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◀ **COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA, DURING HIS VISIT TO ONE OF THE GARRISONS OF TIRANA, ON THE DAY OF CELEBRATION.**

*FATMIR HAXHIU: «Years of the War — Lirëza» (painting).
In the centre: Enver Hoxha, the unforgettable leader and legendary Commander, and Comrade Ramiz Alia.*





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RAMIZ ALIA

**THE PEOPLE
ONE AND**

***THE MESSAGE OF GREETING
FIRST SECRETARY OF
AND GENERAL COMMANDER
ON THE OCCASION OF
OF THE FOUNDING***

COMRADE SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS, COMMANDERS AND COMMISSARS,

It is a great joy for me, as for the whole people, to convey to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party our ardent greetings on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army to wish you from the heart successes in the discharge of the lofty mission the people have entrusted to you for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

July 10th of the year 1943 represents one of the remarkable events in our National Liberation War and one of the foundation stones which ensured the liberation of Albania. After the formation of the Party, the creation of the Army represents the next achievement of historic importance in the process of national revival and the social rejuvenation of the Albanian people, the clear expression of their indomitable political will and their militant vitality, their undying hopes and irrepressible desire to achieve freedom, the independence and progress of the nation, prosperity and happiness at the cost of any sacrifice, at any time and in any circumstances.

AND THE ARMY- INSEPARABLE

OF COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, THE CC OF THE PARTY TO THE ARMED FORCES THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMY

This outstanding historic merit belongs to the Albanian communists, to our heroic Party and the unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Not only did they work out the most correct and appropriate strategy for the liberation of the Homeland and the establishment of the people's state power, but they also knew how to find fundamental links which should be seized and the means to secure its realization. Enver Hoxha's extreme foresight and capacity was seen in the creation and organization of the National Liberation Army, and in its education and direction. What he created and organized was not just any armed force, a means to win a war, but a political weapon for the establishment of the new state, a social organism for the strengthening of the national and popular unity, a basis for the defence of the victories achieved and for making the future secure.

This is what our army has been and is, a profoundly popular and patriotic institution, a devoted defender of the Homeland, a factor of security and support for the building of socialism. The direct leadership of the Party in the army, the education of the army in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, its dependence on and close links with the state of the

people, the members for its revolutionization measures, which were taken with the initiative of the Party and were implemented under its direction, all these have contributed to the preservation and strengthening of these sound political, ideological and social features which lie in its foundations as a liberation army, in the foundations of the lofty mission which the people have assigned to the army for the defence of the Homeland and the victories of the revolution.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have equipped the army not only with the necessary military technique, but also with the Popular Military Art. On the basis of this great and invaluable legacy is developed the whole political-military line in our army today.

The Popular Military Art has not and should never become a manual, a code of general principles and advice. It ought to be understood and applied as a guide in order to keep alive, to raise and perfect such an organism as our army is. It should be a source of inspiration and encouragement to scale new heights in military training and in building our technique, in the best use of weapons and in knowing the terrain, in the political education, in the ideological uplift, and in strengthening the bonds with the people. The creative assimilation and implementation of this art by the whole effective of the Armed Forces, the further enrichment of this art in close connection with the conditions of our internal development and the new situations which develop in the world, with the development of weapons, the strategy and tactics of our possible enemies, require a constant attention of the Party, the commands and the staffs towards the army.

The army and the people in our country are one and indivisible. And this not only because they are united and guided by the same interests, the same ideals of freedom, independence and socialist construction, but also because the soldiers, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, incorporated in the same military structures, are trained politically, physically and militarily in order to realize and guarantee these ideals with their joint efforts.

This reality, which rarely exists in any other country, gives our army its broad political function and dimension, makes it, at the same time, both a powerful armed force and a great social organization, transforms it into a centre in which the political and ideological unity is expressed and tempered, in which the pure feeling of love of the Homeland and the spirit of socialist collectivism are educated.

The Party has always instructed the army that these two aspects of its function and mission, the military one and the political-social one, which are in complete unity and harmony, should be born in mind constantly and should be safeguarded and strengthened ceaselessly. Following the traditions of our National Liberation War, our army will always remain an open school in which the sons of the people will be formed not only as devoted defenders of the Homeland, but also as worthy citizens, politically mature and equipped with high moral virtues.

Our people, who consider the army as one of the greatest achievements of our revolution, have a great love and respect for it and are proud of it. They have never spared anything to maintain and develop it; they have done everything with great generosity and nobility. It is the duty of the Party in the army, the commands, the staffs, and of all the

effective of the army to justify the high consideration of our people for the army, their trust and desires by further strengthening itself militarily and politically, by raising the level of training and military preparedness, by strengthening discipline and order, by enhancing the high reputation it has.

DEAR COMRADES,

The world today is full of many contradictions and all kinds of danger, with unexpected developments and events. These complex and turbulent situations require ever stronger vigilance, which should be constantly raised to new levels and perfected in conformity with the various developments which occur in the world and around us, with the activity of the US and Soviet imperialists and other enemies. Vigilance requires not only spiritual mobilization and readiness, sharpening of the political sense and class intuition, or only intensive physical training and military readiness. It requires, also, an increase of contemporary knowledge which has a bearing on the war and defence, the perfecting of methods of analysis and study which are connected with these phenomena. When political vigilance is complemented with military knowledge, the former is transformed into an extremely powerful weapon for the defence of our socialist Homeland.

It is known that the strengthening of defence of the Homeland depends directly on the strengthening of the economy and on the advance of culture. The Party and Comrade Enver have continuously stressed the importance of this dependence and have educated our people to regard the fulfilment of the economic objectives with an eye to the fulfilment of their duties in defence. Therefore, the marked day of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army must serve as a new encouragement for the attainment of the important objectives of the state plan in order to give the Homeland more bread grain, more oil, more mineral ores and industrial products, more new cultural and artistic values which satisfy the spiritual demands of the people and ennoble them.

I wish to express the desire and confidence of the Party that the soldiers, the commanders, the commissars, the whole effective of our Armed Forces will go to July 10th of this year with the best results, bound closely to the Party, the people's state power and the whole people, always vigilant and with high readiness for the defence of the Homeland.

On the occasion of this celebration I wish to greet especially the veteran partisans, who with their blood and sacrifices, laid the steel foundations of our army, I wish to congratulate the thousands of cadres, officers and non-commissioned officers, who, in these last 45 years, have worked untiringly and honourably for the development and modernization of the army, I want to congratulate all those young men who have entered the military career and wish them success on the glorious road of their forerunners.

Congratulations and many happy returns of the festivity of our beloved People's Army!
Long live our Party of Labour!

Eternal glory to the General Commander, the founder, organizer and great teacher,
Comrade Enver Hoxha!

GREAT CELEBRATION OF THE FORMATION OF

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING

Comrade **RAMIZ ALIA** of the Party

On the occasion of July 10th, the 45th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army, the Central Committee of the Party, the Ministry of People's Defence, and the Party Committee of the district of Tirana organized a commemorative meeting in the afternoon of July 9th, in the Palace of Congresses.

The meeting was attended by people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, veterans, members and relatives of martyrs' families, soldiers and cadres, vanguard workers and cooperativists, working people of central departments and institutions, representatives of the mass organizations, young men and women.

The hall thundered with applause and cheers to greet the entrance of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and General Commander of our Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the other leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi and Vangjel Çërrava.

The meeting was also attended by the President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu, chairman of the National Committee of Veterans of the War of the Albanian people, Shefqet Peçi, and Comrades Spiro Koleka, Haki Toska, Pilo Peristeri, Haxhi Lleshi, and other members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government.

The commemorative meeting was opened by Comrade Simon Stefani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party.

Among other things, he said: Our People's Army,

merged with the armed people, inherits the best traditions and virtues of our people and our heroic partisans. The Party has educated it with the communist ideals, with steel discipline, with unshakeable loyalty to the cause of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Our Armed Forces have increased their mobilization and militant spirit in order to put into practice the historic decisions made by the Party at its 9th Congress and the invaluable instructions of the General Commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia. Rising to the level of the situations, they are trained intensively and in an all-sided manner, in conformity with the requirements of the Popular Military Art, and are characterized by a sound moral and political condition and a high combat capacity. Our Army and the entire armed people are the secure and impregnable defence of freedom and independence, socialism and the new life, which we have created with so much sweat and toil in the epoch of the Party.

Then the national hymn was executed.

The speech of the occasion was delivered by Comrade Prokop Murra, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of People's Defence.

The 45th anniversary of the formation of our People's Army finds Albania strong and prosperous, with a developed and always growing economy and culture, said among other things Comrade Prokop Murra in this speech. In our country there is a healthy situation and an unbreakable militant unity in the bosom of the people and between the people and the Party. The vigorous atmosphere of work and the revolutionary mobilization for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party have enthused all the

OF THE 45th ANNIVERSARY THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

ETING AT THE CAPITAL

and other leaders and State attend

working masses in the rural area and in the city, old and young. Everything in our country is done relying on our own internal forces and resources, on the toil and sweat of our own people. The great achievements in all walks of life have made our defence more impregnable. Every step forward made by our socialist Albania has powerfully helped to bring about the all-round development and advancement of our People's Army.

From the day when it was founded, our Party mapped out the road through which our army would develop gradually. It educated the Albanian people with the spirit of revolution and clearly showed them that freedom is not donated, but is won through bloodshed and sacrifices as history teaches. By implementing the teachings of our country, which had scarce human and material resources, it knew how to create, within a short time, a voluntary army, equipped with iron discipline and conscious of its duties, an army complete with all the links of military organization.

Our National Liberation Army was an unprecedented example in the history of our people. It was an army of the new type, which distinguished itself for the mission which it had to carry out and the principles on which it was based, for its organization and conscious discipline which characterized it, for the level of the military operations which it carried out with success.

The enemies and foreign occupiers have always endeavoured to split the people, to disrupt their unity. During the National Liberation War, also, they strove just as hard to quell the struggle of our people, to fragment it, because in that manner they could realize their ambitions more easily. The creation of the General Staff was an objective indispensability and a

logical consequence of the extension and growth of the armed struggle of the Albanian people. With this Staff the strategic leadership of the army was raised to a higher degree, the organization and direction of the war operations were further improved. Life confirmed that the election of Comrade Enver Hoxha as political commissar of the General Staff constituted the full guarantee to ensuring the leading role of the Party in the army.

With the creation of the General Staff and the establishment of higher fighting formations, *the speaker continued*, the armed struggle of the Albanian people entered a new phase, the phase of a higher organization and rapid extension, the phase of the general armed uprising of the people.

At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that we should be always on the offensive, never on the defensive, even when the enemy attacks we must know how to foil its plans, to hit it from all sides, to interrupt its communications and penetrate deep into its rear, to cut its supplies, to destroy its headquarters and to liberate more towns.

Despite the extremely great difficulties, our army coped with success with the large-scale enemy operations of winter 1943 and June 1944. In these circumstances it went over to the counter-attack and the general offensive for the complete liberation of Albania. It was thanks to this strategy that the destiny of Albania and the outcome of our just war were not decided outside the country, as happened in the past. It was eventually decided by the armed people within the territory of their own Homeland.

The Party had educated the army with a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. After September 1944, by order of the General Commander, Comrade

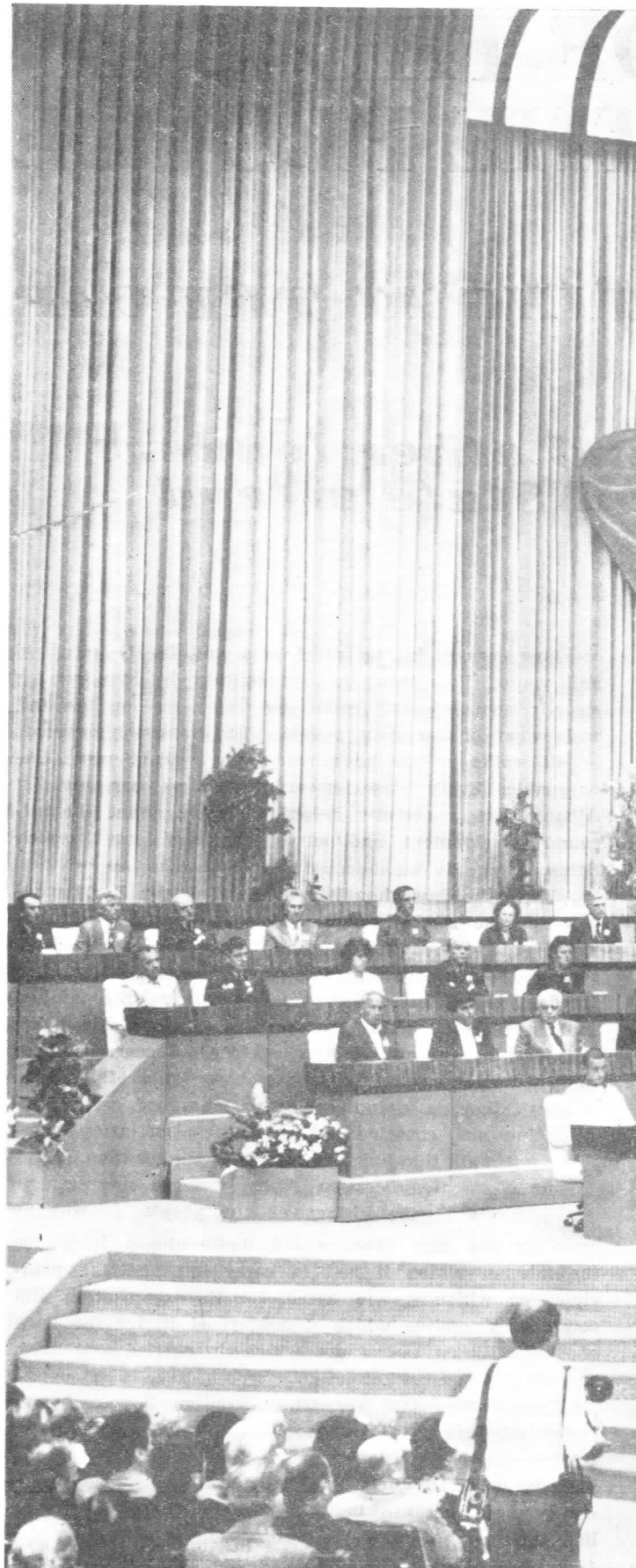
Enver Hoxha, two divisions of our army went over to Yugoslavia, where they fought heroically and shed their blood side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Kosovar brothers in Kosova and Montenegro, in Sandjak and Bosnia. With this act they set a concrete example of the sincere relations and links with the peoples of the neighbouring countries in the war against the common enemy.

November 29, 1944 marked the crowning with glory of the most heroic and triumphant war the Albanians have ever waged throughout the whole of their history. In this war our people manifested an extraordinary vitality. They set up a whole army of 70 thousand men, which nailed down more than 15 divisions of the enemy in fierce fighting on the Albanian territory. The Albanian people, counting about 1 million, bore a heavy burden on their shoulders and made a valuable contribution to the victory of the war against fascism. This cost them countless unexampled sacrifices: 28 thousand of the best sons and daughters of the people fell in the field of battle, inspired by the ideals of the Party, with the ardent desire to have a free and sovereign democratic Albania.

Our National Liberation War confirmed in practice the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the decisive factor for victory in the war is the internal factor, that the war is won by the people and the army with a high morale, with clear aims, and who are conscious of the war they wage and are led by a genuine revolutionary Party.

Giving priority to the principle of self-reliance, our Party and people have never for a moment undervalued the outside factor, the war of the other peoples. The war of the Soviet peoples, under the leadership of great Stalin, and the liberation war of the peoples of other countries against nazism and fascism, were an encouragement for and assistance to the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people. But the fact remains that Albania is the only country in Europe which was completely liberated by its own forces, without the direct interference of outside forces.

The external and internal enemies, with their views, stands and attempts at armed interventions, opposed themselves to our socialist order and aimed to liquidate our Party and our new state of people's democracy. These aims motivated the hostile activity of the secret agents and conspirators with a hundred flags, M. Shehu, B. Balluku, K. Hazbiu and Co. With their anti-national and anti-popular theories, which they preached, with their arrogance and the cult of castes which they strove to foster, they wanted to separate the army from



The presidium of the meeting. Comrade Prokop Murra speaking.



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the Party and the people, to foment disruption and confusion, to sow the seed of distrust in the superiority of our socialist order and in the defence capacity of our country. But all their open and camouflaged attempts ended up in ignominious failure. Again the correct and far-sighted line of the Party triumphed as always.

In our army, in the leadership of our defence, in command, we have our Party. It has been and will always remain the mind and the heart of the army.

According to the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party and the instructions of the General Commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia, persistent efforts are being made in the army in order to raise the work of the Party to a higher qualitative level.

The platform worked out by the Party for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country has been a decisive factor, also, for the preservation and continuous deepening of the popular and revolutionary character of the army.

In the uninterrupted process of the growth and modernization of the army, the Party has adopted and carried out a series of measures with a view to its further revolutionization. It has transformed the army into a fiery hearth of patriotism and into a great school of education.

Thanks to Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the free military schools and the determination of the Party to materialize these teachings in practice, it became possible, for the first time in history, and this in our country, to realize the brilliant idea of Lenin's that no force in the world can dare to violate the freedom of the homeland if the armed people, who have abolished the military caste, who have made all its soldiers citizens and all its citizens soldiers capable of using weapons, become the shield of this freedom.

Under the leadership of the Party, our army, in these 45 years of its existence, has become conscious that its force, compactness and invincibility lies not in the weapons and military technique, with which it is equipped, or only in its structural organization, which has been continually perfected in conformity with the advance of our society. They lie, in the first place, in its steel links with the people, in our economic, cultural and scientific potential, which is constantly growing, in the all-sided preparations which we make. Our army is an army of the working class in power, is the army of all the working masses of the country, who while building socialism, are militarily trained for the defence of the Homeland.

The organization of our impregnable defence is based on the principles of the People's Military Art, worked out by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist military science, on the experience of the glorious National Liberation War of our people, and on the revolutionary wars of the other peoples. This art shows how a really socialist

country like Albania, relying on its own forces and without entering any alliance, treaty and military bloc, is in a position to guarantee an independent defence for its own people, to confront any aggressor, to defend the national freedom and independence with heroism, and to emerge always victorious.

In our time, the weapons and military technique have reached new higher levels of sophistication. We do not underestimate their role, but we regard them in unity with the man and in the service of man. We, also, have what weapons we need, and we keep them in complete readiness and ceaselessly improve our method of using them. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the destiny of the final victory in the war is not decided by weapons, but by the people who defend the freedom and independence of their homeland with their own blood. This is the decisive factor. Our ancient and new history is an authentic testimony which shows that although our people have always had to clash with enemies superior in numbers and weaponry, they have always won and will win, the more so today in the shining epoch of the Party.

Speaking about the present situation in the world, which have confirmed the analyses and conclusions of the 9th Congress of our Party, Comrade Prokop Murra continued:

A great noise is being made today, after the recent summit meetings between the Soviets and the Americans, about the efforts for peace and disarmament. Of course it is their right to meet and talk. But to arrogate to themselves the role of the arbiter and protector of peace, this is unacceptable. The securing of peace and the destinies of the peoples cannot be pledged to the hands of those who threaten them.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always been in favour of the prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons. It is against the armaments race carried on by the superpowers, and against their alliances. It is against the militarization of space and any project which increases the dangers of war of any kind, be it atomic war, chemical war, or war with conventional weapons. The security of each country, Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, is a task which cannot be overlooked. But security of the country cannot be achieved through its presence in the Atlantic Pact or the Warsaw Treaty, or by placing it under the umbrella of the superpowers. The breaking up of the military pacts, the withdrawal of foreign troops and military bases and the dismantling of their installations, refusing port facilities to one or the other superpower, etc., this is the way to achieve security for the countries of Europe and the world.

Socialist Albania does not participate in any military bloc or alliance which, directly or indirectly, commits it to a hostile policy towards other countries. It has entered no accord which might open the path to-

wards hurting the interests of others. We allow no facilities to foreign forces to rest or pass through our territory, both in time of peace and in time of war. This correct and completely independent stand of ours stems from the fact that socialist Albania has no moral or economic obligations to anyone, which could compel it into making concessions to the detriment of its own interests. This firm and principled stand in our foreign policy, which the Party has worked out, has been our legacy from Comrade Enver Hoxha, and we shall stick to it with loyalty because in that way we defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

Albania is marching ahead non-stop on the road of revolution and the socialist construction of the country. We are proud of the achievements we have made and clearly see the bright prospect which lie ahead. At the same time, we follow attentively the development of international events and do not forget that there are some in the world who do not wish us well and try to lead us away from our road. Therefore, we work unremittingly in order to constantly strengthen the revolutionary vigilance and the combat readiness of our armed forces. No blackmail has been able to intimidate our people, and they will never be intimidated, no matter from what quarter and by whom blackmail is made. No situation can or will shake the correct and firm stands of socialist Albania. It has always advanced and will advance with honour and pride on the shining path on which it is led by the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania wishes well to all the peoples of the world. We have declared more than once that no harm will come to any of our neighbours or any other from our country. In our international relations we have always been and are for the strengthening of friendship and collaboration with reciprocal benefit. But at the same time we have been sternly opposed and oppose to the hegemony-seeking policy of imperialism, especially US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. We have no relations and do not want to have any with them, because they are the arch-enemies of the peoples.

The development of relations with the neighbouring countries constitutes one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It has been and is for the strengthening and extension of these relations on the basis of the known principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity and mutual advantage. Our desire and actions in this field, as well as our concrete contribution were not lacking at the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, which we valued as a positive development in our region, and which marks a step forward towards understanding, trust and collaboration in the Balkans. For this good beginning to be followed by further steps ahead, it is necessary that

the bilateral relations, as the basis of multilateral collaboration, should be strengthened and developed continually.

Our Balkan Peninsula is washed by the waters of the Mediterranean and is situated quite close to the region of the Middle East. It is a fact that the Mediterranean basin has been transformed today into one of the highly militarized seas of the earth. For many years we notice here the constant presence of the naval fleets and warships of the superpowers, which threaten peace and independence of the Mediterranean countries, peace and international security.

Our country is for the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace and collaboration, and that the navies of the superpowers should withdraw from this basin. Only in this way will the Mediterranean belong to the Mediterranean peoples and peace and security in it and in Europe be guaranteed.

The Middle East today constitutes one of the most hot spots of regional conflicts. The Israeli aggression and occupation of the Arab territories continues for many years. The imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers, have transformed it into a region of uninterrupted explosion.

In the future the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, consistent in its stands, will continue to give its powerful support to the struggle of the heroic Palestinian people to regain their national rights, and to all the fraternal Arab peoples to drive the Israeli aggressors from the occupied Arab territories.

The threats to peace, freedom and independence have not disappeared. The war-mongering activity of the superpowers and their military blocs have always dictated the need to increase our combat readiness and to further strengthen our revolutionary vigilance, so that no one should be able to surprise us. We have taken all measures to make the defence of the country always secure.

Winding up his speech, Comrade Prokop Murra said:

This year our Party, the whole Albanian people, all the effective of our Armed Forces, in steel unity and mobilized as never before for new achievements in every field, will commemorate with profound respect and honour the 80th anniversary of the birth of our great and unforgettable leader, the Commander and architect of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. His life and work have been and will remain for ever a source of inspiration, an unerring guiding compass on our socialist road.

United as one around the Party and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia in its head, our People's Army, all the defence structures will score only victories in the future, always remaining loyal on guard of the Homeland.

At the end of the meeting the participants applauded and cheered for the Party and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA LAID A WREATH AT THE MONUMENT «MOTHER ALBANIA» AND ON THE GRAVE OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

On July 10th the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, laid wreaths at the monument «Mother Albania» and on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He also paid homages in the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation.

He was accompanied by the leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Hekuran Isai, Kiço Mustaqi.

Comrade Ramiz Alia placed at the monument «Mother Albania» the wreath bearing the inscription «Glory to the Martyrs — the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Ramiz Alia», while the brass band executed marches. Then the national hymn was executed. The guard of honour marched past the Commander-in-chief, who saluted it with the raised fist.

Then he went up to the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha on which he laid a wreath with the inscription: «In homage to the legendary leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha — Ramiz Alia». The leaders of the Party and State stood in raised fist salute in front of the grave of the heroic leader of the masses, the beloved educator and teacher of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades went past the graves of the fallen, saluting them with raised fists.

The beloved leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met and warmly greeted the inhabitants of the capital, workers, veterans, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, young men and women.

THE COMMANDER - IN - CHIEF AMIDST SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS OF A DETACH- MENT OF THE GARRISON OF TIRANA

On July 10th, the Commander-in-chief of our Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, was among the soldiers and officers of one of the military detachments of the garrison of Tirana, with whom he celebrated the 45th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army.

He was accompanied by leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Hekuran Isai, Kiço Mustaqi and Pirro Kondi.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the minister of People's Defence, reviewed the guard of honour.

Then he went on to meet and talk with the students and teachers of the High School for Officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who had come to this

detachment, and congratulated them on the successes they have achieved in this academic year.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the PSRA was acquainted with the work and efforts of this effective for the thorough assimilation and best use of military technique and weapons, for the ideological and political uplift, for the achievement of higher results in military training. He congratulated them on the achievements they have made in the process of the assimilation and application of the Popular Military Art, on the high degree of their training and fighting readiness, on the strengthening of order and discipline. Comrade Ramiz Alia inquired after their

living conditions, the development of their auxiliary economy and, especially, the internal life of the youth organization and the activities in which the soldiers engage during their free time.

Comrade Ramiz Alia accepted with great pleasure the invitation of the soldiers to dine with them.

During this pleasant dinner, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the soldiers and officers and said, among other things that July 10th is celebrated by our entire people, because in our country all the people have an immediate interest in the question of the freedom of the Homeland, without which there can be no socialist construction, no secure future. He pointed out the imperative need for the all-round political, ideological and military training of the effective, the further strengthening of the vigilance and combat readiness so as to be able to cope with any situation with success. Speaking about the high conscious discipline in the army, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the need for a greater work on the part of army commands and staffs, the commanders and commissars, and for streng-

thening it further. The officer and the soldier, he said, are comrades and brothers, and this should help to make discipline still stronger. After speaking about the significance of the defence of the Homeland in the context of the situations which are developing in the world, Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined the imperative need of strengthening the economy and reinforcing unity, in order to make the defence of our socialist Homeland still more impregnable. We must advance on this road, which we have followed in these last 45 years under the leadership of the Party and according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, said Comrade Ramiz Alia winding up his speech. We must strengthen the economy and the defence. We must always march with complete confidence that the socialist construction in our country will always go ahead, because our working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, the youth, women, the whole people are united as one in order to realize this great work, this great desire and aspiration of our people, and together we shall achieve new and still greater victories.

The Commander amidst soldiers and officers



Comrade Ramiz Alia made some photographs with groups of soldiers and officers. Before leaving, he again met and congratulated them on the celebration of July 10th.

Comrades Hajredin Çeliku, Rita Marko, Manush Myftiu and Besnik Bekteshi, also, paid visits to military schools and detachments of the garrison of Tirana.

FESTIVE CONCERT IN THE SKANDERBEG SQUARE

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army, the Ministry of People's Defence, the Committee of Culture and Arts, and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana, organized a festive concert in the Skanderbeg Square in the evening of July 10th.

The concert was followed by people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, members and relatives of martyrs' families, working people of work and production centres, central departments and institutions, army men, representatives of mass organizations, young men and women, young pioneers of Enver and little school children.

Also present were leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Vangjel Çërrava, and other comrades.

Titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to our country were present.

Artists of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Ensemble of People's Army, the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances, and the symphonic orchestra of the radio and television interpreted and executed songs, dances and other musical compositions dedicated to the legendary commander, Comrade Enver, to our valiant partisans, to the resistance and wonderful virtues of our courageous and patriotic people, to the steel unity of the Party and the people, and to the defence of the victories achieved.

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Commemorative meetings and other activities on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army were organized in other districts of the country.

A meeting was held on July 16th, in front of the museum-house in Labinot-Mal of the district of Elbasan, in which, 45 years ago, the General Staff of the National Liberation Army was set up.

Those present, cooperativists from the zone of Labinot and Shmil, working people from the city of Elbasan, veterans, councillors and deputies, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, army men, young men and women, pioneers of Enver and guests from the districts of Gramsh and Librazhd were congratulated, on behalf of the Central Committee of the

Party, by member of the Central Committee of the Party and deputy-chief of the General Staff, Simon Ballabani.

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On July 5th, in the hall of the People's Assembly, in the capital, in the framework of the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army, the Military Academy organized a scientific conference devoted to the Marxist-Leninist military thinking of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the defence of our socialist Homeland.

The conference was attended by people's heroes and veterans of the War, army men from all units, working people of scientific and study institutions and other guests.

Also attending were leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Foto Çami, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Hekuran Isai, Vangjel Çërrava, Kiço Mustaqi, and others.

The conference heard the report «The Marxist-Leninist military thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the defence of our socialist Homeland», and ten reports by co-authors, which treated problems of the moral-political preparation as the fundamental factor for victory in the war, the correct understanding of the changes in the concept of present and past wars, the all-sided fortification of the terrain for the increase of the stability of our defence, the defence at all costs of every inch of our land through frontal war, etc.

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On July 8th, on the eve of July 10th, the 45th anniversary of the formation of our People's Army, in the premises of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, a ceremony was organized for the distribution of various orders and medals which the Presidium of the People's Assembly has awarded to a group of army men from the People's Army and from the organs of Internal Affairs.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, the army men were greeted by Comrade Rita Marko.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA IS RECEIVED WITH JOY AND AFFECTION IN THE DIBRA DISTRICT

Great rally in Peshkopia on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Liberation and the new harvest festivity

On August 21, two joyful celebrations, the 44th anniversary of the Liberation of the district and the new harvest festivity brought together the people of Dibra in Peshkopia, in the north-eastern part of the country.

The rejoicing of the Dibra people redoubled when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, came to attend their celebrations.

First, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the martyrs' cemetery of the district where he had a warm encounter with the veterans of the War, ex-partisans of the 18th Assault Brigade and members and relatives of martyrs' families. Together with the 1st Secretary of the Party Committee of the Dibra district, Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, he laid a wreath on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party at the monument dedicated to those who fell in the War.

In the afternoon a big rally was organized in the stadium of Peshkopia. Amid the indescribable enthusiasm of thousands of participants, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.

Among other things Comrade Ramiz Alia said: **I came with special joy to participate in this beautiful celebration, both to commemorate the outstanding contribution of the brave and patriotic people of Dibra to the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, and to congratulate you on the successes you have achieved in the economy and in other fields. On this occasion I bring to you the most cordial greetings of the Cen-**

tral Committee of the Party and the best wishes for new successes on the shining road of socialism.

It was a fine idea to put on the same day both the celebration of the Liberation and the new harvest festival. The war against the foreign occupiers and the constructive work, the heroism of the partisans and militancy in the socialist revolution, the past and the present, cannot be separated. They fulfill, support and give strength to one another. In the freedom won with much bloodshed and great sacrifices lies the source of the present victories, the happy life of the people.

The successes in the socialist construction, the growth of the economy and culture, strengthen the Homeland, cement the defence, the freedom and independence of the country. They are the clearest reflection of the popular patriotism, the greatest homage to the sacrifices the people have made during the National Liberation War, the supreme expression of the love for the Party, which revived us, and for the work of Enver Hoxha, this wise man of the Albanian nation, whom we and the generations to come will always love.

Continuing his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the contribution made by the people of the Dibra district to the struggles for the national cause, especially during the epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

After assessing the talented work of the workers, builders, farmers and stock raisers of Dibra, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:

This year you achieved a great success. For the first time after many years of efforts you fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan for the production and delivery of wheat. This victory rejoices us all.

Comrades, this year our socialist agriculture achieved a signal success in the production of cereals. Despite the unfavourable weather conditions, despite the great draught, especially in the coastal zone, the plan of wheat production in the whole Republic was realized by 97,7 per cent. However, although the planned tasks were not fully attained, the production of wheat is 400 thousand tons more than last year. More than 32 quintals of wheat per hectare were taken in from the whole surface sown with wheat. Production and yields of this crop reached the highest figures hitherto. In the plains, in analogous conditions with other countries of the world, results of an international level have been achieved. In extensive tracts, from thousands of hectares of land, 50-60 quintals of wheat per hectare have been taken in.

Of particular importance is the fact that this year's plan for cereals was fulfilled and overfulfilled in almost the whole continental zone of the country, especially in the northeastern part. These results in our agriculture have created an optimistic financial situation.

The Central Committee of the Party warmly congratulates all the cooperativist peasantry and the farm workers of the country on the merited success they have achieved in the production of wheat. In the first place we congratulate all those who fulfilled and overfulfilled the tasks of the plan, and wish them to continue further forward on this road, we also hail those who could not fulfill the tasks, but who will certainly show what they are worth to do in the great work that awaits us.

Let the success achieved in the wheat production become a source of still greater mobilization for the fulfilment of the other great tasks which we have ahead of us in agriculture. And it must be said that they are not easy tasks. The draught which has been continuing for such a long period of time has created and is still creating great difficulties. The whole summer passed without a drop of rain. Water reserves are running very low, and this will take a toll on the agricultural crops and on livestock, as well as on the hydro-power system.

Therefore exceptional organization and mobilization is required.

Comrade Ramiz underlined that the high results of this year in the production of wheat once again show the superiority of the cooperativist system, which has inexhaustible vitality and ability. He went on to say

The beloved leader of the Party and the people warmly greeting the working people of the Dibra district





that achievements worthy of mention have been made, also, in the other sectors of production and in the spiritual domain. The objectives set by the 9th Congress of the Party, he declared, have been generally attained as planned until this moment. The economic situation of the country is healthy and the living of the people has become more beautiful.

In Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech a special place was occupied by the care of the Party for the more rapid development of the remote highland zones, especially the northeastern zone. He pointed out that the State, by acts of law, has conceded some favours to these zones, from which they have secured advantages. But in order to go ahead more rapidly, he instructed, some other measures are needed so as to encourage production and to create the conditions for the more thorough exploitation of the productive capacities which exist in the highlands. What we want to achieve, Comrade Ramiz stressed, requires earnest work and great commitment by both sides, both by the population and the local leading organs, and by the State and society.

In connection with this question, Comrade Ramiz Alia added that the economic potential of the country now allows for an increased share in the contribution of society to the remote zones. The Party has adopted decisions to the effect that the Dibra district and the remote highlands in general should secure continuous profit from time to time.

Further in his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia delved on some questions of the present-day international situation.

One of the main favourable factors, which has assisted us to cope with the numerous difficulties and to advance, has been, also, the steel unity of our people around the Party. Today again this unity is the golden key, as Comrade Enver Hoxha called it, to all the victories we have scored. Therefore, we must temper the unity of the people, must strengthen it continuously, by fighting against any manifestation which harms it.

This is absolutely necessary, not only in order to carry out the great tasks which we have for the socialist construction of the country, but also in order to strengthen and guarantee the freedom and independence of the Homeland — this major victory for which 28 thousand martyrs laid down their lives, our people have made innumerable sacrifices and have poured so much sweat for 45 year on end.

The times in which we are living are turbulent. It is true that at present signs of the lowering of tension are appearing in the world: some hot-beds of war are being extinguished. In this manner, peace between Iran and Iraq is being established; talks are under way about settling the question of Cambodia Nicaragua, etc.

There is no doubt that putting out these conflicts is a good thing. Our Party and people greet this. But the fact that these hot-beds of conflagration are put out according to the Soviet-American accord

confirms precisely what our Party had continuously stressed that the cause and instigators of conflicts and local wars are the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. They kindled these conflicts and it is they again now who are extinguishing them, because, apparently, that is what their present interests require. Therefore, are we not right to doubt that tomorrow, if their interests require, they will bring other calamities on the peoples? Yes, we are. Therefore, never for a moment must we lower our vigilance, or put our minds to rest. We must strengthen our defence, raise the level of military preparation, and increase production. A strong economy implies a strong defence.

The situation in the Balkans, also, shows an improvement. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, which was held in Belgrade early this year, seems to have created a favourable atmosphere. Our country participated in this meeting, because it is sincerely interested in peace and friendship in the Balkan Peninsula, because it is for relations of good neighbourliness with the countries which surround it.

In conformity with the correct policy of the Party, socialist Albania has endeavoured to strengthen friendly relations with different countries.

With all these, and with the intensification of activities in the field of trade and culture, our relations with the other countries have been extended, our foreign policy is respected, the good name of socialist Albania is honoured.

I see that you want to know something about Yugoslavia, our northern neighbour, in particular. I can tell you that our relations with this state proceed very slowly. There is no lack of good words and pledges from the authorities of Belgrade: it is said that the protocol on cultural exchanges will be signed, but since last April, which was the time-limit set at first, now we are in August, and nothing has been done. Let's see what September will bring. We have to discuss questions like that of the utilization of waters, about which not only we, but also they, and especially Montenegro, are interested, because with the regulation of the water regime of the Shkodra Lake, the Drin River, etc., the latter would have many advantages, but nobody is making himself heard about this in Belgrade. As for trade, in this field something is moving, but here, too, instead of seeking the ways for a further extension of it, a thing which would have been in the interest of both countries, matters are proceeding on the opposite course.

I do not wish to stop in order to comment on the economic and political situation, or the relations between different nationalities within Yugoslavia. We wish that Yugoslavia could be stabilized, that its peoples should live in freedom, independence and harmony with one another. But we cannot fail to notice some negative phenomena in the relations between the peoples of different nationalities, which might develop to the point of creating unpleasant situations, not only for Yugoslavia but also for others at given moments. One of them is the policy which Belgrade

is pursuing now in Kosova. The attacks on the Albanians have been recently intensified, and those few rights they have won with their blood and toil and which are recognized by the present Constitution of Yugoslavia, have been made the target of attacks. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is made from time to time the object of a vicious propaganda full of attacks and insinuations.

Until yesterday the struggle against the so-called Irredentism and Albanian separatism was used as a justification to arrest thousands of young men, to lay off many teachers, as an excuse for the political differentiation which affected the intelligentsia and restricted its activity, for banning human contacts between members of families and relatives from Kosova or Dibra and Albania, and vice-versa, and lastly for attacks on the Albanian history, culture and traditions.

But what connection is there between the struggle against irredentism and the demand to review the Constitution with an eye to restricting the Autonomy of Kosova and to annul the fundamental rights of the region? Is this Constitution the work of the Albanian irredentists? What is the connection between the struggle against separatism and irredentism and this attack which is spearheaded against all the Albanians, against all the cadres who do not toe the line of the Great-Serbs, this anti-Albanian hatred which is now being fuelled by means of rallies and marches in various cities and regions of Yugoslavia? It is clear that Serb chauvinism needs irredentism and separatism as an excuse to return to the time of Ranković, if not to the time of the pre-War Yugoslavia.

Naturally we condemn such actions, but they are also exposed by the progressive opinion in the world, and they are not accepted by realistic people in Yugoslavia, because such actions are in opposition to the recognised norms of respect for the democratic freedoms of nationalities, to the spirit of neighbourliness and collaboration, to which the Balkan countries have made a commitment. All the rights which the Yugoslav Constitution recognizes to the Albanians must be retained and guaranteed. The difficult problems which Yugoslavia is faced with at present cannot be solved

at the expense of the Albanians, by giving a free hand to Serb chauvinism to establish the laws of old times, to liquidate the principle of equality among nations and nationalities, on the basis of which Federative Yugoslavia has been built.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

I am very happy to be here, among you, on this festive day. I wish you once again new victories in all fields. I wish you all the best and happiness in your families.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's address was listened to with great interest and enthusiastic applause for our glorious Party.

On August 22, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, went to Doda Castle, a remote mountain zone.

Thousands of inhabitants of the surrounding villages had come together in a beautiful chestnut forest. In an intimate conversation with the people, the leader of the Party informed himself about their achievements in agriculture and livestock raising as well as in education, culture and sanitation. He also inquired about the work of the cooperativists to achieve the objectives of the movement «Banner-bearers for the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party». He gave them valuable instructions and advice.

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On his way to the Dibra district, in the forenoon of August 21 Comrade Ramiz Alia made a stopover at Burrel, in the Mat district. Here, in one of the halls of the Party Committee of the district he had a meeting with the members of the Bureau of the Party Committee and other leading cadres of the Party, the state, the economy, the mass organizations and the army in the district. After the meeting Comrade Ramiz Alia visited some socio-cultural objects of Burrel.

DOCUMENTS

ENVER HOXHA

THE EXPERIENCE OF MA SHOULD BE STUDIED TO STRENGTHEN OUR

FROM THE TALK WITH FIRST SECRETARY OF OF THE COMMUNIST

After the greetings of the occasion, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

I have followed with great satisfaction your visits throughout our country, Comrade Amazonas. You have gone to many places, have visited museums, agricultural cooperatives, archaeological centres, etc.

Albania is a country which preserves its originality and its ancient traditions, but through the construction of socialism it has also developed new features which make it more beautiful. For example, you have seen the terraced hills at Lukova. Great things have been done there through the work of our wonderful youth, who, on the main, have built or are building our railways, too.

However we know that much remains to be done. Hence, we must still work a great deal in all directions, and carry out an even greater amount of work.

COMRADE JOAO AMAZONAS: During our visit throughout Albania,

Comrade Enver, we saw the great progress you have made in the construction of socialism in your country... On our road to Shkodra we met a group of students who were building a new railway.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, Comrade Amazonas. It is the new railway which will link our country with Montenegro in Yugoslavia and, from there, with Central Europe and other countries. We are building this line for commercial reasons, because we have difficulties in the shipment of goods by sea. We export various minerals, farm products and other goods, and their transport by rail is more convenient economically.

We try always to progress in the construction of socialism, regardless of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country. The imperialists and revisionists deliberately misinterpret the development of our country, trying to present it in a distorted light. At present, thinking that, after breaking with China, Albania

has remained isolated, they claim that we are opening up to the West. All their political and ideological propaganda towards our country is geared in this direction. However, this neither astonishes nor worries us.

Of course we carry on and will carry on trade with capitalist countries. After the counter-revolutionary and anti-Albanian act of the Chinese revisionist leadership against our country, we have found new markets. Certainly we have difficulties in this direction, because, true, the capitalists seek to carry on trade with us, but at the same time, through it they intend to make political capital by implying that Albania now is linking up with them. We have not started trade exchanges with the capitalist countries after we have fallen out with China. Even before that we have sold and bought, that is, carried on trade with the countries of Eastern Europe, with the exception of the social-imperialist Soviet Union.

When the split occurred with China,

STALINIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND UTILIZED COMMON STRUGGLE

**WITH JOAO AMAZONAS,
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
PARTY OF BRAZIL,**

SEPTEMBER 8, 1979 -

the imperialists became very excited and their mouths watered. They began saying that Albania would need open up in their direction. However, we know that nothing will come out of their desires and propaganda. Actually, in the field of trade relations, we are advancing with difficulty, but advancing nonetheless, because the things we sell are good value and are much sought after on international markets.

Nonetheless, our Party has always been careful to give the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda no possibility or opportunity to deceive world opinion about our relations with them. Actually, as I said previously, especially in the first moment of the split with China, all this propaganda harped on one point: with whom would Albania link up now that it had fallen out with China?! Certainly, a time will come when the inspirers of this propaganda will have to desist from it, will, so to say, come to their senses.

We have said it openly and insisted that in our commercial relations with foreign countries we would always pay in cash, and that we would never accept credits.

Comrade Joao Amazonas spoke about the importance of Albania in Europe and the contradictions of its enemies with one another over its strategic position. After his intervention, Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

Yes, Comrade Amazonas, you are right. The strategic position of Albania is very important because it is at the crossroads of the opposite interests of the great powers in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. This reminds me of what Stalin told me at one of the meetings I had with him after the Second World War. At that time the Greeks carried on provocations against Albania, the Italians did the same, the British provoked an incident at Saranda and together with the Americans refused to recognize our Democratic Government. Allegedly they sought to bring

<aid> to the Albanian people. In the course of this talk I made a review of the situation and expressed the opinion of our Party.

Stalin replied, «I agree with your stand. You are right and need not be afraid. Britain can do nothing to you, so do not let it into your ports, the Americans cannot attack you, either, because otherwise the situation would become very tense, and as for Greece it is in no position to violate your border, because you are defending it...»

Contradictions among our enemies, now as in the past, play a role and, while remaining loyal to our principles and our general strategy, we exploit them always to the advantage of our country. In tactics we make the necessary moves in accordance with the interests of our strategy. Let us, for example, take the state of our relations with Greece: at present we have normal commercial and cultural relations with the Greeks, although there are still people in

Greece who talk about claims on the territory of our country, but as a government they declare that we are friends. Politically and ideologically we are in conflict with the Yugoslavs, but we still carry on trade with them, as well as some degree of cultural exchanges.

Your coming to Albania will help us, too. Today, also, I will avail myself of this opportunity to consult you about some common problems, although our views have always been and continue to be the same.

Perhaps I shall importune you a little, Comrade Amazonas. So, if you allow me, I will detain you a little longer. The question is about some problems which are known, but, proceeding from them, I will also take up some other questions on which you can and should assist us with your opinions.

Our international communist movement faces many problems which, of course, have their importance. There are major and minor problems. We think, however, **that unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is indispensable. It must be part of the strategy of our movement.** Of course, the tactics of the struggle may differ, but all of us are in agreement that the main and the one strategic objective of all our movement, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, is the preparation and triumph of the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism and communism.

The tactics for achieving this aim, as I said, may be different, may have their nuances, because the struggle of each Marxist-Leninist party develops in a particular country which has its own characteristics of economic, political and cultural development, hence, in the internal conditions of each individual country. This has also to do with the strength of local capital which differs from one country to the

other, as well as with its links with foreign capital. Tactics depend also on the countertactics of the bourgeoisie, because the bourgeoisie, too, operates in most diverse ways to foil our tactics. Hence, in our opinion, the Marxist-Leninist parties should constantly be, as the French say, «sur la brèche»¹. This conditions the different forms of tactics of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of each individual country.

The Marxist-Leninist parties build their tactics so as to profit as much as possible from the new situations when these arise. No matter how much a Marxist-Leninist party is assisted by a leadership in emigration, this assistance is always negligible when compared with the assistance given by a leadership operating within its own country. Apart from this, through its presence in the country it stands closer to the important events that take place there which frequently call for quick decisions and modifications in tactics. It takes a long time for a leadership operating abroad to be properly informed about the internal situation of its country and then to issue directives for action, and there is always the probability that, in the meantime, a new totally different situation is created there, which may require different interpretation and directives.

The different tactics of struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties must serve the strategy of the revolution and its aims. When they are not mistaken they serve not only as an example, but also assist the other parties and peoples, because they weaken imperialism and social-imperialism, and their links and interconnections with the local bourgeois regimes and capital.

There are many common problems which the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the peoples with the working class at the head must tackle frontally.

We think that now the anti-imperialist struggle, the national liberation

struggle and the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian revolution, as everybody knows, are on the order of the day. **Hence, the present situation represents a national moment at the same time.**

The revolution is on the order of the day, and with the national moment I mean what I will explain below.

Occupation of a country and oppression of a people by the capitalist or imperialist great powers are not done everywhere by military force only. Colonization, oppression and exploitation are also carried out in other «new», «modern» ways, which are intended to cover up imperialist occupation and savagery.

The occupation of our country, Albania, by fascist Italy created a national moment which we exploited both for national liberation and for the triumph of the people's revolution. Hence when we say that revolution is on the order of the day, we mean that it is linked with national moments which are becoming apparent in many countries of the world, that is, with their occupation by the capitalist and imperialist great powers by military force or by other indirect means. In this sense even countries like Italy or Brazil, etc., although they are not actually occupied by force of arms by foreign armies, are still under foreign rule.

So we must dispel all illusions about the so-called freedom, democracy and sovereignty of a country which is under a cosmopolitan capitalist regime and which is exploited by internal and foreign capital.

Actually peoples like the Spanish, Portuguese, Brazilian and other peoples are oppressed and exploited. There is a bourgeois democracy in their countries, but the state there is linked hand to foot with foreign capital. The people and the working class enjoy no true democracy or sovereignty. They are not free.

In the Second World War, during the armed occupation of many countries by the nazi German army or

the fascist Italian army, the quislings and collaborators in these countries joined the occupiers. Even now, some of them or other quislings and collaborators, under other disguises and with other slogans, are in power and linked by a thousand threads with the new modern occupiers, the neo-colonialists and their capital.

Here I made an analogy of some kind in order to come round to the point that the revolution is on the order of the day and the peoples and the working class are under the heel of an oppressing and exploiting bourgeoisie and an occupier which, in general, has not occupied their country with soldiers, but has done it through joint companies, the banks and capital investments, in collaboration with the local bourgeoisie.

So, just as they fought in the Second World War when they were occupied militarily, so the peoples and the working class should now, too, fight against the same enemy. Naturally, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties must without fail take part in this struggle.

That is our strategy. We must not lose sight of our prospects, nor let ourselves be deceived by some kind of reformism which is advertised all over the place. One may slide into it, although one may not admit it in words.

At present, however, conditions are not identical in every country, so the tactics of each Marxist-Leninist party in individual countries must be different, too. There are countries in which fascist dictatorship and terror have been openly established, but there are also countries in which some few legal forms of the false bourgeois democracy can and must be exploited.

In the developed capitalist countries, the working class is the decisive force, the leading force which will carry out the revolution. In this context we think that for all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties there emerge some main tasks and in the

first place that of **strengthening the unity of the working class**. These tasks are in opposition to the strategy and tactics of the capitalist bourgeoisie. It is known that the strategy and tactics of the capitalist bourgeoisie are aimed at splitting the working class so as to eliminate it as a striking force, whereas we struggle for the opposite aim, the unity of the working class. But how must this unity be arrived at and built? It must be arrived at through political actions and economic claims. I emphasize it that political actions must occupy the main place. As a rule there should be no economic claim without political action, they must be closely linked with each other.

The second problem facing the working class is the struggle to break the chain of the worker aristocracy, which, through the trade unions under its control, manipulates the working class in the interest of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Tactics have great importance in this question. They must be defined according to the conditions of the country in which every individual Marxist-Leninist party militates, and implemented by undertaking the relative actions. The tactic of the struggle against the trade union bosses is linked with both political actions and economic claims. Precisely this the worker aristocracy and the capitalist bourgeoisie are greatly afraid of. They fear the political struggle, because this struggle carries the working class forward, and leads it to clashes and strikes. Properly carried out, political actions weaken the leadership of the capitalist bourgeoisie in the trade unions, and break the rules and laws and everything it has established for the enslavement of the working class.

At present we see millions of people coming out on strikes and demonstrations, more about economic claims, which, also, have their political overtones, because this struggle is directed

against capitalism which does not want to let go any of its rights. In the end, however, all this struggle ends up in an agreement with the trade union bosses and, through them, with the capitalists who give the strikers a deceptive satisfaction. Whereas if a political character is also given to these claims, the tools of capital in the trade unions and capital itself are put in a difficult position.

The objective of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists must be to turn the present trade unions against the capital. The struggle must be carried out within these trade unions, while, at the same time, there where possibilities exist, setting up new trade unions. It is clear that these can have no other aim apart from the unity of the working class against the rule of capital, against its demagogy and its parties, but also against the rule of the worker aristocracy. This because in the capitalist countries there are trade unions under the leadership of the revisionist parties and trade unions under the leadership of socialist, christian-democratic and other parties, hence, there are three, four or five trade unions in one country. There may also be another grouping of workers molesting capital. Capital, however, is used to such divisions. So, I think, the aim of the new trade unions must be achievement of the unity of the working class through political actions and claims linked with economic claims in order to combat from outside the trade union bosses who manipulate them, and to combat their capitalist organizations and turn them into revolutionary trade unions.

For the Marxist-Leninist parties operating in the capitalist countries this is a key problem, a problem of capital importance which must be solved in the interest of the revolution. The working class is the leading class and must be helped, and this must be done by helping it sever all links with the capitalist and bourgeois mentality and christianity. Of course, for

this to be done, we must introduce ourselves into its ranks and organize it, because without the working class there is no advance towards the revolution.

Another question to which, as far as we know, some party does not pay great attention is **the work that should be done in the army**. Here I mean the bourgeois army. We think that every Marxist-Leninist party must have on its program the question of the demoralization of the bourgeois army which is generally considered a weapon of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninist communist parties must attack this army in which the bourgeoisie operates through the caste of officers who carry out there the same functions as the trade union bosses in the trade unions.

In other words, on one hand, there is the working class without which there can be no advance towards the revolution and, on the other, the bourgeois army which suppresses the revolution. In the trade unions the bourgeoisie uses the worker aristocracy for its own aims, while in the army it uses the caste of officers for the same aims, with the difference that, while you are sacked for political activity and propaganda within the trade unions, in the army political work and propaganda are sternly prohibited and any activity in this direction may bring you before the firing squad. Hence, political work in the army is as important as it is dangerous, so it is not so easy. For example, on a square on which tens of thousands of workers have come together and a trade union boss rises to speak, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, which has its men within the same trade union, can and must produce its representative who snatches the microphone, addresses the workers for some minutes and calls on them to engage in political actions. In this case he may be arrested and sacked, but in normal conditions he is in no danger of paying a higher price for having upset the

trade union bosses and their patrons. Things, however, are different in the army. There, if you address the soldiers in this manner, you risk the firing squad.

Hence, the bourgeois army is intended to suppress the revolution and the people. Still, even within the army differentiation must be done between officers and men. The soldier is the son of the people, whereas the officer is the executive arm of the capitalist bourgeoisie. We should make the soldier revolt against the officer, refuse to execute orders and submit to army discipline and rules, and sabotage weapons so that these are not used against the people. The weapons should be turned against the caste of officers and, when conditions have matured, also against the rule of capital itself.

How will this be done? For this purpose ways, roads, and tactics must be found, and these, according to the conditions of each individual country, are found by the party. With the soldier, the son of the people, work must be done when he has not yet been called up to the army, when he is doing his military service, which is a somewhat more decisive phase, and finally when he is released from the army, because then he becomes a reservist. Work with the low-ranking officers must not be excluded, either, so as to separate them from the caste of higher ranking officers and convince them not to raise their hand against the people.

Working within the army, are we Marxist-Leninists not capable of inspiring the soldier of the people, the son of the worker and peasant and others with our progressive ideology? This is a task that should be performed by the party.

So the tactic of organizing in the Front the youth, the peasants, the intellectuals and petty officials, which make up the majority of the army, assumes exceptional importance not only for the struggle on squares and

streets, but also for eroding and destroying the army which is an oppressive weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that is, for preparing the soldier, the son of the people, against the leading caste of officers.

I think that this problem belongs to the strategy of foiling the war plans of the capitalist bourgeoisie, of preventing predatory wars and transforming them, if they break out, into civil and revolutionary wars. This happened with the army of the czar in the time of the October Revolution. The overthrow of Kerensky and his government, which wanted the continuation of the alliance with the Entente, Lenin's Decree on Peace, the Decree on Land and its division among the poor peasants, etc. won the mass of peasant soldiers press-ganged into the army over to the revolution, because they were the sons of the people, whereas most of those belonging to the caste of officers turned socialist revolutionaries and white guards, that is, enemies. Such a strategy and tactic of struggle against the bourgeois army makes the struggle of the working class, the revolution, the anti-imperialist war and the national liberation war easier, encourages and promotes it.

Let us take another example, nearer in time, that of the army of the Shah of Iran and its caste of officers, which, although armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated weapons, was unable to suppress the popular revolt and operate effectively in defence of the imperial regime. This shows that possibilities for the revolution exist, hence we, the Marxist-Leninist parties, must think seriously about these situations. True, Islam has an influence in Iran, but the revolt of the people was a major and decisive factor for the downfall of the Shah.

Achievement of the unity of the working class in struggle and revolution, as well as disintegration, demoralization and destruction of the bourgeois army have decisive importance,

but must by no means make us neglect the other directions of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. On the contrary, they must contribute to the further strengthening of work in these directions, too. This struggle leads to the exacerbation of contradictions between the working class and capital, the gradual creation of a revolutionary atmosphere in the midst of the class and the mass of the people, their unity in the revolutionary struggle, and affirmation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties through action and struggle.

All the directions of the struggle must be coordinated and organized well. With this I want to say that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, when they see it fit and feel themselves strong and prepared, should operate with armed units or create their own armies and expand them. This will serve their work, just as the setting up of trade unions outside the capitalist and revisionist trade unions does. Apart from this, the army, which the party has the possibility to create, must represent a powerful weapon in its hands, while demoralizing the army of the bourgeoisie which, when it comes to blows, should have a confused and hopeless leadership, with the soldiers having been worked on time.

It is natural that **with the struggle for the realization of the tasks facing the Marxist-Leninist communist parties is also linked their strengthening and tempering, their real knowledge of the development of internal and external situations, their organization and the combination of legal work with illegal work, the creation and strengthening around these parties of alliances with the peasantry, the progressive intelligentsis and students** who, in our opinion, are very revolutionary in many countries. On the other hand, in no case should these parties cover up their personality. Their being in illegality, in semi-illegality or in complete legality is

part of the forms of work these parties apply according to the local condition. The x party, for example, goes underground, but it should by no means conceal its personality allegedly for the sake of its alliance with progressive elements. Participating in this alliance, it should state openly that it is a Marxist-Leninist communist party, and this does in no way wipe out its personality.

In the time when our country was liberated from the foreign occupiers and we had good relations with the Yugoslavs, on Tito's orders they tried to liquidate the leadership of our country, but they failed. They did not want the Albanian leadership to be known, to come out before its people, the Communist Party to come out into the open, because allegedly this would shy off the bourgeoisie and reaction! The Yugoslavs presented this as a tactical question, but it was not like that. On the contrary, the question was about a clearly-defined revisionist and counter-revolutionary strategy. Even now they have stripped their party of all its prerogatives, although it has been legalized.

When I talked with him about this question, Stalin said: «You should by no means accept it. The Party must remain in legality so that the people and everybody may see it if they want to.»

At that time we were actually in power and, if I tell you this today, I do not mean the situation created in your country now.

Cooperation among Marxist-Leninist communist parties has great importance and should be developed by all manner of means. Meetings of representatives of these parties (and we agree that they should take place both for information and work) on both common and individual problems should, in our opinion, be carried out on an equal footing and in an atmosphere of sincerity. Talks and the conclusions reached through them must always preserve a comradesly Marxist-Leninist character, although somebody may

at times have a different opinion about tactics.

We think that meetings and discussions between two or more parties may not necessarily always be concluded with a communiqué or declaration, although these are not excluded when the requirements of the struggle call for them.

Ramiz Alia told you the opinion of our Party about the proposal on convening a general meeting. He also gave you the reasons why our leadership does not find the time convenient for such a meeting. Actually, in principle we are not against general meetings, as we have declared at the Congress of our Party, but in our case a meeting should be convened only when conditioned are mature. Of course, these conditions we must study and work for them to be created.

At this meeting with you I do not want to repeat what you talked with Comrade Ramiz, but I will only say that such a meeting may be both good and bad. Hence, we the Marxist-Leninist parties must measure our steps well and not back down on the pressure exercised on us at different meetings or through public opinion. Everything may be of use, but to us it is important that, when it is decided to act, this should be done only when concrete results are to be achieved.

Another important problem of the anti-imperialist revolutionary war, the national liberation war and the revolution is that of the African and Arab countries.

Africa, with its peoples mercilessly oppressed and exploited by imperialism and neo-colonialism and the local bourgeoisie, is a virgin soil as far as the Marxist-Leninist communist movement is concerned. On this continent, the true Marxist-Leninist theory, the leading force of the revolution, is both known and unknown, but I think the latter is more true. There are individuals and groups, revolutionary men who love communism and hate the oppressive regime and

neo-colonialism, who are interested in the Marxist-Leninist theory, but knowing only a distorted version of it, as the revisionist parties, ranging from that of the Soviet Union to the Yugoslav, Cuban, Iranian and other parties, have presented it to them. So the cauldron is boiling on the African continent and in the Arab world, and situations are evolving. It is not accidental that the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union, the United States, France and their satellites are penetrating there.

The communist parties of Latin America have great experience in organization and illegal struggle up to the armed struggle against the local bourgeoisie and yankee imperialism. A concrete example in this direction is the struggle in Aragua in your country. This has great importance for the common struggle which is being carried out against the all-powerful Yankee imperialists and their gunboats after the Second World War to this day.

Although the struggle in Aragua did not continue for reasons that are known, it served as a great experience. You in Latin America have this great experience, while the parties of Europe, without mentioning others, have neither the experience of illegal struggle nor that of organization of the party in illegal and active forms. With this I do not mean that they should put themselves «under glass» and do nothing, but, on the contrary, that they must be in permanent action and go towards organizing and carrying out the armed struggle. So, the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe do not have this experience. It must be studied and applied by the parties in the conditions in which they operate, in legality or illegality, in order to prepare this struggle.

It is also necessary to know and study the experience of all parties. No party is allowed, under the pretext that it has fought on its own and has an experience of its own, to be conceited and despise the experience

of others. True, this party has fought, but now conditions have changed. Let us take, for example, the experience of Civil War in Spain. This experience should be kept present and utilized not only by the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), but also the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the future, too, as you said, your party will maintain its militant revolutionary **illegality**, but will also use the forms of semi-illegal or legal struggle. All the Marxist-Leninist parties need this experience, so, in the future, too, it will be a subject of talks and exchanges of opinions between them.

Let us take up now the problem of **anarchism, terrorism and banditism**, which are assuming broad proportions in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The actions of anarchist, terrorist and bandit groups are being used by reaction as a justification and weapon for preparing and establishing the fascist dictatorship, for intimidating the petty-bourgeoisie and turning it into a tool and hotbed for fascism, for terrorizing the working class and maintaining it bound hand and foot in the chains of capital under the threat that otherwise it would lose even those crumbs it has been «donated». These groups disguise themselves behind alluring names such as «proletarian», «communist», «red brigades» and other denominations which sow confusion and are not without effect even among some ideologically and politically unformed communists who, in one way or the other, support the theory of anarchism. These people talk also about all kinds of theories like those of Bakunin, etc., etc.

There is also some party in Europe which says that «if we attack the terrorists, we put ourselves on a par with the rule of the bourgeoisie», which allegedly combats them. They actually forget that here it is precisely the rule of the bourgeoisie that has created the terrorist groups. It must be made clear that the activity of these groups greatly hampers the ille-

gal struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the preparation of their armed struggle, because in its propaganda and laws, the bourgeoisie presents the communists, too, as terrorists, anarchists and bandits. So a Marxist-Leninist communist party in Europe which prepares itself for the armed struggle, which conceals weapons, printing presses, etc., if these are discovered, is considered terrorist. Hence, the problem of anarchism, terrorism and banditism may become the subject of a discussion between two or three Marxist-Leninist communist parties in the countries in which this phenomenon has assumed alarming proportions.

There are many such problems facing our parties and the world Marxist-Leninist movement. We come across them and struggle with them everyday. So the moments call us to clearly understand that without a strong Marxist-Leninist party with a bolshevik structure, with steel proletarian unity and discipline, imbued and consistently led by Marxist-Leninist ideology, we cannot cope successfully with the furious wave of imperialism, capitalism and its rule. The more the fascist dictatorship is in its death throes, the more savagely it kicks out.

Our Party has not, nor will it ever have, any claim of imposing itself on the other fraternal parties. If we did this, we would be setting out on a wrong course. In this case the fraternal parties should not let us err. As it has done up to now, our Party will continue to remain always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

At present our country is the only socialist country in the world. It is only here that the dictatorship of the proletariat exercises its rule, and the Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, is in power. We are encircled by enemies, but we are in power, so we must struggle at all times and moments to defend socialist Albania at all costs, making no

mistakes either in policy or ideology, and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, because only in this way do we carry out our duty towards the Homeland and the world communist movement. We are convinced that, on this road, socialist Albania will be defended by all the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive forces and peoples, because it remains loyal to the ideals of the revolution and communism.

I want to emphasize it once more, dear Comrade Amazonas, that our Party highly values the work and struggle of your party. Hence, our contacts must be constant and frequent. The geographical distance which

divides our two countries should be no obstacle to us. We need each other, and we need the close and sincere Marxist-Leninist cooperation that exists between our two parties.

Comrade Joao Amazonas highly assessed Comrade Enver Hoxha's analysis of the problems of the Marxist-Leninist movement, expressed his opinions on various problems and thanked for the reception and the warm and friendly conversation. Then Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke again.

You will return now to the warm bosom of your party and people. With our hearts and our best consideration, we will constantly follow the struggle you will wage, and rejoice at the

successes your party will score. The successes you will achieve will be ours, too. We are glad that you are doing well and wish you to be always in good health.

I thank you for your assessment of our Party, Comrade Amazonas, an assessment which we will try to deserve by working even more for the success of our common struggle. See you soon!

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1 (Fr.). Ready for struggle

A DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR ECONOMY IS ITS HIGH DEVELOPMENT RATES

by **HASAN BANJA**

In the 8th Five-year Plan, according to the fundamental task adopted by the 9th Congress of the PLA, the social product will grow 31-33 per cent, the national income 35-37 per cent, and total state financial income 37-39 per cent. Through this rate of growth of the main indices the average annual rate of development of our economy in this five-year period will be 5-7 per cent, or 2-3 times higher than the growth of the population.

A DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR ECONOMY IN THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER ARE ITS HIGH DEVELOPMENT RATES. IN THE 8TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN, ACCORDING TO THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK ADOPTED BY THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, THE SOCIAL PRODUCT WILL GROW 31-33 PER CENT, THE NATIONAL INCOME 35-37 PER CENT, AND TOTAL STATE FINANCIAL INCOME 37-39 PER CENT. THROUGH THIS RATE OF GROWTH OF THE MAIN INDICES THE AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY IN THIS FIVE-YEAR PERIOD WILL BE 5-7 PER CENT, OR 2-3 TIMES HIGHER THAN THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION.

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA SAID AT THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: «ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE RATES IS AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION IN ORDER TO INCREASE CONSUMPTION PER HEAD OF POPULATION AND ENSURE THE ACCUMULATION NECESSARY FOR THE EXTENDED SOCIALIST REPRODUCTION. ONLY RAPID DEVELOPMENT WILL ENABLE US TO FULFIL THESE TWO FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY AND, AT THE SAME TIME, TO BALANCE SOME DISPROPORTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CREATED»¹.

These main rates and proportions of reproduction have been set on the basis of a better combination of the needs with the increasing possibilities of society to meet them with its own forces, relying on and more fully utilizing the constantly increasing human, material, technical and financial resources at its disposal.

The Party has set the task of effi-

Prof. HASAN BANJA — Director of the Institute of Economic Studies

ciently utilizing the existing productive capacities and those that are being built, increasing the work force and using it with higher effectiveness, introducing new natural resources into economic circulation and increasing the coefficient of useful utilization of work objects, working more persistently to introduce into large-scale production the achievements of science, technique and technology, and raising organization and management, as well

as the struggle for savings, to a higher degree.

For the achievement of these objectives and the high-rate development of the economy mobilization and utilization of all possibilities of economic growth, and combination of the extensive road with the intensive one have primary importance. The laws of the socialist extended reproduction not only rely on but also are conditioned by the degree of utilization and combination of these roads and possibilities.

Economic science whose subject of analysis and study are the processes and individual aspects of reproduction has made clear the importance of the simultaneous utilization and combination of both roads of development of the economy, intensive and extensive, which lead to the increase of production and the improvement of its effectiveness.

In his *Capital* Karl Marx has dwelt extensively on the problems of the extended reproduction. He has written: «So at certain intervals of time there is reproduction on an extended scale: extensively extended if the scope of production only is extended; intensively extended if production

means of higher productivity are used.²

Hence, the extensive road represents that type of economic growth in which the increase of social production on a national scale, as well as in every branch of the economy, is achieved mainly by increasing the number of new workers and enterprises, extending the arable land, and increasing the head of livestock, introducing ever new natural resources into economic circulation. In order to increase material production on this road, society must have additional work, material and financial sources at its disposal, and utilize them properly.

The intensive road represents that type of economic growth in which the increase of both the social product and the national income are achieved through raising work productivity, introducing the achievements of advanced science, technique and technology into large-scale production, improving quality, utilizing the existing material and technical base with the highest effectiveness possible, and increasing yields of crops and livestock.

In theory and practice, as borne out by the experience of our economic development over many years, common elements emerge and develop together on both the extensive and intensive road of development. Intensive development of the economy has inherited from the previous, mainly extensive development, a certain level of social production, a many-branched structure of the economy and a material and technical base which goes with sure step towards its further consolidation and improvement, with priority being given to industry and agriculture as its two main branches. A distinguishing characteristic of the intensive development of the economy, as it clearly emerges from the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party and the decisions of the recent Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, are the increase of production, the improvement of quality and the raising of the effectiveness of the economy. This is and will be the main road on which our economy has developed in the past and will advance in the future, too, as an economy developing at high rates, according to plan and in a harmonious manner. Fulfilment of economic tasks in this five-year plan is based and will be ever more based on the existing material and technical base. Also, the increase of the effectiveness of the economy is envisaged to be achiev-

ed and is being achieved through the ever better use of production factors. In the meantime the national income and the product for society will increase at more rapid rates than material expenditure and production for oneself.

Not only the intensive road, which has higher qualitative content and effectiveness, but the extensive road, too, has and develops its elements of intensification. On the face of it, investments for new projects belong to the extensive road, but when these projects are built on the basis of advanced technology, then this road is intensive, too. This is shown by our practice in which construction and assembly work and utilization of new projects are done on an ever higher technical base, and with more advanced technical and economic parameters than the projects built in the preceding five-year plans. This becomes even more evident if we compare, not as physical volume, but as technical, technological and economic level, hydro-power projects, combines, mechanical engineering works and factories of the light and food-processing industry, hothouses and livestock complexes or projects in the other branches of our economy. The same thing should also be said about extensions and reconstructions of existing objects, which are accompanied with improvements in technique and technology.

A constant element of the extensive road is the increase of production through employing the ever new work force of the population. Here, too, we come across elements of the intensive development, for the new work force is employed in the branches of industry with a higher technical level. Apart from this, the new work force has a better education and a higher cultural level, and better technical and professional skills than the work force of the previous five-year plans, which allows a more rapid growth of work productivity and utilization of new productive capacities within shorter terms.

At the 9th Congress of the PLA, the plenums of the Central Committee and in speeches and talks with communists and people of some districts of the country, Comrade Ramiz Alia has emphasized the need for the simultaneous following of both the intensive and extensive road in our economic development. «Simultaneous and harmonious use of both ways of the development of production,» he

said at the 9th Congress of the PLA, «is not a sign of backwardness, nor does it leave us behind in technique and technology. Our order gives us this advantage. It stems from the very aim of social production. The interest of the people require that every possibility for production should be turned into reality, with spirit of initiative and creativeness, irrespective of whether the course which is followed is called intensive or extensive, modern or artisan.»³

This directive which applies to the whole of our national economy is particularly important to some of its individual branches.

In agriculture, for example, the increase of crop production and other agricultural and livestock products is being achieved both through opening up new land and through increasing crop and livestock yields. The Party supported the initiatives of the cooperativist peasantry to form small herds of cattle in the brigades which have the proper conditions for this purpose and to produce beans and potatoes in small plots, which is intended to further strengthen group property in the countryside, increase efficient utilization of all possibilities for developing agriculture and livestock raising on the extensive road and, what is the main thing, to expand production so as to meet the needs for milk and some other food-stuffs of the peasantry itself. In this connection Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out that «because of the natural conditions and possibilities of our country for the development of agriculture, especially, livestock raising, two roads, intensive and extensive, must be followed.»⁴

In this manner, the theoretical conception and practical activity of our Party, which it has enriched with ever new elements throughout the stages of our socialist construction, are based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, according to which both the intensive and the extensive road of development exist and operate along each other, in permanent harmony and coordination.

Certainly, this connection or coordination in time of these roads of economic development is not a symbiosis and should not be confused with the priority which one or the other alternative, or road of development, assumes in given periods. Each time one of them assumes priority for a given period, and as such becomes predominant and determines

the content of economic development, represents the main road of this development.

On this problem, too, the Party has worked out and implements a clear program of theoretical and practical value, proceeding from the premise that the ratio between these two roads of development, intensive and extensive, cannot be given once and for all time, that with the creation of new objective and subjective socio-economic and ideo-political conditions new requirements emerge also for the development of the economy and the priority of one or the other road of development.

When, along with the creation of new conditions and possibilities, new and higher tasks and requirements, which were linked also with the problem of socialist accumulation or the growth of social production, began emerging and assuming ever broader dimensions, they called for a new ratio for their achievement in larger proportions and at higher rates through the priority given to increasing work productivity over the increase of the work force, because, as is known, accumulation grows more rapidly through the increase of work productivity than through the increase of the work force. For all these reasons, in accordance with the directives of the Party and its socio-economic policy, advance in our economy has been made very prudently, without slowing down, but without stepping up artificially, either, one or the other road of development.

The priority given to the intensive road of development of our economy becomes apparent especially in the general and specific planned indices, as well as in their realization. Let us take, for example, industry. About 3/4 of production growth here will be ensured through better use of existing productive capacities, as well as through reconstructions and modernizations, and only 1/4 of this growth will be achieved through the commissioning of new projects during the years of this five-year plan. This is a task of great importance and profound political and socio-economic content, because it has to do with the useful utilization of all the investments our society makes for the extension and modernization of the material and technical base of production. In the last five-year plan (1980-1985) only productive funds of the whole national economy grew more than 70 per cent, while funda-

mental productive funds almost doubled. They make up today more than 3/4 of productive funds and the more important elements of our national wealth.

Power industry occupies a central place in the development of industry. **Oil and gas, and hydro power are important resources for the development of our economy and the expansion of export.** The Party has set the task of the further extension of the power base of the country through the priority development of power resources, at rates 2-3 times as high as the rates of the development of the other branches of the economy.

In 1990, compared with 1985, oil extraction will grow 33-35 per cent, coal 42-44 per cent, whereas the production of electric power will increase 80 per cent, or more than 2.5 times the growth of industrial production.

About 86 per cent of oil extraction, more than 95 per cent of coal extraction and the whole of electric power production will be achieved from the existing sources and the objects already under exploitation. Hence, paying attention to increasing production from the existing sources of hydro-power stations is all right, but it should not lead to neglecting the utilization of other sources or the construction and exploitation of other power projects. Taking account of the fact that fuels and electric power are powerful sources and means which, to a large degree and in many directions, determine and condition the development of the economy, the Party has, at the same time, set the task of their efficient and frugal use through substituting some kinds of power sources for industry, agriculture and communal needs, and increasing the coefficient of useful utilization of fuels and electric power, etc. This is expressed in the task that in 1990 89.4 kg. of coal equivalent should be used for 1000 leks worth of social product, as against about 96 kg used in 1985.

The Party has set the task that these branches of the heavy industry (mining, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical, mechanical engineering and other industries), in which society has made and is making bigger investments, should work with ever higher productivity.

Intensification of production is expressed in agriculture, too. As against 96 per cent cereals accounted for in the structure of the sown land in

the first years after Liberation, they now account for about 50 per cent of it, with industrial plants, potatoes, vegetables, forage crops, etc. occupying an ever more important place. In the years of the people's state power (from 1944 to 1986) total agricultural production has increased 5.37 times over at a time when the population has grown only 2.9 times over. Calculations (annual averages for every five-year period, as extreme years give a distorted and unreal picture because of peculiarities of agricultural production) of the increase achieved from one five-year period to the other clearly show the positive results of the intensive road that has been followed and continues to be followed in agriculture. While in the 4th Five-year Plan (1966-1970) 35 per cent of the increase of agricultural production was achieved through raising yields and 65 per cent through extending the sown land, in the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) these figures were 56 and 44 per cent respectively, in the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) they rose to 72 and 25 per cent to arrive at the preceding five-year plan (1981-1985) in which the increase of agricultural production was achieved 91 per cent through raising yields and 9 per cent through extending the sown land. In the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990), in accordance with the directives adopted by the 9th Congress of the PLA, it is envisaged that 95 per cent of the increase of crop production will be achieved through raising yields over a sown area which is the same as that of the beginning of the five-year period, while only 5 per cent through extending the sown land.

Attainment of this objective is based on the continuation of the high rate intensification of agriculture in the plains, the hills and mountains, with priority being given to the more fertile coastal plains, and on better utilization of all the factors which condition agricultural production. This has been and remains a great task, economic, social and political, because on the development of agriculture rests the realization of the program for ensuring the food supply of the population, as mapped out by the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the Party, the supply of the necessary primary materials for the light and food-processing industry as well as the fulfilment of a number of other tasks.

In accordance with the directives

of the Party in the 8th Five-year Plan measures will be taken for the consolidation of the existing priority intensification zone of 102 thousand ha in the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Berat, Elbasan, Durrës and Tirana, as well as for its extension, thereby going over to the implementation of the second phase of the program of the Party for priority intensification. In the meantime other measures will be taken for the further extension of higher type agricultural cooperatives in the more fertile plains of the country.

High rate intensification of production in the coastal plains has not been done, nor will it be done in the future, at the cost of the development of agriculture in the other regions of the country.

In the 8th Five-year Plan, too, achievement of the tasks for the further intensification of agriculture will be based on further expansion of the material and technical base, extension of the irrigable land with an additional 60,000 ha, improvement of irrigation in broad areas, and increase of the production of chemical and, especially, organical fertilizers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has set the task for the development of the economy in the 8th Five-year Plan to be carried out through a correct combination of both the intensive and the extensive road in order to bring about as soon as possible the changes needed for the full utilization of the many possibilities and reserves of our economy.

In the 8th Five-year Plan, important economic objectives are envisaged to be achieved through the extensive road of development.

Twenty-five billion and 450 million leks will be invested in the economy and in the social and cultural sectors. Most, or 83 per cent of it, will be used for the further development of the productive spheres by building new projects and raising the technical and technological level of the main means of production in agriculture and the other branches of the economy. The 8th Five-year Plan envisages the construction of 420 important production and socio-cultural projects, of which more than 370 will be commissioned within 1990. This will enable fundamental production funds to increase by 35 per cent in 1990. Productive funds in industry will account for more than half, and industrial equipment for 45 per cent of the technological

structure of fundamental production funds in our national economy.

More than half the increase of the social product will stem from increase in the number of workers in the branches of material production. The number of the employed in the economy of our country now is larger than the whole population of Albania in 1950. During the years of the 8th Five-year Plan the total number of the employed will increase by another 220,000 people, who will work in the mines, the heavy and extracting industry, agriculture, building construction and other branches of the economy.

So, in the 8th Five-year Plan, too, live work, or the subjective factor, remains a powerful factor not only for the intensive development, but also for the extensive development of the economy. This has been and remains a key problem in our socio-economic development which stems from the demographic processes that take place in our country. Albania is among the countries with the highest population growth in Europe. Compared with 1938, our population today has more than trebled. About 3/5 of it is born and has grown up in the years of the people's state power. The population under 15 years accounts for 37 per cent of the total population, whereas this figure is only 20-26 per cent for other countries.

The main source of our social product is local production. A small part of it is ensured through import in exchange of our export goods. In the recent years the proportion of the social product from local material sources has constantly remained at about 9/10 of the total sources.

In the meantime material expenditure not only accounts for over 60 per cent of social production, but also grows constantly, although more slowly than the social product.

Extension of the arable land and increase of its fertility assumes primary importance for the growth of agricultural and livestock production in this five-year period, too. The 9th Congress of the Party considers this a permanent problem. The orientation of the Party is that new land should continue to be opened up everywhere there is the possibility for this, because the development of the production forces, the increase of agricultural production, and the meeting of the needs of the people with

agricultural and livestock products call for this.

The Party has set the task that every district, every agricultural economy and every village should meet the needs of the population with its own production, milk and its subproducts, vegetables, beans and potatoes.

For the fulfilment of this directive consolidation and expansion of small herds of cattle in brigades which have suitable conditions for this purpose, as well production of potatoes and beans on the land plots in their utilization, which is a very valuable initiative of the peasantry with the support and approval of the Party, has first-rate importance.

Production of consumer goods is another field of great importance in which combination of the intensive road with the extensive one is expressed.

In the present conditions the Party calls for the mobilization and utilization of all reserves and possibilities for increasing production in general and consumer goods in particular, especially small and very small items from technological leftovers. This enables the increase of the production of goods the people are in greater need of and the creation of new work fronts without investments or very little investments.

Combination of the intensive road with the extensive one is organically linked with the problems of raising the social productivity of work and better utilization of working time, technical-scientific progress, perfection of the direction and management of the economy in all its links, and improvement of the effectiveness of the economy.

Our Party forcefully supports and unhesitatingly implements the Marxist-Leninist theses to the effect that work is the main source of wealth and the only source of income in socialism, that work productivity is a decisive factor for accelerating production rates, lowering cost and increasing socialist accumulation, as well as for raising the material and cultural level of the working masses. The primary production force, as Lenin said, is the work force. This, however, is determined by the natural growth of the population and has its limits, while increase of work productivity knows no bounds, so it represents the more important and limitless factor for increasing production. Hence, the correctness of the

thesis of the full employment of the increase of the active population, with priority being given to the branches of material production, while the thesis to the effect that the man of our socialist society should work with a high sense of duty and productivity everywhere he has been appointed to is just as correct and important.

The 8th Five-year Plan envisages that 45 per cent of the increase of the social product should be achieved through the rise of the social productivity of work. This is an important task for the fulfilment of which we must work simultaneously on two large work fronts: to increase the degree of mechanization of work and to introduce advanced technique and technology and mathematical methods in the utilization of primary materials, on one hand, and to organize work better, to improve order and discipline in the use of working time, and to extend the degree of the technical norming of work, on the other hand.

Reserves in the fullest utilization possible of productive capacities should not be sought only in increasing the volume of production. Their utilization in depth, that is, cutting down on costs and improving the quality of production, is just as important. Utilization of productive capacities in this direction is another important field which becomes ever more dominant with the passage of time.

The 9th Congress of the PLA considers the direction and organization of the economy the key link which must be seized on to carry things ahead in the economy and other fields of social activity. For this purpose the active strength of economic thought and logic should be raised to a higher level so that the economic manage-

ment of enterprises is as efficient as possible and the economic levers are utilized with ever increasing effectiveness.

The problems of development of the economy today have grown in number and become more complex. Solution of them calls for greater involvement, better inter-disciplinary integration of economic, technical and natural sciences, and better knowledge and more organized diffusion of advanced experience.

Combination of the intensive road with the extensive one in the economic development of the country for increasing production and raising its effectiveness calls, among other things, for better harmonization of the planned tasks of economic branches with those of districts.

In the methodology of planning for 1984, which was completed and improved in accordance with the thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha, it is said quite rightly that the plan is worked out by the ministries and central institutions according to the forms of socialist ownership (state and co-operative) and according to districts. This procedure ensures the scientific and unified character of the general and centralized state plan, ensures the rational utilization of the productive forces and investments on the territory of the country for a harmonious development not only on a national scale, but also on a district scale, of the processes of the extended reproduction, and the introduction of natural assets into economic circulation. That is why, when dealing with the method of defining the indices for the development of economic branches in his work «On the 7th Five-year Plan», Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, among other things, that

«..these problems must be looked into both in their inter-connection and unity, not only on an economic branch level, but also on a territorial level, for otherwise the plan is not properly connected and harmonized»⁵.

Combination of the intensive road with the extensive one has an ideological and socio-economic content in the first place, and is not a mere procedure of technical and economic calculation. The Party sets the task of their as effective coordination and utilization as possible in the process of working out and implementing plans as an important problem and component part of its economic policy. Combination of these roads of development enables the ever fuller utilization of all the inner reserves and possibilities which are constantly created by our socialist system of economy.

The duty of economic science, as well as the technical and natural sciences and all the scientific research institutions, and state and economic organs is the fullest possible implementation of the directives of the Party on the simultaneous and harmonious combination of the intensive road with the extensive one for the development of every cell and link of the economy, considering this a cardinal question of our economic development both for the present and the future.

- 1 Ramiz Alia, Report at the 9th Congress of the PLA, p. 26, Eng. ed.
- 2 K. Marx, Capital, Vol. 2, Book 1, Tirana 1972, pp. 230, Alb. ed.
- 3 Ramiz Alia, Report at the 9th Congress of the PLA, pp. 48, Eng. ed.
- 4 Ibidem, p. 50, Eng. ed.
- 5 Enver Hoxha, On the 7th Five-year Plan, p. 498.

ABOUT GRADUALLY NARROWING DOWN ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

by **KOZMA SKARCO**

The ceaseless improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation of the countryside for a gradual narrowing down of essential differences between city and country has been and remains an important aim of the policy and work of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has instructed that this narrowing down of differences should be dealt with from correct Marxist-Leninist positions of principle

IN THESE 47 YEARS OF ITS LIFE, AFTER GIVING THE PEASANTRY, JUST AS THE WHOLE PEOPLE, THE FREEDOM THEY HAD LONG YEARNED FOR AND THE LAND THEY HAD DREAMED OF FOR CENTURIES ON END AND SET THEM OUT ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST COLLECTIVIZATION, THE PARTY HAS STRUGGLED, THROUGH THE CONSTANT INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION, TO FULFIL EVER BETTER THE NEEDS OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, AND BRING ABOUT AN INCREASE IN THE INCOME OF THE PEASANTRY AS A BASIS FOR RAISING ITS LIVING STANDARDS AND CONSTANTLY NARROWING DOWN ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY.

THE MORE THAN FOUR DECADES OF EXISTENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER PROVE WHAT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA TOLD THE MYZEQE FARMERS IMMEDIATELY AFTER LIBERATION: «THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PROMISE YOU THE HEAVEN ON EARTH, BUT REST ASSURED THAT IT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO IMPROVE YOUR CONDITIONS,»¹ AS A SOLEMN PROMISE WHICH LEADS AND CONTINUES TO LEAD THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

The ceaseless improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation of the countryside for a gradual narrowing down of essential differences between city and country has been and remains an important aim of the policy and work of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has instructed that this narrowing down of differences should be dealt with from correct Marxist-Leninist positions of principle.

Proceeding from these principles, the

KOZMA SKARCO — *journalist*

Party has always followed the road of the rapid improvement of the well-being in the countryside through the ever higher rates of development of the relations of production in agriculture; the road of the establishment and perfection of socialist relations; the road of the constant care and ceaseless assistance of the socialist state for the development of the socialist village; the road of the concentration and gradual transformation of the group property into the pro-

perty of the whole society; the road of the gradual extension of industry to the countryside and its integration with agricultures; the road of the deepening of cooperation between industry and agriculture and the gradual advance towards the industrialization of agricultural products by the countryside itself.

Hence, the Party sees the further narrowing down of differences between city and country as a law of our socialist society which is implemented, in the first place, through the ceaseless development of agricultural production on the socialist road. For the development of this production on this road, only in the period 1951-1984 we have expended over 22 billion leks for fundamental investments.

On this road, and on the basis of these principles, we shall advance in the years of the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990), too. In this five-year plan the Party continues to have at the centre of its attention the improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the working masses of city and country. At the 9th Congress of the Party it was said that the real income per



The new town of Povelça, in the district of Fier, which will accommodate the cooperativists from the village of Dureza

capita of population in 1990, as against 1985, will increase 5.8 per cent in the city and 12.7 per cent in the countryside, hence, in the countryside it will grow twice as rapidly as in the city. This will enable a more rapid advance on the road of narrowing down essential differences between city and country. The increase of the real income per capita will be achieved mainly through employing the new work force from the growth of the active population, raising average wages in the city and income per work hand in the countryside, increasing the social consumption fund and maintaining the stability of retail sale prices.

To the further narrowing down of the differences between city and country, among other things, will lead also the measures which have been taken and continue to be taken for narrowing down differences between the plains and the hilly and mountain zones. «The policy of the Party, based on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the experience gained, as hitherto,» Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized at the 9th Congress of the Party, «is aimed at the harmonious development of all the districts of the country, proceeding towards the narrowing down of differences between the plains and the hilly and mountain zones. Speeding up intensification in the plains will be accompanied with ever greater material support for agricultural production in the hills and mountains, especially in the northeastern part of the country.»

1. TOWARDS A NEW PROSPEROUS SOCIALIST VILLAGE

The years of the people's state power have been and remain a period of vigorous development both of the city and the socialist countryside. Through the constant care of the Party, the village emerged for good from its centuries-long backwardness and set resolutely out on the road of socialist construction. Now it is completely collectivized, with production established on scientific bases, electrified and telephonized, with a broad educational, health, trade and social services network, with many socio-cultural objects, connected through motor roads with the centres of zones and districts, and with an ever rising standard of living.

If pre-Liberation Albania was known as the country with a 90 per cent illiterate population this figure was still higher for the village. The former village of ignorance now has left its place to the present village with a new and broad educational system, in which special attention is paid to pre-school institutions.

A real revolution has been carried out in our country in the field of education, and the village has benefited, too. General 8-year education today is compulsory both in city and countryside. In the last years a great number of agricultural middle schools have been set up in the countryside, which help the cooperativists acquire a medium education, improve themselves from the ideo-political, cultural, scientific and professional as-

pect, qualify themselves to the level of the requirements of modern agriculture and take a more effective part in the administration and advancement of the country.

The former disease-riddled village has ceded its place to the new healthy and beautiful village, with an average life-expectancy of over 70 years, and an infant mortality which in many villages and zones is equal to zero.

Securing abundant drinking water, organization of a series of hygienizing mass actions has also contributed to the improvement of the health, hygienic and sanitation conditions in the countryside.

The new socialist way of living is met with in every cooperativist family. The ample dwellings, full of air and light, are furnished with modern house appliances such as radios and television-sets, electric household appliances and irons, washing- and sewing-machines, etc., which testifies to the presence in the village of a new man, with a standard of living and cultural demands standing at a level which could not even be imagined in the past.

Problems of supplies and services in our village are dealt with always as a function of the implementation of the fundamental task of guaranteeing and gradually raising the living and cultural standards of the village population in the context of the improvement of the well-being of the whole population.

An important index of the improvement of the well-being in the coun-



of the Gramsh district, which will be flooded by the waters of the headlake of the hydro-power complex of Banja.

tryside is the increase in the turnover of retail trade goods. In 1985, as compared with 1980, the goods turnover in the state and cooperativist trade was about 25 per cent higher, whereas sales of many main articles per capita rose 10-26 per cent.

According to the draft-directives of the 9th Congress of the Party for the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990), goods turnover in retail trade in 1990, as against 1985, will increase 23-25 per cent in state and cooperativist trade.

For the further narrowing down of differences between city and countryside, the Party has always paid attention to ever better supplying the peasantry with broad consumer goods and issued instruction for constant improvements in this field, so that the cooperativist peasant acquires everything he needs, just as the city dweller.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has dealt with the problems of meeting the needs of the countryside with broad consumer goods on a broad political, ideological and social plane, in close connection with the concrete situation, always having the increase of agricultural production and the ceaseless strengthening of the whole socialist economy as a fundamental aim. He has pointed out that, with the remuneration for his work, the peasant is entitled «to the right of buying, the same as the city dweller, everything created by common work and secured through the possibilities of the socialist economy.»²

In implementing these instructions the state and cooperativist trade net-

work has been expanding from one year to the other and one five-year period to the other, which is seen also from the fact that during the years of the 7th Five-year Plan, as compared with those of the 6th Five-year Plan, about twice as many radios, kitchen utensils, glass and ceramic ware, about three times as many refrigerators and washing-machines, over 70 per cent more tv-sets, over 25 per cent more cement, etc., have been sold in the countryside.

Our socialist trade has been extended to the remotest zones of the country. The peasantry is served by 8,882 state and cooperativist trade units, storing, transporting, conserving and other facilities have increased to a great extent, which brings trade nearer to producers and consumers and fulfils the needs of the cooperativist peasantry ever better. At present one (state or cooperativist) trade unit serves 230 inhabitants in the countryside.

However, the Party recommends to guard against any feeling of euphoria and self-satisfaction. The Party indicates that problems of the supply of the population, in general, and the village population in particular, should be dealt with in all their complexity in accordance with the development of the production forces and the perfection of the socialist relations of production, in close connection with the task of the uninterrupted strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, as important aspects of the work for constantly narrowing down essential

differences between city and country.

Fulfilment of planned tasks and increase of production, especially in industry and agriculture, have been considered decisive factors for expanding people's consumption on the right road and with sure prospects. During the 7th Five-year Plan our socialist agriculture scored new achievements on the road of its intensification, developing in all its branches as a complex agriculture with a powerful material and technical base which, despite the difficult natural conditions of some years, secured a 13 per cent production growth. Compared with the 6th Five-year Plan, in the 7th Five-year Plan production increased by 267 thousand tons of bread grain, 15 thousand tons of cotton, 177 thousand tons of sugar-beet, 44 thousand tons of sunflower, 14 thousand tons of tobacco, 247 thousand tons of vegetables, 46 thousand tons of meat, 243 million of eggs, etc. Comrade Ramiz Alia recommended to the organs of state power in the districts and the Ministry of Internal Trade «to consider cooperativist trade... the same as state trade and concern themselves all-round about its advance». The Party set the task that trade in the countryside, in general, and cooperativist trade, especially, should be strengthened and improved from the qualitative aspect, also aiming at the further improvement of the ratio of consumption norms per capita between the city and country for some articles of primary necessity and broad consumption.

During the years of the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) the growth rate of consumption for some main food-stuffs and other articles is envisaged to increase at a rate several times higher than the growth rate of the population in the countryside. In 1990, as compared with 1985, the goods funds to be sold in the countryside such as fats, sugar, macaroni, rice, soap, textiles, shoes, furniture, cement, etc., are envisaged to grow 14-40 per cent. At the same time investments for the expansion and improvement of the trade network in the countryside will increase, new stores for the absorption and storage of agricultural goods will be built, the material and technical base of trade will be improved further and the educational, technical and professional level of trade workers will be raised and the training and qualification of cadres in this sector will be improved further.

2. THE VILLAGE — A HUGE BUILDING SITE

The many buildings that have been and are being carried out are also evidence of the ceaseless development and advance of our socialist countryside. During the four decades of the people's state power, in the countryside there have been built over 205 thousand individual houses by the peasants themselves, of which about 27 thousand were built only during the years of the 7th Five-year Plan. In agricultural enterprises and for bringing together houses in dispersed villages in the years 1980-1984 the state has built over 4700 flats with a value of 130 million leks. Along new buildings, every year the state gives huge sums of long-term bank credits for the improvement of housing conditions in the countryside, especially in hilly and mountain zones.

During the years of the people's state power, along dwelling-houses, production and socio-cultural objects, many communal objects have also been built in the countryside such as water supply, power and telephone lines, inner communication and motor roads, canals, etc., which all together have radically improved the living conditions of the peasantry.

A work of all-round value has been done for the construction of water supply lines. Up to the middle of 1985, 1311 water supply lines were laid, with about 2400 km of steel

tubes and 330 km of eternite and ceramic tubes. With this broad network of water supply lines the water supply has been improved in 55 per cent of the villages of the country.

Taking account of the great role water plays in people's life, in the 8th Five-year Plan, along with the maintenance and reconstruction of the existing water supply lines, many new water supply lines will also be built, some of which of regional importance. Utilizing local water resources, many agricultural cooperatives will lay new water supply lines with their own forces. Roads are constantly extended to the more remote zones of the country. Today a good part of the villages of the country are linked with motor roads which are utilizable in all the seasons of the year.

In the years of the 8th Five-year Plan about 500 km of new roads are envisaged to be built in order to link all the villages with the road network of the country.

Bringing electric light to all village houses called for the setting up of a whole system of power transmission lines. Compared with 1976, in the village there are 40 per cent more high tension lines, 22 per cent more low tension lines and 35 per cent more transformation cabins. Apart from these investments, the state has organized the service of maintenance of power lines in the countryside and brought electric services as near as possible to the villages, creating for this purpose services on a zone basis.

3. NARROWING DOWN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LOWLANDS AND HIGHLANDS

Throughout the period of the socialist construction, the Party of Labour of Albania has always proceeded from the principle that the new socialist society should be built not only in the city, for the working class, but also in the village, for the cooperative peasantry, and not only in the lowlands, but also in the remotest mountainous zones.

Proceeding from this correct Marxist-Leninist policy, along with the work for narrowing down differences between city and country, the Party has also striven to narrow down differences between agricultural cooperatives of the plains and those of the hilly and mountainous zones. This is a stand of principle. Albania is a country with a mountainous terrain

and a limited arable land in the plains, where there is also a considerable area of arable land.

Narrowing down differences in the level of production and standards of living between the plains and the hilly and mountainous zones, as the Party recommends, should be done, in the first place, through the work of the peasantry of these zones, as well as the implementation of a differentiated policy of investments, credits and aid to the cooperative peasantry on the part of the socialist state. The priority given to improving conditions of work and living in the hilly and mountainous zones has been expressed in a number of facilitating measures, taken in different years, such as abolition of taxation on income for the new mountainous agricultural cooperatives, raising procurement meat prices to the level of surplus prices, giving more interest-free bank credits to the newly set up agricultural cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous zones, increasing state investments in these zones for land improvement, irrigation, etc. The priority intensification of agriculture in the lowlands is being carried out by the Party, among other things, also with the aim of creating greater material and financial possibilities for the state to make larger investments and, thus, give more assistance to the hilly and mountainous zones.

Many cadres and specialists have been sent from the cities and the villages of the lowlands to assist in the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous zones. Last year, for example, in reply to the call of the Party, tens and hundreds of specialists in all fields and sectors volunteered to go to the mountainous districts of the north-eastern zone of the country in order to help increase production and improve the mode of living of the population of these zones. Along with these measures, the Party has called for the extension of the assistance of the agricultural cooperatives of the plains to those of the hills and mountains.

Considerable assistance has been given the agricultural cooperatives of these zones during the last decades. Only in the period 1975-1981, the state has awarded long-term credits of 425 millions leks for the strengthening of the material and technical base of these zones, apart from 117 million leks of non-returnable funds. New facilitating measures were re-

cently taken to finance productive investments partly or totally, thereby exercising an influence also on the increase of the consumption fund. In 1983 the state financed with non-returnable funds twice the amount of investments of this nature made in the year 1976. At present 20 million leks are invested only for the scientific treatment of the arable land in these zones, without reckoning here investments for fructiculture, the buying of work animals, etc. Fifty-five per cent of all the funds destined to irrigation and drainage of the arable land of the whole country was planned for the construction of new irrigation projects in these zones during the years of the 7th Five-year Plan.

With the great work of the cooperativists and the all-round assistance of the state perceptible progress has been made in these zones with each passing year. Only in the period 1975-1985 the arable area in the hilly and mountainous zones increased 11 per cent and irrigation was made possible for another 13 thousand ha. At present 40 per cent of the arable land in these zones is irrigated. As a result of the large investments on improving the land and strengthening the material and technical base high yields are taken in the mountainous agricultural cooperatives, too. For example, the districts of Dibra, Pogradec and Kolonja produce today as much bread grain as the whole country did in 1938.

The Party instructs that, in the future, too, great attention should be paid to the development and streng-

thening of agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous zones so as to raise yields, to increase income, to improve the supply of the village with all kind of goods and carry out communal and trade services better than up to now.

Along with the ceaseless improvement of the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the countryside, the Party has also created the new man. The all-round revolutionary transformations in agriculture and the countryside were accompanied with the uninterrupted revolutionization of the psychology of the cooperativist peasant about work, property and mode of living. Instead of the farmer of the past, who was closely linked with his little personal property, we have today the new peasant whose traditional patriotism has been enriched with new qualities such as the spirit of collectiveness, love for the comrade, work and socialist common property. The new psychology about work is based on the conviction that through common social work on common property progress is always made, production increases, well-being improves, the economy and the socialist Homeland as a whole are strengthened.

The peasant of the capitalist countries, bourgeois or revisionist, proceeds from quite another psychology about work and life. The policy pursued towards the village and the peasant in these countries has nothing in common with that followed in our socialist society, either. In the bourgeois and revisionist countries agriculture and the countryside are characterized

by a number of contradictions and difficulties which lead to the unequal development of zones and production branches, to the constant ruin of the small producers which results in the depopulation of the countryside. Only during the years 1970-1979 in such countries of the European Common Market as France, Italy and the FR of Germany another 7.3 million peasants were compelled to abandon their land and swell the army of the unemployed. The lack of land, low sale prices for agricultural and livestock products, because of the competition by the big monopolies, high prices for mechanical equipment and the impossibility to pay taxes, force the peasants to sell their land and swarm to the cities.

As a result of the implementation of a correct agrarian policy, our agriculture works as a totally socialist and modern economic sector, with an extended reproduction. Broad roads of intensive and extensive development have been opened up to its productive forces; at a time when socialist relations are constantly improved, in the new socialist village there is a new and happy life on a level which keeps rising from one year to the other, through the toil of the working peasantry, and the unsparing assistance of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

1 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, p. 193, Alb. ed.*

2. *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 45, p. 225, Alb. ed.*

ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

by prof. SHABAN DEMIRAJ

The more widespread thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language is fully based linguistically, too. In other words, the southern Illyrian, as a result of its long evolution, has with the passage of time been transformed into a qualitatively new language which continued its historical evolution further.

A LITTLE MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES AGO THE SWEDISH SCHOLAR JOHANNES THUNMANN IN HIS WORK *UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE GESCHICHTE DER ÖSTLICHEN EUROPÄISCHEN VÖLKER* (1762) TRIED TO SOLVE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ALSO THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE. TO THUNMANN AND SOME GENERATIONS OF OTHER SCHOLARS AFTER HIM IT WAS QUITE NATURAL TO ASSERT THAT THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE ORIGINATED FROM THE ILLYRIAN, JUST AS IT WAS QUITE NATURAL TO ACCEPT THAT THE ALBANIANS WERE THE DESCENDANTS OF THE ANCIENT ILLYRIANS. THE ARGUMENTS THEY BROUGHT IN FAVOUR OF THEIR THESIS WERE OF HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTER. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THUNMANN SAID IN p. 245 OF HIS WORK, «IN THEIR (THE ALBANIANS') HISTORY I HAVE MET WITH NO TRACE OF A LATE MIGRATION; THEIR LANGUAGE GIVES SUCH EVIDENCE OF THE FATE OF THIS PEOPLE THAT I CANNOT FAIL TO SEE IN THEM THE ANCIENT NEIGHBOURS OF THE GREEKS AND THE SUBJECTS OF ANCIENT ROME; AND BOTH THESE POINT OUT AT THE ANCIENT ILLYRIANS».

Subsequent studies have shed further light on this conclusion of Thunmann's. Thus, for example, from A. Thumb in his *Altgriechische Elemente des Albanesischen* (1926) on, it has been found that in the Albanian there is a considerable number of old Greek borrowings and that these in general have originated from the dialect of the Dorians who lived mainly in the northwestern regions of ancient Greece and founded the Greek colonies in the Adriatic. And this is

evidence of an ancient neighbourhood of the forefathers of the Albanians with the ancient Greeks on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian. Also, from W. Meyer Lübke (*Rumänisch, Romanisch, Albanesisch*, 1914) on and especially through E. Çabej's contribution it has been proved that in the Albanian there are also very ancient Latin borrowings, even before the new era. If account is taken of the known fact that Roman occupation of the Balkans has begun precisely from the western part

of the peninsula and only later has it extended also to its eastern part, it is quite natural to accept that the Albanian has inherited its ancient Latin borrowings precisely from its «mother», the Illyrian.

In these circumstances it seems to the point to reproduce here the words of the outstanding Austrian linguist, Paul Kretschmer who in his work *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 262, says: «To accept that the Albanian represents the newest phase of the ancient Illyrian or, as Gustav Meyer puts it more prudently, one of the ancient Illyrian dialects is in all probability so evident that one has to bring very weighty reasons to oppose it.»

However, although linguistic, historical and archaeological arguments in general speak in favour of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language, since the end of the past century this thesis has been questioned or opposed by some foreign linguists. By means of linguistic «arguments» these have tried to prove that the Albanian has not developed through the historical evolution of the Illyrian, and that its origin must be sought in one of the ancient languages of the Eastern or Central Balkans, like for example, the Thracian or the so-called Daco-Moesian. As a

consequence, the scientific debate between the supporters and opponents of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language goes on to this day. The opponents of this thesis have tried to prove that the Albanian and the Illyrian are two languages of different types. They also think that the forefathers of the Albanians have migrated to their present-day settlements in a relatively late time, what is proved, according to them, also by the «fact» that ancient place names in Albania have not come to us in such phonetic forms as would be expected according to the rules of the evolution of the phonetic system of this language. They have also put forward other «arguments» in favour of their hypotheses. One of them is the well-known fact that the Albanian has some ancient lexical concordances with the Rumanian (*mal, përrua, buzë, brez, dash, nepërkë*, etc.). Some of them have gone so far as to assert that the forefathers of the Albanians have borrowed their former ethnic name (*Arbën(ë)*) from the population they found in the settlements they came to after their migration from easternmore regions in relatively late times.

As is seen, the fundamental question here is that of the typological concordance of absence of it between the Albanian and the Illyrian. According to the opponents of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language, the phonetic system of this language is essentially different from that of the Illyrian because the Illyrian, according to them, was a language of the *centum* or «western» type, just as the Latin, Greek, German, the Celtic languages, etc. Whereas the Albanian, as generally accepted, belongs to the language group of the *satem* or «eastern» type, together with the Indian, Iranian, Armenian, the Balto-Slav languages, etc. Were this opinion correct, then the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian would be put in doubt, if not discarded altogether, because it is known that the division of the Indo-European languages into *centum* and *satem* goes back to an ancient prehistorical period. The *satem* languages have changed the Indo-European palatal gut-

turals into spirant consonants, whereas the *centum* languages have depalatalized them (cfr Latin *acidus*: Albanian *i athët*).

But has the Illyrian really been a language of the *centum* type? A convincingly argued reply in this case is very difficult to make, for the simple reason that our knowledge of this language is very limited. Moreover, it must be made clear what is understood under the Illyrian, because in this question, the opinions of different scholars do not coincide, either. Methodically it would be more rational to rely mainly on the language data of the southern Illyrians who otherwise are called «the Illyrians proper» (*Illyrii proprie dicti*) and only in absence of these data to rely also on the language data of the northern Illyrians. However, the latter must be distinguished from the ancient Venetes who, as Hans Krahe has proved it in 1939¹, they spoke a language of the *centum* type different from the Illyrians.

The supporters of the *centum* type of the Illyrian have based their thesis on some proper names of Illyrian people or tribes such as *Ves-Cleves, Agriener* or *Agrisi, Acra-Banus, Bal-Acros, Angros*, etc. These simple or compound names contain the consonant group *-kl-, -kr- or -gr-*, in which the first element is supposed to have originally been a palatal guttural. However, as is seen, the consonant *-k-* or *-g-*, even if it originated from a palatal guttural (which is not so certain), was followed by the *-r-* or *-l-* consonant. In these phonetical conditions, in the inherited words of the Albanian palatal guttural consonants *-k-* and *-g-* have gone through the same evolution, that of depalatalization as the Balto-Slav languages. For example, one should consider such inherited words as *mjekrë* (today *mjekër*), *i egrë* (today *i egër*), *klaj* (today *qaj*), *kluaj* (today *quaj*), etc. in which the consonants *-k-* and *-g-* have originated from palatal gutturals. This is another evidence in favour of a typological connection between the Illyrian and the Albanian and the Illyrian-Albanian continuity.

The phonetic evolution of some ancient names of settlements in the regions inhabited by the Albanians

also speaks in favour of this continuity. Let us briefly examine here the names of *Durrës* and *Ulqin*, two settlements founded in different periods of the Antiquity. The name of *Ulqin*, which is supposed to have been founded around the 5th Century B.C. is generally linked with the noun *ulk* (today *ujk*), an inherited word of the Albanian, which is represented in its relative forms in the other Indo-European languages, too. This ancient noun had the labiovelar consonant *-k_u* as the ending sound of the theme. With the passage of time this has been regularly transformed into a simple *-k*, which later, under the influence of the vowel *-i-* of the suffix (cfr *dhe* documented Latin form *Ole-inium* on the documented Greek form (*Ulk-inion*) has regularly been transformed into *-q-*. This evolution has also occurred in the plural of the noun *ujk*: *ujq* (formerly *ulk*: *ulq*) under the influence of the former plural ending *-i*, just as in *bujk*; *bujq*; *mik*: *miq*, etc. This indicates that the name *Ulqin* has been in use generation after generation in the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians.

The evolution of the ancient *Dyrrhachion* or *Dyrrhachium* into the Albanian form of *Durrës* also proves that it has taken place according to the rules of the evolution of the phonetic system of the Albanian. In connection with the phonetic evolution of this name, the final sound *-s* (*Durrës*) is particularly difficult to explain. It is the result of a long historical evolution. The final phase of this evolution (*-s*) must not be more ancient than the 10th century A.D. A more ancient *-s* could not have remained unchanged in the Albanian. Here one has only to keep present such ancient place names as *Scodra* (today *Shkodër*), *Isamnus* (today *Ishëm*), or Latin borrowings (for example *scamnum*), which comes out in the forms *shkamb/shkëmb* in the Albanian, etc. One must also consider the noun *presh* from the Old Greek *prason*.

Hence, the final *-s* of *Durrës* must have been produced in such phonetic conditions as have enabled the evolution of this sound in other inhe-

rited words of the Albanian: **pesë**, **si**, **darsmë**, **vdës**, etc. In these words sound **s** of the Albanian has come about through a long many-staged evolution of the Indo-European labio-velar consonant **k_u** followed by a front vowel (-i or -a).

If we keep in mind the documented Greek form **Dyrrachium** and the Latin form **Durrhachium** it would seem as if the final -s in **Durrës** should have originated from the evolution of the group -ki-. In this case, however, it must be said that the letter -ch- in the Greek and Latin transcription of this name reflects the evolved phase of the labiovelar consonant -k_u-, which placed before the front vowel -i-, follows an evolution whose final phase is -s. On the contrary, if the transcription -ch- of the Greek and Latin forms represented only the guttural consonant -k-, this, followed by an -i-, would have resulted in a -q plural of such nouns as **ujk: ujq**, etc., which were mentioned above. One arrives at this conclusion also considering the fact that, in this case, any other origin of the terminal -s is excluded. The odd attempt at explaining it through the Slav forms of **Dracë** or **Deracë** has no phonetic support. This has been done, for example, by P. Skok in *Slave et Albanais* (*Arhiv za arbansku starinu*, II 1925, p. 114). Later, however, this same author renounced this supposition (see *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 54, 1934, p. 175). Skok's final opinion has been approved also by N. Jokl (*Indogermanische Jahrbuch* XXIV/VII, p. 26). Actually a Slav form **Dracë** or **Dëracë** with the stress on the syllable -ra- cannot explain either the initial stress of the Albanian form **Durrës** or the vowel -u- in that form.

The accentuation of the initial syllable of **Durrës**, unlike the Greek or Latin accentuation of the second syllable of this noun, is in complete accordance with an old rule of the initial accentuation of nouns in the «mother» of the Albanian, the Illyrian. This is also proved by such ancient place names as **Isamnus** (Albanian **Ishëm** a village near **Durrës**), **Drivastum** (Albanian **Drishtë** in North Albania), etc. These two names show that they have been in uninterrupted

use in the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians. Otherwise, according to the rule of Latin prosody, these names would have been stressed on the second syllable. Another two facts testify to the uninterrupted presence of these two names in the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians. As said above, in these two names the ancient sound -s- has regularly evolved into -sh- in the Albanian. Moreover in **Drivastum** the unstressed syllable -va- has fallen long ago, just as in the ancient borrowings of the Albanian from the Latin, as for example Latin **médicus**: Albanian **mjek**, etc.

In **Durrës** the vowel -u- of the first syllable also proves that this name has been for a long time in use in the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians. Even if we accepted without any reservation that this name was of Greek origin (see below), still its -u- pronunciation would indicate that it belongs to the ancient period when the vowel -y- was pronounced -u- in the Dorian dialect only, whereas it had evolved long ago in the other Greek dialects. This, too, would testify to the ancient use of this name by the forefather of the Albanians.

In these circumstances one might ask about the origin of this name. The widespread opinion that the Greek form **Dyrrhachion** is the development of another more ancient Greek form **Dys-rhachion** comes up against unsurmountable difficulties of a phonetic character. According to the historical phonetics of Old Greek, the consonant group -ar- in the body of the word has in no other case evolved into the mound -rr- in that language (See **E. Schwyzer**, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 311). Hence, the origin of this name remains to be sought in the language of the ancient indigenous inhabitants of this old settlement. In these conditions, one could rightly ask whether this ancient settlement has actually been founded by Greek colonists in the year 627 B.C., as is generally accepted, or more exactly the question here is about an even more ancient settlement, as is also emerging from recent archaeological excavations.

Be as it may, the phonetic evo-

lution of **Dyrrhachium** into **Durrës** clearly shows that the name of this ancient city has gone generation after generation through the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians. This is another evidence of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the Illyrian origin of the Albanian.

As said above, the opponents of the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian also mention the well-known fact that the Albanian has some ancient lexical concordances with the Rumanian. This has given rise to many explanations which, in general, do not go beyond the phase of hypotheses. However, the presence of a considerable number of common ancient words in the Albanian and the Rumanian does not necessarily lead to the conclusion, as in the case of some linguists, that the origin of the Albanian must be sought in one of the languages of the Eastern or Central Balkans. The presence of these common ancient words in both these languages can be explained in quite a different manner. Some of these words might have been partial concordances between the «mother» language of the Albanians and the substratum language of the Rumanian. Other words might have migrated from West to East or vice-versa. Apart from this, some of these words might have a common origin in a pre-Indo-European language of the Balkan Peninsula. Hence, in this case there is the need for a more precise chronology of the different historical strata of these ancient concordances between the Albanian and the Rumanian.

The opinion of some foreign linguists to the effect that the forefathers of the Albanians must have taken their ethnic name **Arbën(ë)** from others is utterly baseless, too. Here it is natural to ask what people they took this ethnic name from and what language that people spoke. On the other hand, the very early presence of this name among the forefathers of the Albanians clearly show that the question here is about a very ancient ethnic name of local origin. The name **Arbën(ë)** emerges in ancient documents as a trisyllabic word with the stress on the first syllable, just as other ancient place names like **Durrës**, **Ishëm**, **Drishtë**, etc., which

were dealt with above, and just as the inherited ancient names of the Albanian, like **dimënë**, **ëmënë**, etc. (today **dimën/dimër**, **emen/emër**, etc.). This ethnic name originates from the Illyrian tribe of the **Albani** (or more precisely **Arbani**) who lived in Central Albania in the Antiquity. From there it has spread to the north and south of the territories of this tribe, thereby becoming generalized as an ethnic name for all those who spoke the same language as that of the above Illyrian tribe. About the early extension of this ethnic name to the southern territories of Albania speaks especially the evolution of the consonant **-n-** in a position between two vowels to **-t-** (rhotacism), which is one of the main characteristics of the southern dialect of the Albanian. As is known rhotacism in the southern dialect of the Albanian has taken place before the penetration of Slav words into the Albanian, because rhotacism on a whole is not met with the Slav borrowings of this language.

The early spread of this name among our neighbours also speaks in favour of the early generalization of this ethnic name among the forefathers of the Albanians. Thus in Byzantine documents of the 11th-12th centuries A.D. there is the form **Arvanon** in which **-b-** has been transformed into **-v-**, because, as is known, the consonant **b** has very early been transformed into **v** in Greek. Certainly the existence of this name in Byzantine documents of the 11th-12th centuries should not be taken as the earliest limit of the spread of this name among them. As is known, written sources are silent on earlier periods.

Among the Mediaeval Slavs, as Šufflay and others bear out, this

ethnic name figured in the form **Rabënë** (from **Arbënë**), with the metathesis **ar-/ra-**, which is a phonetic phenomenon that, in the southern Slav languages, has taken place no later than the second half of the 9th century A.D. Besides, the form **Arëbanas** figures, in Slav documents, too.

The form **Albania/Arbni**, which emerges in Latin documents, also has its origin in the form **Arbënë** of the forefathers of the Albanians.

In favour of the great ancientness of this ethnic name in the tongue of the forefathers of the Albanians also speaks the derivate word **i arbëneshtë/i arbëreshë**, which is used both as an adjective and a noun, as for example, **gjuha e arbëneshe** or **e arbëreshe** and **të arbëneshtëtë** or **të arbëreshëtë**. Denominations **Dheu i Arbënit** or **i Arbërit** (in the meaning of present-day Albania) as well as the derivate word **i arbëneshtë/i arbëreshë** are frequently met within the ancient Albanian authors of the 16th-17th centuries, as well as the **Arbëreshi** of Italy. Until late they were also used by the **Arbëreshi** of Greece, who afterwards replaced them with the Greek forms **Arvanon** and **Arvanitis**.

During the last centuries the **e arbëreshe** or **e arbëreshë** language came to be called the **shqip** language, from the adverb **shqip**, which is testified to in this meaning only once in Buzuku: «... qi do me thashunë shqip» (which means in Albanian). These writers used the adverb **arbënishtë** which is regularly formed from **Arbënë** with the suffix **-isht**, just as **greq-ishtë**, **ital-ishtë**, **ruman-ishtë**.

Probably in its origin the adverb **shqip** had another meaning, that of

openly, clearly, bluntly and only later has it assumed the meaning of the word **arbënishtë** or **arbërishtë**. The circumstances in which it has assumed this new meaning remain to be examined and clarified. However, in this case something similar to the German word **deutsch**, which is used as an adjective, noun and adverb may have occurred. This old German word figures in the form **thiuds** in the meaning of «people, tribe» in the Gothic. Between the 8th and the 9th centuries it emerges in the form **diutis** with the meaning «popular». Used together with the noun language, it eventually assumed the meaning of the German language, as the popular language in opposition to the Latin.

Thus, it may be supposed that in expressions of the type «ma tha shqip», «foli shqip» (he clearly told me) this word has gradually assumed the meaning of the adverb **arbënishtë/arbërishtë**, which it replaced in the written period of the Albanian.

So, as emerges from what was summarily said in this article, the more widespread thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language is fully based linguistically, too. In other words the southern Illyrian, as a result of its long evolution has with the passage of time been transformed into a qualitatively new language which continued its historical evolution further. This qualitative change, which was the result of an uninterrupted series of quantitative changes taking place over many centuries, must have occurred between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D., that is in the post-Roman period and before the migration of the Slavs to the Western Balkans.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PERSPECTIVE FOR THE RAISING OF THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL OF SPECIALISTS

The advance of the school will always depend on the work for the integration of theoretical knowledge at the basic aim of achieving a high ideological, theoretical and professional level, rigorous practical skills and scientific-research habits in every young specialist.

THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY CONDITIONS, TO A LARGE EXTENT, THE TASKS OF HIGHER SCHOOL, WHICH MUST FOLLOW UP AND REFLECT THIS PROGRESS IN THE SCHOOL DOCUMENTS IN ORDER TO TRAIN YOUNG SPECIALISTS ACCORDING TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRESENT STAGE AND THE PERSPECTIVE. THE PRESENT STAGE AND THE FUTURE, MORE THAN THIS, REQUIRE THAT THE NEW GENERATION OF CADRES SHOULD ADAPT THEMSELVES VERY RAPIDLY TO THE TECHNICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL LEVEL AND MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CARRY IT AHEAD, IN HARMONY WITH CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS. ON THE BASIS OF THIS SCIENTIFIC GENERALIZATION, COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTED OUT AT THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA THAT OUR SCHOOL SHOULD IMPART TO OUR PUPILS AND STUDENTS CONTEMPORARY KNOWLEDGE, READILY ASSIMILABLE AND WELL CONSOLIDATED, SHOULD STRIVE TO MAKE THEM CADRES WITH A SOUND THEORETICAL FORMATION AND, AT THE SAME TIME, SKILLED IN THE HABITS OF APPLICATIVE WORK.

The accomplishment of this task implies that the higher school should work simultaneously in two directions: first, it must engage in scientific-research activities and, second, must teach the students how to carry out scientific research work.

The higher the quality achieved in these two directions, the better the school will play its role as the conveyor of new knowledge. That is the

HASAN MUÇOSTEPA — Lecturer at the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana

reason why in recent times the stress has been placed on engaging the departments and chairs more deeply in the scientific-research work, so that through this activity they should continuously raise the level of the ideological, scientific and professional formation of their teachers and pedagogues. During the year 1986 alone, the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana took up the study of 48 themes for the Council of Ministers and 103 themes for its own departments and chairs, and many more other themes at the level of

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higher school. Thus, for example, the specialists of social and economic sciences took up the study in a field rich in present-day problems which reflect the summing up of the experience of the Party for the improvement of the superstructure, the contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the defence and the further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in struggle with the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, the history of the PLA in the various stages of the revolution and our socialist construction, the history of the state and the law in Albania, problems of the improvement of management and organization of the economy, the increase of effectiveness of production, the further improvement of work in the levers of financial mechanism, etc. Studies in the technical and natural sciences focused on the roads to be pursued for the increase of effectiveness of work in prospecting for and discovering of minerals, for the application of new methods of work on mineral deposits, for the new technologies of digging mineral ores, for the improvement of the level of organization in the machine-building industry, for

the unification of our steels, for the drafting of standard norms of designs and light constructions in our building industry, for the optimal ways of the utilization of the local coals and peat, for the measures against corrosion, etc. This participation has helped the teachers and pedagogues of higher schools to come out of the narrow space of their chairs and to create points of broader contact with the more important problems of their particular sciences and related disciplines. The strengthening of ties between the University and the life has been and will remain in the future the best means of orientation in the solution of concrete problems of the economy and assistance in the extension of the intellectual horizon of higher cadres.

School documentation plays an important role in the theoretical and practical qualification of the students. The teaching plans which were drafted following the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, June 1982, show an improvement in the relations between theory and practice courses, and despite the marked success, the task is not regarded as complete because many more possibilities remain unutilized for further improvements and adjustments, for the increase of fruitfulness in the process conveying information. Reserves in this field are great, if we bear in mind that there is traditionalism in teaching, that the blackboard-and-check methods are used overwhelmingly and there is a low degree of the use of various audio-visual methods and means, from the very simple to the most modern ones, that the preparation of lectures is made only on the basis of the main problems, etc. The teaching programs for various subjects are a step forward in the work for the modernization of contents on a scientific base, achieved by cutting out commonplace words and information and by renewing the conceptual apparatus, by making a more extensive use of universal concepts, by ensuring a stronger connection among various disciplines and, especially, by ensuring a more powerful support for them from basic subjects. The connection between various fundamental group disciplines, the theo-

retical subjects of the speciality and those of applied sciences has been improved in all profiles and work is actually going on so that the present theoretical level, the contemporary generalizing methods of analysis and synthesis, the new concepts, symbols and methods are reflected better. Nevertheless, the problem of the continuous improvement of teaching programs remains the object of constant work for teachers and faculty chairs.

Parallel with the improvement of teaching programs, laboratory courses within the practice classes have increased, thus reaching up to 14 per cent of the total number of classes, against 4-5 classes they occupied in some branches of engineering faculties. The enrichment of the laboratory base for some disciplines, such as in physics, chemistry, biology, informatics, geophysics, electronics, heat engineering, etc., created the conditions for most of the practical courses in these subjects to be renewed and to be raised to the level of our time. It is enough to mention that only in physics and biology our respective faculties carry out 25 and 10 laboratory works, a thing which they could not do in the past. Since this investment proved its great utility, we will continue to strengthen the laboratory base in the future, so that the practical qualification in other disciplines should rise to the requirements of our time. Along with this, the need arises of establishing a more correct proportion between demonstrative lessons and laboratory courses, which should serve as a still more powerful encouragement for the students to enter the path of scientific-research work.

The theoretical and practical qualification of the students at the level of the contemporary demands and requirements is connected closely also with the exercises, course tasks and designs and diploma theses, the more extensive qualitative use of which have set in motion the thinking capacity of the students. The assignment of course designs and diploma theses on problems of the present and perspective development of production, the demand for information about the new techniques and technologies, for the drafting of new improved methods, all this has helped to solve problems

connected with concrete tasks, the practical qualification and the better linking of the students with these problems. Many students' diploma theses deal with problems of the mechanization of processes, organization, working out of norms and increase of the efficiency of production, the harmonization of the economic indices with the financial indices, and so on. The fact that in the last two years 20 per cent of the diploma theses by the students of the construction engineering branch have begun to be executed, over 40 per cent of the theses of the students of the branch of architecture have been ordered by the designing institutes, 30 per cent of the theses of students in the branch of electronics have been applied in practice, etc., shows that the diploma theses deal with real problems and that the creative capacity of the students is being exploited better and their practical qualification is developing hand in hand with their theoretical uplift.

In the future we face the important tasks of increasing the fruitfulness of exercises, course tasks and designs, of improving the proportions between exercises and problems, of insisting on their formative role, by avoiding traditional methods of the solution, of exercises and the use of simple mathematical operations, of assigning differentiated exercises for work in the auditorium and extra-mural work, for spreading the load evenly throughout the school year and for increasing demands on students and teachers.

Since seminars in the faculties of social and economic faculties play an important role in the practical qualification of students, we have recently experimented work with a reduced number of students in teaching groups, placing greater stress on formational questions and making the students report on specific problems. Nevertheless, there are reserves regarding the increase in the number of seminars, in the increase of the effectiveness of lectures, in the use of audiovisual means and the avoiding of verbiage and traditionalism in teaching. The requirement of the time is that the lectures should not be a mere reproduction of textbooks, but

should present the dynamics of the development of the respective science, the methods of teaching should be modernized from the scientific and pedagogical aspect. Besides, this logic and reasoning, and not mechanical reproduction of the theory, should occupy the main place in the demonstration of knowledge. The introduction on a much more extensive scale of retroprojectors and slides, of films and audiovisual means, going over more boldly to problem lectures, and so on, these are some of the ways and methods of increasing the fruitfulness of teaching and the better qualification of students. The experiments which are being carried out in the subjects of dialectical and historical materialism, of ethics and scientific atheism for the increase of the number of seminars and the reduction of the number of lectures, can very well be extended in other disciplines in the future.

The great number of publications with about 120 textbooks a year is a good index which speaks of a serious work on the part of the teachers and faculty chairs, however, despite this change translations still occupy a small place, with about 10 per cent of the total number of publications, therefore the faculty chairs have undertaken to translate the best textbooks within the shortest time possible with the aim of securing a rich literature in the Albanian language.

The professional practice courses play an irreplaceable role in the qualification of students and in their linking up with the problems of practice and production. Practice in the technical and natural science faculties has shown that the students must know the machineries, and the various technological processes, the methods of rational exploitation, the new techniques and the advanced technology, the organization and management of work, the norms of the optimal exploitation of the machinery and materials by combining elements of direct work in production with guided practice courses, so that they are as well prepared as possible for their future work. For the faculties of social and economic sciences and for the faculty of medicine and for the profiles of teachers' training we have

assigned schools, complex economies, enterprises and hospitals with good experience and rich material base and have attached the best specialists of these institutions to guide this work.

In recent times we have also practised the participation of groups of students in the solution of the concrete problems of production, the drafting of blue-prints for town-planning and those for the supply of water to some villages of Lushnja and other small towns, the drafting of complex designs for socio-cultural and tourist buildings, in scientific themes guided by faculty chairs, in the geodetic surveying of some regions of the country, etc. Good results in this aspect have been achieved by the two productive bases of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering, the mechanical workshop and base of the chair of electronics. Working on this premise, the students have been able to see the main kinds of metal-cutting machines and gauging apparatuses, they have learned some skills in different processes, by working for the production of material goods. The qualification of the students still better in practice requires the strengthening and extension of the existing productive bases, the regular supply of materials needed, the compulsory participation of enterprises, executive committees and ministerial departments in the creation of resources, in the release of financial means, in the setting up of teaching environments and in putting the best specialists to guide the practice courses with students. We must especially create more correct proportions between guided practice and the work which the student himself must do, especially those of the technical, natural faculties, and the faculty of medicine, etc., because for the time being practice has a very passive character.

The advance of the school will always depend on the work for the integration of theoretical knowledge into practical habits, with the basic aim of achieving a high ideological, theoretical and professional level, rigorous practical skills and advanced scientific-research habits in every young specialist.

ISMAIL KADARE

THE COMBING

Short Story

Late that December afternoon, when the domes of palaces and cathedrals were reflecting the last rays of the setting sun, she sat in front of the mirror and began to comb her hair. She spent a long time at it. Outside the clocks of the great city chimed half past five, six o'clock, and then half past six, but still she had not finished her combing. Her pale, delicate hands began to tremble with irritation, because, it seemed, she could not find the style she wanted. An ornamental clasp, the pale gleam of which she tried in several different places on her hair (only a flash of lightning seen in a dream could have been so pale) wearied her even more.

She realized that this long period of combing was making her very tired, because she was still inexperienced in such matters. She was twelve years old and this was the first time in her life that she had combed her hair for such a long time and so carefully. Besides this, she had

ISMAIL KADARE — *Writer*

spent a long time in hospital, where she had just completed the first phase of treatment for leucaemia.

Her hair, which some time earlier had been thinned out by her illness, had grown beautiful and silky again, just as it had been before, but it was not her delight at the restoration of her hair that caused her to comb it so carefully that December evening. Neither was it some girlish whim — a desire or passion for something, which her long illness, especially the imminent presence of death, might have caused her to feel prematurely. No, the reason was something else, which at first sight looked simple: the professor who had been treating her for a long time had invited her to his home that evening.

This was the first time since she had arrived in that foreign capital for treatment, that one of the local people had invited her to his home. And this was no ordinary person, but one of the doctors most outstanding for the

treatment of leucaemia, not just in that country, but in the whole of Europe. The girl was happy and proud to receive his invitation, the more so because the professor had told her that in her honour, in honour of his young patient from Albania, he had also invited some of his friends.

Together with her joy the girl had also felt a certain anxiety: how would she look to those men and women of the capital city, whom she imagined already sitting in the easy chairs of the big salon, chatting idly as in a film?

The girl was called Eglá, but she knew that to all of them she would be nothing but «the little Albanian girl», «die kleine albanerin». She repeated these words, «die kleine albanerin», to herself with the most varied intonations, just as she had heard them from her professor, his assistants, the nurses and cleaners, on all the occasions when they referred to her during visits or medical consultations.

The girl had noticed that these two words aroused a kind of curiosity in people's eyes. They would look at her for a moment and say something about her. She had begun to understand the German language, but even if she had not understood it, she would have sensed intuitively that what they said had no connection with her illness. For a long time she had been able to distinguish their remarks about her illness from those other, commonplace words.

«She understands German,» the doctor or her nurse reminded others during consultations. After this warning they would restrain their conversation, or continue it choosing other words from those that are used commonly, everywhere in the world, by the local people when they don't want foreigners to understand what they are saying. But even so, although she did not understand the meaning of their words, she sensed very clearly what lay behind them. She understood very well that they were saying something about her country and that something, however much it was camouflaged with rare or dialect words, reached her consciousness clearly.

For some time now the girl had realized that among foreigners the name of her country aroused a curiosity, which was good, neutral, or sometimes bad. Before the words «die kleine albanerin» were spoken there came a momentary hesitation, a fraction of time probably less than a second, when the girl became all attention in order to catch the combined action of the speaker's eyes, the set of his lips, or the twitch of his cheeks, from which one of those three types of curiosity emerged, after which the girl felt happy, nothing, or utterly grieved.

She felt that she was too young to understand profoundly the reasons why a country should be

scorned or disliked. Before they sent her abroad for the first time, one of her uncles had told her that everybody «there» respected her country because it was a socialist country. But another day that same uncle had told her that they could not like her country, precisely because it was socialist.

For some time now the girl had wearied of wondering «why». But although she found it difficult to grasp the true reasons for this like or dislike of her country, day by day she became more and more convinced that she herself, that is, her appearance, played a role in this, gave a kind of initial impulse to determine the stranger's attitude (a light, decisive impulse in that brief moment of hesitation, when good or bad feelings, understanding or misunderstanding, were in contention). The girl was convinced that to reach her country, people were obliged to pass through her limbs, through her eyes, her hair and the clasp gleaming upon it.

From the time she first sensed this, the girl tried to make herself look as pretty as she could. She began to study herself in the mirror, to choose her clothes carefully and to ask the nurse which hair-style suited her best.

If in recent months she had done this every day (every one of those many, sad, monotonous days in hospital), imagine with how much dedication the girl began to comb her hair that December afternoon, so much, in fact, that when, at last, the professor came to get her, she was as pale as her hair-clasp.

She sensed the professor's concern and standing a little aside, listened to the explanations which the nurse was giving him. She understood the words: «she combed her hair for a very long time», «wanted to make herself as pretty as possible», after which

the professor kissed her lightly on the brow to calm her, in a way that somehow reminded her of a painting she had once seen in a church or museum and which was called «The Kiss of Death».

II.

The girl's grave is in the western cemetery of Tirana. Nearby, besides graves with simple inscriptions, there are many others with inscriptions on bronze or marble which remind the visitor of the various merits of those who now rest under the soil or the services which they have rendered the state. They include personalities of science or culture, heroes of labour, officials who served in different sectors such as the economy, the army, diplomacy, and so on, airmen killed in performing their duties, ministers who represented the state at international forums, etc., etc.

Of course, there is no such inscription on the marble slab of the girl's grave. Nevertheless, although this may seem contrary to reason, anyone who passes by that grave and happens to know her history (her modest history, smooth and delicate as the surface of the marble), unwittingly, in analogy with the other graves, is liable to search his mind for something similar. And the inscription required could be nothing but a brief text which stated that in this grave rests a twelve-year-old girl who, unlike the others, truly did not manage to do anything for her country, except to comb her hair very beautifully one afternoon, to comb it for a long time to make herself pretty, for the last time one gloomy December afternoon, at the time when the bells of the palaces and cathedrals of the great city were chiming the approach of darkness.

THE 19th CONFERENCE OF THE CPSU AND THE REFORMS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

by SHABAN MURATI

THE 19TH SPECIAL CONFERENCE OF THE CPSU WAS HELD RECENTLY IN MOSCOW TO DISCUSS AND DECIDE ON STRENGTHENING PERESTROYKA, ON DEVELOPING AND MAKING IT «IMPUGNABLE», AS GORBACHOV PUT IT. THE CONFERENCE ENDORSED SIX RESOLUTIONS WHICH CONTAIN MEASURES FOR THE REFORMS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, THE GLASNOST, THE LEGISLATIVE REFORM, THE REFORM OF THE RELATIONS AMONG NATIONALITIES, ETC. THERE WERE MANY PROBLEMS WHICH WERE PUT FORWARD AND DECISIONS WHICH WERE MADE THERE, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THEM, THOSE WHICH CONSTITUTE THE PIVOT OF THAT CONFERENCE, HAVE TO DO WITH POLITICAL REFORMS, WITH THE CHANGES OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM THE PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS FOR MEASURES AFFECTS AND CHANGES THE PLACE AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTY AND THE SOVIETS, THEIR STRUCTURES AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM.

The political system in the Soviet Union had, in fact, changed its essential nature from a socialist system into a capitalist one as early as the time of the Khrushchevite revisionist takeover. Nevertheless, for the sake of appearances, it retained its old form, which suited the interest of the new Russian bourgeoisie in order to deceive the working masses. Gorbachov's reforms, consecrated in the conference and in its decisions, finally demolished those few political structures which had remained formally as odd survivals of the former socialist order in the Soviet Union. The objective now is to openly and officially create a new system which will match the demands and the strategy of perestroika for the transition to a political system similar to the bourgeois system of the developed capitalist countries with parliamentary traditions. This explains all that great enthusiasm which the 19th conference and

SHABAN MURATI — *Journalist*

its reforms and decisions aroused among all the reactionary political forces and trends in the world. The «Voice of America» hailed the reforms endorsed by the conference as a radical change of the Soviet system since the October Revolution. TANJUG, the Yugoslav news agency, described them as the greatest political changes from the time of Lenin, whereas the Pope of Rome said that these processes coincide with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church.

The special conference of the Soviet party was highly appreciated by many for the spirit of debate and the plurality of views that were expressed in it. In his closing speech Gorbachov presented this as a «revival of the Leninist spirit which has never occurred in the last 50 years», and as a result of the glasnost which he has initiated personally. The various views expressed in the contributions about the speed and the methods of the application of perestroika have nothing in common with the Leninist democracy and debate, which

needs no commenting on our part. The Leninist spirit is not measured by the number of contributions and the volume of debate and opposition, but in the first place, it is measured and valued by the kinds of views which are expressed, by the kinds of reforms proposed and by who benefits from them. Gorbachov is only playing with the formal aspects of the conference, but everything which was discussed and decided there about the political system and the rest of the agenda, not only is incompatible with Lenin, with the Leninist spirit and principles, but is in flagrant opposition to them.

One of the main decisions of the conference is the one on the restriction of the role of the party to the political and ideological fields only. It decided that the party should not guide the state, should not deal with economic and other problems, and should be transformed into a merely orienting and educative factor, into an organization which engages only in verbiage, like many parties of the West. This is much like the role and the functions of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, from which Gorbachov has been inspired.

But over this issue there has been a great contradiction, which some of the contributors to the discussion in the conference did not fail to point out. Whereas, on the one hand, it is demanded that the party should not guide the state, the economy etc., on the other hand, the conference made the decision that the first secretaries of party committees should,

at the same time, be chairmen of the soviets, that is, should be placed at the head of the state organs. This measure was motivated with the need of enhancing the role and authority of the soviets in the whole life of the country. In fact this means that it is not the party which will guide and control the state. It means that the party will be placed under the orders of the state, will be transformed into one of its levers. References to Lenin about this total overthrow of the party-state relationships are just another speculation with Lenin. Lenin's thesis of principle that there can be no genuine proletarian state without the leading and undivided role of the Communist Party in it is so well-known that it needs no comment.

Obviously Gorbachov needs this reform in order to reinforce his political positions and his personal power, because as general secretary of the party he aims to become president of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, as well. Unlike the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the president will have great competences, and will exert complete control on the drafting of the most important social and economic laws and programs, will rule the decisions on questions of foreign policy, defence and security of the country, will preside the council of defence, will appoint the chairman of the council of ministers, etc., in other words, he will have more or less the same competences and functions which are yielded by many presidents in the Western countries.

The decision on the presidential system, which the conference adopted, not only will not deepen democracy, will not avoid the cult of the individual, either, about which there was so much ado in the conference, on the contrary it will cultivate it, because Gorbachov is thereby made omnipotent. And he will need this also in order to feel more secure in carrying out his mission, in avoiding the danger of some putsch from within the

party. There was a clear implication in his words that political reforms «should rule out the possibility of the usurpation and abuse of power». It is evident that all this mechanism serves to boost the power of one man and make his authority absolute.

The procedure proposed for the creation of the new state organs, also, has this same objective. The elections to the congress of people's deputies, which the conference decided to establish, cannot be made by the whole people. Of the 2250 people's deputies, 750 will be the trusted men of Gorbachov, who are to be elected by the party apparatus, by the mass organizations, etc. To the Supreme Soviet, which will consist of a limited number of deputies, 400 or 500 of them will be elected by the congress of people's deputies, that is, the same people whom Gorbachov will need and will propose as candidates. In effect, the Supreme Soviet with its two chambers will be very much like the Western parliament, will be in constant session, while the congress of deputies will meet only once a year.

At the 19th all-Soviet Party Conference rabid attacks were made on Stalin and the socialist system built by the Soviet people during Stalin's time. It decided to erect in Moscow a monument to the so-called victims of the cult of the individual and the Stalinist repressions, that is, a monument dedicated to the traitors, counter-revolutionaries, and the enemies of socialism in the Soviet Union. No enemy and trash has remained unrehabilitated, and now the turn of Trotsky has come.

One of the themes which was discussed in the conference and about which a respective resolution was endorsed, was the grave national crisis which has broken out in the Soviet Union. Despite the attempt to relegate its causes to the distant past, to the policy followed by Lenin in his time, the conference was not capable of adopting or even of suggesting a concrete measure. It limited itself to the proclamation of the decisions whereby attached to the Sup-

reme Soviet of the USSR, the soviets of republics and local soviets, there will be commissions of inter-ethnic relations. It, also, decided that a special plenum of the Central Committee will take up the question of nationalities. In protest against this stand adopted by the conference, large demonstrations have broken out in Armenia and discontent is spreading to the other republics of the Soviet Union.

The reforms of the political system are undertaken three years after the proclamation of perestrojka, after the expounding of the ideas and after the efforts to implement it in the fields of the economy, culture and information. But as the conference admitted, with the exception of glasnost, which has opened the doors to all anti-communist and counter-revolutionary elements, giving them every possibility and opportunity to slander and attack with the greatest rabidity everything healthy, socialist and revolutionary that has existed in the history and the experience of the Soviet Union, in the other fields perestrojka has got stuck down, has reached a dead end, and has not yielded the expected results. It was precisely in an attempt to open up the way to the privatization of the economy that the reforms in the political system were undertaken within the framework of perestrojka. The political superstructure, as a factor which assists the strengthening and development of the base, now should be made to match the new economic base.

As in the economic base, in the superstructure, too, the reforms have one single direction, they are orientated toward capitalism, toward the Western bourgeois order. The new society, «the new model of socialism», which Gorbachov is striving to build, is nothing other than a new model of the capitalist society. His demagogy is too obvious to mislead the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, who see and assess perestrojka not as a revolution within the revolution, as Gorbachov tries to present it, but as a counter-revolution within the counter-revolution.

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A VISIT THAT SERVES THE STRENGTHENING OF ALBANIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS

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

The Albanian people welcomed the visit of the Foreign Minister of the Turkish Republic, Mesut Jilalmaz, to our country and followed with great interest the talks the Turkish Foreign Minister held with high personalities of our country. The successful conclusion of this visit is another evidence of the further development and the strengthening of friendly relations of cooperation between our countries and the prospects opening up to them in the future. The close and fraternal bonds between the Albanian people and the Turkish people are an expression of the policy of good neighbourliness the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Turkish Republic have constantly followed. This was pointed out in a statement for the press by the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mesut Jilalmaz, as soon as he arrived in our country. He stressed that «from the political standpoint there is no open problem between Turkey and Albania». This reality, of which the Albanian government takes note with satisfaction, is a sure basis for the further development of

Albanian-Turkish relations and the raising of bilateral cooperation of mutual interest to a higher level.

The strengthening of friendly relations between Albania and Turkey is the result of the goodwill and joint efforts of our two governments. The stability and progress of these relations coincide with the political interests of our two countries, which want peace and stability in their region and beyond.

The friendly links between the Albanian and Turkish people have a traditional base. They have always held in high esteem the struggle and efforts of each other for freedom, peace and progress. The Albanian people have special admiration and respect for the outstanding personality and great statesman, the founder of the new democratic Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. They know the friendly sentiments of Kemal Atatürk who forcefully supported any progressive and democratic movement which developed in Albania at that time and denounced with anger and indignation the establishment of King Zog's monarchic regime. Our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha,

highly valued the work and figure of Kemal Atatürk who «liberated Turkey and its brave people from the complex of enslaving the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire, consolidated the unity and true independence of the Turkish nation, and set Turkey out on the road of democracy and progress.» Having a great ideal in common, the two outstanding leaders of our peoples, although in different times, forged the friendship between our two peoples and countries and oriented them correctly towards new democratic values to common advantage, for peace and stability in the region.

The strengthening of economic relations between Albania and Turkey is a concretization of this policy of trust, understanding and mutual wide-ranging cooperation. To the existing former agreements, protocols and programs signed in the recent years between our two countries in the field of trade, payments, transport, science, technology, culture, agriculture, tourism, etc., new ones were added. The present visit to Tirana of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mesut Jilalmaz, resulted in the signing of two new agree-

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ments: on economic, commercial, industrial and technical cooperation and on international road transport. Extension of these economic, cultural, technical, scientific and other relations create a broad and firm basis for the development of cooperation between our two peoples and states.

The PSR of Albania has constantly and consistently followed a policy of good neighbourliness with Turkey, just as with the other neighbouring countries of our region. In this context it has taken concrete steps and made constructive proposals for the constant improvement of relations between Albania and Turkey, convinced that in this manner it contributes to the strengthening of true friendship and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and beyond. The Albanian Government will pursue this policy in the future, too, because it serves the freedom and independence of our people and the Turkish people, as well as the in-

terests of the other neighbouring Balkan peoples. As Mesut Jilalmaz pointed out, «Turkey highly values the constructive contribution of Albania to the strengthening of understanding and cooperation in the Balkans.»

The development of relations between Albania and Turkey serves the further strengthening of good neighbourliness and the deepening of sincere cooperation between the Balkan countries. As countries of this region, bilateral relations between Albania and Turkey represent a sound and sure basis for the strengthening of peace and stability in the Balkans. They express the will of our people who want to live in peace and good neighbourliness. In this context, as Comrade Ramiz Alia put it at a meeting he had with the Turkish Foreign Minister, «we want to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the Balkans, and to this Albania has made and will unreser-

vedly make its contribution. By respecting freedom and national independence, and supporting any constructive step serving the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding in the Balkans, we strengthen peace, stability and security in our Peninsula.»

In conclusion of his visit to our country, the Turkish Foreign Minister said that the talks he held during his visit in Albania were very useful and strengthened in him his conviction that our political relations are in very good shape.

While hailing the visit and results of talks of the Turkish Foreign Minister in Albania, we voice our belief that what has been achieved hitherto will be carried further ahead in the common interest, and that friendly and fraternal relations will be strengthened further, thereby serving the consolidation of understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and Europe.

■

CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO IMPROVING THE ATMOSPHERE OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN THE BALKANS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

As was announced in the press, from June 21 to 23 a meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign

Affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey was held in the Bulgarian capital, So-

fia. The meeting examined the proposals on Balkan cooperation in order to make concrete the positive atmos-

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phere created in different fields in the Balkans during and following the Belgrade meeting of foreign ministers. The spirit in which the meeting took place in Sofia, the discussion that was held and the protocol that was signed there serve to carry cooperation among the countries of our Peninsula further ahead.

The delegation of the PSR of Albania went to the Sofia meeting with the desire and good will to make its contribution to utilizing the many existing ways to improve and concretize cooperation among the Balkan countries. Creation of a healthy atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and friendship in the Balkans is a constant preoccupation for the PSR of Albania. Our people want wholeheartedly to live in good neighbourliness with their neighbouring countries and peoples, in the first place.

Our Party and Government have supported bilateral and all-Balkan initiatives for rapprochement and understanding among the peoples of the Peninsula. Albania participates in a number of inter-Balkan activities and associations in the fields of physics, seismology, medicine, environment protection, etc., to which Albanian scientists make an active contribution. For some years now we take part in various sports activities, including the organization of

Balkan championships, like in weight-lifting, volleyball for women, etc. In the same spirit was held some days ago the meeting of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation at which the plan for a number of exchanges and activities in the field of art, culture, folklore, science, sports, etc. was discussed and approved.

Certainly in the complicated situation existing in the Balkans it is not easy to arrive immediately at the improvement of the atmosphere, the more so as the egoistic aims and policies of the Great Powers have left many seeds of quarrels and divisions. However, the results of the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, the positive atmosphere created in the relations among the Balkan countries after this meeting, and the results of the present meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs in Sofia testify to the fact that both the will and the wisdom are strengthening in the Balkans to rise above these quarrels and splits. There is an apparent desire to find points of agreement, to help the cleaning of the Balkan environment from any imperialist pressure and influence, and to make peoples friends. As far as the PSRA is concerned, it has not failed, nor will it ever fail, to make its contribution to

the creation of a healthy atmosphere in the Balkans.

The constructive stand of the PSR of Albania on the improvement of the atmosphere in the Balkans has met with understanding and been hailed by a number of personalities and the press of the other Balkan countries, as happened also with the stand of our delegation at the Sofia Meeting, which was considered very constructive. The stress the Albanian delegation put on the fact that development and strengthening of bilateral relations has fundamental importance to carry multilateral cooperation forward was welcome. This for the reason that many all-Balkan meetings at most diverse levels may be held, but results will be scarce if bilateral understanding and cooperation are lacking.

The participants in the Sofia Meeting also welcomed the proposals of the Albanian delegation that the subsequent meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries should be held in January 1989 in Tirana, that the meeting of the respective ministries of energy should be held in 1990 in Tirana and that the meeting of the Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation or other respective organizations should be held in the second half of 1989 in Albania. At the same time, the participants in the Sofia

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meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs agreed also on a number of other important activities. Among other things, it was decided to hold a meeting of transport ministers in November or December 1988 in Yugoslavia; a meeting on environment protection in November 1988 in Bulgaria; a meeting of the Ministers of the Economy or Foreign Trade in the first semester of 1989 in Turkey; a meeting on industrial cooperation and technology transfer in 1989 in Rumania. Also, it was agreed to set up a working group to study all the aspects of the creation of a Balkan Institute for Economic Research in the capital of Greece,

Athens. Proposals and recommendations were also made to carry the spirit of the Communiqué of the Belgrade Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs further ahead and concretize it.

With a number of concrete steps taken in the Balkans for the improvement of relations and bipartite cooperation between the different countries, as well as with the constructive stands of the participating delegations, the Sofia Meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs was another step ahead towards the improvement of the situation in the Balkans. Much depends, however, on the concrete stand and the good will of each participa-

ting country in implementing the decisions taken at the meeting, so that the spirit of understanding and stability in the Balkans is carried forward to a new stage. As far as Albania is concerned, it will spare no efforts in this direction. As Comrade Ramiz Alia points out in his address to the Belgrade Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkans, «the new socialist Albania has always been specially interested in it that in the Balkans there should be peace and understanding among its peoples, stability and spirit of cooperation. It considers the policy of good neighbourliness a constant orientation in its relations with all the Balkan countries.»

40 YEARS AFTER THE RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU ON THE SITUATION IN THE CP OF YUGOSLAVIA

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Forty years ago, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties examined the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The resolution which was adopted thereupon made a principled criticism of the political and ideological line of this party, describing it as a deviation from Marxism-Lenin-

ism, from scientific socialism and from proletarian internationalism. It pointed out that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had departed from the Marxist theory on classes and the class struggle, on the party of the working class and its leading role, that it had abandoned the spirit of the international solidarity of the

workers, had slipped into positions of bourgeois nationalism and set out on the road of rapprochement with imperialism. The Information Bureau warned that such an anti-Marxist orientation could lead to the bourgeois degeneration of the party and the country.

The resolution of the Information Bureau confirmed

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the correct remarks made long ago to the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia by the CPSU and Stalin. The analyses and criticisms of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had, at that time, a great importance for the development of socialism in the other countries and in the entire international communist and workers' movement. It uncovered and identified the birth of a new phenomenon, a new opportunist trend — modern revisionism.

The Information Bureau was disturbed by the fact that the course which was being followed in Yugoslavia had begun to jeopardize the gains of the National Liberation War there, the state of the working class, the equality among nations and national rights, and the anti-imperialist orientation. The aim of its criticism was to assist the Yugoslav communists to see and avoid the mistakes that were noticed there and to proceed on the road of the revolution and socialism, for which the peoples of Yugoslavia had made so many sacrifices and had shed so much blood.

The importance of the resolution adopted by the Information Bureau, the principles which it defended and the warnings which it made had to do not only with Yugoslavia. They were far-reaching. The resolution drew attention to the need for loyalty to Marxism-Le-

ninism, as the fundamental condition to safeguard the victories of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism, to the need for waging the class struggle in the new post-war conditions and strengthening vigilance towards the concerted, denigrating and diversionist attacks of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The alarm sounded by the Information Bureau about the danger posed by modern revisionism was of great service. It was in the interest of the communist and revolutionary movement of the world, because it warned that from that time on a new front of the ideological struggle, which required the greatest attention, was opened. Now the need of strengthening the ideological unity of the international communist movement was raised again with the same force as before.

The stand of the Information Bureau at that time was approved and supported by all the communist and workers' parties of the world. The correctness of the analyses and conclusions of the resolution of the Information Bureau about the situation within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was confirmed by experience and the development of events in this country! It is enough to mention the facts which everyone knows. Today's Yugoslavia is characterized by a number of phenomena typical of

capitalism such as anarchy of production, economic and financial crises, unemployment, inflation, emigration of the labour force, deep social differentiations, venal administration, spreading spiritual degeneration, and so on.

The whole system, including the economy and society, the ideology and policies, the structures and national relations, is in a crisis. Irreparable splits have appeared in the relations between its different nationalities, republics and regions within the Yugoslav Federation, which are the unavoidable outcome of the bourgeois nationalist course and the chauvinist policy.

The situation in this country was made no better even with the support given by the bourgeoisie and imperialism and later by Khrushchev and all his successors.

The opening to the inflow of foreign capital, the immense foreign debts, the innumerable concessions to the neo-colonialist demands of the International Monetary Fund, etc., are facts which prove that the so-called system of «self-administration» in Yugoslavia has been essentially transformed into a joint administration of foreign capital and Yugoslav capital, which has led to the dependence and submission of the country to the world capital.

Time confirmed the correctness of the warning given by the Information Bureau

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about the danger which modern revisionism, which had occurred in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, represented for the other communist parties. Today, when this opportunist trend has assumed wide proportions and has become dominant in the international communist and workers' movement, we can see what grave consequences followed the undervaluation of and the conciliation with the new revisionist variant of the Yugoslav type.

The Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has waged a consistent and principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, against the theories and practices of this opportunist current. This struggle occupies an important place in the thinking and activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha, from the time of the National Liberation War to the end of his life. In his Works, especially in the *Titotes, Yugoslav «Self-administration» - a Capitalist Theory and Practice*, he has made a thorough critical analysis, based on scientific arguments, of the political, economic and social system of Yugoslavia. Comrade Enver Hoxha's forecasts and conclusions have been fully confirmed by practice. His contribution to the exposure of Yugoslav revisionism has become a valuable lesson for the Marxist-Leninists.

The great counter-revolutionary change in the Soviet

Union began precisely with the reconciliation between Yugoslav revisionism and Soviet revisionism. It was first Khrushchev who, in an entirely arbitrary manner, without consulting the other communist parties and without discussing this problem with them, decided to disregard the resolution of the Information Bureau and made common cause with Titoism. The road followed by Khrushchev was a great encouragement not only for the Yugoslav revisionists but also for the rest of the opportunists and revisionists wherever they were. The counter-revolutionary events in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia had as their ideological source the revisionist course begun in Yugoslavia, and found encouragement and support in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which sanctioned the platform of the new and most dangerous revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism.

Khrushchev's course was further deepened by his successor, Gorbachov, who, during his visit to Yugoslavia this year, did not spare Stalin and the Information Bureau in his attacks. Not only did he proclaim complete affinity of ideology and policy with his host, but he also made an attempt to give this affinity a kind of support, based on Slav kinship, on the old claim of «blood brothers».

The road which was ope-

ned by the Khrushchevites, was followed, with the waverings which we know, by the Chinese revisionists, without mentioning the Eurocommunist revisionists who proved to be the most assiduous followers of this road. This is fully understandable. The different currents of present-day revisionism are united by the same anti-Marxist and anti-socialist ideology. The truth is that all the later currents of revisionism have found their inspiration in the first revisionist current, which was criticized by Stalin and the Information Bureau, that is why they all are attacking them and have exalted the capitalist theories and practices of Yugoslav revisionism.

The resolution of the Information Bureau had a decisive importance for the Party of Labour of Albania and for the Albanian people. It enabled them to understand more rapidly and more profoundly the political and ideological causes of the pressures, interferences and plots which the Yugoslav leadership of that time brought into play against the freedom and independence, the people's state power and the gains of the revolution in Albania. At that time Albania faced the real threat of being subjugated, or of being transformed into the 7th republic of the Yugoslav Federation. In order to realize its an-

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nexionist plans, Belgrade had, for a long time, brought great economic, political and military pressure to bear on the Albanian state, interfering brutally in the internal affairs of our Party and Government; it had created a network of secret agents with traitor elements like Koçi Xoxe and Co., carried out subversive and undermining activities in various sectors of the life of the country. All this activity has been proved and confirmed with irrefutable facts and documents.

Today the Yugoslav press publishes different materials which confirm the anti-Albanian ambitions of the Yugoslav leadership. To mention only one of them; a few months ago the newspaper *Borba* admitted that «the zeal shown by Koçi Xoxe, the number two man of the Party and the State, with our ambassador Djerdja, and the content of the information Koçi sent to Ranković through Safet Filipović, 'am-

bassador' of the UDB attached to Koçi in the years 1946-1948, resembled the reports which a head of directory would usually send to his own ministers». Likewise, *Borba* in these materials admits that «our idea of the unification of Albania with Yugoslavia was considered by the Albanians as an act incompatible with their national interests..., therefore they saw in the resolution of the Information Bureau their salvation.» It cannot be put more clearly.

The experience of our relations with Yugoslavia and the resolution of the Information Bureau have helped our Party to understand and fight from the beginning all the various currents of modern revisionism, and in the first place, Soviet revisionism, which was the most potential threat.

The lessons which the PLA has drawn from all this protracted struggle of historic importance have served to

enhance our political and ideological vigilance, to revolutionize the whole life of the country, and to bar all paths to the penetration of revisionism in Albania.

The ideological struggle of the Information Bureau against Yugoslav modern revisionism has great relevance today. In face of the new anti-communist campaign which the international bourgeoisie and modern revisionists of all hues, especially Gorbachov with his perestrojka, have launched in our time, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries against it is an imperative duty.

The Party of Labour of Albania, enlightened by the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has waged and will wage this struggle consistently and with determination, seeing it as an indispensable condition for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE WARSAW TREATY AND THE REAL DEMANDS OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty with the participation of the high-

est leaders of the seven member countries took place recently in Warsaw. It adopted a joint declaration on

talks with NATO for the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, as well as a docu-

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ment on the impact of the armaments race on the environment and other aspects of ecological policy. In the joint declaration and in the communique released in the conclusion of the proceedings there are proposals on reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals, achievement of approximately equal levels in the size of the armed forces and the quantity of conventional weapons for the member countries of the two military blocs, creation of zones of limited armaments along the boundaries between the two blocs and mutual exchange of information on armed forces and weapons. There are also proposals on reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, including ammunition for systems of double capability. In a speech delivered to the Polish parliament only four days before the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, Mikhail Gorbachov proposed the holding of a European high level conference on reduction of conventional weapons, simultaneous limitation to 500 thousand of the troops of the two blocs, and creation of a European information centre to avert «the threat of war», and called on NATO to go back on its decision of stationing in Italy the 72 F-16 bombers which would be expelled from Spain in exchange for the withdrawal by the Soviet

Union of an airforce contingent of the same strength stationed in the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

Apparently, it was a week in which the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty bombarded Europe and the world with proposals which were duly accompanied by intensive propaganda about their good intentions and their contribution to disarmament and security on the European continent. Careful scrutiny of these proposals singles out their main purpose: the Warsaw Treaty seeks at all costs to achieve an equilibrium of forces with the Atlantic Treaty. This equilibrium is needed by the two military blocs in order to meet the regional and extra-regional obligations they have been charged with by their leaders, the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the joint declaration of the Warsaw Treaty it is explicitly stated that talks and reductions of troops and armaments are intended to enable NATO and the Warsaw Treaty to have the manpower and equipment they need for defence «through achievement of equal levels of strength of armed forces and conventional weapons». The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty want a military equilibrium through mutual reductions of armed forces so as to be able to use the financial means and human resources engaged in the costly armaments race for

more productive purposes. This has become even more indispensable now that these countries are struggling with internal difficulties and trying to carry out economic reforms. Certainly both sides are interested in freeing funds and manpower, but without affecting the domination of military blocs on their member countries and the American and Soviet rule on these blocs.

The first thing that crosses one's mind when proposals are made is the possibility of their implementation. The proposals that were made to the world this week were so many that their implementation is highly improbable. The torrent of the recent Soviet proposals are an expression of the political mania of making proposals for the sake of proposals. No sooner has one proposal been made than a new proposal comes on the heels of the former, allowing no time for it to be properly read and studied and the way of its implementation examined. The last week, when some of Gorbachov's proposals followed immediately after some other proposals of the Warsaw Treaty, is clear evidence of this.

Through their and the Warsaw Treaty's proposals the Soviet leadership seek to make the most of the edge it has achieved in propaganda on the United States of America. Washington is so

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petrified and concerned about maintaining its military presence and control in the NATO member countries that it pays no great attention to the proposals that have to do with disarmament on the European continent. It fears lest its West-European allies become too familiar with the idea of the reduction of American troops and weapons in their countries or their actual departure from there. Unlike the United States, West Europe shows greater interest in problems and proposals that bear on the presence of the troops of the two superpowers on the European continent. That is why the proposals made by Gorbachov and the Warsaw Treaty found a more positive response in the capitals of West Europe than in the United States. In the Soviet proposals West Europe sees an opportunity to be seized on in order both to shake off the heavy American military burden and ward off the Soviet threat. West-European high political leaders expressed themselves positively about the Soviet proposals regardless of the fact that this is not to the liking of the Americans. And the Americans, who are not too famous for their diplomatic tact even towards their Atlantic allies, were quick to criticise them. On July 16, speaking about the Soviet proposals, ex-US Secretary of State, Henry Kis-

singer, reprimanded Western Europe which, according to him «is influenced by Gorbachov more than Japan». Moscow knows about these differences between the United States and its Atlantic partners in the assessment of the situation in Europe and, naturally, tries to deepen them further. This is precisely one of the aims of the recent proposals made by Gorbachov and the Warsaw Treaty.

The interest of the West-Europeans in easing the American military burden or freeing themselves altogether from it is counter-balanced by their desire to do away with Soviet military presence as well. They take advantage of **perestroyka, glasnost** and Gorbachov's «new political thought» to call on the Soviet Union to renounce the basic theses of Soviet policy and, more especially, Soviet tight military and political control in Eastern Europe.

In essence, the new proposals made by Gorbachov and the Warsaw Treaty are an elaboration of former proposals, with the exception of those made at the conference on the ecology. This element cannot fail to remind one of the content and fate of former proposals, at least the more important of them. It is 15 years now that talks are going on in the Austrian capital on the reduction of armed forces and armaments between the

two blocs in Central Europe. Everybody knows what they have achieved. If the two blocs have not come to an understanding about a single region for so long a time, how can they possibly achieve an agreement on the whole European structure of their forces? On the other hand, everybody knows how little chances there are for a military equilibrium to be established and maintained between the imperialist powers and their military blocs in whose relations the law of achieving military and political supremacy at all costs is paramount. Successive proposals cannot in the least alter the character of military blocs, as the press of West Europe is claiming in these days. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty remain for the United States and the Soviet Union the main instruments of their military control on the European continent.

The European peoples are more than anybody interested in the reduction, removal and destruction of conventional and nuclear weapons on their continent, and the dismantling of foreign military bases in their countries. These demands of the European peoples, however, cannot be complied with by those who are responsible for the present state of things in Europe. Military, political and economic factors which impel the superpowers and their blocs to seek and, from time to time,

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achieve some degree of agreement have nothing in common with a sincere desire for peace. The peoples demand concrete measures and steps in the field of complete and general disarmament, and they are understanding it more and more with each passing day that disarmament is not a problem to be entrusted to the good will and philanthropy of the superpowers and their leaders.

As a European country, socialist Albania has forcefully opposed and denounced

the armaments race, military presence and aggressive policies of the superpowers. It has constantly struggled for true security, easing of tension and peace on our continent. Hence, it supports the real demands of the European peoples for the dismantling of foreign bases in and removal of atomic weapons from Europe, the dissolution of military blocs in Europe, and their moves against the presence and interference of the superpowers in the life of European co-

untries. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said that «the Albanian people have always sympathized with the concern of the peoples about peace. They have supported their struggle to put an end once and for all time to the armaments race on land and in the sky and to achieve a complete ban on atomic, chemical and bacteriological armaments, the withdrawal of foreign troops from and the dismantling of foreign bases in Europe».

LIMITING THE RIGHTS OF ALBANIANS COMPLICATES THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA AND IN THE WHOLE OF YUGOSLAVIA

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

A special plenum of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was held recently to discuss the situation in Kosova. The plenum, which is the second held in this year, instead of analyzing the real causes and factors of the situation in Kosova, took new measures against the Albanians, against their national and democratic rights. The plenum was dominated by the hard-liners, who placed the policy of intensification of repressive police measures in the basis of the program of

action of the LCY for Kosova.

Among the tasks of the LCY for Kosova formulated in this plenum, it is said that «the Central Committee of the LCY advises the responsible organs of the Federation, especially the Presidency of Yugoslavia, to adopt urgent measures in order to increase the efficiency of the security service». In fact, the dispatching of more police of the Federation had been decided before the plenum was held. Two days before the plenum,

Frants Šetinć, member of the presiding committee of the CC of the LCY, declared in a press conference that «the Presidency and the Federative Council for Defence are examining the possibility for a further involvement of the common Federative police force in Kosova». He did not specify how and to what extent the numbers and the competences of the special police units will be involved; but as is known from other sources which appear in the press of the country, its nu-

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mber in Kosova has reached to 4000 strong since last October. Anyway, he tried to assure the public that this step, according to him, did not mean the establishment of the state of emergency in Kosova.

Besides the increase in the presence of the police and military force of the Federation in Kosova, the plenum also recommended the intensification of the activity of courts of justice against the Albanians. This is done to continue to fill the gaols with more and more Albanian boys and girls. It is worth remembering that in the last 7 years, beginning from 1981, the Yugoslav courts have sentenced more than 15 thousand Albanians to various terms of imprisonment, the foreign press reports. In this manner, the Great Serbs are returning to the methods of anti-Albanian repression and genocide as in the time of Ranković.

Severe measures were demanded at the Plenum in order to continue the purging of the leadership there. It made the decision that, until the end of September, the competent organs should not only «determine the personal and collective responsibility of those who have been directly assigned to carry out the tasks deriving from the Yugoslav program for Kosova, but also should dictate the resignations, dismissals from positions, and expulsions from

the Party». This is directed, in the first place, against the cadres and the intelligentsia of Kosova. Under the wrap of «differentiations», they are striving to dismiss as many Albanians as they can from leading positions.

In the series of repressive measures the Plenum ruled on a program for the limitation of the birthrate for the Albanian population of Kosova, with the allegation that, as one of the tasks of the plenum puts it, «the demographic growth in Kosova should go hand in hand with its economic, cultural and social development». In fact, here we have to do with political aims and with a violation of the democratic rights of the Albanian population. The Yugoslav leadership is striving now to do throughout the whole of the Federation what they did in Macedonia, where with laws and arbitrary acts they are limiting the birthrate in the Albanian families.

In the discussions in the plenum, the Great Serbs reduced the problem of Kosova to the so-called expulsion of the Serbs and Montenegrins from the region of Kosova and refused to dwell more deeply and concretely on the drama of this region. This is artificial and untrue. The problem of the emigration of the Serb population has been deliberately invented in order to cover up the truth about the situation of

oppression and national discrimination, to which the Albanians in Kosova are subjected. The West-German newspaper «Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung» in one of its articles some time ago, wrote this: «A marked Serb nationalist policy is pursued in Kosova. The South Slav monarchy treated the Albanians very roughly. The regime of communist Yugoslavia is treating them just as badly. The policy which the leadership of Serbia is applying towards Kosova is turning the Albanians more and more against the state. Does the leadership of Serbia think about the morrow?

The Serbs and Montenegrins are not going away because of the pressure by the Albanians, but in the first place because of the grave economic situation and the great poverty in the region. As AFP reports, the party leaders of the main city of Kosova, Prishtina, emphasized at the Plenum that the departure of the Serbs has been caused by the miserable economic and social conditions in the region. On the other hand, as appears in a petition, which 184 citizens of Albanian nationality of the Kosova Plain sent to the supreme organs of the Commune of Prishtina, Kosova, Serbia and the Federation, «the Serb and Montenegrin neighbours of the Albanians have never until now complained to the latter of having any

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grievance against them, or of finding life insupportable among them», and that «no member of Serb and Montenegrin nationality has ever sought protection and assurance against Albanian nationalists in our neighbourhood». Hence, someone has an interest in inciting and organizing the anti-Albanian manifestations of the Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosova. And this goes to show precisely what Josiph Verhovec admitted in the plenum of the CC of the LCY when he spoke about the «political manipulation of the national minorities of Kosova by the Serb and Montenegrin leaders of the Party». And then Serb nationalists shout in the streets of Novi Sad and Panceva: «Down with the Constitution of the year 1974», «Down with the autonomists», and they escape without wetting their feet, on the contrary, the presiding committee of the CC of the LC of Serbia, on the eve of the Plenum, deliberately published a statement in support of these demonstrations.

Belgrade is making a great noise about some thousand Serbs who have left Kosova for economic reasons, but it remains silent about those hundreds of thousands of Albanians who have been expelled from Kosova by violence during the decades and who have taken the road of non return of emigration to

Turkey, to different countries of Europe, and even to the USA.

At the plenum, demands were made especially by the Serb members of the Central Committee to impose constitutional changes which have to do with the limitation or the liquidation of the autonomy of the regions. In the name of establishing the legitimate competences of Serbia in the territory of the republic, they demanded that the regions should be deprived of any legislative rights as regards questions of the economic policy, defence, security, judicial system, international relations, and so on. The autonomy granted and guaranteed by the Constitution was attacked fiercely and was presented as the cause of the grave situation in Kosova, whereas its annulment was proposed by Milošević as the road for the solution of the problem of Kosova.

Great-Serb chauvinism intends to make the rule not only in the regions, but also in the other republics. It is not an accident that the leadership of Serbia is throwing accusations for separatism and counter-revolution not only against Kosova, but also against Vojvodina, Slovenia and Croatia. In recent times this has been made more pronounced against Slovenia. The «special status» which the Serb leaders are demanding for Serbia is the status of hegemony in

the Federation. The problem of Kosova is being engineered and manipulated in order to establish and sanction by law the Serb control over the whole of Yugoslavia.

The unitarian tendencies of the Serb leaders cannot fail to arouse concern in the other republics. Preoccupied voices were heard, also, in the last plenum of the CC of the LCY. In their ambitions for domination, the Serb leaders seek support also from external forces and, in the first place, from the Soviet Union. It was not without a purpose that Gorbachov used the opportunity of his visit to Belgrade, last March, in order to evoke the «genetic links» between the Serbs and the Russians. In his book «Analysis of the SR of Serbia, 1979-1987», former president of the CC of the LC of Serbia, Ivan Stambolić, after saying that «calls are made to settle accounts with the Albanians with the help of a foreign power», stresses that «the detonator of the explosive which must blow up in Belgrade, has been activated in Kosova. It is necessary to analyse this and see who has been involved in such things, before a foreign intervention is demanded. It is necessary to discover who does these things, who incites the demands for defence from the Soviet Union, for appealing to Gorbachov or the Soviet

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embassy in Belgrade».

It is very regrettable that in Belgrade they still are considering the settlement of the problem of Kosova without the Albanians. This impasse promises nothing good to its authors. Why is it that the opinions and suggestions of the Albanians of Kosova go unheeded? In the above-mentioned petition the group of Albanian citizens from the Kosova Plain write that «if nationalism implies the use and writing of the language of the Albanian nationality, schooling in the national language and similar things, then we shall not fight against it,

because we cannot be expected to fight against our own existence». After saying that they are opposed to the repressive measures which certain forces outside Kosova are demanding to be used against the Albanians, the petitioners call on their Serb and Montenegrin fellowcitizens «to sit down together and begin to settle the problems that have accumulated».

The problem of Kosova is difficult and complex. Of course it is not without solution. But without the Albanians, moreover against them, it cannot be solved. The examination of the situation in Kosova with a re-

alistic attitude and a cool head, and the seeking of roads for its solution in the same spirit, will respond to the interests of the Albanians and the other peoples living in Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, the intensification of repression and the limiting of the autonomy of Kosova and the rights of the Albanians, as a policy which was further escalated in the recent plenum of the CC of the LCY, further complicates things not only in Kosova but in the whole country. It must be understood that Kosova cannot and should not pay for all the sins and problems of Yugoslavia.

AN AGREEMENT IN THE INTEREST OF IRAN, IRAQ AND OTHER GULF COUNTRIES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

On August 8 at the UN centre in New York it was announced that Iran and Iraq had reached an agreement on a ceasefire which would come into force on August 20 this year. Five days thereafter direct talks would be held in Geneva between the representatives of these two countries on the full implementation of the no. 598 Resolution of the UN Security Council. The three initial phases en-

visaged in this resolution are: establishment of a complete ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, withdrawal of troops within the boundaries of each country and exchange of war prisoners.

The ceasefire agreement between Iran and Iraq is a just and indispensable act which puts an end to one of the bloodiest fratricidal wars of the recent years. It was the superpowers, US imperialism in particular, that

stirred up the conflict between these two countries in 1980 and then kept it continually ablaze. By means of this war they sought to weaken Iran and Iraq economically and militarily so as to make easier the penetration of their expansionist policy into these countries in order to plunder their oil, ensure a market for the sale of their armaments and a testing ground of their effectiveness. But

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those who suffered, who were ruined and killed were the Iranian and Iraqi peoples. In this eight year-long war of attrition more than one million people lost their lives on both sides, and millions of others were maimed and made invalid for life. Most of them were young men of 16-19 years of age. There was almost no family without a relative at the front. So the ceasefire agreement was met with great joy by both peoples, Iranian and Iraqi. The day on which the ceasefire agreement was announced was a day of celebration both in Iran and Iraq, with thousands of people rejoicing in the streets. The Iraqi newsagency, INA, reported that on that day airliners had to circle for some hours over Bagdad airport because of submachineguns firing in the air to hail the ceasefire agreement.

The ceasefire agreement between Iran and Iraq, in the first place, is in the interest of the policies of these two countries. It is a good premise for establishing mutual understanding and trust between them, and build their relations on the basis of good neighbourliness. Establishment of the ceasefire will also be to the good of the internal policies of these countries. It puts an end to the destruction of their ancient civilization and the pronounced economic de-

gradation of these countries during the war years, and helps the healing of the social wounds caused by this fratricidal war. On a broader plane, however, the cessation of fighting between Iran and Iraq serves the strengthening of unity among Arab countries. As the regions of the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, North Africa, etc. are in the centre of impact of the expansionist policies of the two superpowers and reaction, unity of the Arab countries is now more necessary than ever. The stronger this unity the more worthless become the plans of the United States and the Soviet Union to divide and rule in this region. It is known that both Iran and Iraq are among the more important oil producing countries in the Persian Gulf and in the world. So the ceasefire agreement will serve as a premise also for coordinating their policies about production quotas and sale prices of oil on the world market in the framework of the OPEC in order to turn this great wealth of the Arab countries into a powerful weapon against imperialist pressure and blockades.

The decision to put an end to the fighting on the Iranian-Iraqi front directly serves the establishment of peace and stability in the region of the Persian Gulf. It foils the plans of the super-

powers bent on maintaining their military presence in the waters of the Persian Gulf. Faced with the reality of the ceasefire, the superpowers, too, tried to find some welcoming words, which, however, as considered by the Arab and world press were «diplomatic expressions». This is because the superpowers considered and continue to consider both the outbreak of the conflict and the ceasefire agreement only in the context of their imperialist interests. For its part, even now the United States continues to station its warships in this region, while Soviet politicians and diplomats go on with the implementation of their expansionist policy.

In the name of peace, freedom, and the policy of good neighbourliness and cooperation the PSR of Albania, too, hails the ceasefire agreement between Iran and Iraq. Albania has always been for putting an end to this fratricidal conflict between the Iranian and Iraqi peoples. It has constantly made known this stand at the UN and other high international forums, calling, on one hand, on the Iranian and Iraqi peoples to make peace between themselves, and, on the other, denouncing the warmongering policy of the United States, the Soviet Union and their military allies towards the countries of the Persian Gulf and beyond.

**press
review****THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET AGGRESSION
ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

It is twenty years to the day when the armed forces of the Soviet Union carried out armed aggression and occupied Czechoslovakia. This was the first large-scale military aggression in Europe after the Second World War and the only one on our continent since then. As a criminal attack on a sovereign people and country, it was forcefully condemned by the freedom-loving peoples of Europe and the entire world, and by all the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces. The Albanian people also sternly denounced both the aggression and the aggressors, and expressed their internationalist solidarity with the Czechoslovak people in those dark days of their history.

Twenty years have gone by since that day and they clearly prove the correctness of the stand of the PLA on and its analysis of that aggression as well as the actuality of the historical teachings emerging from that event. «The armed intervention of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia,» Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in *Zëri i popullit* in those days, «is a consequence of the transformation of the Soviet

Union into an imperialist state and its undisguised and brutal implementation of a chauvinist and revisionist great-state policy».

The imperialist policy of the Soviet Union from the positions of strength operates on the European and world political scene as one of the main elements and factors threatening the freedom and independence of the peoples along with the policy of American imperialism. In these conditions the more time goes by the greater becomes the need for the peoples to be vigilant towards the aims and policies of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in Europe and in the world. Regardless of its tactics, labels or «peaceful» periods, the American and Soviet policy can at any moment produce intervention and armed aggression as a means of its implementation, provided that their strategical interests call for it.

The Soviet aggression on Czechoslovakia is a blot of shame in the history of the Soviet Union, which cannot be washed away by keeping silent about it or, even less, be justified by slogans about the so-called internatio-

nalist aid which the Soviet official spokesmen and propaganda are repeating in these days when talking about August 21, 1968. In the days of the Soviet aggression a joke circulated among the Czechoslovak people: «What are the 500,000 Soviet troops looking for in our country? They are looking for the man who called them in». After twenty years they are still looking for him.

The Soviet leadership and propaganda try to dodge responsibility and lull public opinion to sleep with the thesis that the present-day Soviet Union is different from the Soviet Union that embarked on the aggression against Czechoslovakia twenty years ago. There can hardly be a more ridiculous assertion. Perestroyka and the new political thought are mere touch-ups which can by no means cover up the true essence and nature of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as the foreign policy of a superpower bent on dominating peoples and states. Perestroyka is not, nor can it be a return neither to socialism nor to the Leninist foreign policy, but is a continuation of the well-known revisionist and im-

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perialist policy in a new form and at a new phase. It is a program for the strengthening of Soviet social-imperialism, and an attempt at finding the more convenient and the less compromising and costly ways and means to realize its ambitions.

The doctrine on limited sovereignty, which was promulgated with the aggression on Czechoslovakia, continues to be one of the basic doctrines of Soviet foreign policy. This is seen also from the fact that the so-called re-examination of the foreign policy that is being done at present in Moscow not only does not affect the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, but on the contrary is used as an argument for the continuation of the doctrine on limited sovereignty. It would be naive to link it only with Brezhnev's name and the period of his rule. The verbal assurances Gorbachov has recently made in this or that East-European capital about «allowing different roads to socialism» lie within the limits of propaganda and diplomatic politeness. The policy and strategy of the Soviet Union are those of an imperial superpower which, when peaceful means and advances have no

effect, will resort to military ones, as it did in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. The forced withdrawal of contingents of the Soviet army from Afghanistan is no more evidence of the «peaceful policy» of the Soviet Union than the American withdrawal from Vietnam was, which did not prevent the United States from embarking later on an aggression against Lebanon and Grenada. «Just as the American imperialists», Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 9th Congress of the Party, «so the Soviet social-imperialists have openly emerged with an international platform which embodies their ambitions and claims to domination and hegemony on a world scale.»

Soviet troops continue to be stationed in Czechoslovakia twenty years after their aggression, just as, along with the American troops, they continue to stay illegally in the European countries 43 years after the end of the Second World War. These troops and their bases guarantee only the interests and hegemony of the two superpowers, for which NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are intended. What happened to the Czechoslovak people 20 years ago serves as a per-

manent reminder as to what the member countries of the military blocs may suffer from their protectors.

The political circles of the American and European big bourgeoisie tried to exploit the anniversary of the Soviet aggression for their attacks and slanders against socialism and Marxism-Leninism. But those who embarked on that aggression neither represented nor defended socialism, just as the «Prague Spring» had no socialist aspirations, either. Intervention, aggression and export of revolution are alien to socialism.

The peace-loving peoples want such aggressions as those on Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Korea or Vietnam never to be repeated. For this prospect to become a reality the imperialist and aggressive powers must be forced to renounce aggression, while, on the other hand, never making peace, freedom, independence and sovereignty dependent on the good will and philanthropy of the superpowers or the other imperialist powers. The peoples are strong enough to stay the hand of the aggressors. The history of the past should always serve as a reminder for the present.



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