and the increase of yields in livestock raising. A strict control should be imposed everywhere on the slaughtering of cattle. Not less than 80-100 quintals of forage units per hectare should be taken from the area under irrigation, the structure of forage crops should be improved and the contemporary methods of livestock feeding introduced.

The rapid development of the economy will be accompanied by the further strengthening of transport, gradually carrying out in practice the tasks set by the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. Priority will continue to be given to the development of railway transport, in which the volume of work in ton/kilometre is forecast to increase 13 per cent, against 6 per cent of the increase of the volume of work for all kinds of the transport of goods. To exploit the transport capacities of the railroad better work should be done to extend the degree of mechanization in loading-unloading processes in the warehouses and depots and to increase productivity of work with freight cars. In the motor-vehicle transport the use of trailers, especially the self-unloading ones of a large tonnage, should be extended. Several cable lines will be built and the passenger transport will be improved.

The attainment of the objectives set for the various branches and sectors of the economy and culture for 1983 is based also on a broad program of investments the volume of which is envisaged to total 5 billion 130 million leks. To increase effectiveness and reduce time-limits in the construction of projects, tasks have been set for the investors, designers and builders, laying down standard time-limits. As for the order of building and the concentration of forces and means priority is given to productive projects, especially the large-scale projects which continue from 1982, and to the agricultural projects.

During 1983 work will be done on 350 projects and about 195 of them will be completed and commissioned. Besides the big projects mentioned above, 4 chromium mines in the Mat, Kukës and Tropoja districts, and the olivinite mine in the Kukës district will be extended or built, the copper-enrichment factory at Reps will be extended, a new copper-enrichment factory will be built at Rrëshen, the productive capacity of the soda plant will be doubled and the reconstruction of the technology of the PVC plant

will be carried out, the factory producing fine cloths and velvet in the textile combine in Tirana, the dyeing factory in the textile combine in Berat, and the knitwear combine in Korça will be extended; fruit-processing factories will be built in Peshkopia, Gjirokastra and Tropoja; 4 cold stores will be built for agricultural and livestock products in the Berat, Elbasan, Korça and Tirana districts, and work will continue on the construction of four other cold stores.

The extension of the irrigation capacity in agriculture will be done with priority in the hilly-mountainous districts of Skrapar, Përmet, Tepelena, Gramsh, Berat and others which are in greater need. Work will continue on the construction of 11 centres producing replacement livestock, 3 large poultry batteries for egg-production, 6 livestock-farming complexes, 2 complexes for raising turkeys, 4 factories for processing compound stock foods, etc.

For the needs of education, 17 secondary and 8-year schools will be built, while some existing schools and a considerable number of kindergartens will be extended. For the health sector, hospitals will be built in Gramsh, Tepelena, Librazhd and other districts, as well as many crèches and 6 big new water-supply systems in the main cities and several others in villages.

The Council of Ministers has instructed the Ministry of Construction and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts to carry out a more profound work for reducing the cost of constructions and building materials, for a better regionalization of their work and for the reduction of transport distances. Work will also be done for drafting designs and preliminary estimates, as well as for the timely allocation of construction sites of the projects that will be built in 1984 and later. For discipline and effectiveness in the field of investments to be increased, it is necessary to further strengthen financial and bank control through the lek.

Special attention has been given to the export and import of goods.



All producers have great tasks for the production of goods in quantity and with good quality. In this way it will be possible to put into practice the instruction of the Party that without exports there is no import and before we can buy we must sell.

With the development of the economy and the measures for the further strengthening of the savings regime, the draft-budget, which is presented for approval, envisages an increase in income of 3 per cent. The basis for this increase will be the increase in production and, especially the reduction in costs, from which nearly 70 per cent of the net income of the enterprises is expected to come. The expenditure envisaged in the budget meets all the needs for financing the economy and culture, and for strengthening the defence potential of the Homeland. Of the total expenditure in the state budget 57.5 per cent will be used for the development of the economy and 26.2 per cent for the social and cultural measures.

Care will be devoted so that the expenditure is used according to destination and with the highest profitability. In this field the active and controlling role of the organs of planning, finance, and the bank will be further enhanced, so that the tasks set are carried out with the least expen-

diture, and when possibilities are created, to make instant changes which lead to the improvement of the plans and the optimal implementation of them.

During this year, the material well-being of the people will be ensured and raised further, and the development of education, culture, health and science will advance. The real per capita income of the population will be raised with priority given to increasing the level of incomes in the countryside. The turnover of retail goods is forecast to rise 7 per cent and the supply of goods 10 per cent. This will bring about the improved supply of the market with goods, the strengthening of the reserves of goods in the sector of trade and the increase of per capita consumption of industrial and food articles, especially in the countryside.

The housing needs of the people will be solved better this year. With the apartments that will be built the target of the five-year plan for the years 1981-1983 taken together will be met. Communal services will increase by 7 per cent. The organs of the communal economy face the task of extending assortments, improving quality and reducing time-limits of their services.

In the field of education work will be done to raise the level and qua-

lity of the training of students. Their number for all categories of schools will amount to 719 thousand people. In 1983 the number of the students in the higher schools is envisaged to be 14.6 per cent above the number envisaged in the five-year plan.

The indices of the health service, in general, are forecast in the same line with those of the five-year plan. The improvement of the quality of the health service will continue to be the main task for the Ministry of Health and for all the working people of the health institutions and centres.

The development of the productive forces during 1983 will be accompanied with the perfecting of the socialist relations of production. To this end, the draft-plan reflects the problems connected with the zone of intensification with priority, the improvement of the relations of ownership in the countryside, the implementation of a number of measures which bear on the planned organization and management of the economy, the enhancement of the role of the planning and finance organs, etc. In this context, the respective state and economic organs have been assigned tasks for the perfecting of the planning methodology and a series of present and perspective studies in various fields of the economy, culture and social life.

### III

## SOME MAIN DIRECTIONS IN WHICH THE STATE AND ECONOMIC ORGANS WILL CONCENTRATE THEIR ATTENTION FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE STATE PLAN BUDGET

Comrade Deputies,

As can be seen, the economic draft-plan and the state draft-budget for 1983 envisage great tasks. These

make it a year decisive for the successful fulfilment of all the tasks of the entire 7th Five-year Plan. Attain-

ment of these objectives, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, «strongly requires our total mobilization and ful-

fulfilment to the letter of the planned tasks.»

All the state and economic organs are required to concentrate their attention and care on the following main directions:

1. To further improve the management and organization of work and production.

Our socialist economy is one single unit which develops on the basis of a single and general state plan, in which all the economic and financial links and reciprocal connections are co-ordinated on the level of the branch, district or enterprise. This constitutes that starting-point which permits the co-ordination of all the managing and organizational activities of the state and economic organs for the fulfilment on a broad front of the tasks set in the plan. At the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that «management and organization are one of the most important links which we must grasp firmly to ensure progress everywhere, in the economy, education, science, culture, in all the fields of social activity.»

Management is perfected on the basis of the application of revolutionary methods which must be characterized by strong discipline and a high sense of individual and collective responsibility. Proceeding from this, the state and economic organs will work more towards strengthening discipline at work and of the plan, adopting the necessary measures for the implementation of this discipline, such as those connected with the material-technical supply, the working conditions, the implementation of the requirements of technique and technology, etc. More work will be done so that everyone becomes fully aware of and assumes full responsibility of his job and carries it through to the end, by increasing assistance, control and demanding of account.

As the Party instructs, all the state and economic organs should work to respond better to the revolutionary dri-

ve of the working masses. On the basis of the tasks set, the revolutionary actions and initiatives are being transformed into powerful movements of the masses. In order to combat any bureaucratic underrating or euphoric attitude, instructions have been given and measures taken so that the results of these actions and initiatives are reflected in the plan, because as Lenin teaches us, «The strength of the example should be made a moral model, first, and then a model of binding strength for the organization of work.»

The Council of Ministers has also instructed and taken measures towards the further deepening of scientific-research work and for its connection with the tasks of the plan; the heeding of the opinion of the working people, specialists and cadres, and more efforts towards the assimilation and implementation of economic and social laws, the laws of the state and the norms of our socialist life.

2. To observe everywhere a strong savings regime and to improve qualitative economic indices.

The stage reached in the development of the economy has brought more into relief the intensive factors of this development. Therefore, high productivity, quality and effectiveness of work is required everywhere, in production, construction, services and in other social and cultural sectors.

For 1983 is forecast that about 43 per cent of the increase of the social product should be achieved from the increase of the productivity of labour. In order to increase the productivity of labour it is necessary to take measures in several directions. Work to norms should be further extended and really technical norms, based on scientific studies, established everywhere. The initiative of the working people of the collective of the leather shoes factory in Korça, according to which this new year should begin with new work norms everywhere, should be supported and generalized.

Special work will be done to increase the degree of mechanization, in

order to further facilitate work and save the working time. For this purpose, concrete objectives have been set and assistance and control to carry them through to the end will be increased. Attention will be focussed on the mines, the exploitation of forests, the building work and land improvement schemes to increase the degree of mechanization in the loading-unloading processes, in auxiliary processes of production, in internal transport, etc.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us, work everywhere should be organized and managed so that everyone thinks continuously, during all the 365 days of the year, about saving and works for it. This basic principle in the management of our economy becomes more imperative when the task is set to maintain high rates of development in the present international situation, when the economic crisis of the capitalist world continues to be further deepened.

An important link we must grasp even more firmly in this year and in the future years for savings is the further reduction of the consumption of materials for production. Special measures should be taken for the application of technical norms in the consumption of materials which the Council of Ministers has approved, and which are lower than those for the year 1982. For this it is required that important changes be made in technological processes, introducing the innovations of science and technology, applying computerizing methods in production on a broader scale and taking stricter measures for the protection and good administration of material values.

The Council of Ministers has set special tasks for the saving of electricity. In this context, we must strengthen control everywhere about the amount of consumption of electric power and the rational utilization of all the hydro and thermal-power resources, speed up the process of converting some boilers working on liquid and gas fuels to coal, as well as find

and apply ways of using the heating power of coal with higher efficiency.

On the basis of the tasks set by the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, we must encourage and carry further ahead the revolutionary initiatives for saving fuels, pipes in the sector of oil, collecting scrap-iron, sparing motor-vehicle tyres, etc.

All the social and cultural, health, science and defence sectors, which use important material and financial values, have important tasks regarding the savings regime. They must take into account well the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha that the wealth of a country is determined not only by how much it produces, but also by how rationally and economically it utilizes its production.

3. Science and technique should be placed better to fulfil the planned tasks and open up new perspectives.

The assessment and better implementation in practice of the achievements of science and technique is raised as an imperative task everywhere today. We must rely still more on the thousands of cadres and specialists, workers and cooperativists who have now gained rich experience to carry forward our technical-scientific revolution. The great planned tasks for this year cannot be achieved without relying on broad scientific-research work in all the fields of production, management and research.

In this context work must be done to utilize the engineering-technical personnel for the work it belongs to, so that it departs from fruitless routine, because part of it still gets involved in work that is outside its competences. In this direction better work must be done to carry out fully the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha that, just as the worker has his own plan, so the engineering-technical personnel should have its plan to raise the degree of mechanization, to apply

advanced technology, to produce new articles, to improve the organization of production and working conditions, to raise the technical norms of work and the effectiveness of production.

Comrade Delegates,

In presenting the state draft-plan and draft-budget of the development of the economy and culture for 1983 for examination and endorsement, the Council of Ministers points out that the struggle for its fulfilment assumes a still greater political, economic and social significance today when the international situation is very tense and full of dangers and threats to freedom and the independence of the peoples, to peace and international security. The aggressive hegemony-seeking policy of the two imperialist superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as the economic crisis which has swept the whole capitalist-revisionist world, are the cause of the further aggravation of the political situation in the relations between the capitalist and revisionist blocs and states.

Our Party and state have always followed the situation attentively, have always drawn correct conclusions and adopted the necessary measures so that our socialist country is never caught unawares. They have always conducted an energetic struggle for unmasking the war-mongering activities of the two superpowers and the military blocs they direct and manipulate. The independent development of our socialist country and the uncompromising struggle of our Party and government against the enemies of the peoples, the imperialist-revisionist plots, is highly appreciated by the peoples of different countries. On the basis of the line of the Party, our government will, as in the past, constantly support the struggle of the working class and other oppressed

masses against capital, the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. We will continue to defend with all our forces the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers who live in their own lands in Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia.

At the same time our country has successfully developed its international relations — trade and cultural, with an ever increasing number of states on the basis of principles known worldwide. They have assumed a broad development with the neighbouring countries, and our government is in favour of always developing them in a positive direction. In the development of these relations our country will abide by the stands clearly defined at the 8th Congress of the Party and in the programmatic speech Comrade Enver Hoxha held on November 10, 1982.

The working collectives of town and countryside, under the leadership of the Party, with an ever more profound political understanding of the situations, have further stepped up their struggle and efforts for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of 1983. Many are the economic, industrial, building, transport, trade and other enterprises which have fulfilled and overfulfilled the planned tasks for January.

The great objectives which we will endorse in this session of the People's Assembly of 1983 are completely realizable. They will lead us further ahead on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, will make the life of our people still more prosperous and flourishing, will further strengthen the defence capacity of our socialist Homeland. In the struggle to put into practice these tasks the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party, its Central Committee, and the beloved leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, will be further strengthened and steered.



**«Karl Marx created and bequeathed a great legacy of discoveries and knowledge for the transformation of society for the overthrow of capitalism, for the liquidation of exploitation, for the construction of socialism and communism.»**

**ENVER HOXHA**

# COMMEMORATIVE MEETING ON THE 100<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF KARL MARX

*On March 14, on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Party Committee of the Tirana District organized a commemorative meeting in the hall of the Theatre of Opera and Ballet of the capital.*

*The meeting was attended by vanguard workers and cooperativists, workers of scientific, educational and cultural institutions leading cadres of the ministries and central mass organizations, militarymen, students and guests.*

*The emergence on the tribune of the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and state leaders was met with stormy cheers and ovation.*

*The Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, declared the commemorative meeting open.*

*The Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and First Secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana District, Comrade Foto Çami, delivered the speech of the occasion.*

*His speech was frequently punctuated by strong cheers and ovation for triumphant Marxism-Leninism, the glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.*

*The commemorative meeting was closed under the strains of the International.*



*On March 10 the Institute of Marxist-Leninist at the Central Committee of the Party, in collaboration with the «V.I. Lenin» Party School, organized in the hall of the High Institute of the Arts of the capital a commemorative session at which the reports «Karl Marx and the World Revolutionary Process», «The Marxist Doctrine of Socialism and the Ideological Struggle of Today», «The Economic Theory of Karl Marx and Present Crisis of Capitalism» and «Marx's Philosophy and the Development of Science and the Technical-Scientific Revolution in Our Time» were read.*

*Attending the session were the Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and state leaders. The opening speech was held by the Member of the CC of the Party, the Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.*



*The centenary of the death of Karl Marx was commemorated with many political and scientific activities all over the PSR of Albania. At work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, schools, social cultural institutions and military detachments commemorative meetings, scientific sessions and other activities devoted to the life and monumental work of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the great leader and teacher of the world working class, were organized.*

# ING RY OF THE DEATH

## COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA'S OPENING SPEECH

COMRADES,

TODAY IT IS 100 YEARS SINCE THE DEATH OF KARL MARX, THIS COLOSSUS OF REVOLUTIONARY THINKING AND ACTION, THE FOUNDER OF THE GLORIOUS DOCTRINE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. MARX BROUGHT ABOUT THE MOST PROFOUND REVOLUTION IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF WORLD HISTORY, DISCOVERED THE WORLD HISTORIC ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT, SCIENTIFICALLY PROVED THE INEVITABILITY OF THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND ILLUMINATED THE ROAD TO THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.

«THE DOCTRINE OF MARX AND ENGELS,» SAYS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, «IS ALWAYS YOUNG, FRESH AND IS IMMORTAL.» DURING THIS CENTURY GREAT STORMS AND TEMPESTS HAVE SWEEPED ACROSS THE WORLD. THEY HAVE SWEEPED AWAY MANY THEORIES AND DOCTRINES AND COVERED THEM WITH THE DUST OF OBLIVION, BUT IN THE HEAT OF STRUGGLE THEY HAVE PROVED THE CORRECTNESS AND VITALITY OF THE IDEAS OF MARX, WHICH WERE FURTHER DEVELOPED AND ENRICHED BY ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKER AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WORLD-WIDE. THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM HAVE BEEN AND ARE A GUIDE TO ACTION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEOPLES FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE WORLD OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

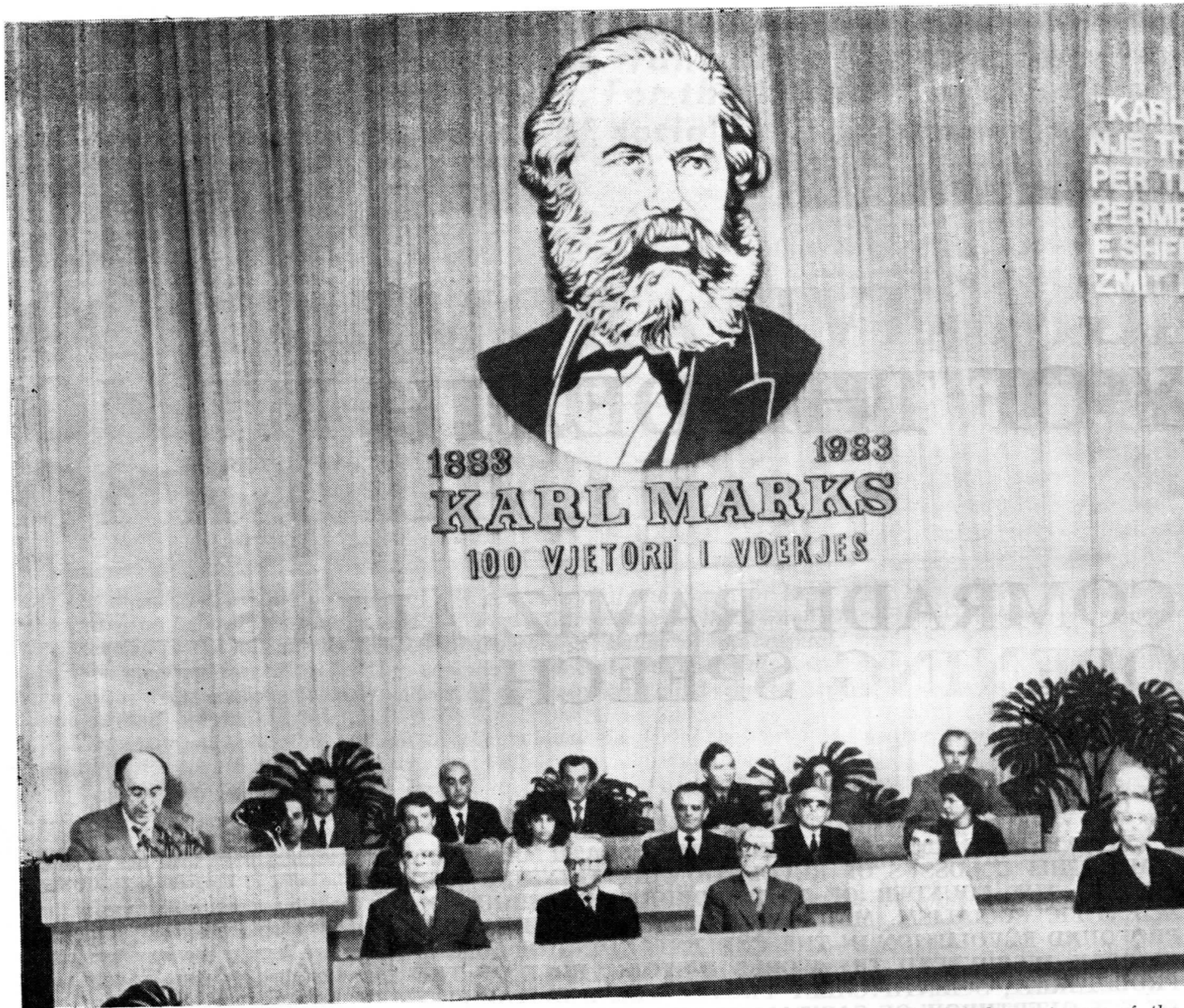
Mankind has known no other individual who has left such a profound imprint on the development of so-

ciety as Karl Marx did. Even today, 100 years after his brilliant mind ceased to function, there is no field

of social science that has advanced on the road of progress without Marx, without his ideas or contrary to them. Various opponents and enemies of Marxism have made countless efforts to proclaim Marxism a doctrine of the past century, to present it as outdated and unsuitable for our time. But they have failed completely. Today, anybody can see that all those who have tried to create «new models» of socialism, different from the doctrine of Marx, from Bernstein and Kautsky to Tito and Khrushchev, Mao Zedong, Carrillo and company, have all ended up on the rubbish heap of history and have left nothing behind them but their bad name as renegades from the working class.

Today the world is moving in the direction pointed out by Marx. The world capitalist-revisionist system is writhing in the fever of the grave crisis that has it in its grip and is heading for inevitable disintegration. The savage exploitation of the masses by imperialism and social-imperialism, and the threat of war, which comes





*The presidium of the commemorative meeting organized in the capital on the occasion of the centenary of the*

from the superpowers, has created an intolerable situation for the peoples. In this troubled, danger-filled world, in this world inflicted with the ideological confusion and defeatism which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are trying to spread, the ideas of Marx arouse optimism and confidence in the future in the hearts of the peoples and progressive individuals. They show the only way out — the revolution. In our days revolutions remain what they were in the past, «the locomotives of history», as Marx called them.

The communists and all the working people of our country honour the gigantic work of Karl Marx with special respect. Our people, armed

with the teachings of Marx-Lenin, under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, carried out the National Liberation War, created new Albania and are successfully building socialism.

«We Albanian Marxist-Leninists,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «arrived at the philosophy of Marx through revolutionary practice.» We have never regarded the teachings and the doctrine of Marx as a dogma, or as an illuminist theory, but as a guide to transform Albanian society, to make the life of the workers, peasants and our people free and happy. In this process of struggle and creation, our Party and Comrade

Enver Hoxha have made and continue to make a valuable contribution, both to the defence of the purity of our revolutionary ideology from the attacks and distortions of opportunists and modern revisionists and to its implementation and development. The immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are embodied in the theoretical thinking and the teachings of the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Our Party and people express their unshakeable conviction that by marching resolutely on the road indicated by Marx, keeping the indomitable banner of the revolution and socialism flying high, they will always achieve victories.

RIKSI KRIJOI DHE I LA NJEREZIMIT  
R TE MADH ZBULIMESH E DIJESH  
SFORMIMIN E SHOQERISE, PER  
ENE KAPITALIZMIT, PER ZHUKJEN  
EZIMIT, PER NDERTIMIN E SOCIAL-  
TE KOMUNIZMIT



Karl Marx.

# COMRADE FOTO ÇAMI'S SPEECH

DEAR COMRADES,

**THE COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY, LIKE ALL THE GENUINE REVOLUTIONARIES AND PROLETARIANS WORLD-WIDE, TODAY COMMEMORATE WITH GREAT RESPECT THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF THE TITAN OF REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT AND ACTION, THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, THE OUTSTANDING LEADER AND TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS — KARL MARX.**

With his ideas of genius and his revolutionary work, Marx opened a new epoch, in the centre of which stood the proletariat with its revolutionary ideology and movement, brought about a real revolution in the

philosophical, economic and political thinking of our time, and opened new perspectives to the development of human society.

For more than a century, the ideas and work of Marx have guided and inspired the proletariat and the other working masses in their struggles for freedom, independence, justice and social emancipation. Communism, which



he founded, has become their dream and ideal. History knows no other doctrine which has spread so widely and won such great popularity as Marxism.

The thinking of Marx and his brilliant successors, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, inspired the Albanian communists, too, in their struggle for the liberation of the country and the construction of socialism. All the historic victories of the PLA and the Albanian people are closely linked with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In its loyalty to this triumphant doctrine, in its ardent defence and creative application of it, lies the strength of the Party and socialist Albania, the guarantee of the present and of our communist future.

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Karl Marx is one of the most outstanding men of genius and one of the mightiest thinkers in the history of mankind. With the science which bears his name, he opened new, previously unknown paths to human knowledge. His doctrine was not born in a vacuum or fortuitously. It was an objective necessity to fulfil the need of the new social force which was arising and developing together with capitalism — the working class, for its own ideology. In formulating his new doctrine, Marx knew how to evaluate and adopt, in a critical manner, the most valuable achievements of the scientific thinking of his own and of all times. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «Marxism is the summation of materialist science and the development of human society, the synthesis of the preceding development of philosophy and of the creative thinking of mankind, in general, the synthesis of everything rational and progressive...»

The name of Marx has gone down and will live on in history for three major discoveries, which, taken in their dialectical unity, constitute that radical change which he brought about in social thinking.

Critically assimilating the philosophical heritage of the past, Marx created a new dialectical materialist philo-

sophy with its own materialist concept of history, in this way providing the proletariat and its communist party with the powerful weapon for knowledge and the revolutionary transformation of society, while providing science with the most correct theory and method for the study and interpretation of the world.

With his monumental work «Capital», Marx created scientific political economy from its beginnings, with its foundation stone — the theory of surplus value, and with this he disclosed the entire secret of capitalist exploitation, analysed the internal mechanism of the functioning of capitalist society and demonstrated that this society is inevitably heading for inevitable destruction and the creation of a new society, without oppression and exploitation — towards socialist society.

Examining the earlier socialist doctrines with a critical eye, Marx put socialism on scientific foundations, transformed it from a utopia into a science, and in this way opened new perspectives to the liberation struggle of the proletariat and the other oppressed masses, and showed to them the brilliant socialist and communist future.

The historical epoch that has elapsed since the death of Marx, is the epoch of the triumph of his ideas. No other ideologist, theoretician or philosopher has had this fate. The truth of Marxism, as a universal science valid for all countries, has been proved in practice. Although they are two opposite processes, both the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism in a series of countries, and the retrogression which occurred in them, in fact, prove the same thing: the force and vitality of Marxism. The bourgeois propaganda tries in vain to present the revisionist betrayal as the failure of Marxism. On the contrary, the re-establishment of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries has shown where the abandonment of the fundamental principles of Marxism must lead. The entire development of society, science and revolutionary practice has provided new arguments which prove the truth of the doctrine of Marx, the correctness of his conclusions and predictions even more clearly.

History recognizes Marx not only as a thinker of genius, but also as a great revolutionary, as a man who fought all his life at the head of the worker's movement, for the lofty ideals of freedom and the social liberation of the working class and the working people of all countries. He never remained a mere scholar, a thinker in his study, but plunged into the revolutionary struggle, committed himself heart and soul to putting into practice his theoretical ideas and conclusions on the historic mission of the proletariat and the socialist revolution. As Engels has pointed out, «The struggle was Marx's passion. And there are few who have fought with such ardour, with such persistence, with such success, as he did.» The revolutionary movement of the working class, the struggle for its political success, ranked above everything else for Marx. He drew his theoretical conclusions precisely from the revolutionary movement of the masses. As Marx himself declared, «Every step forward in the genuine worker's movement is more important than scores of programs.»

He saw the strength of the class in its organization and internationalist solidarity. Therefore, he together with his close friend and co-fighter, Frederick Engels, founded first, the «Communist League» and later, «The International Workingmen's Association» which is known to history under its glorious name of the Communist First International. Marx was an active participant, inspirer and leader of every revolutionary movement of the working class, of its uprisings and revolutions. He supported the Communards of Paris with all his strength and hailed them as heroes who stormed the heavens.

Throughout his whole life Marx set the example of a genuine revolutionary who, when it is a question of the interests of the working class, knows how to encourage and inspire revolutionary action, is ready to take all responsibility and accept all dangers, to face up courageously to any attack of the enemy and never retreat or lose heart in the face of any defeat for the movement, but to regard these defeats as zigzags on the great broad road of the triumph of the revolution.

Marxism was born and developed as

the revolutionary ideology of the working class in struggle against its countless enemies, open and disguised, who have endeavoured to divert the working class from the revolutionary course for the overthrow of the old capitalist order and the construction of a new world. All the theoretical and practical work of Marx bears the brand of this irreconcilable struggle, is an example of rigorous scientific exactitude, adherence to principle, and that unyielding militant courage which permits no compromise and is ready to do battle with any opponent in defence of principles.

This is a great example for all communists and genuine revolutionaries, which inspires and teaches them how they should stand and fight today in the mighty battles between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists have launched a savage campaign, employing all means, against Marxism, in order to negate and denigrate it. Open anti-communism and revisionist distortions are the two fundamental directions of the struggle against Marxism. But what strikes the eye is that the bourgeoisie prefers and is using every means to incite the struggle which is being waged against Marxism from within by the revisionists and opportunists of all shades. It prefers this course, not only because it thinks it the most effective, but also because it is incapable of opposing Marxism directly with its own bankrupt ideas. Being unable to refute Marxism categorically, many renowned bourgeois ideologists, politicians, philosophers, sociologists and aesthetes are even trying to assume Marxist poses, by acknowledging that it has some value, but distorting and altering it, depriving it of its revolutionary spirit of criticism, in order to render it harmless to the bourgeoisie and its exploiting capitalist order.

During history however, whenever the enemies have proclaimed Marxism outdated, defeated and a failure, it has always emerged stronger, has been raised to a higher level. This is what has occurred in the past after every great polemic with the pseudo-socialist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories of the Proudhonites, Lassalians and Bakhuninites of Marx's time,

with the opportunist trends of the chiefs of the Second International, Bernstein and Kautsky in the time of Lenin, with those of Trotsky and Bukharin in the time of Stalin. This is what will happen today in the struggle against the greatest of all betrayals of communism, that of the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Chinese and Eurocommunist modern revisionists. The invincible strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism is based on the fact that it expresses the historical truth, reflects the objective laws and defends the interests of the proletariat to which the future belongs.

As a theory of the broad working masses, which teaches them not only how to know and explain the world, but also how to transform it, as a theory which is founded on the practice of life and which recognizes this as the only criterion of the truth, Marxism is a doctrine which is always vigorous, indomitable and in ceaseless development.

This gives Marxism a creative character, never allows it to wither, but keeps it eternally fresh and vital, capable of serving for action at all times and in all countries where the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party live and fight. The creative development of Marxism can be done only on the basis of its fundamental principles and teachings, and not by denying them as the opportunists and revisionists are doing today, when they misrepresent the significance of the new conditions and phenomena, of the changes which have taken place in the world, to proclaim Marxism outdated and a thing of the past, or negate its creative development by Lenin and Stalin by opposing Stalin to Lenin and Lenin to Marx.

Marxism-Leninism is a single, indivisible doctrine, a complete and coherent doctrine, capable of dealing correctly with every problem, of reflecting every process of social, economic, political and technical development precisely and scientifically. Proletarian partisanship not only does not violate scientific objectivity, but demands it as an iron law. Those who try to accuse Marxism of «one-sidedness», of «distorting the truth», for the sake of the interests of the working class and who

pose as «impartial judges», in fact, do not stand above classes and their interests, but are representatives of the reactionary classes. The objectivity which the bourgeois ideologists advocate is nothing but an expression of bourgeois partisanship. «To expect an impartial science in a society with wage labour,» writes Lenin, «is an naivety just as crazy as expecting factory owners to be impartial when it comes to deciding whether workers' wages should be raised by reducing the profits of capital.» In the Marxist doctrine the thoroughly scientific, objective reflection of reality is completely harmonized with proletarian partisanship, because the interests of the working class, as the most progressive and revolutionary class of present-day society, are in full conformity with the objective trends of development towards socialism and communism. This is why, to this day, after 100 years, Marxism remains the only political-philosophical doctrine capable of supplying the correct answer to all the major problems raised by the epoch and serving as a guide for all the working masses in their struggle for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist-revisionist yoke.

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The scientific theory of Marx shed a powerful light on the entire world historical process of his century and continues to illuminate the perspectives of human development to this day. The materialist explanation of social life, the dissection which he made of capitalist economy and the contradictions and ulcers of the bourgeois order, enabled Marx, as early as in the middle of the 19th century, when the bourgeoisie was just coming to power and when the foundations of the capitalist order seemed unshakeable, to issue his brilliant forewarning of the commencement of a new epoch, the epoch of revolutions led by the working class. Marx forcefully proclaimed this historical conviction of his in the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», which he concluded with the call: «The communists disdain to conceal their views



and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose except their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!»

This forwarning, which sounded like a prophecy in the middle of the 19th century, as a great truth, which has been confirmed by the entire subsequent development of world history. From that time on, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for socialism has been the factor which has predominated and determined the character of this whole epoch. The uprisings of the workers of Silesia and Lyons, the workers' uprising of June 1848 in Paris, the revolutions which brought the Paris Commune and the October Revolution, the socialist revolutions during and following the Second World War, the present-day revolutionary and liberation movements of the working class and the broad working masses on all continents are like successive waves of the revolutionary process with world historic importance, which are shaking the old order of capitalist slavery to its very foundations. All these things are historic proofs of what Marx had predicted and propounded, that without the proletarian revolution the old world cannot be overthrown, that revolutions are the powerful motive force of our epoch, the «locomotives of history».

The teachings of Marx on the necessity for the revolution, for the violent overthrow of the bourgeois order and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are more valid than ever today. They are an irreplaceable compass for guidance in present-day conditions, when the bourgeois-revisionist world has plunged into its most profound and all-round crisis, when all its structures and superstructures are in decay, when the discontent of the masses is erupting in countless economic and political strikes, in revolts and armed struggles. Today, there is no continent, no region or country of the bourgeois-revisionist world where the cauldron of the class

struggle is not seething, where revolutionary eruptions cannot occur. Hence, the PLA has drawn the conclusions that the world is in a phase when the revolution is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem which demands solution.

The most characteristic feature of our world is the extension and deepening of the revolutionary process throughout the world. This feature is not in the slightest obscured either by the retrogressive process which occurred in the former socialist countries, where the exploiting capitalist system has been re-established, or by the blows which the revolutionary forces have suffered in other countries. Such a special situation was foreseen by Marx in his time, when he pointed out that the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism is not a triumphant march in a straight line, but encounters colossal difficulties and obstacles, victories and defeats, twists and zigzags amidst which it forges ahead.

Our epoch is the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and no force can alter this trend. The triumph of socialism is not merely a fine desire of the communists, but is an historical necessity which results from the objective development of human society. It is inevitable. The counter-revolutions or the set-backs of the revolutionary liberation movement in this or that country may prolong the existence of the decayed capitalist system to some extent, but they cannot save it from defeat, cannot halt the march of human society towards its socialist future.

Faced with the revolution which is mounting and threatening them from all sides, the bourgeoisie, revisionism, and reaction are not sitting idle, passively awaiting their death. In defence of their bourgeois-revisionist order they are using the most varied means: the most ferocious terror and repression, demagoguery and slander, anarchism and opportunism. They make great play especially with the changes which have taken place in present-day capitalist society, with the development of state capitalism, with technical-scientific progress, with the development of the multi-national companies and other in-

ternational organisms, and, basing themselves on all this, they proclaim the teachings of Marx on the class struggle, on violent revolution, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. «outdated» and replace them with all kinds of reformist prescriptions for class conciliation.

The changes which have occurred in present-day capitalism have not had the slightest effect on its fundamental features as an oppressive and exploiting order based on private capitalist ownership of the means of production and in which the big monopoly bourgeoisie predominates. The profound scientific analysis which Marx made of the capitalist order in his epoch-making work, «Capital», as well as the revolutionary conclusions which he drew from this analysis retain their full force and validity today. Defending Marx's economic theory and developing it further, V. I. Lenin showed that the next phase of capitalism, imperialism, is not all a new order, as its apologists try to present it, but the capitalist order which has reached its highest and final phase, which has been transformed into parasitic capitalism in disintegration, on the eve of the proletarian revolution. The ideas of Marx and Lenin on capitalism and imperialism are corroborated day by day by the entire practice of present-day capitalist society. In his major work, «Imperialism and the Revolution», summing up a host of new facts and phenomena, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained and proved that the features of imperialism, discovered by Lenin, have been retained and have become even more essential, that the contradiction between labour and capital, between the metropolises and the oppressed peoples, and between the imperialist and social-imperialist states have become more profound and acute, and are leading to the weakening of imperialism and creating conditions to bring closer the triumph of the proletarian revolutions.

The present-day reality of the capitalist system, with its continuous crises, stagnation and fall of production, chronic unemployment and great inflation, price rises, unheard of deficits in the balance of trade and payments, the currency and energy crisis, the internal and external debts, and other such phenomena, refutes all the bour-

geois-revisionist propaganda about «people's capitalism», «consumer society», etc. and confirms what Marx foresaw that the ills of capitalism are incurable and can be avoided only by wiping out the capitalist order.

Of course, the overthrow of the capitalist order cannot occur spontaneously. The laws of social development which have made the replacement of capitalism by socialism an objective necessity operate for progress through revolutionary activity of the working class and the working masses, guided and inspired by the Marxist-Leninist party. The bourgeoisie never relinquishes its domination, wealth and privileges voluntarily, therefore, the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a universal law of the proletarian revolution.

The revisionist and opportunist preachings about the so-called «peaceful road», «the historic compromise», or «the democratic alternative», «structural reforms», «extension of bourgeois democracy», «participation in the government», etc., are not roads towards the transformation of the capitalist order and the transition to socialism but anti-Marxist prescriptions and preachings which lackeys of the bourgeoisie proclaim in the service of the latter in order to deceive the working class and other working masses, to alienate them from the revolution and keep the capitalist order intact.

It is true that in our time the reformist ideology of class conciliation, which the revisionist and social-democrat parties disseminate, has not failed to leave its mark on various strata of the working class in the capitalist countries, both bourgeois and revisionist. The maturing of the objective conditions for revolution, however, is bound to dispell the reformist illusions of the working class of those countries and link it ever more firmly with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. As Marx pointed out, «The question is not what this or that proletarian or even the entire proletariat see as their aim at this moment. The question is what the proletariat is in fact and what it is historically obliged to do in conformity with its being.»

In spite of the revisionist betrayal the perspective of the revolution is becoming clearer and more and more widely extended. The revolution is ad-

vancing as a world process which unites proletarian revolutions, democratic revolutions, national liberation wars, anti-imperialist democratic movements for peace, independence and social progress in a single current. The most vigorous, most active and most revolutionary force of present-day society, the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, is asserting itself more and more as the leader of this process.

On this issue, the revisionists distort Marx's idea of genius about the historic mission of the proletariat and its hegemonic role in the socialist revolution, by preaching that other classes, forces and parties of bourgeois society can play this role. On the other hand, the bourgeois ideologists attempt to prove that allegedly the proletariat is no longer a revolutionary class, that it has been integrated into the capitalist system, that present-day bourgeois society has become deproletarianized, etc. The history of our days, like that of the past, proves that no other social class or stratum can replace the proletariat as the main leading force of the revolutionary processes for the progressive transformation of society. Despite the changes that have occurred in the development of the economy and the social structure of capitalist society, the overall conditions of the existence, the work and life of the proletariat, which made it the most revolutionary class of the society, remain the same today as those Marx analysed.

Marx regarded the proletarian revolution as the only way to eliminate not only the exploitation of man by man, but also every other kind of social and national oppression. Marx stressed that only the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism can solve the national question justly, while he described the liberation movements themselves as the natural allies of the proletariat. He expressed himself strongly against any form of national oppression and bourgeois chauvinism. A nation which keeps other nations in thrall can never be free itself, said Marx.

These brilliant teachings of Marx reveal even more clearly the real features of the Soviet revisionists who have transformed the Soviet Union into

a real prison of nations, who, in the name of creating the most extensive empire possible, enslave the peoples of the so-called «socialist community», commit armed aggression and wage wars, as in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, and brutally intervene in Poland and other countries to establish their social-imperialist domination everywhere. Aggression and national oppression has now become a fundamental feature of Soviet social-imperialism.

The example of Titoite Yugoslavia also demonstrates indisputably that abandonment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism not only led to the complete restoration of capitalism, with all its ulcers, but also to profound national strife and conflicts which are undermining it from within. The blood events of Kosova, the savage oppression and terror which the Great-Serb chauvinists continue to exercise against the Albanians, in order to put down the struggle for their national rights and freedoms, their demands for the development of their mother tongue and culture, for the status of the Republic of Kosova within the Yugoslav Federation, exposed to the whole world the falsity of the boasting of the Yugoslav revisionists about the allegedly exemplary solution of the national question in Yugoslavia. Life has fully confirmed the predictions of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that the Yugoslav system of self-administration, so widely advertised by the Titoites and their imperialist patrons, has nothing in common with the genuine interests of the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia, that it is a typical capitalist order which is kept in existence through violence and terror and with aid and credits from abroad. The profound economic, political, national and ideological crisis which Yugoslavia is experiencing at present is not a consequence of mistakes by individual persons or organisms, nor of international political and economic circumstances, as the Titoite revisionists try to present things, but is the outcome of the system of self-administration itself, a foreshadowing of its inevitable bankruptcy.

The teachings of Marx on the national question and the liberation movements assume great value in our days, when American imperialism and

Soviet social-imperialism, in their unbridled contest for spheres of influence, for world hegemony and domination, are pursuing policies of expansion and aggression, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, violating the freedom and independence of the peoples, and trying to subjugate and enslave them for their own interests. These two super-powers have become the greatest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the whole world today. It is they who provoke and incite local wars, and are making all-round preparations for a new world slaughter. But as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the present international situation is characterized not only by the outbreak of local conflicts and preparations for general war, but also by the upsurge of the revolution and the liberation wars of the peoples, which are dealing heavy blows to the entire system of world capitalism. Loyal to the teachings of Marx, our Party ruthlessly denounces the policy of war and aggression of the imperialist powers, recognizes the great role of people's liberation wars and gives them all its support, regarding them as inseparable parts of the whole world revolutionary process.

Marx's ultimate purpose was to achieve the new society without oppression and exploitation — socialist society. For the sake of this aim, he called on the working class to throw itself into the revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx discarded all the earlier forms of utopian socialism and, basing himself on his economic and philosophical doctrine, discovered the objective laws which make socialist society indispensable, indicated the real concrete ways to advance towards it, defined its physiognomy and its characteristic features. Marx envisaged the future socialist society in all its complexity, in all its component aspects and elements, economic and political, material and spiritual. On the political plane, he saw socialist society as a society under the leadership of the working class and its communist party; on the economic plane, as a society based on town and countryside, on social ownership of the tools and means of production, and social control over the distribution of production; on the ideological plane, as a society in which all

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois idealist and religious illusions and prejudices will gradually die away, and the communist world outlook and morality will prevail.

Marx warned the proletariat that the construction of the new socialist society would not be a peaceful and spontaneous process, but the result of fierce class struggle, the struggle of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie overthrown but not conquered, against all the survivals and vestiges of old society, which cannot be liquidated at once. Marx had this class struggle in mind when he defended and elaborated the scientific proof for his theoretical thesis that the whole protracted period of the transition from capitalism to communism would be the period of the rule of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx did not conceive the building of a new socialist society as something to be achieved at a single stroke and within a short time. He saw the creation of communist society as a relatively long process, achieved through a series of stages in which he distinguished two main phases: the first phase — socialism, in which all would work according to their abilities and be remunerated according to the work done, and the second, higher phase — communism, in which all work according to their abilities and be remunerated according to their needs. For whole generations of proletarian revolutionaries all over the world these ideals of the future socialist and communist society became an inexhaustible source of inspiration and self-sacrifice in the heroic struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order of slavery, and the construction of the new society of social justice, equality and free creative work without oppressors and exploiters.

There is nothing imaginary or utopian in Marx's concept of socialist society. Although social practice up till that time provided very little material to go into the details or to speak of the concrete roads and rates of socialist development in every country, Marx with his scientific and revolutionary exactitude formulated and proved the universal laws which guide the work and the struggle for the construction of socialist society, laws which

have the value of universal truths, and are indispensable for every country which sets out on the road of socialism. These laws were confirmed and further concretized in the revolutionary practice of the socialist construction of the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin and in that of the other countries which set out on the road of socialism following the Second World War. Those who negated and abandoned these laws turned back to capitalism, while where these laws were defended and faithfully applied, as in Albania, socialism is advancing triumphantly.

Socialist Albania, with its successes, stability and brilliant prospects for the future is a magnificent monument to the doctrine of Marx, a shining example of the force and vitality of his ideas. The socialist reality of our country today assumes the value of the concrete example of a truly socialist society and of the merciless exposure of the pseudo-socialism of the modern revisionists regardless of the labels which they stick on them, such as «developed socialism», «self-administrative socialism», «democratic and pluralist socialism», or «Maoist socialism».

Their efforts to sow confusion on this cardinal problem, to spread all sorts of pseudo-socialist theories, to negate the universal laws obligatory for all countries, to advocate many models of socialism, are all doomed to failure. There is one and only one genuine socialism, because it has only one theoretical base — Marxism-Leninism, there is only one bearer of the socialist order — the working class, only one party which gives undivided leadership in its construction — the communist party, only one kind of ownership that is the basis of socialism — social ownership of the means of production, one and only one state in power — the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed: «Today there is no need to invent new socialisms... What socialism is, what it represents and what it realizes, how socialist society is achieved and built, is not something unknown. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exist. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this.



We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society has been built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.»

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At the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, the working class and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in the world reiterate with full conviction and pride that the principles and ideals of Marx are immortal while they oppose and refute the falsifications and distortions which are made of his work by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists of all hues. The heirs to and worthy continuers of Marx's work are the genuine revolutionary communists who remain loyal to the doctrine of Marx and who fight heroically to defend it and put it into practice, for the triumph of the immortal ideals of communism. The present-day revisionists may swear by the name of Marx and his doctrine, may name city squares and social institutions after him, may organize solemn ceremonies to commemorate the 100th anniversary of his death, but none of these things can cover up their great betrayal, can conceal their departure from the road of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, from the principles of solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party has always considered it an honour and its internationalist duty to come out against the campaign of slander and denigration of Marxism-Leninism by the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists, to hold high the name of Marx and his doctrine as an all-powerful doctrine, invincible like the working class itself and the peoples whose vital interests are indissolubly linked with Marxism.

Our Party has always regarded it as an honour and its internationalist duty to expose all the misrepresentations, deceptions and falsifications which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists make about Marx and Marxism and to defend his doctrine in all its purity, and vigorous scientific precision and revo-

lutionary severity, and the complete confirmation of it in the situations which emerge in the course of present-day world developments.

Enlightened by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have successfully withstood the revisionist onslaught for several decades now, have torn the masks from betrayers of Marxism one after the other and inflicted repeated political and ideological defeats on them. In his many political-philosophical works, of great theoretical and practical value, of importance for our people and the whole world communist and workers' movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with iron Marxist-Leninist logic, with many statistics and facts, has brought out all the demagogy of the revisionists, has unmasked all their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist concepts and practices and has ardently defended the fundamental principles and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defended the theory of the class struggle and violent revolution against the class conciliation and the peaceful, parliamentary reformist course of the modern revisionists. They have refuted their theories on the party and state of the entire people and have defended the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolutionary party of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy. They have exposed the revisionist theories and practices on economic, political and ideological pluralism in socialism and have defended the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the socialist economy based on the social ownership of the means of production, and the indivisible leading role of the communist party and the Marxist world outlook as the sole prevailing ideology in socialism. They have defended the principle of socialist planning of the economy and of remuneration according to work done, of democratic centralism and self-reliance, against the laws of the market, exploitation and creation of privileged bourgeois strata, against bureaucratic centralism, anarchic liberalism and dependence on enslaving foreign aid and credits. They have defended proletarian internationalism

against big-state chauvinism, and defended the peace and security of the peoples against the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

Thanks to the principled struggle which our Party and all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces have waged the modern revisionists are becoming more and more discredited in the eyes of the revolutionaries and the peoples of the world, and are emerging as they really are — anti-Marxists, and anti-socialists, allies of reaction and imperialism, savage enemies of freedom of the peoples and the revolution. Our Party will persist in this struggle of historic importance in the future, too, and will carry it through to the end, convinced that this is the only way to honourably discharge its duty to its own people and to the international proletariat.

In the great principled struggle against the enemies and renegades from Marxism, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the true spirit of Marxism-Leninism have known how to make important new generalizations and to further enrich and develop the doctrine of Marx in all directions and in all its constituent parts, such as the doctrine on imperialism and the proletarian revolution, on the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leadership of its communist party, on the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on socialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

In open and irreconcilable struggle with the aggressive and hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha has defended and further developed the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, has worked out a correct line in defence of freedom and for the development of the national liberation and revolutionary struggles of the peoples.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made and are making a contribution of great value to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the construction of socialist society, its economic, political, administrative, military, educational and cultural organization and transformation. Especially during this last quarter of a century, since the Khrushchevite betrayal, our Party has

adopted many measures for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country, measures which effect the base and superstructure of society the Party and state, economic and social relations, the forms of ownership and remuneration, education and culture, the army and defence, and, above all, the revolutionary education and tempering of people. The aim of all these measures is to block the way to the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, to secure and defend the gains of the revolution against any enemy and traitor whether internal and external to carry continuously ahead the immortal work of Marx and the great cause of socialism and communism.

This is the great historic merit of our Party, and of the leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver

Hoxha, who have known how to express their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism not just in words and sermons but in deeds, while defending it ardently, developing it creatively and applying it in the concrete conditions of our country and present-day world developments. This is active, creative, living Marxism. That is now we Albanian Marxists conceive and comprehend Marxism, not as a dogma but as a guide to action, not as an abstract theory but as a weapon of struggle, not as an illuminist doctrine but as a mighty force which transforms the world.

Because it is such Marxism is invincible. The 100 years which have gone by since the death of Marx have been full of major and minor events, zigzags and unexpected developments, but none of them has managed to cast

the slightest shadow on the name of Marx or to shake his doctrine. The name of Marx lives on in the minds and hearts of revolutionaries and progressive people world-wide, his doctrine lives on in the revolutionary liberation movement of the working class and the people of every country. The entire process of world development today is advancing on the course indicated by the immortal Marx, towards the brilliant future of mankind, socialism and communism.

Glory to the great Marx and his triumphant doctrine!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, the worthy heir to and continuator of the revolutionary work of Karl Marx!

Long live the dear and beloved leader of our Party and people, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

**«Stalin entered the ranks of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism through his principled stern struggle for the consistent defence and further development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.»**

**ENVER HOXHA**

# THE GREAT STALIN

**«ZËRI I POPULLIT»**

**ON MARCH 5, 1953 THE HEART OF THE GREAT STALIN CEASED TO BEAT. FOR THE GENUINE COMMUNISTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES THE NAME OF STALIN HAS GONE DOWN IN HISTORY ALONG WITH THE NAMES OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN, BECAUSE STALIN WAS THEIR LOYAL PUPIL, THE CONTINUATOR OF THEIR WORK, WHO ENRICHED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED THE MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENTIFIC THEORY THROUGH HIS THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY. FOR PROGRESSIVE MANKIND, STALIN WAS THE DEFENDER OF THE PEOPLES, THE GREAT ANTI-FASCIST, THE RELENTLESS FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. FOR THE ALBANIAN COMMUNISTS AND PEOPLE HE WAS THE LOYAL FRIEND, THE BRILLIANT MIND AND BIG-HEARTED COMMUNIST.**

When the fire of the National Liberation War was ablaze in the mountains of Albania, the Albanian communists and partisans loved him and had faith in him, because Party had taught them that he was the symbol of their struggle and resistance. The name of Stalin was linked with that of the great Lenin, with the Bolshevik Party and the October Revolution. It was Stalin who led the Red Army in the environs of Moscow and in Stalingrad, in Belgrade and Budapest, in Warsaw and Prague, and pursued the Hitlerite beast down to its lair in Berlin.

The love and respect of our Party and people for Stalin stemmed from deep-rooted conscious convictions, which grew stronger as they deepened their knowledge of his theoretical work and practical activity. This feeling was based on living history and could not be shaken either by the slanders and attacks of the bourgeoisie and reaction, or by the «secret» reports Khrush-

*«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania*

chev fabricated. Tito and Togliatti would applaud, the bourgeoisie and imperialism would be enthused about Khrushchev's calls for «democratization» and «liberalization», but our Party, which always judged things with Marxist-Leninist maturity, would never follow them and would not join the dangerous dance Khrushchev sought to bring it into.

From the «History of the Party of Labour of Albania» and its published documents, and especially from the books of Comrade Enver Hoxha «With Stalin», «The Khrushchevites», it becomes quite clear how the struggle over this important question developed. From the very outset, our Party saw that the question of Stalin was a great problem of principled importance, and the campaign which was launched against Stalin coincided, not by accident, with other «bold initiatives» which were taken at that time by the team in power in the Soviet Union. The Party of Labour of Albania saw the connection between the attack

against Stalin and the rapprochement of Khrushchev with Tito, the attempts of the rehabilitation of elements like Kostov, Rajk, and Koçi Xoxe, the opportunist and capitulationist policy towards imperialism. From its study of the historical moment and the development of immediate events, our Party reached the conclusion that the attack on the figure of Stalin was essentially an attack against Marxism-Leninism, the first tribute Khrushchev was willing to pay in return for the counter-revolutionary alliance that was in the making between the Khrushchevites and American imperialism. History proved the correctness of this conclusion.

The defence the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the figure of Stalin is not prompted only by the aim of doing justice to an historic personality. By defending the figure and work of Stalin the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defended, first of all, the Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideological and political line Joseph Stalin pursued for 30 years on end, during which he led the Party and the Soviet state. This was a turbulent historical period not only for the Soviet proletarian state, but also for all the world, a period in which Stalin carried out an all-sided political and practical activity that became an inseparable and essential part of the revolutionary doctrine of



**JOSIPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN**  
1879-1953



the working class. In his works Stalin analysed and further developed the fundamental principles of dialectical and historical materialism formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. This theoretical contribution together with his activity as the main leader of the Soviet Party and state constitute the essence of the figure of J. Stalin. Stalin gave leadership and guidance in the industrialization of the country, in the setting up of its powerful industry which was to play a decisive role in the victory over the nazi-fascists. Stalin worked out and carried out in practice on a broad scale the line and policy for the collectivization of agriculture. Stalin, at the head of the Party, mobilized the masses for the carrying out of the five-year plans, doing snort work of the sabotage activities of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, whom Khrushchev and his associates later were to proclaim as victims of the «personality cult». To Stalin's solicitude, revolutionary vigilance and determination belongs the strengthening and tempering of the Red Army, the purging of the ranks of the Party of the right and left opportunists, the Trotskyite and Bukharinite group elements. Stalin always strove that the Party acted and fought according to the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms.

All this constituted the target the Khrushchevite mafia had to attack in order to reach its goal for which it had been working in secret when Stalin was still alive. The plotters who were digging the grave for the October Revolution had to liquidate the revolutionary theory and practice, to attack Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat which Stalin had defended and implemented. In their feverish quest for a means which would do the trick for them without harming them, they concocted the legend of Stalin «crimes» and «despotism», fabricating facts and arguments. This legend, as history would show, was the brain-child of those who had committed those crimes themselves behind the back of Stalin, of those who were to set up their own cult and establish their own savage fascist dictatorship in

the Soviet Union, of those who were to reduce the freedom of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan under the chains of their tanks, to buy and sell countries and peoples, to dispatch their naval units and submarines all over the world, to engage in espionage and terrorism, to turn the country of the Soviets into a gaol of their own people and their state into a gendarme of other countries. Who denigrated Stalin and the epoch of Stalin? Who were those who accused him of dogmatism? It was American imperialism, the enemy of freedom and progress, the bullwark of all bloody cliques and regimes, it was Tito, Ranković and the other Titoites who set up their concentration camps to round up the communists, who killed the Albanian people in Yugoslavia or drove them out of their land, who sent in tanks and aircraft against the population and the youth that called for their legitimate rights in peaceful demonstrations. They based their attack against Stalin on the allegations of all those elements whom the dictatorship of the proletariat had condemned.

The development of events from the death of J. V. Stalin to this day has shown in an indisputable manner the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and policy Stalin mapped out and implemented. The failures in the economy and the aggressive policy of Soviet social-imperialism, the recent events in Poland, the critical economic, political and national situation in Yugoslavia are proof, not of the failure of socialism, as the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie like to make out, but of the fact that abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist theory inevitably leads to capitalism, to the establishment of the regime of the new bourgeoisie.

The peoples saw in Stalin their friend and defender, the great internationalist leader, a man modest, mature and gentle, whereas the imperialists saw in him their stern, determined and intelligent opponent. It was Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov and Co. who have impugned the dignity of the Soviet Union, which Stalin kept high even in the most difficult moments of the war, rejecting the «demands» of the

Anglo-Americans who tried to avail themselves of the situation that the attack of Hitlerite Germany had created. Pressure and blackmail, or dealings over markets and spheres of influence did not work on Stalin.

The correctness of the line of Lenin and Stalin is thoroughly proved by the experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country, by the history of our Party which has always remained loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In the space of nearly four decades the Albanian working masses have changed the aspect of their country because our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have consistently applied the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in a creative manner. Only because of this road, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has smashed the class enemy, and tempered and strengthened itself, despite all allegations of «dogmatism», «bureaucratic étatism», «isolation», etc. So our people are up and united as one around the Party, ready to cope with anyone who could dare touch their freedom and independence. For all these reasons, the stand towards Stalin has been and remains the line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries.

«Stalinism» is one of the «gravest» accusations the bourgeois propaganda uses frequently against our Party and socialist state. «Stalinism» in the mouths of the «democratic» prattlers in the pay of the bourgeoisie signifies «despotism», «totalitarianism». They give this word all the foul connotations of the bourgeois and revisionist dictatorship. For the revolutionaries the «Stalinist» is the Marxist-Leninist, the valiant and intrepid fighter for the revolution. In this sense, this attribute goes by right to our heroic Party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Our Party and people will continue the road of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Joseph Stalin. The coming generations of Albania will loyally pursue the line of their beloved Party.»

# A PRINCIPLED CONSISTENT FROM MARXIST-LENINIST POSITIONS

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

**THE COMMUNISTS, CADRES, ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY RECEIVED COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S NEW AND VERY IMPORTANT BOOK «THE TITOITES», WITH GREAT INTEREST, AND ARE READING IT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION. AS ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING WORKS OF POLITICAL-HISTORICAL SCIENCE, THIS PUBLICATION MARKS AN EVENT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIFE OF THE PARTY AND COUNTRY. IT IS A WORK OF OUTSTANDING INSTRUCTIVE AND FORMATIVE VALUE, WHICH SERVES THE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION AND TEMPERING OF OUR PEOPLE.**

**ALONG WITH SUCH WORKS AS «IMPERIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION», «REFLECTIONS ON CHINA», «THE KHRUSHCHEVITES», «YUGOSLAV 'SELF-ADMINISTRATION' — A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE», «EUROCOMMUNISM IS ANTI-COMMUNISM», THIS BOOK COMPLETES THE PICTURE OF THE STRUGGLE THE PARTY OF LABOUR AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAVE CONSISTENTLY WAGED AGAINST ALL TRENDS OF MODERN REVISIONISM, THEREBY MAKING AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE TREASURY OF OUR POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.**

The struggle against Titoism, this early variant of modern revisionism, which became the fifth column and the Trojan horse of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in the ranks of the international communist movement, constitutes a glorious chapter in the history of the Party of Labour of Albania. To the Party goes the historical credit for not only not interrupting the battle against the Yugoslav revisionists, but also for making the most complete, thorough and all-sided analysis of Titoism. Precisely its rich experience in this battle enabled our Party to be

among the first parties which uncovered and condemned the new, still greater and more dangerous betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists and the other anti-Marxist and opportunist trends.

In the struggle against the revisionists of Belgrade, as against all the other revisionist trends, the Party of Labour of Albania has never been impelled by outside factors, by anyone, just as it has never waged this struggle proceeding from its own narrow interests, from nationalist and chauvinist positions, as the bourgeois and revisionist enemies try to make out in their accusations of it. The truth, as many years of practice have shown,

is what Comrade Enver Hoxha says, namely, that right from the beginning we were convinced that we waged a correct struggle, aware that we carried out our duty as a Marxist-Leninist party, defended the supreme interests of the revolution and socialism in Albania, and those of the working people and peoples of Yugoslavia and of communism in the world.

The Party of Labour of Albania has won in the face of all internal and external enemies, has emerged victorious in all the battles of its history because it has always followed a principled, honest, correct, revolutionary and courageous line. When it came to defending principles, the Party of Labour of Albania never made bargains or compromises, never dodged any sacrifice. The reality of socialist Albania fully proves that when the principles of Marxism-Leninism are upheld, when they are implemented in conformity with the specific conditions of the country, the revolution triumphs and the process of the socialist construction of society goes forward non-stop. This is a fundamental teaching, which emerges also from the whole history of our relations with the CPY and the Yugoslav state, which Comrade Enver Hoxha unfolds in all the dramaticity of the time in his new book «The Titoites».

The Yugoslav revisionists did every-

*FOTO ÇAMI — Deputy-member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania*

# NT STRUGGLE

## TIONS *by FOTO ÇAMI*

thing in their power to swerve the Party of Labour from its correct road, to subdue it and turn it into an appendage of the Yugoslav party, to gobble up and annex socialist Albania. They committed brutal acts of interference, set up traps, organized plots and sabotage, trained open and secret agents, exercised pressure and blackmail, but in the end their cause was lost because the Party of Labour of Albania had in its hands a powerful weapon, the guiding principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, enjoyed the boundless support and sympathy of the people which gave it strength and made it still more invincible.

Through innumerable facts and documents and convincing theoretical and practical arguments the book rejects the absurd and ridiculous claims of the Yugoslavs that it is they who created the Communist Party of Albania, who gave it its line, who taught it how to orientate itself and conduct the war to victory, who showed it the road to the reconstruction of the country and the socio-economic transformations, and who gave Albania «their generous aid» after Liberation. The book is a real indictment against the Yugoslav revisionists, it shows that, as rabid and savage enemies of our Party and people they have carried out, for decades on end, an uninterrupted activity against the vital interest of the Albanian people and socialist Albania. The entire history of the relations between our two parties and states, from their first contacts until today, as is

said in the book, has been the history of the brutal interference, intrigues and continuous plots on their part to the detriment of our Party and socialist state, on the one hand, and the history of the just and principled struggle of our Party and people to uncover and smash them, without allowing them to cause serious harm, on the other hand. This has been a fierce struggle between two lines, two ideologies and two policies, which are diametrically opposed.

Although our Party was still young and had very little experience in the period of the National Liberation War, it knew how to orientate itself correctly in the complicated situations of that time, to oppose with courage the accusations of the envoys of Tito and reject their concoctions. It consistently defended the historical truth that the Communist Party of Albania was not created by the CPY, but by the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, as a logical conclusion of the development of the communist movement in Albania, as an objective necessity to cope with the grave situation of the country, as a demand of the present and the future of Albania. Even though it did not know the aims of the envoys of Tito, the Party rejected with courage their accusations of «sectarianism» and «opportunism» and defended its correct line, opposed the plans of V. Tempo for the creation of a so-called Balkan Staff through which the Titoites intended to take control of the whole liberation war of the peoples

of the Balkans. All the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists to lead astray the struggle of our people and to attack the line of the Party met with failure. Albania was liberated by the forces of its own people, without direct aid from anyone, and the Party took the reins of the country in its own hands. This major victory was in itself the most vivid and concrete evidence of the correct leadership and line of the Party.

Difficult, indeed extremely difficult was the situation that was created at the Berat Plenum and in the first years after Liberation on account of the unscrupulous and savage interference of the Yugoslavs. It was all a preposterous play behind the scenes the script of which was prepared by our «friends» in Belgrade, with Koçi Xoxe, Nako Spiru, Sejfulla Malëshova, Pandi Kristo and others in the cast. At this point, the Yugoslavs operated not only from outside, but also from inside, through their secret agents, in order to undermine and submit our Party and socialist Albania. However, even in that very difficult and dangerous situation, when the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, single-handed, without the aid of anyone, indeed, even without the advice of another sister party, clashed with the Yugoslav revisionists, they never backed down but fought heroically and never for a moment lost sight of the North Star, the unerring compass of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty interests of the Party and the people showed them.



In this way an important victory was achieved: the exposure at the 5th Plenum of the right opportunist views of Sejfulla Malëshova. With unmatched courage and maturity Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party the theses for the re-examination of the Plenum of Berat, rejected Tito's accusation about the «existence of two lines in the leadership of the CPA», etc. In spite of all machinations, economic and military pressure, etc, although they had their agents inside our Party, the Titoites did not manage to achieve their aims, failed to bring our Party to its knees.

In every historical stage and on every question, the struggle of our Party against Yugoslav revisionism has not been waged from positions of «gain» or «loss», from aims and interests of political hucksters, but from unshakeable principled positions. It defended its right course from correct positions, discharged its duty towards its own people and the cause of proletarian internationalism. From these positions it expressed first its reservations and then rejected the Albanian-Yugoslav «economic convention» which the Titoite leadership intended to use for its monstrous political aims of turning Albania into a seventh republic of Yugoslavia. Likewise, it firmly opposed the so-called «co-ordination commission» the aim of which was to become a government above the Albanian government, and exposed the Titoites availing themselves of a so-called imminent danger on our southern borders, which was all a frame up in order to station Yugoslav divisions in Albania.

The events which immediately followed: the accusations, the «orientations», «advice», «aid», even the «results» of the notorious 8th Plenum, which was the making of Koçi Xoxe at the instigation and upon directions from the Trotskyites of Belgrade, all this fully convinced our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that they had to do with savage enemies, anti-Marxist and anti-Albanians. The let-

ters of the CC of the CPSU, signed by Stalin, to the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, which condemned their anti-Marxist and Trotskyite activities, fully confirmed the correctness of the struggle in which our Party had engaged itself for a long time. «The loyalty of our parties to Marxism-Leninism had led us to the some result,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha on this point.

Through its principled and practical opposition, on the Marxist-Leninist road, to the interference of the Belgrade chiefs in the internal affairs of our country, the Party of Labour courageously defended the freedom and independence of the country, the gains of the revolution and socialism. The accusations of the Yugoslav leaders, their political and economic blackmail, pressures and threats had the one main aim of subjugating our country and placing it under the tutelage of Belgrade, of liquidating its independence and freedom, or of turning them into utterly formal expressions. In the plans of the Yugoslav Trotskyites Albania was the small country of the socialist camp in which they would make their first experiment for the application of their perfidious line against socialism.

However, all their plans and plots failed in the face of the high vigilance of the Party and the Party-people unity. Albania averted a great menace. The period of the open ideological and political struggle for the exposure and defeat of the Titoite clique — this dangerous secret agency in the pay of imperialism and world reaction, began. Even when the other revisionists of the type of Khrushchev, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai «advised» our Party of Labour to come to terms with the revisionists of Belgrade, our Party acted towards the Titoites not as Moscow wanted but as Marxism-Leninism told it, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses in his book.

A brilliant example of the lofty spirit of principle of our Party of Labour is its stand on the question of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. In his new book, Comrade

Enver Hoxha examines this question in an all-round manner, dealing with all its complex and complicated aspects, created by the policy of the imperialist powers, by Great-Serb chauvinism and by the fascist and Ballist demagogy. Our Party knew to orientate itself correctly in all this tangle, without slipping into nationalism or chauvinism. During the war it had correctly raised this question and remained loyal to the end to the principle that the question of state borders, of the status of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in the former Yugoslav Kingdom should be solved after the war and as a result of the war, according to the Leninist principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples up to secession. However, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, seriously infected with Great-Serb chauvinism, never raised this problem correctly to give it a just solution either during the war or after. It has always sought its solution in the exploitation and oppression of the Albanians of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia, in the gobbling up and annexation of the whole of Albania. This has been and still is its main aim, an aim towards which we must always be on our guard. In order to attain their hostile aims and realize their plans, the Titoites availed themselves also of their secret agent, the enemy of our Party and people, M. Shehu, whom they instructed to act even by means of an attempt at the life of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in order to change the situation in Albania. But M. Shehu and his bosses failed ignominiously.

The grave and explosive situation in Kosova, just as in the whole of Yugoslavia today, has not been created by the Party of Labour or by socialist Albania. This situation has been created by the Yugoslav leadership with its chauvinist policy and its capitalist system: «In vain Tito and his successors today have accused and continue to accuse us of fomenting the discontent and interfering in their

internal affairs. No. The evil is inside them, they have sown and tended it with their own hands, therefore, let them find it and fight it where they have it,» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out.

The struggle against the anti-Marxist views, the chauvinist policy and the savage anti-Albanian activities of the Yugoslav revisionists has further strengthened the confidence of our communists and working people in the correct line of the Party and their determination to march ahead non-stop on the road of the revolution and socialism, on which our glorious Party leads them. This is the road of the realization of the aspirations and desires of our valiant hard-working and revolutionary people, the road of the constant strengthening of the Party and its leading role, of the consolidation of the people's state power, of the defence of freedom and national independence, of the deepening of the revolution and the development of the socialist construction, of the increase of the well-being of the people. These teachings are materialized in our reality, and appear in all their splendour in the new work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, through struggles and clashes with many internal and external enemies, through titanic

efforts to cope with and overcome any storm.

All this history of incessant struggle and efforts, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his book, was a great school for the political and ideological uplift of our communists and people, a colossal experience which served us in the new battles that were imposed on us thereafter, down to our days, when we beat the trump card which the enemies kept up their sleeve for the days that would present themselves for them. The lessons we have learned from that period of interferences and principled struggles on the ideological, political and economic, organizational and military plane, remain always valid, serve us today and will serve us in the future.

From the description of the monstrous activities of the Titoites for the destruction and liquidation of the sound leadership and the entire Party of Labour, of their plots and schemes against the Albanian people and socialist Albania, everyone sees with deep love and respect the great and extraordinary role of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the inspirer, organizer and direct leader of this unprecedented struggle for the defence of the Party, of freedom and independence of the Homeland, of the victories of the revolution and

Marxism-Leninism. We all take pride in the wisdom, courage, clarity and lofty spirit of principle of our beloved leader of the Party and people.

The picture of this 40-year long struggle against such savage and dangerous enemies, which the new work of Comrade Enver Hoxha provides, makes all our communists and people still more aware that, with the Party in the lead, there is no storm that can shake them. This work educates them to love their Party as the apple of their eyes, to defend and consistently follow its correct road, to be consistent revolutionaries, to imbue themselves with all the lofty virtues of our Party, to hate the enemies and their ideology, to develop the class struggle uninterruptedly, to strengthen the unity of the people ceaselessly, and to carry forward the revolution and socialist construction.

Only through persistent work, revolutionary vigilance, and constant mobilization, always bearing in mind the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, assimilating and carrying them out to the letter, shall we always hold high the name of our heroic Party, further strengthen and develop our socialist Albania, and make the defence of the Homeland and its independence impregnable.

# FRESH TESTIMONY OF THE ANTI-ALBANIAN OF THE YUGOSLAV

## «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

*Our country has constantly expressed itself to the effect that it wants to live in good neighbourliness with all the nearby states, including Yugoslavia, but the Yugoslavs must change the conception of their policy regarding good neighbourliness with Albania and cease their hostile practices against us*

A FEW DAYS AGO A LOW-RANK EMPLOYEE OF THE FEDERATIVE SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF YUGOSLAVIA HANDED THE AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IN BELGRADE A NOTE OVER THE ATTACKS WHICH THE ALBANIAN LEADERS HAVE ALLEGEDLY MADE ON YUGOSLAVIA. THE ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR REFUSED TO RECEIVE THIS MATERIAL AND REJECTED ITS CONTENT BECAUSE IT DISTORTED THE FACTS AND REALITY IN A TENDENTIOUS, ARROGANT AND MALIGNANT MANNER.

THE EXPLANATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS WHICH THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP MAKES OF THE SPEECH OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA OF NOVEMBER 10 AND HIS BOOK «THE TITOITES» AMOUNT TO NOTHING OTHER THAN AN ENDLESS CHAIN OF OLD SLANDERS DEVOID OF ANY FOUNDATION, WHICH IT HAS BEEN CONTINUALLY MAKING FOR 35 YEARS ON END AGAINST ALBANIA, AGAINST THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, AGAINST OUR PARTY OF LABOUR AND ITS LEADERSHIP, AGAINST THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICY OF OUR COUNTRY. WE SCORNFULLY REJECT THESE SLANDERS AND INVENTIONS BELGRADE CONCOCTS UNINTERRUPTEDLY, AS IT DID THIS TIME, TOO, THROUGH A POLITICAL NOTE WHICH MAY HAVE UNPLEASANT CONSEQUENCES FOR THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

The sound public opinion in Yugoslavia and in the world will condemn this new suspicious act of the Yugoslav leadership. The effort of the chiefs of Belgrade to bring a note to oppose Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Titoites» and his speech of November 10, 1982, and use an overbearing tone of the «great power», couched in general threatening terms which cannot stand up to a single fact or event of our documents, cannot intimidate or convince anyone. This serves to show merely that the Yugoslav leadership wants to further exacerbate the relations with Albania.

We want to stress that the book «The Titoites» is not a propaganda pamphlet, but a complete, authentic and truthful historical document on the Albanian-Yugoslav relations from the time of the war until today. The historical truths it contains and the concrete events it describes cannot be wiped aside with reckless, typically Titoite political phrase-mongering. This testifies to the fact that the Yugoslav leaders lack both the sincerity and seriousness, the wisdom and the courage

«Zëri i popullit». Article published on February 2, 1983

to own up, even though in silence, the mistakes they have made. Had it been otherwise, before it came to draft this document, it ought to have reflected over what it has done against socialist Albania and the Albanians in Yugoslavia and draw reasonable conclusions which would really have opened the way for normal relations between the two countries and would have helped pacify the situation in Kosova.

The Yugoslav leadership, so full of itself, continues to think that the world opinion will see the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and the socialist development of our country through the spectacles of Belgrade. It is difficult, if ever, to find anyone anywhere, who is honest and objective, to believe in the Yugoslav lies that Albania allegedly foments trouble in the Balkans and that with its policy it allegedly threatens not only security in the region of the Balkans, but also general peace in Europe and in the world. This is absurd. If Albania were an element that foments trouble, as the Yugoslav leaders claim loudly, then why does it not do the same towards Greece, Italy or Turkey? Our neighbours have never presented any



# Y ALBANIAN POLICY V LEADERSHIP

claim to the contrary, have never had any doubts about us. With them we maintain relations of good neighbourliness, which are continuously consolidated on the basis of understanding and goodwill, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another. This is not the case with regard to Yugoslavia, the relations with which have always been replete with continuous problems and complications.

The progressive world reflects over this reality, and the book «The Titoites» provides explanations based on documents. Those who read this book clearly see that we are not responsible for the tense relations that exist between our two countries. Albania has not a special policy against Federative Yugoslavia, as the leaders in Belgrade claim. The relations are such due to the fact that for years on end the Yugoslav side has committed hostile acts, concocted plots and intrigues and carried out endless attacks against Albania, which are described with great detail and accuracy in the book «The Titoites». Historical facts show that the Yugoslav leadership has returned our friendship with treason, has returned our sincerity with perfidy.

All this anti-Albanian campaign of the Yugoslav leadership today endeavours to cover up these censurable acts of its and continues pivoting round a propaganda invention, according to which Albania attacks Yugoslavia in order to distract attention from its own internal situation, which is allegedly seriously grave. But the whole world knows the present situation of Yugoslavia and knows the situation in Albania, as well, which is very calm and can very easily make the comparison. With the noise they make, the Yugoslav chiefs want to present things as if the internal situation in Albania is unsound, but with this they reveal that they are agrieved over the enemies

we purged in Albania, something which proves that these enemies of our people were the secret agents of the Yugoslavs.

Last year in Belgrade appeared two books under the pompous titles «Albania of Enver Hoxha» and «After the Discovery of Enver Hoxha», books which had the great ambition of explaining the Albanian events to the world. We did not worry our heads about them, because we were clear that no one in any country, or even in Yugoslavia, gives any credit to the stale concoctions of the Yugoslavs against Albania. The fact is that these books had remained unsold despite the reduction of the price from 5 000 to 4 000 dinars, as an editorial of the TANJUG reported. But, although these books made no impact whatsoever anywhere, they became renowned in another aspect: over all these years they have been the only commodity in Yugoslavia in which any price reduction has been made.

Another argument of the Titoites, which has become stale and with which they think they denigrate us, is the epithet they apply to us, calling ours a «Stalinist» state. Indeed, with this they honour us, because we have never denied Stalin, who is one of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is 30 years now since Stalin has died, therefore he is not responsible for that grave economic crisis, for that great political and ideological confusion, for that great struggle for power amongst the various nationalist clans, which are taking place in Yugoslavia. These situations in Yugoslavia were not caused by Stalin, but by Titoism. Meanwhile, «Stalinist Albania», which carries out the teachings and ideas of Marxism-Leninism, advances steadily on the road of socialism, develops its economy non-stop, keeps raising the well-being and the cultural level of its working people, strengthens and consolidates its freedom, independence and sovereignty.

History cannot be distorted and written as the Yugoslav revisionists, and others of their ilk, want it. Stalin did not attack Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, nor did he build up military bases or station missiles in any country of the world. It is others who have done this, after Stalin's death, when they came to power through dark plots. It is they who have landed the world into an extremely serious situation, led it to the brink of the abyss of a third nuclear world war.

The honest people and the peoples of the world draw their conclusions from the history, and the work and figure of Stalin emerge in all their splendour. The mud that has been thrown at him is now falling back on the faces of their authors, who are renegades.

We are fully convinced that had the Soviet Union pursued the line of Stalin, today it would not have been turned into an imperialist superpower that threatens the peoples and the world, would not have been as it is today. It came to this precisely because the Khrushchevite leadership departed from Lenin and Stalin, because it abandoned the spirit of the October Revolution, because it replaced proletarian internationalism with the chauvinism and neo-colonialism of the great power.

The Yugoslavs say over and over again that socialist Albania is isolated, that it allegedly avoids international collaboration, that it is closed in itself and such other theses characteristic of a base and ungrounded propaganda. These are made for ulterior intentions to denigrate the just policy of the Albanian state. The whole world can see that Albania is not isolated, as the Yugoslav propaganda makes out, and it is not our intention to prove this fact which is recognized by everyone. We only want to say that the Yugoslavs' concern for Albania's «isolation» is aimed at exerting some pressure on us

and put us on the sinister Yugoslav road of taking credits and loans from the imperialists and social-imperialists, of opening the doors of our country to everyone — the capitalists of the West and the East. But Albania is an independent country and does not receive credits and loans, or enter the whirlpool of international palaver which is dominated by the dictate of the two imperialist superpowers. It relies on its own forces for the development of the economy and culture and for its defence. Albania does not receive credits also because they are the blood and toil of the people, the proletariat plundered by imperialism, while the Yugoslav revisionists, who live on the crumbs of world imperialism, are in fact feeding themselves from the blood and toil of the peoples and are kept alive thanks to endless loans they receive from the enemies of the peoples. Yugoslavia is a dependent country which is sold out to foreigners.

The Yugoslav leadership is so megalomaniacal that it has come to convince itself, encouraged by its numerous creditors whom it serves, that it has created the image of Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country that supports the peoples. However, the expedients it employs to attain its goal are becoming more and more ineffective and sterile.

The so-called non-aligned world sees for itself that Yugoslavia is a pawn totally aligned with the superpowers, and as the occasion or circumstances change, sometimes sides with American imperialism, sometimes with Soviet social-imperialism, but never with the peoples and the small states. Indeed, in order to enjoy the favour of the superpowers, to secure direct contacts and make various manoeuvres with Washington and Moscow, the Titoites are playing the game of factions within their own leadership encouraging the American and the Soviet lobby. For their part the American banks and all the banks of the NATO member countries hasten to pour billions of dollars into an economically bankrupt country like Yugoslavia, in order to save it from total economic and political bankruptcy. At a time when they have not food enough for themselves, the Soviets and the other Eastern countries buy from Yugoslavia goods that find no other market, for rubles. Hence, both sides are paying not for the fine utterances of the Yugoslav leaders in meetings and conferences, but for the overt and covert services they make to their hegemonic and

expansionist policy. Socialist Albania has exposed and will continue to combat and expose this false and deceptive policy of the Yugoslavs.

With its policy Albania is engaged in the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism for freedom and peace in the world. Yugoslavia fights us just because we fight the superpowers that oppress the peoples and prop up a bankrupt regime, as the Titoite regime is.

In international meetings and conferences, the Yugoslavs resort to numerous theories of «how the world should be built», giving advice about «how the stations and nations should come to terms with the superpowers», giving ready-made prescriptions of «how to solve this or that conflict», forecasting the forthcoming events, making offers, intervening, etc but achieving no result whatsoever. But the world is a witness of phenomena that oppose the policy of equilibrium the Yugoslavs recommend the others to follow towards the superpowers. It is a fact that the non-aligned countries no longer listen to and respect Yugoslavia. The demagoguery and the undermining activity of the Titoite leaders has assumed such proportions that no diplomatic politeness can tolerate. The Yugoslavs have become very particular about their jugglers' «ability», and regardless of the disdain and contempt with which honest people regard them, the Titoite emissaries make so bold as to think that Belgrade has become the third centre of world power next to the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

The peoples and revolutionary forces are now operating in the streets and public squares, and not in meetings and conferences. They clash with ever increasing vigour with the forces of the bourgeois and reactionary order. This is a blow precisely at the defeatist, pacifist spirit of compromise which the Yugoslav revisionists, also, propagate. Although the world sees that socialist Albania is concerned over every event the Titoites accuse us Albanians of failing to participate in so-called international meetings which are held for the sake of publicity and where only idle talk goes on. We give our assessments and take our stand which, unfortunately for the Yugoslavs, are always in support of the peoples and against the imperialist and reactionary forces, in favour of freedom and independence of the peoples and against national and social oppression, against imperialist war and for genuine peace

and security. All the world has forgotten the Helsinki chart which the Yugoslavs use every now and then, because it brought nothing to the security of Europe which is threatened by the superpowers.

In the Yugoslav propaganda, in the speeches of the Yugoslav leaders and in many of their official documents, they repeat over and over again their claim that Albania allegedly interferes in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders go so far as to claim that different states of the world should exert pressure on Albania which «is attacking the serene Yugoslavia.» But apart from word they are incapable of producing any fact to prove such a thing, because there is no interference whatsoever on the part of Albania in their internal affairs.

The Yugoslavs want us to cease the political-ideological polemics against the pseudo-socialist regime of Yugoslavia and let them attack «Stalinist Albania» as they like. We will never stop the polemics, but we want to stress that they, too, have never stopped their propaganda and agitation against the state power and the policy of our socialist state. They use precisely this as an argument of our interference in their internal affairs, but they forget that there is no end to their interference over 40 years in our internal affairs and not only through polemics, but with plots and intrigues, to overthrow our socialist regime.

The entire policy and activity of the Party of Labour and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been aimed at the instability or disintegration of Yugoslavia. If this exists and if it will ever happen, the causes should be sought in the Yugoslav leadership itself, in its internal and external policy.

We reiterate that we do not wish for such a situation. As for the independence of Yugoslavia, its stability, no danger has ever existed either from socialist Albania, or from the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia. The world realizes and will realize that Albania and the Albanians in Yugoslavia have always acted positively concerning the consolidation and security of Yugoslavia, in its defence from the real foreign enemies, therefore, their clamour about Albania's interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia is both absurd and ill-intentioned.

It is a slander to accuse us of being answerable for the tragic events of Kosovo. On the contrary, it is the Great-

Serb chauvinist policy that led to that situation and continues to build up the tension against the Albanians. The Kosovars and other Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia are completely right to demand, on the basis of the Constitution, the status of the Republic they are denied of and, socialist Albania will support them as it has supported them in their just demands within the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. We have always considered and consider that the demands of our brothers living in Yugoslavia are right and reasonable and that the fulfilment of these demands contributes to cohesion and normal coexistence of the different peoples who live in the Yugoslav state. We will oppose the Great-Serb oppression, the stick and the shedding of the Albanian blood in torrents, we will be opposed to the crowding of jails with Albanian youths, we will defend those whom the Kosovars defend, their rights to justice and equality in all fields.

It is common knowledge that on this problem socialist Albania has suggested the most correct, wisest and most appropriate solution of the conflicts that have broken out in Kosova for no fault of the Albanians. As Comrade Enver Hoxha declared in the report to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, we have been and are of the opinion that the Yugoslav authorities should consider the demands of the Albanians of Kosova seriously, should talk with them calmly on terms of equality, frankly and sincerely and should find out those solutions that will be acceptable for the Kosovars. Otherwise, if terror and persecutions against the Albanians and the national oppression in Kosova are not stopped, and the Kosovars still are denied their rights, the situation in Kosova will not be stabilized and the Yugoslav authorities will be responsible for this, Albania cannot be blamed.

The insinuation like that the Yugoslav note contains, claiming that Kosova and other Albanian territories are cal-

led «our territories» in Albania, is of no political advantage to the Yugoslavs. We have spoken and speak up for the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia and nothing else. The world knows how to read and understand correctly our official statements and numerous documents which testify that Albania has no territorial claims towards anyone and the Albanians in Yugoslavia have not demanded to unite with Albania. Only the Yugoslavs, who have an uneasy conscience and are blinded by chauvinism, read them upside down, or as it suits them, because they consider just the injustices done to the Albanians and, in order to cover them up they blame Albania.

Belgrade claims now that Albania is not ready to conduct cultural exchanges with Yugoslavia, including Kosova, too, because Albania failed to respond to the proposal by the Yugoslav side to sign a cultural agreement. These are speculations which are not aimed at the real development of cultural exchanges with Kosova, but at finding more excuses to attack the Albanian culture and traditions in this region.

We have developed cultural exchanges with the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, which have been normally conducted with the full approval of the Yugoslav government and in conformity with the official protocols adopted and signed by the two sides. Following the events in Kosova in 1981, the Yugoslav propaganda made a great noise to prove that the professors of the University of Tirana, who frequently delivered lectures at the Prishtina University, our artistic ensembles that performed on the stages of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, the books exchanged between different institutions, in a word, the whole practice of cultural exchanges between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Kosova province and the other Republics of Yugoslavia, were to blame. We are accused of having interfered in the internal affairs of Yugosla-

via, of having spread «irredentism» in the Albanian territories, of having indoctrinated the youth of Kosova, etc. through these lectures delivered by our professors, for these songs and dances by our folk ensembles. Many Albanians have been imprisoned because they have applauded the ensembles of their brothers from Albania, or because they were found in possession of books they have legally bought in the bookshops of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, at which they were freely sold under the existing agreements.

What kind of protocol or cultural agreement want the Yugoslavs to sign with us now? First of all, they must say whether or not they stick to their charges against our men of culture who have been to Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. Do they still consider the content of the Albanian culture, ancient and modern, to be culture that gives rise to Albanian irredentism, etc? As comes out, so far they stick to their anti-Albanian statements. What is it they want us to do? Do they want us to send our artists and creators so that we be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia? Or that the spectators and admirers of the Albanian art be imprisoned? We cannot change our history, our songs, our culture to the liking of the Serb chauvinists or anyone else. No one does this. The culture of every country, every people, is that created through centuries and materialized in books, monuments, in its language and civilization. Therefore, the Yugoslav approach is insincere, its aims are sinister and done for ulterior purposes.

In conclusion, we would like to say that the Yugoslav note is a fresh evidence of the anti-Albanian policy of the Titoite leadership and of its evil aims of stepping up its hostile line against Albania. But it must be added that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not affected by the insults, slanders, concoctions and plots, nor is it intimidated by threats. The threats do not work here.

Any other road can hardly be found.

# THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by **HASAN BANJA**

**THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, IN ALMOST FOUR DECADES OF THEIR PEOPLE'S POWER, HAVE MADE A GREAT LEAP FORWARD WHICH, IN OTHER TIMES, WOULD HAVE TAKEN A WHOLE HISTORICAL EPOCH. AN EXTREMELY BACKWARD COUNTRY IN ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BEFORE LIBERATION, ALBANIA HAS NOW BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A POWERFUL AND WELL-ORGANIZED STATE, WITH A SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF THE ECONOMY WHICH HAS GREAT STABILITY AND DEVELOPS IRRESISTIBLY IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE. FROM THE MEDIAEVAL BLIND ALLEYS INTO WHICH THE EXPLOITING CLASSES AND THE FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS REGIME HAD LED IT, IT EMERGED ONTO THE BROAD ROAD OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.**

During the period of socialist construction the productive forces have undergone an unprecedented development which is an indispensable condition for the rapid development of the country and the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. In this direction, the consistent implementation of the program of the PLA for the socialist industrialization of the country has played, a first-rate role and continues to do so. The dynamic development of industry has put it in the vanguard of economic progress.

The results achieved in the years of the people's power in the high-rate construction and development schemes of socialist industry speak of the far-sightedness of the economic policy of the Party, the correctness of the road traversed. Socialist industrialization has entered the history of socialist Albania as one of the major victories

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of the socialist political and socio-economic order.

## 1.

Until 1944, in spite of its natural wealth, Albania was a backward agrarian country with a very low level of development of productive forces, with pronounced feudal leftovers in production. The capitalist relations of production, which had begun to emerge in the Albanian towns with great delay, about the end of the first half of the 19th century, did not go farther than their first steps and remained in the primary forms of capitalism. This state of things continued even after the Proclamation of National Independence 70 years ago, in November 1912, as well as during the regime of King Zog's monarchy.

Among the main factors which caused the weakness and backwardness of the political development and the socio-economic physiognomy of pre-Liberation Albania, worth mentioning

are, in the first place, the Ottoman occupation which lasted about five centuries, the obscurantism of Zog's regime, the predatory nature of the capital investments of foreign states and monopoly companies in the economy of our country and the Italian-German occupation.

At the time when Albania proclaimed its national independence the world capitalist system had entered its highest and last stage-imperialism. One of its chief economic features, which Lenin has defined, is the export of capital to the colonial countries where «prices» for land and raw materials and hired labour are low. In these conditions, Albania was the object of the bargainings and expansionist ambitions of the imperialist states, which became more pronounced in the years of Zog's regime.

The local bourgeoisie, which was mainly a merchant bourgeoisie, not only did not stop this gradual penetration of foreign capital but, on the contrary, discriminated in its favour by all manner of means, and Albania fell a prey to the foreign imperialist powers which aimed at establishing their complete control in our country and the whole of the Balkan Peninsula. By following an «open doors» policy, the Zog government made the foreign capitalist companies concessions in the exploitation of the natural resources of our country. The agreements signed with the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Yugoslavia and other countries, especially after 1925, opened



*Socialist industrialization has  
been and remains a vital task, the decisive  
link for the fulfilling  
of the strategic economic task, which  
is the rapid development of the productive forces  
for the construction of the material-technical  
base of socialism*

the road to the penetration of capital of foreign states and monopoly companies into the economy of Albania.

By means of enslaving concessions for prospecting for and exploiting the natural resources of the country, various companies of foreign monopoly capital occupied commanding positions in the economy of the country. From the spring of 1925 foreign capital, especially Italian capital, put under control the banking and credit system, the industry of oil and natural gas, the mines, the power industry, etc. In 1933 only 2 per cent of industrial enterprises were property of the local bourgeoisie, 75 per cent were property of foreign capital and 23 per cent were joint property.

Notwithstanding the penetration of monopoly capital and the first beginnings of capitalist relations of production, the national economy before Liberation remained extremely backward and dependent. The structure of the economy was one-sided, typically agrarian. There was no industry in the true meaning of the word. The overwhelming majority of the population, or 87 per cent of it, engaged in agricultural pursuits and only 13 per cent was engaged in industry, transport, trade and in the credit system. The one-crop system, mainly cereals and especially maize, prevailed in agriculture. In 1938 maize occupied 56.6 per cent of the farmed land, while industrial crops (cotton, sugar-beet, sunflower which provide raw materials for industry) occupied only 1.3 per cent

of it. In the same year, motor power accounted for less than one per cent of the total draught power in agriculture.

The part of industry in the economy of the country was negligible. In 1938, which is assumed as a comparison basis for the prewar level, total industrial production (at 1931 prices) accounted for 6.6 per cent of joint industrial and agricultural production at a time when in other Balkan countries it occupied 25 or 35 per cent of it. In this year industry represented only 3.3 per cent of the national income (always at 1938 prices). The structure of industry speaks of its backwardness. The essential branches of industry such as the power, fuel, heavy extracting and engineering industries either did not exist or were very little developed.

What industry existed was represented by some primitive factories and workshops, mainly of the light and food-processing industry, distributed without any sound economic criteria. In 1938 the food-processing industry accounted for 44.3 per cent of total industrial production, and the light industry 28.4 per cent. Both these branches provided about three-fourths of industrial production.

Manual work prevailed in industry. The enterprises equipped with some kind of technical means did not constitute more than 1.4 per cent of the total number of enterprises. Technicians and skilled workers were almost totally lacking. There were no more than 15 thousand workers, most of

them craftsmen, and 380 skilled hands with high education in all the structure and superstructure of Albanian society.

As a consequence, both the absolute level of industrial production and the level per capita was very low, and the import-export balance and the state budget were passive and showing great deficits. Imports met most of the limited needs for goods of prime necessity, as well as for productive and individual consumption. In the period 1929-1938 the value of machinery and technical equipment imported accounted for only 2.5 per cent of the total value of import.

The Italian-German occupation that followed destroyed whatever existed of the productive forces of the economy, in general, and industry, in particular. Reckoned per capita of population, the damage caused to the Albanian economy in the years of the Second World War is among the highest in Europe.

So, before the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, Albania was a backward country with a very low level of economic development, without industry, with feudal-bourgeois relations of production, a country of national and social oppression and religious strife, a country which had begun to take the first steps on the capitalist road of production, but did not succeed in advancing far on this road.

2.

The complete liberation of Albania on November 29, 1944 created the conditions for the rapid socio-economic development of the country on the road of socialism. The main role in this direction was to be played, as is now, by a national industry capable of carrying forward its own development and that of the other branches of the economy and agriculture, in the first place.

Socialist industrialization has been and remains a vital task, the decisive link for the fulfilling of the strategic economic task, which is the rapid development of the productive forces for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

In the conditions of the socio-economic development of our country socialist industrialization has been and still is dictated by a number of factors of an ideological and socio-economic character, the more important of which are:

A contradiction arose between the advanced political power which was established in November 1944 and the economic base of socialism which was achieved in the sixties, on the one hand, and the existing level of the production forces; the political power and the system of socialist relations of production, both in town and countryside, could no longer rely on a low level of development of the productive forces. For this contradiction to be overcome, an important role had to be played by the development of the production forces at rapid rates, the development of all the branches of the sphere of material production, industry in the first place, with precedence. The first condition for the development of industry was created with the liberation of the country, with the deep-going revolutionary socio-economic transformations that were carried out. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The transition of our country from a state of semi-feudal technical-economic backwardness directly to the construction of socialism, skipping the phase of developed industrial capitalism, put before our Party the vital task of creating an industry through the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country.»<sup>1</sup>

For the political power to be incessantly consolidated and strengthened,

for the class structure of society to be changed radically and the rapid socio-economic development of the country to be ensured, the working class, as the backbone of political power, of the alliance with the cooperativist peasantry and the social force of economic progress, has to grow and develop constantly. In this question the task is, through the development of industry and its territorial distribution according to sound economic criteria, as close as possible to the sources of raw materials, the lines of communication and the regions of consumption, to ensure the numerical growth of the working class, to increase its part in the total number of the population, to continually raise its political, educational, cultural and technical-professional level, to ceaselessly raise and improve its managing and organizing skills in social production.

The rapid development of industry according to a single state plan and the social policy in the territorial distribution of industry have enabled the numerical growth of the working class and its presence throughout the territory of the country. So, industry gives great assistance in eliminating economic backwardness and economic distinctions between regions, districts and cities of our country.

As a result of this economic policy in the development and distribution of industry, the part of workers in the total structure of the working population has increased from 28.2 per cent in 1960 to 42 per cent in 1979 (when the census of the population was taken); and in 1985 is envisaged to reach 46.5 per cent.

With its main branches and sub-branches industry is in a position to guarantee the rapid technical advance of the whole people's economy, to ensure the creation, development and constant modernization of the material-technical base of large-scale socialist production. It ensures the high-rate growth of the productivity of social work and, on this basis, the increase of the social product, the increase of other means of production, work objects and consumer goods.

Socialist industrialization ensures the all-round development of the socialist economy of the country, especially agriculture. Industry renders great assistance to the development of agriculture, to its equipment with work

means, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides, to increasing the degree of mechanization, to the large-scale and all-round modernization and intensification of agriculture. V.I Lenin said, «The only material base of socialism can be the big machine industry which is in a position to reorganize agriculture, too.»<sup>2</sup>

In the conditions of Albania, the high-rate development of agriculture has major importance. Albania is a country with a limited surface of arable land, most of its area being mountainous. A good part of the population lives in the countryside and has linked its living with agriculture. The role and place of agriculture in the economic life of the country is determined by a number of political and social-economic factors. In the first place, agriculture produces the bread and other food-stuffs necessary for the living of the people and the supply of industry with raw materials of agricultural and livestock origin, without which work in the light and food-processing industries would be made very difficult. At present 85 per cent of the needs of the population are met with locally produced consumer goods of agricultural and livestock origin or with industrial products from agricultural raw materials. Agriculture has a great role in the employment of the population and in the creation of the national income. It is an important source of exports. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «firm reliance of our national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development and for enhancing its degree of autonomy.»<sup>3</sup>

Consistently following the line of socialist industrialization and the line of the socialist transformation and development of the countryside and agriculture, in the first period, by the year 1955, Albania was on a whole transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country. With its entering into this new historical stage of the complete construction of socialist society in the 60's, the process of socialist industrialization was further deepened and Albania embarked on the road of its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country. This is an unchangeable fundamental line of the economic po-

licy which is being gradually implemented in the conditions of the all-round and rapid development of both industry and agriculture.

The proportionate and harmonious development of industry and agriculture is always based on a given material base. Most of the accumulation fund, the fundamental investments and hard currency, are channelled into the development of industry and agriculture (63 to 68 per cent of state fundamental investments have been employed in these two branches).

The deepening of the process of socialist industrialization of the country has led to the gradual improvement of the structure of social production which has brought about an increase in the share of industry in the composition of industrial and agricultural production. This is realized while constantly increasing agricultural production at the same time.

The development of the productive forces in industry has never been carried out dissociated from agriculture or at its cost. At the same time, the development of agriculture does not slow the rates of the socialist industrialization of the country. The development of industry to the detriment of agriculture would slow down the construction of socialism in the countryside, the village would lag much more behind the city, the development of the productive forces would mark time and, as a consequence, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry would be prejudiced. Such an approach would compromise the policy of industrialization, because industry cannot develop without agriculture assisting. On the other hand, the development of agriculture at the cost of industry is equally unacceptable, because it would hamper its own development. The slowing down of industrialization rates would affect the development of agriculture. Therefore, the Party has always attached particular importance to the relations between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

As long as the world capitalist system exists, industrialization is an absolute necessity for our country to ensure and strengthen its economic independence and defence potential against the plots and aggressive activities

of imperialism and social-imperialism. Industrialization ensures the development of the economy according to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance.

In order to further their aims of expansion and subjection of the people the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie, with their sermons about «limited sovereignty» or «the inter-dependence of nations», come out in opposition to the principle of self-reliance and industrialization of other countries. According to them, the agrarian and underdeveloped countries must remain at their present situation, because they lack financial means, material and technical resources, as well as skilled workers for industrialization. The imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie claims that the other countries would be overreaching themselves, in forces and means, if they took any step towards industrialization. These capitalist-revisionist concepts and practices are intended to justify the «necessity» of the political and economic dependence of other countries; they want to remain «the factory of the world» in order to keep the peoples under their umbrella.

This is what the Titoite, Khrushchevite, and later, the Chinese revisionists tried to do with Albania. This is what the enemies of the Party and the Albanian people tried to do when they sabotaged industrialization, especially in the key branches of industry, like that of oil, etc. The PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, smashed these hostile views and attempts.

Along with this, the PLA gave a correct and timely solution to the problem of the sources of socialist industrialization. For this, particular attention was paid to ensuring financial means, raw materials, the energy base, as well as to training skilled workers, engineers and technicians.

The income realized in the socialist sector of the economy served and continues to serve as a source of financial means. The importance and volume of this income has increased along with the development of the socialist sector of the economy, the increase of the productivity of social labour, the growth of the productivity of labour, the lowering of cost and the constant strengthening of the frugality

regime, the increase of the national income and the policy followed in its distribution into accumulation fund and distribution fund. The net centralized state income and the net surplus income of enterprises, etc, account for 86 per cent of all the budgetary income now, as against 50.7 per cent in 1960 and about 70 per cent in 1970. Of all the national income realized in the 6th Five-year Plan about 30 per cent was earmarked for accumulation, more than 62 per cent were employed to increase the main means of production. On this basis investments for the development of industry have grown from one five-year plan to the other. On an average, during the recent 20 years about 45 per cent of investments have been used for the development of industry and in the 7th Five-year Plan about 46 per cent of investments will go to the development of industry.

Socialist society has all the possibilities to concentrate the accumulation funds in the finance and credit system and to use them in a planned manner for the development of the economy and industry, in particular.

This is a correct economic-financial policy, and this is even more valid for a small country like Albania, which builds socialism relying completely on its own forces, without any credit or «aid» from abroad.

### 3.

In the economic policy for the socialist industrialization of Albania stand out some principles to which the PLA and the socialist state adhere resolutely.

In the first place, the development of our national industry is carried out with heavy industry, which constitutes the heart of industrialization, having precedence. This has been and remains a correct and unshaken principle for the development of industry.

In this question our policy of industrialization aims at creating an industry which ensures the fullest and most effective possible utilization of natural resources so as to meet the growing needs of the economy, the people and the defence of the country ever better.

First, extracting industry occupied a central place in the development of heavy industry and, with the creation

of appropriate conditions later, the heavy processing industry was gradually developed in order to increase the degree of the economic utilization of the natural resources of the country, to expand the volume and improve the structure of our exports. Without developing heavy industry, without resolving the problem of the production of means of production, and the work implements, in the first place, there can be no rapid and independent development of the national economy, the self-sufficient technical-scientific revolution cannot go forward, the high-rate development of socialist extended reproduction and, on this basis, the production of broad consumer goods, cannot be ensured.

Industry has developed and continues to develop at high rates. Figures over many years show that industry has grown at rates higher than the other branches of the economy. In the 6th Five-year Plan, too, in spite of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian and sabotaging activity of the Chinese revisionists the average annual increase of industrial production was 6.2 per cent, and that of the production of means of production 8.7 per cent.

The policy of socialist industrialization in the PSR of Albania has been aimed, along with the development of the heavy extracting and processing industry, at the development of the light and food-processing industries, at increasing the volume and assortment of consumer goods and improving their quality. These branches of industry occupy an important place in the composition of total industrial production. In 1980 they accounted for 40 per cent of industrial production.

#### 4.

Socialist industrialization has been and remains in a central place in the economic policy of the PLA and the achievements in this field have first-rate importance. A direct result of the economic policy followed by the PLA is the creation and development of the national industry based on sound economic criteria and on a modern technical base. In his meeting with the electors of the electoral zone. No. 210 of Tirana in November 1982, on the occasion of the elections for deputies to the People's Assembly of Albania,

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «With our industrial products now we meet the needs of the people for a ceaselessly growing consumption, meet the needs of a dynamically developing economy, fulfil the requirements for the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland. Industry has now become the main source of socialist accumulation and of income from exports. It is a first-rate factor in our complete self-reliance.»

Industrial production has increased at high rates compared with the other branches of the sphere of material production. The means of production have increased with priority. In 1980 total industrial production (at 1981 prices) was 138.3 times as great as in 1938 and 5.5 times as great as in 1960, while it doubled compared with 1970. The production of means of production grew about 176.8 times and that of consumer goods grew about 100 times during this period. In 1980 the production of means of production (Group A) (always at 1981 prices) accounted for 64 per cent of the total industrial production as against 48.9 per cent in 1960 and 57 per cent in 1970. Likewise, in 1980 as against 1950, the country produced about 35 times more coal, 19 times more chromium ore and 54 times more copper ore. Again in 1980 the production of electric energy was 3.9 times that of 1970, 19 times that of 1960 and about 174 times that of 1950. The electric power produced by hydro-power stations, which has increased at more rapid rates than that produced by thermal-power stations, accounts for the greater part of electric power production.

The extracting industry and that of the primary and deep processing of oil and gas has also developed at rapid rates. The development of the oil industry is such as not only to meet the needs of the national economy, but also to ensure products for export.

Ferrous metallurgy is a completely new branch of our industry. The «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex of Elbasan smelts iron-nickel ore and produces more than 50 kinds of steel.

Albania has set up a powerful electric industry. It is characteristic that the production of electric power has increased at more rapid rates than the growth of total industrial production. Albania meets all its needs for electric power, and exports part of it. For

the distribution of electric power throughout the country have been built 1.6 million km of high and low tension lines, thousands of sub-stations and transformer cabins which form a single broad and complex energy system. In October 1970 the electrification of all the villages and dwelling centres of the country was completed.

The engineering industry has developed at high rates, too. It is in a position not only to ensure the maintenance of the existing machinery of the national economy, meeting about 95 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts, but also to produce machinery and equipment as well as complete industrial factories and workshops.

Sound foundations have been laid for the development of an industry for organic and inorganic chemicals. Albania now produces sulphuric acid, ammonium, nitric acid, ammonium nitrate, caustic soda and soda ash, pesticides and herbicides for agriculture. All these are produced on a large scale and meet the needs of the economy ever better. The development of the chemical industry, and especially of the industry of chemical fertilizers, has given a fresh impulse to the rapid increase of the yields of agricultural crops. The quantity of active matter for every hectare of arable land has grown at rapid rates.

At the outset of the 70's industrialization in Albania entered a new higher phase, the fundamental feature of which is the priority and high-rate development of the heavy and extracting, industry, without neglecting the light and food-processing industries. This phase saw the speeding up of the process of the transformation of Albania from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country for building the material-technical base of socialism at more rapid rates and increasing the export of manufactured goods.

The main feature of the development of industry is that, along with the expansion of the mineral extracting and fuel industries, now the first important steps forward have been taken to set up and develop further, in extension and depth, new branches of the heavy processing industry, such as the full-cycle ferrous metallurgy for the smelting of the iron-nickel ore, the non-ferrous metallurgy (copper



and chromium), the deep processing of oil to increase the degree of utilization and the improvement of the oil sub-products, the organic and inorganic chemical industry.

In the beginning of industrialization the priority development of the heavy industry focussed on the rapid development of the extracting industry which occupied the main place in the production of means of production. The organization of the geological service, and its rapid development, its coverage of the whole territory of the country, its strengthening with cadres and means, enabled the expansion of knowledge of the natural resources of the country. Along with this the mining industry developed and new prospects were opened for the development of the processing industry.

Geological discoveries created conditions and possibilities for the building of a great number of mines which, in regard to their extracting capacity and technology, as well as the system of exploitation and technical safety, are far superior over the few primitive mines inherited from the past.

As a result of industrialization, the structure of the social product and, especially industrial production, has changed radically. The part of industrial production in the social product increases, while the specific weight of heavy industry increases within the total industrial product.

The priority development of heavy industry creates material possibilities for high rates of extended socialist reproduction, for equipping the other branches of the industry and the people's economy with work implements, for developing and increasing the production of broad consumer goods and increasing the national income.

The development of heavy processing industry has led to the further strengthening of the economy. During the recent five-year plan many combines, factories and workshops for smelting minerals, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the deep oil-processing plant, factories for the enrichment of minerals, etc have been built and come into production.

Although heavy industry has developed with priority in the process of industrialization, it was neither possible nor necessary for Albania to set up, right at the beginning, a complex heavy industry, with all its branches.

Our country has never followed an autarkic economic policy in the development of industry, either. Albania will continue to import from other countries with a high level of industrial development the technical and technological equipment and machinery for its own major industrial projects, which it does not produce itself. Albania develops commercial relations with these countries on the basis of the known principles of equality, respect of national and territorial sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

##### 5.

The achievements up to now in the development of industry created a sound basis for deepening the process of industrialization in the 80's, which set on with the 7th Five-year Plan for the period 1981-1985 and the directives of which were endorsed at the 8th Congress of the PLA, in November 1981.

According to the fundamental economic task of this five-year plan the process of industrialization enters a new stage of quantitative and qualitative development. In the development of industry, this new stage distinguishes itself for some characteristics, the principal of them being: the consolidation of the many-branched structure of industry, with priority always being given to heavy extracting and processing industry; the maintenance and further improvement of the positive energy balance of the country, the further development of the mining industry through the increase of the production of minerals and the introduction of new minerals into economic circulation; the further raising of the degree of processing and economic utilization of minerals and fuels; the raising of the engineering industry to a new, higher level, as required by the technical and scientific advance for the expansion, reconstruction and modernization of their production; more complete utilization of the material-technical base of production already created, the increase of the production of broad consumer goods, the extension of the assortments and the improvement of their quality; better utilization of in-

dustry for the all-round intensification of agriculture and the further strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

In 1985, as compared with 1980, total industrial production is envisaged to increase 36-38 per cent, of which the production of means of production 38-40 per cent and the production of consumer goods 33-35 per cent.

In the context of the development of heavy industry and the production of means of production the mining industry occupies an important place. This branch of industry ensures objects of work which are irreplaceable primary materials for the development of the branches of the heavy and processing industry that have been, are being and will be set up in the future in our country. Under the 7th Five-year Plan, with the development geological research has assumed the mining industry will be expanded further. In 1985, as against 1980, the extraction of chromium ore will increase about 29 per cent, copper ore about 53 per cent, iron-nickel about 2.5 fold, the extraction of phosphorites, quartz, mineral salt, marble, dolomites, olivinites, magnesite, bauxites, nickel-silicate, alabaster, etc will also increase. Important measures will be taken for enriching minerals, increasing the degree of intensification of their extraction and their economic upgrading.

As always, the development of the fuel and electric power industry precedes the high-rate development of industry, in general, on the basis of the development and more complete exploitation of energy resources, oil, gas, coal and, in the first place, hydro-energetic resources. In the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future the structure of the general energy balance of the country will be improved further in favour of hydropower. Albania has set up a powerful and independent energy system which meets the needs of the country and ensures important incomes in hard currency from the export of electric power and oil by-products. The development of the oil and gas industry is the main task in the field of energetics in the 7th Five-year Plan. In 1985, as against 1980, the extraction of oil will increase 58-60 per cent, coal about 48 per cent and the production of electric power about 16 per cent, of which 14 per cent from

hydro-power stations. To this end work is under way for the construction and partial commission, within this five-year plan period, of the Koman hydro-power station which is the biggest built in the country until now. The expansion of production and utilization of coal to replace, to the greatest possible degree, the use of liquid fuels and the rational and frugal use of all energy resources are another major task of this five-year plan. The 7th Five-year Plan is a consolidation of what has been done in the development of the branches of heavy processing industry. The coming into production of powerful factories has increased the value of our exports and has brought about important changes in their structure. In 1981, the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan the No. 2 blast furnace and other new projects were commissioned at the Elbasan metallurgical complex. During the years of this five-year plan the factory for the production of nickel and metallic cobalt and many other major projects of our ferrous metallurgy will be built. In 1985 industrially manufactured products will account for a greater part of the total volume of our exports. In this five-year plan exports from the heavy industry will ensure twice as much income in hard currency as in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980). Processed products will account for 73 per cent of all exported goods.

This has opened up broad prospects for the further development of industry and the qualitative improvement of the structure of the national industry and industrial production, in general. This will enable the heavy processing industry to gradually occupy first place in the production of means of production.

Broad prospects are opened to the further qualitative development of the engineering industry. Relying on the existing advanced and powerful mechanical base there are all the possibilities to go over, on a larger and

better organized scale, to the production of machinery and equipment for mines, for agriculture and the other branches of the economy, as well as to set up new factories and production lines relying completely on our own forces. The engineering industry has already become a powerful support base not only for the maintenance of the park of machinery at the disposal of the economy and its constant regeneration, but also for the creation and development of new production capacities. While the total production of the engineering industry will increase 43-45 times, the regeneration of spare parts will go up 54-65 per cent and the production of machinery and equipment 56-58 per cent.

The chemical industry will develop further. On the basis of the deep processing of oil, gas and other primary materials, petrochemistry, specializing in the production of synthetic fibres, plastic materials, other chemical fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides and herbicides, as well as broad consumer goods, will begin to be developed.

With the development of industry, combining extensive with intensive development assumes particular importance. The road of extensive development represents one type of the development of industry and the economy, in general, in which production expands by increasing the number of new enterprises, while the road of intensive development is that type of development whereby production is expanded through increasing the productivity of labour and the effectiveness of production, extending the range of assortments, improving the quality of production, which is achieved through improving technological processes, raising the educational, cultural and technical-professional level of the workers, as well as improving the management and organization of production.

As a rule, these alternate ways of development are interlaced and condi-

tion each other. In our country, too, the development of industry up to now has been achieved by combining extensive with intensive development. This course will be followed in the future, too, but it will be better combined with the intensive development of industry, with a high-rate increase of the productivity of labour, because our working class now is better trained, more experienced and skilled and, therefore, is in a better position to increase the productivity of labour. Along with this, still in the context of the technical scientific revolution, many existing industrial enterprises will be modernized and new ones set up. That is why in the 7th Five-year Plan 86 per cent of the increase of industrial production is envisaged to be achieved from better utilization of the existing production capacities, from their reconstruction and modernization, and only 14 per cent from new projects which will be set up and come into production in the course of this five-year plan.

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The road followed and the achievements up to now in the development of industry create greater possibilities and open up new perspectives to extend the degree of knowledge of the natural resources of the country, to study and prepare their introduction into economic circulation and raise the economic effectiveness of industry, so that it enhances its role in the general socio-economic development of the country on the road of socialism.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 20, p. 121, Alb. ed.

2 V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 552, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971*, pp. 73-74, Alb. ed.

# LITERATURE AND ARTS TOWARDS A NEW QUALITATIVE LEAP

*by* **DRITËRO AGOLLI**

*Socialism and its reflection in art enliven  
and refresh the cells of literary artistic creation*

**OUR LITERATURE AND ARTS HAVE BECOME AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE BECAUSE THEY HAVE FOCUSED ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE, THEIR HISTORY, THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE DAY-TO-DAY WORK AND PROBLEMS AND THE BATTLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE IDEALS OF COMMUNISM. THEY PLAY NOW A GREAT ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD OUTLOOK OF PEOPLE, THE ENRICHMENT OF THEIR SPIRITUAL WORLD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL OPINION. PROCEEDING FROM THEIR ROLE IN SOCIETY, AS THEY TREAT CARDINAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM, WE ALSO SPEAK OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE AND ART, THE GREAT VALUES WHICH SOCIALISM, ON ITS ROAD OF CONSTRUCTION, HAS CREATED. THEREFORE, AT ITS 8TH CONGRESS THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA MADE A HIGH ASSESSMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART, OPENED UP BROAD HORIZONS AND SET IMPORTANT TASKS TO ALL THE CREATIVE FORCES OF THE COUNTRY.**

This assessment is based on the reality of the artistic and literary creations of recent years and their process of development. They have some features which distinguish them from those of the previous periods. Among them we can mention:

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The enrichment of art in content and form, which results from the strengthening of the socialist spirit, is a process which must be further deepened. The socialist spirit is felt in the broader reflection of present-day life, as a consequence of the ever growing interest of the creative forces in the great variety of themes and problems present-

ed by the socialist reality. This spirit is also seen in the works of art treating problems from the historical past and the National Liberation War.

Another feature is that a more correct ratio has been established between themes from life in socialist society and the historical past, although some problems still remain in this field. However, it must be said that life, its acute problems, the uplift of the cultural level of people, the all-round development of their personality and the extension of the frontiers of their knowledge exercise a powerful pressure on artistic creativeness which must turn its attention more towards life and establish a more correct ratio between themes from the present and from earlier history.

An important feature is that the literary and artistic activity has assumed extensive development in all its kinds and genres: literature, cinematography,

theatre, figurative arts, music and choreography. Let us take an example from literature. From the year 1976 to the end of 1980 we have seen 996 titles published, of which 128 novels. The League of Writers and Artists has swelled its ranks to include 1,500 members and candidate members, apart from hundreds of new talent and thousands of amateurs. An activity of such unprecedented proportions is bound to yield valuable works that enrich the treasury of literature and art.

In the field of more recent creativeness worth mentioning is the ever growing preoccupation of the writers and artists about their own ideological, aesthetic and cultural formation. This the creativeness of each of them. In their creative process they have thrashed out problems of art content and form, discussed principles and methods of the developing socialist revolution. Some questions of the deepening of the socialist spirit and national originality are treated far more extensively than several years before and the cultural and professional level of writers and artists is in constant rise.

From a rapid excursion into the literature and art of the recent period we notice undeniable achievements which make us optimistic about the perspective of artistic production. However, considering literature and the arts from the heights of the 8th Congress of the Party, we find ourselves faced with many problems, the correct solution of which will quicken the transition to a new qualitative leap in literary and artistic activity.

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The demands of our society for higher quality in literature and art are not unattainable, abstract ones. Qua-

lity is not the result of a simple addition of expression means used in the process of creation, but the result of a whole development connected with the world outlook of the writer or artist, his truthful, though artistic, reflection of the essence of the life of the people in socialist society and in the historical past. When we lay the stress on a more complete reflection of life, this means that we have to go deeper into it, because it is precisely in the great socialist reality that phenomena and problems are more acute and their reflection calls for a high artistic level in literature and the arts. We live in the socialist reality and when we see it reflected in art, we immediately feel both the beauty of the artistic work and its faults. Conversely, in a book reflecting the past, the reader does not notice its faults so easily, since he is attracted by the plot, by what is romantic and exotic in it. On the other hand, in reflecting the past we have gained an experience from both national and international sources. Here come into play our great teachers, the classics, with their works. The reflection of the past lacks the acute problems of the present reality in which we live and with which we are confronted every day. In the works treating problems of the present-day reality there is the invariable difficulty of coping with a complex reality, with complex phenomena which demand an all-round ideological, cultural and aesthetic formation.

True art is tendentious, since without being tendentious the artist cannot defend his views and fight for his lofty aims. Engels is quite outspoken about the problem of tendentiousness. Speaking in favour of this feature of progressive art, he says: «I think that tendentiousness should emanate from the milieu and from action, that we must not overstress it, and that the writer is not compelled to provide the reader with ready-made historical so-

lutions to the social conflicts which he depicts.»<sup>1</sup>

Cut and dried treatments of problems have overdoses of tendentiousness, expressed through pompous-sounding phrases. The use of pompous phrases necessarily demands the squeezing of all ideas and principles of a manifesto in to one work, however small it may be. A manifestation of schematic phraseologism is the polishing and embellishment of the reality, the idealization of the hero and the milieu. Schematism is sometimes responsible for the harm caused to generally positive works of writers of talent an literary experience, preventing them from going to the end of the conflict or leading them to shifting the main stress from the principal to the trivial.

Our literature and arts, in the first place, point out the new phenomena in life, but they also stigmatize everything which inhibits their development; they exalt the bold builders of socialism, the working people, the peasants and the intellectuals: the main place in them is occupied by the positive hero while enemies, traitors, scribblers, criers and individualists are made the target of stern criticism. Our society is strong, and with the struggle it wages against every difficulty and inhibiting phenomena it becomes even more so. The atmosphere in our society is so healthy that even the extreme individualist finds it hard to act freely. One of the missions of socialist arts is to educate moral fortitude, therefore it finds such heroes as try to live up to their own ideals. Such heroes may even look unsensational, unglamorous. We have works which reflect such heroes. The main tendency in such works is: the ordinary man harbors in himself lofty moral virtues, which, when revealed in dramatic moments, shine in all their human splendour.

Today even the greatest artist must



develop and enrich his means of expression, otherwise time, discards him. This development of structures and forms we see from the vantage point of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, without separating it from its content. Marx says: «Form is devoid of all value if it is not the form of the content.»<sup>2</sup> The new does not lie in the form, but in the personality of the artist, in his world outlook. This personality and outlook can make form advance and break off with routine.

These, in turn, have to do with artistic skill, without which literarism and schematism cannot be combat through to the end. «To take up the theme of the day, to write about the positive hero, the socialist reality, etc is not enough. This alone, without artistic skill, cannot arouse emotion, cannot educate or inspire you for the present and the future.»<sup>3</sup>

I want to stress that we must make more efforts in this direction, aware that any superficial reflection of life in socialist society is a hangover of the past and as such is alien to the method of socialist realism.

A more thorough reflection of the socialist society requires from writers and artists a more comprehensive understanding of the themes of present times. The theme of the day in our literature and arts has two broad aspects: that which reflects the National Liberation War and that which reflects the period of the socialist construction of the country. These two aspects constitute one single theme, completing each other, and being treated with growing maturity in our literature and arts. Sometimes by actual themes people understand themes of the day or the moment, day-to-day events and momentary achievements of individuals of collectives. Actual themes are something else. They are major events in the life of society, events which form the background of major moments. Art is the generalization of events and

the destiny of man in dramatic and important moments of history. It portrays our time, our hard struggle and work, the great transformations of our society, our socialist advance in town and countryside. First and foremost, it exalts man. Our literature and arts have now gained a rich experience in the reflection of the man of our time, the man of the socialist ideals. Even though our literature and arts have made a great contribution to the reflection of the man of our time, of his work in the construction of the new society, even though they have reflected the great epoch of socialism, these are still many shortcomings in the observation of the processes of development of socialism and the new phenomena of life. In many cases they treat only the simpler processes of development, the day-to-day manifestations of life, without going deeper into them, therefore there must be an extension of the gamut of themes in literature and the arts so that they comprehend with greater depth and variety all our socialist life. Compared with the rates of transformation of society and the psychology of people, artistic creativeness, as an ideological and aesthetic phenomenon, lags behind, if it fails to take account of life which changes rapidly. Our literature and arts will make a qualitative leap only if they find their nourishment in real life. This will ensure them a broader range of themes. Here lies the special importance of contemporary themes for literature and the arts in the present stage of the development of our society.

Psychological insights is imperative especially for the works of prose and drama, which reflect the emergence and growth of the new man. In poetry, a more profound content will relieve it more and more of rhetorical and declamatory elements, while reaffirming its lyrical and epic elements in

the artistic analysis and expression of the spiritual world of man.

The many-sided reflection of life in socialist society gives new features to the national character of literature and the arts. Since socialism is built in a given country and in special historical conditions, literature and art which reflect this process must have their own original features. Our literature, its content and form, are closely connected with the national way of life, with the economic, political and cultural peculiarities of the country, with the spiritual formation of people and the entire history of the nation. The national originality of the writer is clearly reflected in his work, in its content and its means of expression, in its general spirit and its style.

One of the most distinguishing and most active features, which express the national character of our artistic creativeness, is the patriotic spirit of the writer and the originality of this patriotism. A genuine writer is a patriot who fights for the advance of his country. His patriotism is conspicuous in all his work, down to the tiniest detail, even in the manner in which the home landscape is depicted. But the reflection of national peculiarities and the national character, in general, cannot be achieved in isolation from the class struggles and from history. The question of the national character in the creative activity of the writer is closely linked with his ideological tendentiousness. The ideological position of the writer determines the degree of his patriotism and the national character of his production. The reactionary writer, the collaborator with the fascists, Father Gjergj Fishta, wrote in Albanian was a past master of the octametre, expressed the originality of the Albanian milieu, made skilful use of popular songs, but his ideological tendency was anti-popular, because it represented the interests of the exploiting, anti-demo-

cratic and obscurantist classes. The national character and «originality» of Fishta set him apart from the reactionary writers of other countries, but his reactionary ideological tendency united him with them. With the English writer and poet Kipling the national character is expressed in his descriptions of the present-day adventurous colonizer who enslaves the peoples. In the present-day Albanian writer the national character is revealed in his patriotism, in his love of country, in his struggle for the construction of socialism and in his internationalist spirit. The assessment of the national element in the creativeness of a writer is connected with the popular spirit of his production. A work of popular spirit is one which expressed, to a high degree, the progressive interests and aims of the people, which is accessible to the people, both in content and form. The popular spirit is expressed when the writer takes up problem from life which have great importance for the entire people. Without a popular spirit the national character cannot be expressed. The highest form of expression of the popular spirit in art is proletarian partisanship, the very essence of class tendentiousness, the ideology of the working class. Proletarian partisanship places art in the service of socialism, in the service of the communist education of the man. Socialism fully expresses the interests of the peoples. Therefore, socialist art is profoundly popular. The national character is not unchangeable category. It develops with the advance of society and assumes ever new features. The more complete reflection of life will further enrich it and the arts will gain ever new originality.

Socialism and its reflection in art enliven and refresh the cells of literary-artistic creation. The problem today is not that we have few works of art which treat the socialist reality

in all its diverse aspects. We have many productions of literature, cinematography and the figurative arts which deal with its problems. But many of them do not treat the fundamental aspects of this reality.

The writer feels that he is one of the builders of socialism, that he is responsible for his social mission, therefore, in the work he produces he exalts the epoch in which he lives. Great aesthetic pleasure is derived from great artistic inventions. Trivial inventions are bound to arouse small aesthetic pleasure.

For a more complete reflection of life in socialist society it is absolutely necessary to protect literature and art against liberalism. Without a ceaseless struggle against liberalism in art there can be no pure content and vanguard form. With the development and consolidation of the method of socialist realism, the struggle against bookish prejudices and abstract treatment of problems, against a lifeless, phrasemongering and schematic reflection of the reality, grows fiercer, and together with it, the offensive against liberalism in art grows more extensive. The method of socialist realism is against any scheme, conservative or liberal. This method is in continuous development, and it is against its nature to accept petrified forms which inhibit its progress and suffocate its innovatory research. However, negation of schematism does by no means imply that we must forget the struggle against liberal stands which are reflected in the form of the alien influences. We do not wage the struggle against schematism in order to tone down, even in the slightest, our struggle against liberalism. On the contrary rejection of schematism creates a smothering atmosphere for liberalism as well. Nevertheless, liberal stands and alien influences always constitute a threat to literature and the arts, therefore, opposition to them and irreconcilable

struggle with them are on the order of the day for every writer and artist.

In works treating contemporary themes liberalism ignores the typical and the realistic reflection of our life, disregards its main stream and takes up some blemish of our society, exaggerating it out of all proportion and generalizing it. It is quite a different thing from literature treating the shortcomings of a society and submitting them to a stern trial proceeding from the positions of the interests of the people. In the literature of socialist realism characters polemize, affirm and negate, and those who make mistakes and crimes are criticized and condemned for the sake of the triumph of lofty ideals.

Our literary and artistic experience shows that time and again we have had to cope with distortions in different genres. They have been more outrageous in poetry, in which they manifested themselves especially in strange figures, in incoherent, illogical and foggy verses, etc. Liberalism in poetry sometimes manifests itself in the irregularity of versification, in the obliteration of the frontiers between the prose and the poetry, etc. It also manifests itself in mannerisms as a pretended originality of expression.

In the world today there is a confusion of all sorts of trends and tendencies in literature, art and philosophy, which have debased all intellectual values, both in the West and in the East. This is connected with the cultural expansion undertaken by the United States of America and the Soviet Union together with their satellite countries. This expansion through literature and art, which is the official policy of the two superpowers, is a source of decay, degeneration, crime, scandal and bestiality. There is an entire industry of words, colours and sounds, which, although ramified in literary and artistic trends, schools and

stiles, boils down to one and the same thing: literature and art are used as a drug against human consciousness, a drug against what is truly human. Revived and popularized in a new garb, Freud's subjectivist and idealist theories, especially his theories on sex and its role as a stimulus in literature and the arts, have become widespread today. Not less widespread are Freud's theories of dreams and their interpretation, on the line dividing dreams from the reality, implying that this line should be almost imperceptible in literary works, which will only gain from this approach. In his book «Dream Interpretation» Freud writes: «The dream represents the (hidden) reality of the (suppressed) desire.» According to him, the treatment of dreams in art is very important, because through them the artist expresses his hidden and suppressed desires. Therefore, both in the West and in the East there are thousands of novels in which it is hard to distinguish between the world of dreams and the world of reality. This only confuses the art consumer.

Gangsters and egotists, sadists and narcissists are the protagonists of Western and Eastern literature. Western literary criticism says that the narcissist of modern times is a man without ideals, indifferent to all problems and preoccupations. All the important questions are confined within the cell of his own self.

Bent on cultural and artistic expansion, capitalism and revisionism spread degenerate forms and structures. The degree of degeneration of the forms of art, especially poetry, which according to the bourgeois aesthetes is the form of modern times, is well known. We have closed our doors to this sort of poetry and this sort of forms, and will keep them closed for ever.

Our literature and arts, by raising their qualitative level, and by strengthening and perfecting their form, are

in a position to defend themselves better from any negative influence, while on the other hand, heightening their authority with the reader. With this we make our modest contribution to world literature. Our literature and arts have achieved important successes also in their affirmation before the international public. They have more and more attracted its attention and have been positively assessed by progressive people, who find in them not only progressive ideas, a sound realistic spirit, but also democratic and human spirit unlike the decadent, and reactionary spirit of modern bourgeois and revisionist art.

Our culture, with its present qualitative level, is a culture rich in vital elements which is in a position to convey its own values and takes from world literature and art whatever is progressive, human and revolutionary. The struggle against liberalism and alien influences does not shut us away or isolate us from world culture, on the contrary, it makes us better able to appropriate it in a dialectical manner. We continuously translate works of the progressive literature created by mankind in the centuries. We have translations of most classics, from Homer to modern authors. And we shall continue to translate more works of the world literary treasure, works with valuable content and form.

The literature created in Kosova is widely read in our country. Almost all the Kosova writers have been published by the «Naim Frashëri» Publishing House in Albania and they are popular with our readers, writers and artists. It is a literature in development, a literature with patriotic feelings and progressive ideas, which discloses genuine aesthetic values to the reader. Genuine literature and art of the same trunk cannot be isolated, no matter how hard the Titoite ill-wishers and chauvinists may try. They will

spread constantly and will have thousands and thousands of readers and well-wishers. They, too, play their role in our culture, in its enrichment and qualitative development. Whenever we speak of Albanian literature and art we cannot be silent about the important part of it which is created in Kosova in the same language and with an indubitable national originality.

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One of the demands on literature and arts about quality is connected with the general issue of the ratio of themes from the present and the past. Certainly, this ratio cannot be gauged simply by arithmetical methods or percentages. Nevertheless, the general, the average can be easily traced out if literary and artistic processes are attentively analysed. The ratio of themes in general, is correct.

Certainly, we shall continue to write about our historical past and the period of antiquity, because works taking up such themes carry an actual note and educate patriotic and aesthetic feelings, educate people to be proud of their nation, and enrich literature and art. In his report to the 8th Congress of the Party, speaking about the importance of the themes drawn from history, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: «But the development of literature and art is inconceivable without the broadest reflection of the great surge of life and present-day reality in the novels, poems, films and musical and figurative arts. By basing themselves firmly on the reality in which we live, by reflecting it extensively, literature and the arts will also be able to reflect the past better, more correctly and at a higher ideological level.»<sup>4</sup>

The writer is a vital social element, is the contemporary of his own epoch.

Should he grope about in history and record its stages and periods as a pedantic historian? No! History, of course, aids him to see better and more clearly into the present which lives, fights and seethes around him. The present reality also gives historical themes some of its actual note. This has great importance. History provides facts and themes. But facts and themes remain lifeless without problems and the actual note. It is in this dialectical relation that themes from history find their vitality.

The ever growing interest in the themes of the earlier life of our people and their history is favoured by some factors existing in our socialist society today. With the development of socialism in Albania with the raising of the general level of culture, with the advance of education, science, literature and the arts and with the ever better assimilation of knowledge and the Marxist-Leninist theory, the demands of people to know more about their past, their ethnic development, their spiritual values, the treasury of their folklore and legends, their wars and struggles for freedom and the independence of the country, have increased and imposed themselves as an absolute necessity. A consolidated and mature society want to know everything possible. This is true of man, too. When he grows up and matures his curiosity increases, and he wants to know about his origin, is interested about his forefathers, about their life and struggles. On the other hand, the pressure of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideologies on our country has become fiercer. The enemies, in fighting socialism which is built under the leadership of our Party, in fighting Marxism-Leninism in general, have gone over to the offensive also against our historical past and the spiritual values of our people. And this induces us to given them their answer in our own language and reveal the truth to the world. But

there is another factor, too. Our sociological and historical sciences have now reached a certain stage of development and facts have come to light in greater numbers than a few years before. Consequently, literature and the arts have a richer material to handle and reflect in their creativeness. Certainly there are shortcomings, there are also cases of a superficial approach to the reflection of the past and history, but the main trend is positive, has yielded fruit and will continue to do so. What is required now is that themes drawn from history should be reflected according to the requirements of the conscious writer and not by way of imitating the successful work of other authors. Besides we must bear in mind the ratio between the themes and guard against disproportions. We will continue to reflect history and handle themes from history. There are moments in life in which this is important, like this year when we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence. On this occasion, historical themes occupy an important place and carry a strong actual note which is necessary in every historical work.

Almost all our arts have treated life in the past society in all its contradictions, with its progressive movements and social revolts. This is especially true about the recent years when history has been seen in its different aspects.

It is only natural to stress that one of the main places in our literature and art is occupied by themes from the National Liberation War, which also are treated at the highest artistic level. However, in themes of the National Liberation War, too, the time has come to go over to a new qualitative leap and do away with a certain monotony in the handling of characters, heroes and milieus.

Today and in the future the National Liberation War is and will be a major

theme for our writers. Interest in and reflection of this period will always be growing. However, along with the growing interest in its reflection, there should be more profound study of written and live documents so that the works treating these themes should always be truthful to history.

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A special feature of our society is that cultivated art develops together with popular art, with folklore and the creativeness of the amateur movement. This phenomenon has its originality and gives the arts their freshness and impels them to further development. Our folklore does not remain shut up in museums and cultural institutions. It is there, out in the streets and on the stages. It is assimilated and kept alive by ordinary people, who create it, and by the artists. It is given a powerful impulse at the local and regional folklore festivals, an especially at the National Festival of Folklore in Gjirokastra, in which the great talent of the people manifests itself without restraint. From this inexhaustible source inspire themselves our composers and poets, our critics and scholars, our journalists and writers, our singers and dancers. So the impact of this art is powerful and makes its contribution to the advancement of artistic and cultural creativeness.

Viewing the problem from a general point of view, the ratio between cultivated art and popular art is correct. However, we must bear in mind that this ratio should be constantly maintained and no disproportions allowed.

And here three questions emerge: first, detachment of cultivated art from popular art is harmful; second, putting the equalizer between them is unacceptable; third, mechanical imi-



tation of popular art should be avoided.

There have been harmful tendencies of bitter consequences, especially at the end of the 60's and in the beginning of the 70's, before the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party in 1973, when people of liberal tendencies tried to detach our music from popular art, because, according to them, this connection only prevented the development of new forms. We felt the dangerous consequences of this trend in our songs, until it reached its culmination in the 11th Radio and Television Song Festival in 1972. The dialectical relationship, between cultivated art and folklore must necessarily be maintained in music because it gives it that unrivalled national originality which cannot be found in other forms.

Trying to equalize cultivated art with popular art, making this equalization paramount in the creativeness of the writer or the artist, only dampens down their creative and demanding spirit, petrifies artistic and cultural creativeness, in the first place, in music, turning it into a mere derivative of folklore and preventing the development of all the forms of music — the opera, ballet, symphony and song, thereby creating an anachronie monotony and uniformity which is alien to socialism. Tendencies towards this equalization have manifested themselves time and again in recent years, especially in songs and dances.

In recent years there have been manifestations of mechanical imitation of popular art, especially in the field of music. The art of the people is as

magnificent as nature itself. Folklore will continue to be cultivated and the amateur movement developed. The development of folklore should not be contained, in order to maintain a correct ratio between it and cultivated art. On the contrary, cultivated art should rise towards its heights, and never say to folklore: Wait, I cannot keep in step with you! Wait, otherwise the ratio is upset!

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1 K. Marx-F. Engels «On Literature and Art», vol. 1, p. 10, Tirana 1976, Alb. ed.

2 K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, vol. 1, p. 258, Russ. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 150-151, Eng. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 149, Eng. ed.

# COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 6th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The 6th Plenum of the Central Committee, which was convened under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, from January 24-25, 1983, took up for examination the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee «On the Fulfilment of the Plan for 1982 and the Principal Tasks of the Draft-plan for 1983» delivered by the Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi.

After extensively discussing the report and listening to the conclusions of the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Ramiz Alia, on this matter, the Plenum of the Central Committee approved it unanimously and adopted the relative decisions.

On the proposal of the Political Bureau, the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee elected Comrade Lenka Çuko, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA.

THE 6TH PLENUM  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA

# TELEGRAM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L)

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people we send you revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the holding of the 5th Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party (M-L) and wish it complete success in its proceedings.

The Peruvian Communist Party (M-L) standing in the positions of Marxism-Leninism and against the revisionist betrayal, has fought and continues to fight for the interests of the working masses of the city and country, for their union in a great united revolutionary front against the local oligarchy and the foreign imperialist monopolies, in defence of national sovereignty, the gains of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and the triumph of socialist ideals.

At the same time, the fraternal Peruvian Communist Party (M-L) has waged and continues to wage a struggle of principle against American and world imperialism, against Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, against modern revisionism of all

hues for the great cause of the proletariat and the freedom of the people.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian working class and people hail the just struggle of the Peruvian Communist Party (M-L), the working class, the peasantry, all the popular and progressive forces of Peru, and support it whole-heartedly.

We express our conviction that the 5th Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party (M-L), which constitutes an important event in the life of the fraternal Party and working class of Peru, will open up new prospects for the further development of its revolutionary activity.

Long live the 5th Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party (M-L)!

May the fraternal internationalist collaboration and friendship between the PLA and the PCP (M-L) be strengthened more and more!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

# THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE WON AND DEFENDED THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITH THEIR OWN FORCES

by **SHYQYRI BALLVORA**

*In the crucible of their patriotic wars the Albanian people not only developed the idea that the only road to liberation and independence was the road of armed struggle, but also gained great fighting experience, tempered themselves as brave and indomitable fighters, ready to halt any aggressor and invader*

**IN THE COURSE OF THE CENTURIES-LONG HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, 1912, THE YEAR OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA, OF THE CREATION OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ALBANIAN STATE, IS A DISTINGUISHED LANDMARK.**

**THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA, WON IN 1912 WITH TORRENTS OF BLOOD AND INNUMERABLE SACRIFICES, WAS NOT THE FRUIT OF A «DIPLOMATIC COMPROMISE» AMONG THE GREAT POWERS, AS THE OLD AND NEW ENEMIES OF OUR COUNTRY TRY TO MAKE OUT. IT WAS THE OUTCOME OF A BLOODY WAR, THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION OF THE RESISTANCE OF THE BROAD MASSES OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE OVER THE CENTURIES TO MANY AND SAVAGE FOREIGN OCCUPATIONS — ROMAN AND BYZANTINE, SLAV AND TURKISH, WHICH TRIED TO WIPE OUT ALTOGETHER THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AS A PEOPLE AND A NATION, TO PARTITION AND DESTROY THEIR LANDS.**

In this centuries-long struggle in the crucible of the struggle for freedom and independence the Albanian people, the descendants of the Illyrians, created and tempered their national awareness which inspired, mobilized and

SHYQYRI BALLVORA — Senior Scientific Worker of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies

united them to realize their ideals of freedom and independence through unexampled battles and efforts.

Such examples of heroic resistance and bloody wars, like those the Albanian people had to wage over a very long period of their existence, are very seldom in world history. Situated at the crossroads which linked, not only

geographically, but also economically and politically, important countries and regions, Albania fell many a time a prey to the rivalry between the Great Powers. In the heat of their resistance against these occupations and, especially, against the Slav and Turkish occupations, the ideals of freedom and independence struck deep roots in the political consciousness of the Albanian people. This political consciousness became the quintessence of national awareness, the foundation of everything that was immediately linked with their historic destinies, with their existence as a people and as a nation.

In their innumerable battles for freedom and independence were forged the ardent patriotism of the Albanian people, their boundless love for their language and land, their uncurbed determination to defend their honourable cause, their customs and tra-

long aspirations of the Albanian people to an independent Albania were crowned with success.

In regard to the aims which guided the struggle for national independence and the road followed for its triumph, November 28, 1912 has been and remains an historic event of undying values. The whole period which divides us from the autumn of the year 1912, when the Assembly of Vlora proclaimed Albania a free and independent state, has been a period of struggle for the defence of the independence won, to see Albania a truly free, strong and independent country.

On November 28, 1912 the great dream of the Albanian people of creating of a free and sovereign Albanian national state, came true.

After the Proclamation of Independence the union of the people in a single front of struggle against the foreign enemies began to assume new forms and characteristics. The severing from the trunk of Albania of whole Albanian regions in which a population with a strongly expressed sense of Albanian identity lived, such as Kosova and other regions in the North, in the West and South, showed the Albanian people that their enemies were savage and merciless and that only united to a man could they cope with the storms that kept rolling their waves against the Albanian bullwork.

The wisest and most resolute people, outstanding patriots and revolutionaries worked with the broad masses of the people in order to make them aware that their only road of salvation was that of further strengthening and tempering national unity as the decisive factor for attaining a lasting victory and ensuring their future.

However, it was only during the National Liberation War that the ancient tradition of our people of uniting in a single fighting front developed into a full-fledged and all-round idea. The union of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, unlike in the past, was realized in new historical conditions, when a new ratio of class and social forces was created, in new international circumstances created in the world.

The patriotic ideals and the deep feelings of love for their country, which had for centuries on end inspired and mobilized the Albanian people in their struggles for freedom and independen-

ce, now took on a new meaning and content. The Party made the best fighting and patriotic traditions of the Albanian people a source of inspiration and mobilization for the realization of the ideals of true freedom and independence, of national and social emancipation.

The emergence of the working class in the forefront of the national and social movement marked the beginning of a new historical epoch in the history of the Albanian people and an essential change compared with the previous periods of Albanian history. This qualitative change in the national movement was prepared by the historical development of the country since 1912 and realized in practice by the Communist Party of Albania. The failure of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1924 showed that, in the new historical conditions, the working class was the only social force capable of successfully leading the broad masses of the people in their struggle for freedom, independence and social progress.

Placing itself at the head of the national movement, the working class proposed a profoundly revolutionary solution of the national problem which was radically different from the «moderated nationalism», bourgeois in its essence, advertised by «the fathers of the nation», and which had always made the independence of the country conditional on the «friendship» with this or that Great Power. April 7, 1939, when the armies of fascist Italy attacked Albania, buried for good this «moderated nationalism», which proved historically to be a failure as a result of the open betrayal by the rich ruling classes and could no longer serve as an ideological stimulus to keep the popular masses under the influence of these classes.

The Communist Party of Albania succeeded in its efforts to merge the class interests of the working masses and those of the progressive development of our society into one single question — the national problem, the general national interests. As never before, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rose to a man in the struggle for national and social liberation, counterposing their popular patriotism to the open betrayal of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie who had closely linked themselves with the fascist occupiers.

ditions. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The ancient history of our people, one of the most ancient peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, shows the great vitality of a small people who were determined at all costs not to let themselves be exterminated, but to live free in their country. The Albanians had to cope with savage enemies in unequal struggles, but the facts show that the barbarities of wars of extermination could neither curb their resistance nor conquer their freedom-loving sentiments — the sentiments of a small people, as the Albanian people is.»<sup>1</sup>

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With the Proclamation of Independence in 1912 a powerful blow was dealt at the military and political power of the Ottoman Empire in Albania and at the other imperialist and chauvinist powers, and the centuries-



The leadership of the Communist Party of Albania in the National Liberation Front was a historical necessity, because only this Party could provide a clear perspective, a high political awareness, to this union, only this Party was in a position to lead the people on the correct road of the struggle for freedom and independence. Time proved that with the triumph of the people's revolution the true national liberation and complete democratization of the country were also achieved.

Coming out with a clear political program in which national liberation was the fundamental aim, the Communist Party of Albania, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, could not disregard, and it did not disregard, the demands of the popular masses for democratic and social freedoms. Basing itself on a thorough knowledge of the reality, the Communist Party of Albania knew how to give the powerful movement of the masses for national and social liberation a clear political program and to formulate such strategic slogans that would enflame the hearts and minds of the broad popular masses in their struggle for genuine freedom and national independence and focus all the efforts of the people on the solution of the fundamental problem of every revolution — that of state power. This necessarily called for determined struggle also against all the reactionary forces, open or disguised, against the reactionary feudal lords, the bajraktars and the bourgeoisie who, having openly or covertly entered the service of the occupiers and international reaction, fought to prevent the people from seizing state power.

The triumph of the liberation war brought about the historical victory of November 29, 1944 when the whole Albania was liberated once and for good from the foreign occupiers and the people became masters of their free and independent country which entered the road of the construction of the new socialist society.

The two landmarks in the history of the Albanian people: November 28, 1912 and November 29, 1944 are the fruit of the heroic and indomitable struggle of the Albanian people. They have one thing in common — they belong to the people, are their victories, are stages of their history writ-

ten in blood, and represent their centuries-old aspirations to independence, to national and social liberation.

The powerful and unbreakable union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front and, after Liberation, the Democratic Front, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, has been constantly strengthened. The unbreakable Party-people unity explains the great and all-round victories of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, this unconquerable bastion of the revolution, democracy and socialism. The steel union of the people in the Democratic Front under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is the logical conclusion of a centuries-old experience of bloody wars from which our people, illuminated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the epoch of the Party, drew a great historical lesson that, united and monolithic, they are invincible and indomitable, while split and divided they would soon fall a prey to their many savage internal and external enemies, the imperialists and the social-imperialists.



November 28, 1912 has great importance and just as great significance also for the fact that **in the achievement of this historic victory the Albanian people relied completely on their own forces.** No country, no state supported or aided them. On the contrary, the Albanian people were threatened from all sides with everybody trying to partition them, to bring them to their knees, to enslave them. History taught them to rely on their own forces, taught them that freedom is not donated, but won with struggle and bloodshed.

The idea of self-reliance has struck deep roots in the national consciousness of the Albanian people. It showed them that only by relying on their own forces could they win freedom and independence, preserve and defend their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. True, at many historic assemblies, such as the Covenant of Lezha, at the League of Prizren or the Congress of Lushnja, finding themselves in a difficult position, the Albanian patriots addressed themselves for

assistance to the Great Powers, too, but life soon taught them that any such demands or hopes based on them were of no avail, and experience taught them to strengthen their idea of self-reliance.

Reactionary anti-Albanian historians have written that Albania's independence was allegedly due to diplomatic combinations, to the balance of power between the Great Powers and the passing circumstances in the international arena. However, who knows, however little, the history of Albania in the years before and after the Proclamation of Independence is well aware of the plots that were hatched up against the Albanian people, the dirty deals that were struck against them and their lands. Were it not for the firm will of the people led by outstanding patriots, the Great Powers' policy of the balance of power would have led not only to the partition of the Albanian lands and the cutting off of other big slices of vital importance from the main trunk, as happened in 1913, but to the disappearance of Albania from the political map of Europe. Czarist Russia and imperialist England, the German and Austria-Hungarian Empires, France and Italy and, even more so, the neighbouring chauvinists, had the one aim: to occupy Albania each for his own account, or partition it in favour of their Balkan allies.

The events before and especially after the Proclamation of Independence taught the Albanian people to distinguish their friends from their foes, to see into the diplomatic games of the Great Powers, their predatory aggressive aims, their efforts to employ Albania as a token of barter to the advantage of their Balkan satellites. The vigilance of our people was further increased when their country was invaded by the armies of the belligerent powers in the First World War and the attempts of some states — Italy, Serbia and others, to keep large chunks of Albanian territory under their occupation. The whole of the Albanian people had to wage a difficult self-denying battle to preserve their independence and the territorial integrity of their country. The War of Vlora in 1920 and its conclusion with the victory of the Albanian people, who threw the invading armies into the sea, is another great epic of struggle against

the Italian armies that had come to occupy large parts of our Homeland.

The establishment of Zog's obscurantist regime after the failure of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1924 and his putting Albania up for auction and his unconditional submission to fascist Italy put in great danger the independence of the country and foreign occupation was not late to come. Worn out by Zog's bloody regime, isolated and without any aid or support, Albania fell a prey to savage fascist aggression, one of the first victims of the Second World War.

In the new historical conditions, the Communist Party of Albania firmly adhered to the principle that the decisive factor for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution was the armed struggle of the Albanian people themselves. «The Albanian people,» wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha in November 1942, «being more united than ever, have understood that freedom is won with bloodshed and sacrifices..., and they are sacrificing everything in the struggle that will bring them true and sure freedom.»<sup>2</sup>

Self-reliance, as a great guiding principle the Party implemented with determination and consistency, had exceptionally great importance. Its application was dictated by the great historical tasks that faced the Albanian people in the course of their revolution. Marxism-Leninism teaches that no people have achieved or can ever achieve true national liberation and social emancipation without taking up this question completely in their own hands. This historical postulate, as the summing up of an experience of centuries-long struggles of our people, was well-known to the Communist Party of Albania and served as a decisive orientation mark which ensured the Albanian people the complete triumph of national freedom and helped them set out on the road of true and complete social emancipation.

Furthering ulterior hostile aims, short-sighted historians claim that the smaller peoples would allegedly have never been in a position to smash the fascist armies. However, the Second World War was not only a war between the Great Powers. It was the war of the peoples against the fascist aggressors and invaders, therefore, all

the peoples, great or small, that languished under the yoke of the fascist occupiers or were threatened with aggression, had to make and they did make their contribution to the defeat of the aggressive forces of the fascist invaders. As the PLA has repeatedly pointed out, the fate of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, although it was linked with the defeat of fascism on a world scale, could be decided only in Albania. The Communist Party of Albania, by addressing itself to the people with the call to unite against the invaders and traitors, at the same time made it clear to them that their future depended on the outcome of this war, that the fate of the country depended on the war they were waging and the fiercer their struggle against the occupiers, the nearer, the day of their liberation.

Under the leadership of their revolutionary party, the idea was deeply implanted in the Albanian people's political national consciousness that they should never accept any foreign tutelage, any interference in the internal affairs of Albania, any alms or aid with strings attached. Especially after 1912, history had shown them that only a victory achieved with their own efforts would be strong and lasting.

Both during the people's revolution and in the period of socialist construction, the principle of self-reliance, as a great historical lesson, has been and still is for the Albanian people the fundamental guiding principle in the defence of the Homeland, in the successful construction of the socialist and communist society. «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.»<sup>3</sup>

The present period has also proved and still proves that the so-called aid and loans the smaller states receive from the great imperialist and social-imperialist powers, bind them with indissoluble chains, force them to sacrifice their freedom, independence and national sovereignty, to tag like satellites after the greater states from which they have taken these loans or credits.

Socialist Albania implements a sove-

reign foreign policy which is not conditioned by political pacts, military alliances or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic development, its political course and its defence on the credits, loans and aid from other states, but on its own forces. «As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.»<sup>4</sup>

The bourgeois and revisionist propaganda labours to prove that allegedly such a policy has led Albania to self-exclusion and isolation from other countries. The reality proves the opposite. Our people and country do not feel themselves isolated from the other peoples, because the aspirations to freedom and genuine independence, which are a reality in our country, are the aspirations and aims of all the peoples fighting for liberation from national and social oppression and exploitation. Albania maintains normal diplomatic relations with most of the countries of the world, carries on trade of mutual benefit with dozens of countries. All this proves that the foreign policy of socialist Albania is a correct and well-weighed policy which fully responds to the interests of the Albanian people and serves the strengthening of the international position of the country more and more as a fully sovereign, free and independent state.

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Another historical lesson which emerges from the whole period of National Renaissance, which was crowned with the Proclamation of Independence in 1912, as well as from the whole period from it to our days, is that the resolute armed struggle constitutes the main means to realizing the national program, the liberation of the country, the creation and defence of the Albanian national state. «As is known, the armed insurrection,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is the highest form of the struggle of the masses against any oppression. And the better organized and the more conscious it is, the greater are its results.»<sup>5</sup>

The history of the national move-

ment of the Albanian people is the history of innumerable uprisings, from the small-scale spontaneous and sporadic ones, to the greater, large-scale ones, organized and conducted according to a program.

Resistance and armed struggle against any invader, which were vehemently expressed in the struggle for the winning of independence in 1912, have gone down in the history of the Albanian people as a brilliant tradition. From the flames of this struggle the Albanian people have brought forth their heroes, the strategists of people's wars and uprisings, who will always remain unforgettable in national history. Such have been the liberation wars waged by the Albanian people under the leadership of Skanderbeg, the countless uprisings during the five centuries of Turkish rule, the armed struggle conducted under the leadership of the Albanian League of Prizren, the uprisings on the eve of Independence, the general uprising of 1912, to which the broad participation of the popular masses gave a pronounced, powerful and invincible mass character. After the Proclamation of Independence the titanic effort of the Albanian people to preserve their independent and the territorial integrity of their country against any partition during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), during the years of the First World War (1914-1918), the historic epic of the War of Vlora, the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1924, the indomitable resistance of the popular masses to the oppressive regime of Zog are also glorious pages of struggle in our national history. From this reality Comrade Enver Hoxha has drawn the great historic conclusion that the Albanian people have blazed their road through history sword in hand.

In the crucible of their patriotic wars the Albanian people not only developed the idea that the only road to liberation and independence was the road of armed struggle, but also gained great fighting experience, tempered themselves as brave and indomitable fighters, ready to halt any aggressor and invader.

However, of all wars the Albanian people have waged arms in hand, it was the Anti-fascist National Liberation War that crowned their ardent aspirations and all their centuries-long efforts for freedom, independence and social progress. It was the most glorious

war in which all the qualities of our people as splendid fighters for freedom shone with exceptional splendour and were given a new, profoundly revolutionary content.

The Communist Party of Albania, right from its founding, defined the general people's armed uprising as the true and only road to liberation. In the heat of the armed struggle the Communist Party of Albania became the organizer and leader of the armed and militarily organized people's forces, from the first guerrilla units, the volunteer partisan detachments, to the regular National Liberation Army. This army, firmly based on the armed people and led by the Communist Party of Albania and the General Staff, with Comrade Enver Hoxha as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in the head, successfully discharged its historic mission, drove the occupation forces out of Albania, destroyed the old political order, as well as the reactionary organizations and forces that had made common cause with the occupiers, and established the people's state power, whose secure shield was the army that had emerged from the bosom of the people and relied firmly on them.

Unlike the liberation wars of the years 1912, 1920 or 1924, when the people fought and shed their blood in torrents, but the fruits of their victories were reaped by the ruling classes, because the popular masses were tricked into abandoning their arms and, as a result, state power remained with the rich exploiting classes, in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War the population masses, educated and led by the Communist Party, not only did not let go their arms, but held them even more firmly in their hands in order to carry the revolution through to the end, to strengthen the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism and communism. From the middle of 1914, at the 1st Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that «we must combat the idea which many comrades and partisans cherish that, with the departure of the Germans, we will have finished all our work and will have only to let go our weapons and go home. We must make it clear to the comrades and the people in the army that we will never let go our

weapons, but will keep them in our hands until our country and the Albanian people win complete freedom.»<sup>6</sup>

The people emerged victorious, because they always maintained a resolute stand towards the foreign occupiers and the local traitors and allowed no compromise to be made with them. In the battlefield, they buried both the occupiers and the traitors.

The motto of the Albanians during the long history of their liberation wars has always been: no mercy for the traitors to the country, for those who have sold out to the enemy, for those who do not know what the Homeland is, for the spies and secret agents of foreign intelligence services.

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In the course of our national history November 28, 1912, the day on which the independence of Albania was proclaimed, constitutes the greatest event after five centuries of bondage. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The flag raised in 1912 crowned the titanic efforts of the Albanian people, showed the Albanian people that their armed struggle, their steel unity for a great ideal — the defence of the Homeland, their honour, customs, language and noble traditions, overcame all obstacles, conquered their powerful, savage and cunning enemies. The Albanian people showed themselves to be indomitable, brave, intelligent, stern and just, so they triumphed and will triumph in the centuries over any one, no matter how big and strong he may be, that tries to infringe upon their sovereign rights. The deed of Ismail Qemali and the other patriots was a glorious historic deed which will never be forgotten.»<sup>7</sup>

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 12, p. 128, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 101, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 196, Eng. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 196, Eng. ed.

5 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 24, p. 13, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 2, p. 204, Alb. ed.

7 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 24, pp. 14-15, Alb. ed.

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## REAGAN AND ANDROPOV AND THEIR ATOMIC BLACKMAIL

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

In an «open letter» addressed to the peoples of Europe the President of the USA, Ronald Reagan, once again gives the details of the so-called zero option in connection with the nuclear armaments of the superpowers in Europe. As is known, if the Soviets accept the proposals of the Americans in this field, an equilibrium will be established between the USA and the USSR. In his letter Reagan says, «The peoples of Europe want nothing other than this. I call on Andropov to accept it.» In order to fulfil this «supreme desire» of the peoples of Europe, again according to what the American President says, «Soviet intransigence... remains the main stumbling block.»

Andropov was not slow to return the ball to the USA. In an interview conceded to the Soviet newspaper «Pravda» he came out with a «real alternative» to oppose the «open letter» of Reagan, an alternative which the Soviets have proclaimed as the only realistic proposal which coincides with the authentic desires of the European peoples. Andropov says, «We are for such a solution under which the Soviet Union should not have more missiles than NATO has at present in Europe», and «for complete equality in missiles and aircraft». And here he brings

into play the card of the «balance of forces». However, again quoting Andropov, «the unrealistic stand of the USA is the stumbling block... The USA does not want to reach a mutually acceptable agreement with the Soviet Union».

As can be seen, Reagan and Andropov employ the same language, the same logic, the same «arguments». And this because they speak from the same positions, as representatives of the interests of the superpowers, the interests of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism respectively, because they have essentially the same hegemony-seeking interests against the sovereignty, freedom and independence of the peoples. Both Reagan's «option» and Andropov's proposal are a hoax. Neither will contribute to the reduction of the atomic armaments of the superpowers or eliminate the consequences of the atomic blackmail they exercise on the European peoples or the peoples of the world at large. This is so because they have nothing in common with the real interests of the peoples. Both Reagan and Andropov try to speculate with the aspirations of the peoples.

In demagogic pacifist phrases, Reagan addresses himself to the peoples saying, «Just as our allies can rely on the USA for the defence

of Europe at all costs, so you, too, can rely on us for the reduction of the Soviet nuclear threat.» This is tantamount to saying that the peoples of Western Europe should take shelter under the American atomic umbrella which is offered as the only alternative for their salvation. For this they must give up their persistent opposition to the stationing of new American missiles with nuclear warheads in their own countries. Only from these positions, from the position of nuclear blackmail, is the USA sure of guaranteeing its position of leadership in the capitalist world. Only in this way does it feel sure about its domination over the peoples.

For his part, in his interview to «Pravda», Andropov stresses: «If the Americans proceed with the stationing of their new missiles in Europe we shall reply in kind.» So, he exercises the same pressure as Reagan. The «arguments» of the Soviets, which in fact are the twin brainchild of the Americans', show that just like the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are bent on increasing their nuclear missiles arsenal in Europe. In both cases, the phrases used to present this state of things as something imposed by the opposite party, does not alter

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the situation, and cannot mislead many people.

The feverish armaments race is in the logic of the superpowers which know no other law, no other rule than that of force, fascist aggression and dictate. This lethal race is the motor force of their existence, the source of the manoeuvres and plots they concoct in collusion and rivalry with each other in order to realize their common counter-revolutionary strategy of world hegemony.

The facts show that the

road American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are setting out on in Europe and the whole world is full of dangerous consequences. The peoples cannot fail to see that it is they that must pay the bill for the adventurous policy of the USA and the Soviet Union. They cannot put the imperialist and social-imperialist wolves to guard their sheep, they cannot trust their fates to them. The European countries will guarantee their defence, their free and independent development

only by smashing the aggressive pacts of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and sending the American and the Soviet soldiers back home, breaking the political, economic and military chains with which have bound them, not permitting their peoples to be used as cannon fodder for the Americans or the Soviets. These are the real aspirations and desires of the European peoples, about which neither Reagan nor Andropov are entitled to speak.

## **THE FREEDOM-LOVING IRANIAN PEOPLE**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Four years ago the Iranian people crowned their protracted war against the bloody anti-popular and anti-democratic regime of the Shah with success, with the triumph of the revolution.

The anti-national feudal-bourgeois regime of the Pahlavis allowed American imperialism and the other imperialist powers to plunder the national assets of the country, especially its oil. The working people were subjected to savage and barbarous exploitation, denied all freedom and the most elementary democratic rights. The secret police of the Shah, SAVAK, alias the Iranian CIA, exercised a savage fascist terror

against the working masses, filling the prisons with progressive and democratic people and massacring thousands of others. The hated regime of the Shah had transformed Iran into the watch-dog of American imperialism in the Persian Gulf against the freedom and independence of the other peoples of the region. In this grave situation, when the patience of the Iranian people was exhausted, the powerful Iranian revolution broke out. The oppressed proletariat and peasantry, all the other exploited working masses of town and countryside, together with all the democratic, progressive and patriotic forces of the coun-

try threw themselves into the anti-monarchic and anti-imperialist revolution. Thousands of Iranians sacrificed their lives for the overthrow of the Shah.

The revolutionary impetus of the Iranian popular masses toppled the regime of Shah which had sold itself out to imperialism. The triumph of the revolution is a major historic victory for the Iranian people, marking a great step forward on their road towards democracy, independence national development and progress. By delivering this destructive blow to the domination of American imperialism, in particular, and any imperialism in



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general, the Iranian revolution carried out the nationalization of oil for the development of the national economy, adopted a series of political measures which marked the end of the enslaving political, economic and military agreements which the Shah had entered into with imperialism and social-imperialism. Other political and economic measures were adopted with a view to liquidating corruption that was rife in the country, to the creation of an independent sovereign state. This historic victory of the Iranian people was whole-heartedly hailed by the Albanian people and all the revolutionaries and the progressive democrats everywhere in the world. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out to the 8th Congress of the Party: «The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his mediaeval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which it is un-

able to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz.»

The events that followed the triumph of the Iranian revolution clearly show that the Iranian people are making strenuous efforts to defend their revolution against the threat and blackmail of the two superpowers. In spite of the ignominious defeats they suffered in Iran, the American imperialists have not given up their efforts to regain their lost positions and privileges, whereas the Soviet social-imperialists seek to use the situation to their own advantage and for their own interests. The valiant Iranian people are coping successfully with the many difficulties created after the triumph of the revolution and working to strengthen the defence of the freedom and independence of their Homeland.

With their intrigues the superpowers managed to stir up the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, a conflict which has caused and continues to cause great losses to the peo-

ples of these two countries. It is in the interest of Iraq and Iran to put an end to this conflict and for the two peoples to live in peace and understanding. This would also be in the interest of the peoples of this zone, of their well-being and progress, and would deliver a blow at the policy of the superpowers which want to pit the countries against one another.

The Albanian people, who whole-heartedly hailed the victory of the anti-imperialist Iranian revolution, during these four years have followed with profound sympathy the struggle of the Iranian people for the defence of the victories they have achieved and for their advance on the road of independent national development, supporting them with all their forces. During this period a number of delegations have been exchanged between Albania and Iran, which have contributed to closer mutual acquaintance with achievements of the two countries and the strengthening of friendship between the two peoples.

## INSTRUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN POLICY OF AGGRESSION

«BASHKIMI» — organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In a document entitled «Defence Guide» on the strategy of Pentagon, prepared especially for the American

armed forces for the period 1984-1988, crop up again the ambitions of the United States for world hegemony. Ac-

cording to this document, «The defence of North America, including Hawaii, Alaska and the Carabbean Ba-

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sin, as well as the zones of NATO and the communication lines leading to them, will have top priority.»

Again according to this document, priority will be given also to security of the oil-bearing areas, the defence of America's allies in the Pacific and other friendly countries in Latin America and Africa. So, America takes upon itself the responsibility for the «defence» of the entire world and, in conformity with this policy of world expansion, Washington drafts and implements plans for training its own aggressive forces.

Washington has revived its «G.B.S» for a certain destination, the «rapid intervention force», the «strategic task force», the «multi-national force», etc for other destinations. But all of them serve the one aim: the submission of the peoples, the violation of their freedom and independence, the opening of the doors of different countries to the American monopolies, for the free exploitation of their wealth by the liquidation of their national identity, the Americanization of the world at large. All this in an effort to counter the Russians in their plans for the Russification of the world. According to the American secretary for defence, Weinberger, the «rapid intervention force» has «as its main mission the repulsion of a Soviet aggression and the defence of the American interests in Southe-

ast Asia». For this to be achieved, Pentagon has allotted colossal sums of money from the military budget. Until 1987 Pentagon envisages to expend 10-20 billion dollars on them. The headquarters of this force has under command an effective of 200 000 troops, comprising mariners and divisions of the land forces.

This headquarters covers a constantly expanding area. At present it comprises 19 countries of Africa, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. The United States presently discusses the possibility for these forces to cover also the zone of Southeast Asia, utilizing and improving the existing bases in the region, so that they «be used as support bases for the American forces of the region and for securing a passage in case of need». To this end, they envisage to spend 91 million dollars «on the construction of a strong base» at the strategic point in Ras Banas of the Red Sea, for the re-enforcement of its airfields and ports, 435 million dollars for the extension of landing strips and ports in the strategic island of Diego Garcia, and another 67 million dollars for the improvement of the air base of Lajes in the Azores.

Concentration of these forces in the vicinities of the hot-beds of the earth constitutes a serious threat to the peoples of these regions. Their presence is nothing but direct blackmail and pres-

sure on these peoples so that they do not harm the American interests, do not rise against them.

The American troops of the «multi-national force», like those in Lebanon and elsewhere, are the exact twin of the forces mentioned above. Under the pretext that they carry out the mission of «establishing and maintaining order», they enter the country peacefully, with the «approval» of the country, under the guise of «neutrality» as «arbiters», in order to discharge their duty for «some time». But the reality shows that their numbers increase with the passage of time, the period of their stay is extended and their presence becomes something ordinary. The United States had 1 200 mariners in Lebanon last September, and last December their numbers increased to 2 400. They are bound to keep increasing. The period of their stay was put off for another year, and they have even signed an agreement with the Israeli collaborators for the division of the territory of Beirut between them. Such actions smack of occupation, they are carried out in the defence of the interests of the imperialist powers which they represent.

The division of Beirut, as if it were no one's land, shows that these «multi-national forces» try to turn the political maps of the independent and sovereign countries into a shapeless motley in which they will have their

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own American, or British, and other cities and zones with a tendency to expansion. So, what the «rapid intervention force», the «strategic task force» and other forces are supposed to carry out

rapidly and through aggression, the «multi-national force» does gradually, «in the quiet», through agreements and decisions, of course, with their weapons cocked in case «order is violated».

In the last analysis, regar-

ness of the roads they follow, all these instruments serve the policy of oppression and exploitation of the peoples by American imperialism in its rivalry with Soviet social-imperialism for the deviation of and dictate in the world.

## THE YUGOSLAV SELF-ADMINISTRATION IN A GRAVE CRISIS

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The economic situation in Yugoslavia «is very grave», «difficulties in the economy have been piling up for a long time», «problems are very complicated and many of them are long standing», «they are such as to call for radical changes in the economic activity and it will take time to overcome them», difficulties «are often presented under the deceptive guise of progress». These bitter words, which speak of the grave crisis of the Yugoslav economy, were said by Nikola Stoyanović, secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY, in a report to a plenum of the Central Committee of the League.

The report says that economic difficulties have become more alarming during 1982, that the economic situation has deteriorated, that in different fields of economic life there are stagnation, abuse, passivity and falling growth rates on the main

indices, that foreign debts constitute one of the most complicated problems of Yugoslavia, that disproportions in the distribution of production and the supply of the population continue, that inflation is rampant, etc. Therefore, the report points out, an atmosphere is created among people which might push us away from the system of self-administration which has lost much of its credibility, just as the League of Communists has lost much of its authority. There are many discussions at which a change of the fundamentals of the socio-economic and political system is demanded, and is stressed that «the system of self-administration is to blame for all difficulties.»

The above-mentioned report says that in many production organizations there are great difficulties in ensuring the minimum rate of production. The production of primary materials and semi-finished goods is lagging behind. The-

refore, especially in the existing conditions of an unfavourable balance of payments, many enterprises have reduced production and the degree of the exploitation of their productive capacities and many workers have remained without jobs. In these working collectives incomes have fallen and social problems have become acute. Insufficient work productivity and declining quality are phenomena manifested over a period of some years.

These sharp economic problems are accompanied with elements that make the situation still more grave in some fields of reproduction. In all the republics and provinces has begun the process of the reduction of investments. Foreign debts have reached huge figures and their repayment causes great hardships. Many other problems have become acute; among them are problems of the distribution of hard cu-

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urrency among the republics, the import of oil, foreign debts, etc. There is growing pressure for new loans and deferment of payment of previous ones, the banks are unable to pay their foreign creditors, etc. Many unsolved problems will remain so for some years in the future, says the report, and the repayment of foreign debts is not simply an economic-financial question. There is criticism of the investment policy, of the foreign credits which have caused the present economic difficulties, etc.

The working masses are more and more made to pay for the consequences of this crisis which is working havoc in the Yugoslav economy. Stoyanović admits that during 1982 Yugoslavia faced serious problems in the supply of the population with some vital food products and consumer goods, indeed, even those which do not come from import. Moreover, the production of some staple food articles and broad consumer goods (meat, for instance) has been neglected for many years now, which has caused many and difficult problems on the market.

Unemployment remains one of the gravest economic and social problems of Yugoslavia. In this direction, as the report of Stoyanović points out, the situation is worse in the economically less developed republics, and more so in the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosova. Strongly destabilizing trends operate in

the field of prices: their rise is twice as high as the forecast. Prices continue to go up, despite all price-freezes, contracts are not observed and practically no one is answerable for the situation.

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A «scientific meeting» on «the current problems» of the country and the ways for their «solution» was held in Belgrade. As news bulletins have it, many of the contributors to the discussions at this meeting said that the grave economic, political and social crisis in the country has its source in the Yugoslav self-administrative system, and warned of the catastrophe Yugoslavia is heading for. According to TANJUG, a number of contributions «questioned and criticized many formerly undisputable theses and solutions», and stressed that «both the economic and the political system are wrong in their fundamental conception». Amongst other things it was said that «in the last five years we are rapidly going towards the catastrophe», that the liquidation of planning is fraught with serious consequences for the economy of the country, in general, and more particularly, in the more acute problems, such as that of the balance of payments, the structure of the economy and inflation; that the existing economic system can hardly function and serves only as

a catalyst to speed up a real political crisis. Confronted with the inescapable reality of this grave crisis, some of the participants in the discussions stressed that practice has proved the «incorrectness of the system» (the self-administrative system), that «the system has proved a disillusionment for the people», and that facts show a «tacit estrangement of the masses from the political system».

The admissions made at the above meeting reveal clearly the entire rottenness of the Yugoslav self-administrative system. Among other things the contributors to the discussion pointed out that «self-administration was imposed from above» and that the «conditions for its functioning were laid down». There were also statements to the effect that «everything self-administrative cannot be automatically socialist», that the logic of «grab what you can» frequently manifests itself in self-administrative decisions, that now everyone must be aware that «we live in a bourgeois society», which is guided by «bourgeois values», etc.

A great part of the contributions boiled down to an unavoidable confirmation of the impasse in which Yugoslavia has landed, of the uselessness of the «recipes» given and meetings held to find a solution to the acute problems of the crisis. Typical of this is the information that «a new science 'crisiology', is

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being created in our society, although it must be said, it is incapable of seeing the whole depth of the problems and of providing a solution

to them», that «crisiology» issues loads of recipes for getting out of the crisis, but everything confirms the helplessness of their authors, that

the participants in the meetings resemble «clowns whose gestures are meant only to amuse the public, without any other response from it».

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## «SOCIALIST ORIENTATION» OR ORIENTATION TOWARDS MOSCOW

«BASHKIMI»

«Two Orientations in the Socio-Economic Development in Africa» is the title of a book published by the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. The more eminent Soviet Africanologists try to lend support to the revisionist thesis of «the socialist road». They even go to such lengths as to work out the code by which the Africans are allowed to go if they want to maintain the title of «countries of socialist orientation».

According to the revisionist specialists of African affairs, a country may be considered socialist even without the dictatorship of the proletariat, or without ensuring the active participation of the broad masses in political and social life. It is not required to establish the social ownership over the means of production or to carry out revolutionary transformations in the economy, policy, ideology, ethnics and other fields. No. They pose only three conditions, the more important of which is «the exten-

sion and strengthening of relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist (read: revisionist) community». In order to leave no doubt that this is the principal condition, they have been labouring for many years now to stick the «socialist» label to different countries. However, circumstances change, and on the list of «socialist» countries of the 80's do not figure many countries which had won this title in the 60's or 70's. They have lost it simply because they did not see it fit to look towards Moscow.

The classification under «countries of socialist orientation» is another expression of the ambition of the Soviet social-imperialists to round up these countries into their neo-colonialist corral. As to the road a country follows, that is up to the people of that country to decide in a sovereign way. Yet Moscow and Washington, in their struggle for world domination, have charted the course for

other countries to steer.

In order to achieve its hegemony-seeking objectives, apart from violence and their gun-boat policy, the Soviet Union capitalizes on its socialist past and makes the most of the illusions, mistaken ideas or the naive trust that still linger about its policy. At a time when the American peoples have a violent hatred against the Western colonialists, the Soviet Union seeks to profit from it by peddling its policy of rivalry with the United States as an anti-imperialist policy. Moscow tries to penetrate into the anti-imperialist and liberation movements and manipulate them to its advantage. It is not by chance that in their book «Two Directions in the Socio-Economic Development in Africa» the ideologists of the Kremlin put the stress on the need for «exchanges on the party road» of the African countries with the Soviet Union. To what class belong or serve the go-



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vernments of these countries is unimportant. It is sufficient that their representatives lean towards Moscow for

the latter to decree instantly that «the revolutionary democrats have gone over to the positions of Marxism-Le-

ninism» and, as a consequence, their countries are classified as «countries of socialist orientation».

## THE «DISCRIMINATED AGAINST» RUSSIAN MINORITIES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Recently Yury Andropov held a speech in his quality of member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet at a meeting of this organ which still is without a president. The meeting also adopted a resolution. Andropov demanded that «more attention should be paid to national minorities» over problems connected with the «state building». The resolution calls for «perfecting the forms of participation of the national minorities in the activity of the Soviets of deputies in running state and social affairs». The declarations and phrases sound beautiful. However, despite all the fine words, one cannot expect that the modern revisionists, including the Soviet revisionists, will pursue a policy of equality and fraternity among the peoples. This is evident in the concrete case, too. The Supreme Soviet, in fact, deliberately did not specify the minorities it meant by these words. However, it is known that, in general, the more important minorities in all the Soviet Republics, except for the Russian Republic, of course, are represented by

Russians. To them is, in the last analysis, directed the solicitude of the Supreme Soviet. What Andropov and others try to cover up through carefully worded phrases, leaks out of the Soviet propaganda, which is intended to brainwash public opinion to suit Great-Russian appetites.

The Soviet press lays great emphasis on and treats in detail the problems that were taken up for examination at this meeting. It points out that «in some republics the local population is better placed (regarding representation in the leading organs of the state and the party) in spite of its specific weight». Similarly, it is said that «previously a policy of ensuring the autochthonous character of the apparatus was followed, but in the present conditions of developed socialism this policy is no longer necessary». Paying homage to Great-Russian chauvinism, many authors now stress that «serious changes have taken place in the national composition of the republics and autonomous provinces of the Soviet Union». Thus, for example «in the 14 Soviet Republics (exclu-

ding Russia), the Russians account for 19 per cent of the population», though this is not reflected «everywhere and always» in the «composition of the organs of the party and state». «On this plane,» the review «Voprosy filosofii» writes, «the question of the enlargement of the Russian representation in the organs of a number of republics and provinces deserves particular attention.» For its part, «Nauchnyi kommunizm» calls for prompt action in this direction, because «otherwise the legitimate rights of the minorities, their interests and demands would be circumscribed», which «would offend their feelings. So, according to this logic, the Russians in the non-Russian republics and autonomous provinces of the Soviet Union emerge as a minority «discriminated against» by the local population which has supposedly usurped the power!

This misrepresentation of the true state of things from utterly bourgeois nationalist positions is made deliberately and for ulterior aims. It is intended to further narrow

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and curtail the inalienable right of the non-Russian Soviet peoples to be the masters in their own republics and provinces, to further reduce the formal powers which these peoples still have been left with. And the Soviet state has thrown all its authority behind this scheme. However, no amount of carefully formulated phrases can cover up the truth. In the national problem the only preoccupation of the new Russian Czars is about securing and consolidating the power of the Russians not only in the upper instances of the Soviet state and revisionist party, not only in the Russian Federation, but everywhere, throughout the Soviet Union, in the non-Russian republics, provinces, and regions. All this is intended to ensure complete and definitive Russian control over all state power, and put down any resistance of the other peoples, to the domination of the Russian bourgeoisie, to their forced assimilation through the levers of state power. In this respect, in its treatment of

the problem of the present Russian representation in the leading state, political and social organs of the non-Russian republics, «Voprosi filozofii» complains that the existing situation «does not favour the further strengthening of the single Soviet international nationality». The vocabulary the Soviet revisionists use shows that their intention is to achieve the liquidation of any national individuality of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the creation of the so-called single non-national Soviet nationality, which unequivocally means the Russification of all the Soviet peoples.

The policy of the gradual and complete Russification of the apparatus of the non-Russian republics is accompanied with the publication of a series of chauvinist and racist theories. They call for the liquidation of the «negative factors» which «influence politically unformed people of the autochthonous nations and which give rise to feelings of national superiority, ethnic purity among them». So, Russian nation in

power appears in effect to guarantee the establishment and maintenance of relations of equality amongst the Soviet peoples. The Russian nation, the largest in number and the most widespread in the Soviet Union, is assigned the historic mission of preventing the other peoples and their representatives from sliding into nationalism. So, the Russians are presented as a generous people immune to nationalist and chauvinist influences, who, wherever they are, deserve to be in power. The other nations produce only «unformed» people, loaded with remnants from the past, if not altogether inferior to the Russians. The «scientific» Soviet press writes, «The liquidation of inequality amongst the peoples of the USSR does not mean that there is not inequality in their degree of development.» In this way, the Soviet peoples are divided into developed and under-developed, with the Russians being placed on the top of the pyramid, something which is only a variant of the nazi-fascist theories of superior and inferior peoples.

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## THE SPYING ACTIVITY OF THE SINISTER CIA IN THE TRADE UNIONS

«PUNA» — Central organ of the TUA

One of the objectives of the American monopoly bourgeoisie and the capitalist bour-

geoisie, in general, has been and remains the division and destruction of the unity of the

proletariat and the establishment of its permanent control over trade-union organi-

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zations and activities. An important place in the strategy and tactic of the bourgeoisie is occupied by the activation of the various state structures to bring about the split of the proletariat and the broad working masses, to blunt the edge of their striking force, to circumscribe and undermine their struggle against the capitalist order. The American intelligence agency, the sinister CIA has always been pre-eminent in this field. As the tool of American imperialist and big monopoly capital it is the CIA is carrying out its strategic plans in order to infiltrate the American and international trade-union movement. Thus, for example, in a special report the CIA emphasizes the need «for other measures to guarantee the security and stability of trade-union activities» under its aegis.

We are faced here with a further escalation of the intelligence and disruptive activity of the CIA in the trade-union movement. In its attempts at infiltrating the world worker movement, its sinister activity has gone through several stages. Initially it focussed on infiltrating the American trade-unions, which assumed an organized form with the setting up of the AFL-CIO, following the merger of the American Federation of Labour (AFL) with the Congress of Industri-

al Organizations (CIO). Behind this new trade-union structure lurked the hand of the CIA which, in this way, started its offensive against the world trade-union movement.

About 120 000 CIA agents are reckoned to operate within the different trade-union organizations led by the AFL-CIO. The CIA interferes through one of its filials, which is known as the Office of Strategic Service (OSS). Its agents occupy leading positions not only in the executive committees of American trade-unions, but also in almost all the AFL-CIO branches the world over. They operate on the European continent, in Latin America, in Asia and in Africa. Such is the «American Institute for Free Labour Development» (AIFLD) which was set up and is run by the CIA agents in the AFL-CIO and the representatives of big American monopolies operating in the Latin-American continent. The «educational» programs of the AIFLD are intended to bring the workers and trade-unionists to collaborate with trade-union bosses and capitalists in order to prevent progressive and democratic ideas from penetrating the trade-union movement. Agencies very similar to the AIFLD are the «Institute of American-Asiatic Free Labour» and the «Afro-Ameri-

can Labour Centre». Aided and abetted by the AFL-CIO their aim is to expand the scope of activity of the American monopolies and multi-nationals on the African and Asian continent, to step up sabotage of the progressive trade-union movement in these regions.

The sinister CIA has charged its trade-union branches with various state destabilizing functions, employing them especially as spies' nests for trade-union intelligence, as the forerunners of coups and open intervention by American imperialism. Their mission as the fifth column of the American intelligence agency manifested itself, among other things, in the development of events in Chile. An information published by the journal «The People's Voice», organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand, shows that the agents trained in the AIFLD course were active in engineering and executing the fascist coup of 1973. The trade-union agents of the CIA preceded the staging of economic strikes, created chaos in the sectors of the economy and sabotaged the measures of the government of Popular Unity of Allende. They prepared the terrain for the fascist putsch and brought the agent of the CIA, Pinochet, into office.



*The National Folklore Festival, which is organized every four years, will take place in October this year in the museum - city of Gjirokastra.*





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