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STATE UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA

PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE
FOR THE COMPLETE
EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

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**PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE
FOR THE COMPLETE
EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN**

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**THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON
THE BEST TREATMENT AND SOLUTION OF SOME
OF THE PROBLEMS REGARDING WOMEN**

The road the Albanian women have followed for their complete emancipation is closely identified with that of the Party of Labor of Albania and its founder Comrade Enver Hoxha. Therefore, inasmuch as «in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we find reflected the entire history of our Party...», as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers comrade Mehmet Shehu has pointed out, «there is also to be found the history of the road taken and the revolutionary struggle waged by the women of Albania.

In the report that I am about to read, I want to dwell on some of the more fundamental aspects of that rich experience and on some theoretical and practical generalizations and conclusions that Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a distinguished Marxist-Leninist, has added to this science regarding the problem of women.

I. On some of the characteristic features of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha on the problem of women

The monumental work of Comrade Enver Hoxha which is being enriched with every passing day and which deals with the three important historical phases passed through by our country namely, the phase of the National Liberation War, that of the transition of the power into the hands of the people, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of the economic basis of socialism, and the present-day phase of the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution, extending its ramifications in every direction and especially so in the sphere of ideology and culture, to the end of blocking the road to the birth of revisionism and restoration of capitalism, is distinguished:

First and foremost by the profound scientific Marxist-Leninist content on which all its theoretical generalizations and conclusion are based.

This particular characteristic is also observed in the way the problem of women is treated. From the very beginning of his activity as the leader of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha has regarded the problem of women as an important social one. He has considered the movement for the complete emancipation of women as an integral part of the struggle of the working class, that is why he associates it with the immediate and long term tasks incumbent on that class.

When the entire people headed by the working class and led by the Communist Party of Albania, threw themselves into the National Liberation War, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The Albanian woman is oppressed by fascism, by the feudal and bourgeois traditions and canons; she, more than anyone else is aware of our struggle in which she also sees her liberation»¹).

On the eve of the liberation of the country, based on the great Marxist-Leninist principle mentioned above, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The woman of our country, hand in hand and enjoying equal rights with men, should throw herself into the struggle and participate in the political and social life of our country, because only thus will the complete liberation of Albania be sped up, our beloved Motherland be rebuilt and the Albanian woman will advance towards the objective that she desires and deserves to reach»²). Whereas at the IIInd Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania he concludes his historical analysis in the following terms. «Our Party has always considered and continues to consider the great struggle for the emancipation of the woman as an integral part of the revolution and of the building of socialism, as a condition sine qua non of the development and advancement towards real freedom and democracy³). This theoretical and practical conclusion has been and continues to be

1) Enver Hoxha: «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 9.

2) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 20-21. (Speech delivered at the IIInd Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania on June 15 1967.

3) Ibid. p. 28.

the cornerstone of the whole thought of comrade Enver Hoxha on the problem of women.

By analysing this central idea through all the stages of the development of the country, Comrade Enver pointed out that the movement for the emancipation of the woman is not opposed to our socialist order but, on the contrary, it is an inner necessity of the latter. «The problems of the women», comrade Enver said, «are not particular, specific, that is to say, unconnected and isolated from the other problems of society... on the contrary, they are great problems of life, of the dialectical and materialistic development of the history of mankind»¹).

Thus Comrade Enver defined the organic ties that exist between the movement for the emancipation of the woman and the socialist revolution. He teaches us to understand that just as the socialist revolution creates the economic, political and social premises for the liberation of women, so does the emancipation of women contribute to the solution of the particular economic, political and social problems of the socialist revolution. Thus, we conclude that a characteristic trait of Comrade Enver Hoxha's work is the fact that the movement for the complete emancipation of the woman is not viewed as a movement all by itself, but as a problem of the whole Party and of the entire working masses. The complete emancipation of the woman is neither a «gift of charity» nor «a favor that the «stronger» sex accords to the weaker sex but an imperative necessity for socialism and communism. That is why comrade Enver Hoxha points out that this revolution will be the work of men and women, of the entire society that marches towards

1) Ibid, p. 52.

communism. He points out: «No one can claim to be free if he fails to fight for the liberation of others and, first and foremost, of the Albanian woman»¹).

Second: Another distinctive feature of comrade Enver Hoxha's Work on the problem of the woman is that he, as a leader of a Marxist-Leninist party in power as is the Party of Labor of Albania, has considerably broadened the scope of the problem of the woman in conformity with the revolutionary practice of our country.

Comrade Enver examines the problem concerning the woman from all its aspects, summing up our experience, the Marxist-Leninist thought and that of the struggle for the emancipation of women on a world wide scale. By naming the woman as a great revolutionary force and by considering the elevation of her personality as an absolute necessity for the socialist society, he elaborates theoretically and practically all the aspects of this great problem. Comrade Enver Hoxha brought arguments to bear on and guided the liberation of the woman from capitalist exploitation and stressed the need for her participation in productive social work, viewing the latter as the two basic conditions for their economic, ideological and political emancipation. He sees the decisive role of the woman in bringing about the revolutionary changes closely linked with the need of raising her educational and cultural level so that her

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 224.

creative thought may spread far and wide, because «her mental, physical and productive force is immeasurable».

In the works of comrade Enver Hoxha a very important place is dedicated to the problem of the political role of the woman in the life of the whole country, to the problem of her participation and her leading role in the political organizations of the country. He considers the increase of the ranks of the Party with the best and most worthy daughters of the country as a progressive element, as an invigorating and strengthening factor for the Party itself.

Comrade Enver analyses the unwritten canons that weigh heavily on the woman and teaches us how to organise the fight against them. He raises the role of the mother to that of the most noble of roles. Who more than he has touched on the problem of the family, of the wife, of the woman, of the mother, of the sister and of the young girl with such love and respect? Let us recall his words addressed to the communists of the district of Kruja: «Comrades, every man, every communist... should turn his thoughts to the sufferings of the women of Albania in the past and, unfortunately, to their actual sufferings at the hands of the remnants of the past and think the best, cherish the purest of thoughts about the mother who gave birth to him, who suckled and brought him up, about his wife, his equal partner in life, about his daughter, the pride of the new society, about all the mothers and sisters of Albania, fight in their defense against the evil remnants of the past, help them in their work and life and be modest and honest towards them...» Comrade Enver Hoxha has not only analyzed and supported by solid arguments our laws in defense of worker and peasant women, as well of women as mothers, but has elaborated

^{was not}
a host of problems dealing with the practical application of these laws.

The problems of the woman are very extensive and manysided and all of them are presented, analyzed and solved by Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the lessons of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the concrete experience of our country, summing up this experience in a scientific manner and raising it to the level of a theory.

In the treatment of all these problems and in the deduction of the theoretical and practical conclusions and generalizations, comrade Enver Hoxha has used the method of the profound analysis of the situation, of the concrete economic, political and social conditions of the Albanian woman in every given situation. In these analyses he has followed the line of the masses and the line which he has taught all of us to follow: the line of the proletarian revolution, in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and without losing sight of the wonderful qualities of the Albanian women throughout the course of history.

Third — what characterizes the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the woman is the style and thought both scientific and popular being easily understood by all, both by the intellectually advanced as well as by those less advanced. He addresses the masses and writes for them and not only for a certain elite group from the ranks of «the learned» people and of the intelligentsia. His thoughts arouse in every one not only the desire to get acquainted with them but also the possibility of working on their basis with ones own mind, also opening up the way to the creative thought and initia-

tive of the masses. In support of this profound truth I will mention only one of his historical appeals of which we have been witnesses and which is still in our minds, — his 1967 February 6th Speech: «The Party and the whole country should rise to their feet, burn the backward canons and crush any one who would dare to trample on the sacred law of the Party on the protection of the rights of women and young girls¹⁾. Adults and children have quickly learned and grasped the substance of this appeal and, as a result, the creative thought of the masses swept along like a torrent. Everywhere, from Vermosh to Konispol, initiatives of every kind sprang up, be it for the purpose of uncovering and shattering canons alien to our communist morals at work, in society and especially in the family, or for the purpose of cleansing the terrain of these ruins and establishing new standards of conduct with as profound a communist content as possible in all sectors of life.

Fourth — The work of comrade Enver on the treatment of the problem of the woman stands out for its profoundly militant, intransigent and revolutionary character. This markedly class character is the result of the irreconcilable struggle that it has waged during the period of the liberation struggle and of the entire socialist revolution against the enemies of every hue and color and all currents that wanted to keep the woman away from the revolutionary struggle of the working class and make of her a reserve of their own against the Party, the people and socialism. The revolutionary

1) Enver Hoxha, «The Further Revolutionization of the Party and of the State Power», Tirana 1967, p. 5.

class character of the work of comrade Enver Hoxha on the woman is the result of the concrete struggle that he has waged in our Albanian situation, where the feudal, patriarchal and bourgeois remnants had sunk deep roots and seriously hindered the elevation of the woman to that level of equality demanded by our socialist society.

II. In line with Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, interpreted and argued on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism the thesis that: «Under the conditions of Albania the woman is one of the most revolutionary and advanced elements in the country.

This conclusion of great theoretical and practical importance for the Party, for our country and for the international communist movement was reached by comrade Enver Hoxha on the basis of the study of the role of the Albanian woman in history.

First — Comrade Enver, in line with Marxism-Leninism, considers as revolutionary forces all those forces that take the side of the revolutionary people, not only in words but in deeds as well.

In his opinion... «The Albanian woman, and especially the peasant woman, in spite of the onerous conditions under which she had to live, has been an important factor in economic and social development, therefore, a progressive factor, with pronounced freedom-loving, patriotic sentiments, attached to her work and land,

making her a skilful and intelligent heroine»¹⁾. Such were the women of Albania in the struggle against all the conquerors of and traitors to our country». «They», as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «cannot be separated for a single moment from the liberation struggles waged by the Albanian people in history». The National Liberation War made still more evident this participation of the women not only in a mass and organised manner, but also in a conscious way.

That is why the women everywhere and always defended the Party line and the interests of the working class taken as a further revolutionary step ahead towards upholding the policy of the Party. They thus deserve the faith that comrade Enver Hoxha has placed in them from the moment of the founding of the Party when he said, «the woman more than anyone else sympathizes with our struggle in which she sees her own liberation». The extensive participation of the women in the National Liberation War did not only swell the ranks of the partisan forces, but also set up a dependable rear line for the army, removing the barrier between the front and the rear and imparting an extensive popular character to our struggle.

On the eve of the liberation of the Fatherland, while drawing up a balance sheet of the Party line with regard to the problem of the woman during the National Liberation War, Comrade Enver Hoxha stated: «The legendary struggle of our women comrades whom nothing could deter from fighting like lionesses against the Germans and traitors, was the expression of a great

1) Enver Hoxha «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana 1967, p. 31. (Speech delivered at the IInd Plenum of the C.C. of the L.P.A. on the 15th of June 1967.)

factor that was coming to life in our country... a factor that would play an important first-hand role»¹⁾ «After liberation, her power, daring, maturity and patriotism exploded with such great force as to attain the momentum of a great river that no power could ever contain²⁾». On the basis of these historical lessons, the past of our people could not be considered complete if the role and the place of the Albanian woman at every stage in the development of our country was not pointed out.

Second — From all the works of comrade Enver Hoxha it becomes clear that the working man is at the same time a progressive and revolutionary element because through work he changes himself and society. With the exception of the women of the exploiting classes women in Albania have always worked. The rank and file woman has not only engaged in the most tedious and humiliating jobs, but she has also borne on her shoulders all the weight of oppression in society and in the family.

Today the great political, economic and cultural changes brought about in our country have opened to the entire people and hence to the Albanian women as well the road of liberation from exploitation of man by man. Hence the road is wide open for the women to participate in productive work and in the whole life of the country. This is one of the great victories attained by the Albanian woman because, next to her emancipation from capitalist exploitation, her participation in

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana, 1967. p. 20.

2) Ibid., p. 280.

productive work is the other decisive condition for her complete emancipation.

The Albanian woman has participated massively in healing the wounds of the war and, subsequently, in fulfilling our five year plans for the economic and cultural development of the country. She works in all sectors of life offering the fullest share of her physical and mental capacity tempered with paternal care by our glorious Party. While working the women guard the victories attained by the people's rule with the greatest vigilance, with the noted vigilance of a mother.

«Only life itself, in all its grandeur» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «can give an idea of the great life-giving forces our Party has unleashed by the emancipation of the woman, of the progressive and creative forces which lay hidden in this huge section of our population, of the wonders she is doing and will do in the future and of the incalculable moral and material values she will reflect in our socialist life»¹⁾.

Third — Proceeding from the fact that those who have been most oppressed and subjected to the greatest suffering are the most revolutionary and progressive elements par excellence, it is easy to understand that women in general, and the Albanian women in particular, who have suffered most, who have been exploited most, who have been in the past the most oppressed and deprived are the most revolutionary elements in our socialist society.

The cruel political oppression and the merciless economic exploitation make the proletariat the most revo-

1) Enver Hoxha. «On Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana 1967, p. 230.

lutionary force in the world, make them the first to rise in revolution, because they have nothing to lose except the fetters that enslave them. It was under such conditions that the Albanian women used to live and that is why they are a great revolutionary force.

Fourth — «The woman», comrade Enver Hoxha says — «is the decisive factor in giving rise to our new life». This noble mission of the woman towards society is closely linked with that great role of hers as a «natural educator» of our younger generation, which comrade Enver considers as «a great force and the principal creative factor for the advancement of our country». That is why comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed many a time that the care and the respect due to women must be a hundred times greater, because she gives birth to, brings up and educates the children, because without her there is no life.

— Comrade Enver emphasises that in her role as a mother and wife, the woman is a great factor in influencing life especially, in revolutionizing relations in the family.

The present conditions demand that the revolution should march ahead at the rate foreseen by our Party in all spheres, especially in the establishing of the standards of conduct of the Party in the everyday life of our people. But more time will be required to eradicate the unwritten canons that regulate the relations among the people, especially, in the family, and establish Marxist-Leninist standards of conduct in them. In this sense it is the aged people who constitute the main obstacle and none better than the woman can convince these

old folks, because as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, she is a great regulator of life and thanks to her ideological and political uplift, her untiring and intelligent work she can and will do away within a short time with the evil customs and will introduce into life the new family customs and relations and will also play a decisive role in putting into practice the great transformations that are taking place in this direction. «... The women», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «are endowed with purer sentiments than men, they have a clear conscience having suffered more in life and we do not find in them the tendency to dominate as we do in men...»¹⁾ and this is not because of a special capacity of their sex, but due to the fact that, as comrade Enver Hoxha points out, they have not had to deal with certain relations and negotiations as men did in the past. Thus not having ^{inherited} these negative aspects, we may assert that the women are infinitely more capable of understanding the correctness of the Party line and very revolutionary in defending this line: they are more interested and more capable of establishing the standards of conduct of the Party in the relations among the people.

The conclusions are of great theoretical and practical importance for the very fate of the development of the socialist revolution in our country.

It is up to the Party organs in the districts and at the base as well as to all the state organs and mass organizations, to reflect profoundly on the continuous orientations issued by the Party under the direct instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha to open wide the

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 243.

değer, ayakta

doors of the Party to the women that merit the sublime title of party members, of entrusting more of the leading posts in the Party, in the Government and in the organizations of the masses to the women and of creating as many conditions for them as possible that will permit women to dedicate the maximum of their energies to all sectors of life and to all the revolutionary transformations of our country, to the economy, culture, politics, society, etc., because, being the most revolutionary and progressive elements of society, they will also accelerate the rate of development of socialism itself in Albania.

III. Comrade Enver Hoxha argued theoretically the need for creating a separate women's organization under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party

From the works of comrade Enver Hoxha it results that the woman, as an oppressed and exploited element in society, must be educated politically so that she may acquire the necessary awareness and knowledge of organizing the fight against all those who bear responsibility for this oppression and misery.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us not to consider correct the idea that «the direct or indirect influence of the work of the Party and of the Trade Unions suffice for the uplift of this section of the population» nor that of the women who claim that «since we enjoy the right to vote and equality before the law we stand in no need for differentiated work» because even if we suppose that the Party line exerts its influence on a national

scale on every section and class of the population we will not obtain the results expected without particular and well organized work applied exclusively to women. On the other hand, Comrade Enver Hoxha also explains the need for separate work with the women, because the problems of the woman have their own specific nature conditioned by numerous factors, by the level of economic, educational and cultural development, by religion and its survivals in the consciousness of men and women, it is conditioned by the very problem that is tackled at a given moment. Therefore, the idea that «work for organising a women's movement is a waste of time» is alien to the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Ever since its founding, our Party, bearing clearly in mind the specific character of the general problem of the woman, which it established through a scientific analysis of every category of women and of every problem in conformity with the conditions of the country succeeded in mobilizing the entire mass of women and gathered them together in their own organization, namely the Union of Anti-fascist Women of Albania under the guidance of the Party. Today the Albanian Women's Union is conducting wise and fruitful work for the all-round advancement of women. Our Party placed in the hands of the women the press of the organization which is used as a tribune for bringing up their problems.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha did not view this question simply as an organizational problem but as a great problem of political and ideological importance.

«The Party», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «should organize shock battalions and brigades, which are battalions of the youth and the women. The orga-

nizations, under the guidance of the Party, should march forward in order to upset and shatter everything that is inimical, feudal, bourgeois, religious, idealistic, and revisionist»¹).

It is on these principles that the organization of the Union of Albanian Anti-fascist Women was founded during the time of the National-liberation War. Through its work and struggle, always under the guidance of the Party of Labor of Albania, it has become one of the important levers which takes the work of the Party to the masses of women, explaining the thinking of the Party to them, gathering their opinions, elaborating the experience of the women in the improvement and application of the general line of the Party.

Comrade Enver teaches us that every Marxist-Leninist Party should not only set up an individual organization of women for the individual problems that face them, but in setting up their organization it should bear in mind the following:

Firstly — of primary importance for the organization of the Women, as for every other organization, is the content of the work, its ideological, political and moral line. The experience of our Party teaches us that no reformist and illuministic line, no club or philanthropic organization can improve the situation of women. Only a correct revolutionary line guided by a revolutionary party makes the organization of the woman capable of uniting the mass of women in the struggle for their complete emancipation. Led by the general line of the

1) Enver Hoxha, «Some thoughts on the Work with the Youth and the Woman». (Unpublished material. Archives of the Central Committee of PLA.)

Party, the Albanian Women's Union, in its entire activity, has aimed at preserving the wonderful qualities of the Albanian people, raising them to a still higher level, enriching them with the Marxist-Leninist spirit and ideology and the proletarian ethics of our Party. We are fighting for the creation of the new emancipated woman, an active participant in our socialist society. In pursuance of the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha the organization of the women in our country being a revolutionary political organization of the masses, tackles and discusses social problems that concern the masses, takes revolutionary decisions of an international character, unmasks the capitalist and clerical oppression of the masses of women, identifies itself with the struggle of the women of the world against the home and foreign oppressors, organizes and directs the struggle against the evil customs, encourages and spreads the good customs, defends the interests of the women and girls and tackles numerous other problems, which invigorate the organization, making it militant and revolutionary.

Secondly — In the setting up of the organization of women considerable importance should be given to its organizational principles, to the form of its structure and name...

It was these principles that the Communist Party of Albania had in view in founding the Union of the Albanian Antifascist Women. The minimal aim of this revolutionary political organization was the struggle against fascism and this aim would bring together the wide masses of women. With the fulfilment of this aim and when our people were confronted with new tasks,

the name of the organization underwent the change from the Union of the Albanian Antifascist Women to the Albanian Women's Union in order to point out its mass character, the unity and the identical aim of all the masses of women around the Party for the building of socialism and communism. The name of our organization suggests its mass character. «The name» — comrade Enver Hoxha says — «is of fundamental importance of principle. It should correspond to the minimal and maximum aim that the Party assigns to the organization, to its scope, to the moral and political situation of the woman, to the legal or clandestine position of the organization, to the existence of the other organizations in the country, to the purpose of attracting a wide mass of women party or non-party members, to avoid any sectarianism in its work and not to make it exclusive for one category of women alone.

«It is true that the organization of the women is guided and inspired by the Party», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us — «but it is and must be an organization of the masses where the preponderant majority of the non-party women members would militate»... This is reflected with us even in its leading organs where the comrade party members, better prepared politically and ideologically and who have not been elected to the leading organs of the Albanian Women's Union do not spare time to engage in voluntary work in that direction. The points of view and the practice of the making up of the women's organizations only with party members brings great damage to the revolutionary movement of the women and to the Marxist-Leninist parties themselves.

The teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha make it clear that the more numerous and the more massive

this organization is and the more determined it is in its fixed objective, the greater is the political and moral importance of the organization, the greater the vanguard role of the Marxist-Leninist theory and party that guides it, because the Party has on its side the working class organized in trade unions, the progressive masses of the youth and of the women that fuse together into a single entity in the struggle for socialism and communism.

Thirdly — Comrade Enver teaches us that with the setting up of the organization of women, the problem of the forms and methods of work become important and require great care. In fixing these forms on the basis of the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, our Party as a Marxist-Leninist party studied the actual situation, the objective possibilities in establishing the structure of the organization, the forms of organization used by the bourgeoisie and clergy, etc. and on the basis of these studies, ever since the founding of the Union of Antifascist Women of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha on behalf of the Central Committee issued in a special circular instructions to the Party about the various forms that were to be used in the work among the women. The Party called upon the Union of Antifascist Women to identify itself with all those forms of revolutionary work that served the National Liberation War, the immediate aim of the organization as well as the educational, political and social instruction of the masses of women ranging from the courses for nurses to those of embroider the red stars used as partisan emblems, from the courses against illiteracy to political conferences and various campaigns in the service of the struggle and the people.

Without such a study, all these aspects, these forms

of organization and of work, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, may be left wanting, baseless, ineffective and not be a mobilizing force. The women's organization could become sectarian or relax and would thus remain at the tail end of the bourgeois organizations, that is to say it would be reduced to nothing.

The 25 year experience of the Albanian Women's Union shows very clearly the truth, farsightedness of the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha on the imperative character of the existence of a separate organization of the women, of a massive political and revolutionary organization, not only under the conditions of the capitalist and colonial countries where woman is oppressed, but in the socialist society itself, where she has won and is enjoying all equal rights with men. Our experience where women take part in all the political and social organizations and at the same time militate within the ranks of the Albanian Women's Union, refutes the points of view of the modern revisionists, who pretend that the existence of separate women's organizations is now superfluous, because they concentrate their attention on «feminine» problems and that as a result of their emancipation the women should not, as it were, be isolated in them, but should participate in the so-called mixed organizations, etc..

These points of view aim at hindering the organization of the masses of women in the struggle to acquire and defend their legitimate rights, to turn the attention and the struggle of our women away from the principal enemies, the imperialists and modern revisionists, to crush the revolution, to undermine socialism.

This is the objective the Soviet revisionists want to reach by their attempts to disrupt the democratic orga-

nizations of women wherever they exist. These organizations headed by a revisionist leadership as well as the International Democratic Federation of Women have abandoned their democratic and revolutionary road and have embarked on the road to the social-democratic and bourgeois women's organizations which serve the bourgeoisie and the Soviet-U.S. collusion for world domination. Thus the changes effected of late in the structure, in the forms, in the methods, in the aims and programs of these organizations can be explained.

These organizations have been converted today into clubs in which bourgeois ideology, morals and the bourgeois way of life are being preached and disseminated. The pages of their periodicals are crammed with advertisements, and pictures of decadent fashions, with house-keeping advice, with cooking recipes and cosmetics thus drawing the women away from the political problems. These organizations carry on their activity on exclusively feminist and pacifist slogans.

Some of the women's organizations in the revisionist countries have been transformed into women's committees for the sole purpose of maintaining contact with those abroad. In this manner they have deprived the women of the possibility of discussing, raising and solving their specific problems.

* * *

IV. From the very founding of scientific communism Marxist thought has defined the abolition of capitalist exploitation and the participation of women in productive social work as imperative conditions and phases through which the complete emancipation of women is to be brought about.

The founders of scientific communism have pointed out that without doing away with the exploiting classes and with every kind of exploitation of man by man, which rests on private property, no woman can be emancipated. But capitalism digs its own grave, it needs cheap labor and that is why it employs women for work. There, the woman enslaved and humiliated, mother of neglected children, wife of a worker downtrodden, becomes conscious and supports the working class, rises in struggle against the class that oppresses her. She links her fate with that of the working class and with the revolutionary transformation of the world.

In line with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism our Party which from the moment of its founding, saw the problem of women as part of the proletarian revolution and, through the revolutionary road for the socialist transformation of the country, liberated the woman from every kind of exploitation and opened for her the road to participate in social production. This problem so fundamental and of such magnitude which more than any other one has attracted the attention of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha will be taken up extensively in the other reports and communiques. I shall dwell on some new problems that have sprung up from the phase at which the emancipation of the woman in our country has arrived, which comrade Enver Hoxha has

not only treated extensively, but for which he has shown the line that should be followed to accelerate this profound revolutionary process. I shall dwell on the imperative necessity of the gradual narrowing and final overcoming of the inequality between women and men especially in the family.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have demonstrated that the principal and decisive way to relieve the woman from all those jobs that deal with bringing up and educating children, with fulfilling the immediate needs of life, of the members of the family and with caring for the old, the invalids and the sick which today are, in general being done by the women, is the way of socializing these jobs by the socialist State.

Comrade Enver Hoxha proceeding from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism discovers the concrete roads for the gradual narrowing and the final overcoming of the inequality between man and woman in conformity with the conditions of our country.

Firstly. Considering that socialism is not in a position to ensure from the very beginning such a comprehensive socialization of the tasks that have always been done in the family, the struggle of our Party, guided by comrade Enver Hoxha has consisted in the widespread political and ideological work aiming at making it clear that the emancipation of the women from what is often called «household drudgery» is part of the organization of socialist work, of the increase of output, of mobilizing the maximum of human energies for the construction of socialism and communism. The struggle of the Party has aimed at explaining the dialectical link existing between the socialization of the household chores and the development of social production and the reciprocal

influence that this exercises on the emancipation both of the woman and of society itself.

As a result of this political and ideological work and of the annual allotment of considerable funds on the part of the state, quite a number of institutions and means have been set up which serve to shorten the time needed to do the family jobs and to increase their free time not only to enable them to devote it to productive social work but also to their education and training. The State organs have assisted in setting up many social institutions such as nurseries, kindergartens, public diningrooms, laundryhouses, in widening the network of services or in industrializing some processes of household work by introducing a number of modern means into the house which lighten the heavy burden of the household work, while the agricultural cooperatives are gradually realizing this imperative necessity for the women as well as for the whole society and its advancement. In spite of the successes attained, comrade Enver Hoxha, taking into account the real situation in which our country finds itself today, outlines these two principal orientations which are to guide us in the future:

1. that of the participation of women in social productive work;
2. that of relieving the woman from tedious household work.

It is imperative that these orientations should be followed and solved in a correct way because, as it is well known, the further development of the economy and culture will demand new and greater working forces. These forces cannot be supplied only by the natural increase of the population but also by more extensive

participation of the entire population in social production, including the widest possible participation of the women as well. This increased participation will come about not only for the purpose of meeting the needs of production or of increasing the income of each family, but also so that our women may develop their political sense of duty by having brought home to them that it is only through their participation in social production that they can guarantee their equality with men and their all-round development.

In urban centers, with the exception of girls and the young women who generally gain some sort of skill before acquiring a job, the rest of the women who are anxious to get jobs either are of a low technical and professional educational level or are old. Therefore, according to comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, we must fight both in the direction of training the women in certain skills as well as in the direction of assigning them to some of the simple jobs and work processes that today are held by men, in order to make the latter available for jobs where the Motherland may need them most. Efforts must be exerted to assign these women either to jobs in the handicraft professions which have mostly been done by women, and which demand no great physical exertion nor a prolonged period of time to be mastered, or to jobs in the heavy industry, which having been mechanized do not demand much physical exertion on the part of the women.

In the countryside the woman is not only more heavily burdened than man, but infinitely more so than her women comrades in the city. There she takes part in work and often conveys the impression as if the women work more in the fields, but, from what one notices there, too, there are reserves for work resulting espe-

cially from the incomplete exploitation of the working time and this comes about not through any fault of the women, but because of the special conditions of the woman who is a mother and a housekeeper in the family, at the same time.

Therefore, the development of society requires increasingly better understanding of the need for creating possibilities for the women to work with all their physical and mental capacities in social productive work, but without endangering their role as mothers. It should always be borne in mind that there can never be an absolute equality in work and the woman cannot be treated as a «human abstraction».

Today there is enough experience to arrive at this first understanding on the part of every work center and agricultural cooperative. This experience should be utilized to explain how the participation of women in work influences the increase of the forces of production, the uninterrupted increase of the output of work, the struggle against the feudal conservative points of view, against parasitism, against concessions of principle, against one's exaggerated attachment to personal interests etc., as well as for the establishment of socialist relations in the family.

All this experience should serve as an object of study on the part of the grass-root organizations of the Party at every work center or village and this study should reveal that the just and repeated demands of the Party to relieve the woman of much household work which up until recent times used to be done by her alone, are not matters of sentimentalism or subjectivism, nor an end in themselves, but a categorical necessity of socialism itself which presupposes the complete emancipation of the woman.

On the basis of a profound knowledge of the situation in the past and of the results attained today we shall arrive at such conclusions which will help a great deal in arguing and implementing the new and in burying the old. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that every system is characterized by a definite division of labor and by a definite organization of the latter. Thus for example, in the past all the big patriarchal families of from 40 to 50 persons, or even of fewer members, had home ovens to provide for their needs for bread. In the past the women in our villages and cities used to pick up their laundry and once a week go to wash it at the fountains or by the riversides. When an oven could be set up in a patriarchal family for a limited number of persons, or when not so long ago and under the same circumstances when collective laundering was not an unusual thing, then why do we hesitate to set up a bakery or an establishment for washing the laundry and to set them up for every sector of the cooperative? The sprouts of the new are to be seen everywhere in town and in the countryside, but efforts are required for a deeper knowledge of the organization of work in our socialist society, of the need for a new distribution of labour and for the scientific explanation of the social development of the country in the past and today and thus arrive at the conclusion that the demands of the Party are a necessity of collective socialist existence.

If the Women's Union of Albanian, if our scholars, the grass-root organizations of the Party, the Party committees and the Government organs in the districts act in this way we shall arrive at a point when many unsolved problems which today weigh upon the women, as for example, the problem of nurseries and kindergartens, of public dining mass halls for adults and children,

of public laundries, of collective accumulation of the winter food stocks for the cooperativists, of tailoring, of mending on the part of the village handicraftsmen and many others, will find a solution not only in the lowland cooperatives but in those of the mountain zones as well.

In this direction the state will certainly play an important role. Through its five-year plans and on the basis of the new orientations issued by the Council of Ministers¹⁾ it will tackle more extensively than before the economic aspects which accelerate the question of the complete emancipation of women by synchronizing it still better with all sectors of the new five-year plan.

Secondly — Under the conditions of our country the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have deemed it an imperative necessity to lighten the burden of the woman at work by implementing a new division of labor in the family. This demand is linked with the deepening of the struggle on the ideological front. Certainly there are difficulties and obstacles to overcome for the successful solution of the problems that the Party poses, but many signs indicate that the new is making its influence felt in our families. These new manifestation should be encouraged, because hand in hand with the new families that are being created on the basis of mutual understanding and love, the education of the new generation in this spirit ensures a more just stand towards the woman and towards her mission in society and in the family. Taking into consideration the fact that from an objective material point of view our possibilities are to advance gradually, while from the subjective ideological point of

1) The meeting of the Council of Ministers. September 1968.

view, we should accelerate the rate of our struggle to uproot those patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts which place the burden of household chores on the shoulders of the woman alone, which seriously impede real equality between women and men.

Finally. The principal course to take for the complete emancipation of women, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us and as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have defined, is that of the socialization of the work in the family. This will certainly be realized in the future, this being a gradual and continuous process. Today we can only encourage the masses to express their creative thought more extensively so that they may contribute to speeding up the rate of this socialization on the basis of the exploitation of the existing possibilities, of the struggle against the bureaucratic and conservative points of view that consider it natural that household work should be done by women as well as the struggle against the technocratic points of view that await the complete modernization of industry before beginning to produce the means that lighten the burden of household tasks. The economic and social changes, the introduction of electric power to every village, the extension of radio and television, of technology in agriculture etc. also speak of the need for a new division of labor under the conditions of socialism and this should be taken up well by the masses in the educational and persuasive work of the Party.

* * *

V. In the struggle for the complete emancipation of women our country, led by the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha has also amassed new and rich experience as regards the method of work.

Comrade Enver has considered the problem of women not only a very complex one, but also one of the most important problems of socialist construction, a great political, ideological and social problem which stands before our Party.

Viewing this problem in this light, comrade Enver Hoxha has not concentrated only on the extensive framework of the problems that compose it, some of which will be taken up in this session, but, led by the Marxist principle that it is not only enough to assign duties and raise problems, but they must also be into practice and applied, he has also defined the way to *solve the problem* of method. In order to put orientation into life, of decisive importance is how we go about our work, how we organize it, in short whether we are guided by a correct scientific revolutionary method, which turns words into deeds.

a) *Comrade Enver Hoxha on the line of the masses in the study and solution of the problems regarding women.*

In comrade Enver Hoxha's works on the problem of women we notice that hand in hand with the historical and social studies that he has made of these problems, he teaches us to make a concrete analysis of the concrete phenomena, to rely on the experience of the thought of the masses, to sum it up, not to stay on the

surface and not to fall into practicisim. Comrade Enver Hoxha has made extensive use of consulting the masses through meetings, questionnaires, discussions with groups of persons, through exchanges of letters and so on and so forth. He has extensively applied the principle «from the masses to the masses.» Through the line of the masses comrade Enver Hoxha has kept in touch with the situation of the masses and their interests. On the basis of this knowledge he has outlined, as becomes a leader of a Marxist-Leninist party, not only the tasks for each stage of the revolution, but also the shortest and the straightest road that leads to victory, thus anticipating the revolutionary initiative of the masses; «becoming» as Lenin says, «a beacon for it, pointing out our socialist ideal» in all its grandeur and beauty.

I will dwell in a special manner on the use of the line of the masses concerning the problem of women, especially of late. Although the methods of work of our Party have been continuous, it is only of late that it has been understood in all its breadth as a revolutionary method which responds directly to the interests of the masses.

The Marxist conception of this method especially as regards women, came as a result of the growth of the consciousness of the masses, of the fact that the woman has an important role to play in the economic, cultural, political and social development of our country. On the basis of this understanding, the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman becomes a problem of the masses themselves. When the masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party take into their hands a problem, when their creative thought is concentrated on it, success is bound to come because no one can solve the problem better than the masses, guided by the Party.

b) *Comrade Enver on the method of mass actions as the materialization of the people's wide movement to intensify the struggle for the complete emancipation of the women.* For the Women's Union of Albania, mass actions have always been a method of work among the women. They have been used as a method for their education and, at the same time as an indication of their ideological and political preparedness. The mass actions of late have other characteristic features, which speak of a general rise in the consciousness of the masses.

First. The women themselves have given much deeper political and ideological significance to these mass actions. They have come to understand that they must take the problem of emancipation into their own hands, because, as comrade Enver teaches us, «the women themselves know better than anyone else their own problems» and that «the great problem of the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be conceived of and cannot be achieved without the active participation of the woman, not only in performing, but also in supervising this big task. . .».

Today, the mass actions of the women, in the struggle for their complete emancipation, are of various categories but, in general, all of them serve to enhance their personality at work, in society and in the family.

Second. Today the actions in the direction of the complete emancipation of the woman are *being undertaken by the entire masses of the people and in all directions:* economic measures which liberate the woman from household work, measures of a social and ideological character, especially in the direction of the role that

she must play and of the place the woman should hold in the family.

Third. Another distinctive feature characteristic of the materialization of the movement for the complete emancipation of women is that of applying comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on passing from one action to another, holding on to that principal link which also influences the solution of other problems.

In order to prove this I will mention some actions of late. After February 6th many zones of the mountain regions, where the collectivization of agriculture had taken place later, concentrated on the struggle against those customs that treat the girl as a piece of merchandise. They annulled betrothals concluded without the consent of the young ones, abolished trousseaux, dowries, selling off girls etc., but this would not have been brought about if the girls themselves in the first place, and their elders later, had not striven to grasp the changes that had been brought about in our country, if they had not known in practice the rights and the place that the Albanian woman has acquired in the life of the country. Therefore mass actions were undertaken to send as many girls and young women as possible to work on the railroad, to send others to the towns and cities where they had been invited by their comrades to live together with them and to learn trades that would be of value to the village. Women, girls and old folk came down from the mountain regions to the lowlands in order to exchange experience both as regards the organization of work in the cooperatives as well as in the family life.

These initiatives enjoyed the support of the Party and of the State which not only assigned funds for these

initiatives to attain the desired results, to serve the political and ideological as well as the technical and professional advancement of the girls and of the women, but also used and will continue to use other forms that serve this advancement.

All these and a lot of other mass actions illustrate the interconnected methods used in the struggle for the emancipation of women and for the tackling of one problem after another not accidentally, but with a clear and definite perspective. Through this road the changes envisaged by the Party in the mentality of men and women are being affected, their personality is enhanced through the many-sided economic, political and ideological work. Through mass actions the women form the conviction that their aspirations, the road to which is being opened by the Party and our People's Power, are being realized.

c) Comrade Enver on the solution of the problem of the complete emancipation of women through the class struggle. The movement for the complete emancipation of the woman in our country is treated today especially as a part of the revolution in the field of ideas, as a struggle against the feudal bourgeois customs, against religion etc.

The treatment of the problem of women today as a class struggle on the ideological front is the result of all the achievements attained in our country. It is the result of the liberation of the women from capitalist exploitation, it is the result of the existence of the People's State Power, of the creation of all possibilities for them to widely participate in work, of the general educational advancement of the people and of the women, of a considerable increase of the number of women

with organizational, technical professional and other qualifications.

The struggle on the ideological front coordinated with the struggle on all the fronts to do away with the conservative old is a unique experience of our country, from which all the Marxist-Leninist parties and countries embarking on the road to socialism draw and cannot help but draw conclusions.

In the use of the mass line regarding the problems of the complete emancipation of women, one notices a continuous rise in the uplift of the consciousness of the masses. Lately they themselves are confronted with the task of supervising the pledges made and the effect of their actions.

During these checks they analyze the experience gained, the objectives attained, the way the pledges have been fulfilled and how the problem has been deepened. On the basis of the latter the masses learn to perceive the positive aspects, the positive factors which ought to be encouraged and the negative ones which must be removed.

Out of these checks important problems arise which must be solved in order to advance the problem of the complete emancipation of women.

On the one hand, one must keep in mind that the method of work for the transition from one action to another, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, *should be accompanied by comprehensive political and educational work in order to convince and to create such public opinion that every campaign may serve the purpose for which it has been initiated.*

On the other hand, *alongside with the political and educational work with the masses, one must create the material conditions which open the road of harmonizing*

the political and educational work with actions. It is only in this manner that these actions are not transformed into an aim in themselves, but become a means for the solution of the problems that preoccupy a certain village or certain zone and an index of the level of the consciousness of the masses.

2. Another method that serves the movement for the complete emancipation of women through the line of the masses is that of analysis.

In all his works Comrade Enver Hoxha has used the method of analysis on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism for the profound cognizance of the situations of the historical and social phenomena and, in conformity with the given situations, has elaborated theoretical and political conclusions and has built up the strategic and tactical revolutionary struggle concerning the problem of women.

On the basis of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha we learn that only the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis ensures a correct method of work, justifying the need for doing away with the old and upholding the new.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has always drawn our attention not to seek support for our task only in the enthusiasm that is created by the love for the Party and by the patriotism of our people, but to rightly combine the revolutionary impetus with sound Marxist-Leninist convictions.

«The people», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «should apply this teaching of the Party (reference is made here to the emancipation of women) not only

because the Party has said, so, but to profoundly understand the ideological, political and economic reasons that have prompted the Party to seriously dwell on this big problem». Comrade Enver Hoxha has given us many classical examples of the cognizance of the phenomena through their allround scientific analysis. This analysis has become a model for us in order to ensure a profound political, ideological and economic conviction on the part of the masses.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has analysed the problem of private property which he considers as the source of all the evil, of all the oppression and slavery that has been imposed upon the women throughout the centuries. On the basis of the method of analysis comrade Enver Hoxha has looked into the problem of the canons of the Middle Ages, of the standards of conduct that govern the relations between the members of the clan, etc. Analysing the causes of the birth of exogamy he stresses that «in the conditions of our country during the period when the canon was enforced the interests of the young were subordinated to a wider interest, to the interest of property and of the clan», marriage within the clan was not permitted because the girl was used as a means of linking a friendship and blood alliance with another clan. . . , at the time when the canon was compiled, in order to ensure its own existence, every clan felt the pressing need of creating political, economic and military alliances with other clans, just as the States do among themselves.»¹⁾

This custom still continues to exist in Mirdita, Puka,

1) Enver Hoxha, Report taken down in shorthand, 1968.

Kukës, Dukagjin, Tropoja, etc. where some villages consider themselves «a clan». According to Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings the clan at its inception must have had some kind of blood relationship. But «it was the interests of defence, the vital interests of the clan that imposed the canonization of a similar standard of conduct»¹⁾ and which, due to the force of habit, continues even to our days. With such an analysis the masses form the profound conviction that under the conditions of socialism and of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the custom of prohibiting marriages within one or several villages has no foundation whatsoever.

Numerous other analyses made by comrade Enver Hoxha, such as that of the relations between parents and children, between the young and the old, concluding with the advice to neither wage an all-out struggle against the older people who are more conservative, nor to yield to their points of view, or the analysis on religion and its influence on the enslavement of the woman, the analysis of the unwritten customs which regulate the everyday relations of the people, the analysis on the need of bringing home to the women the absolute necessity of becoming party members because in this way they would understand that in effect they direct through their party, that they participate in the elaboration of the laws etc. are a great lesson for us by which we should be guided in our work to inculcate among the people the profound ideological and political conviction to establish the new standards of conduct and to do away with the old ones.

1) Enver Hoxha, Report taken down in shorthand, 1968.

Proceeding from these lessons we must study in a systematic and all-around manner the economic, political and cultural development of our country in the past, our achievements today and, on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist theory and method, taking the works of comrade Enver Hoxha as a model, make it clear to the whole masses why it is necessary to support the orientation of our Party or any progressive initiative that serves the line of the Party on this or that problem.

These teachings open new horizons to our men and women of science in organizing studies on the various social problems, especially, on the manifold problems of women. By using the line of the masses in conducting these studies and on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism they can explain wherein lay the basis of the standards of conduct that used to discipline the social and family relations in the past and how these standards, under the conditions of socialism, have no reason to exist today. This method of work calls upon all the organs of the party and the organisations of the masses to organize studies and inquiries on every burning problem and out of these studies, statistical returns, examples and facts to arrive at valuable conclusions and generalizations for the advancement of the work of the party. Through our all-round work we must raise problems so the Central Committee can arrive at practical and theoretical conclusions valuable to the Party as a whole.

* * *

VI. The ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha which were embraced by the broad masses of the people, became a material force never seen before. His concern and indefatigable work in solving the many problems confronting women have considerably stepped up the struggle for the woman to take her place as equal to man everywhere.

In the acceleration of this struggle an important role has been played by the fact that the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have solved the problems of women at the same time as all the other problems of the socialist revolution. In our country, the training of women, the work of raising her all-around political, educational, cultural or professional level has never been viewed apart from her active participation in the struggle of the whole people for the building of socialism. This has been and remains one of the requirements to be met for a speedy and exact solution of the complete emancipation of women.

Today when solid foundations for the solution of the problem of city and village women to advance at a rapid rate towards complete socialist society have been laid, the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have launched the slogan «Let us regain lost time, especially, in our work to bring progress to our mountain regions».

«The mountain regions» comrade Enver Hoxha says, have only lately embarked on the road of collectivization, but everyone has understood that the conditions which have actually been created now, the progress made in the lowlands during the last 10-15 years of collective life, can surely be created in the mountain regions within a much shorter period of time for the simple reason that

we have both the material and the spiritual possibility as well as better experience, a fact that will make it possible for the mountain regions to construct socialism at a faster rate. But the principal factor which will make it possible to build socialism in the mountain regions at a more rapid rate, is our wonderful people»¹).

Our people who are attached to our party heart and soul, who are inspired by its achievements and whose hearts beat in unison with it, understood the concern of the Party, listened to the word of comrade Enver Hoxha, realized what socialism and the Fatherland stood in need of and that is why, taking a countless number of initiatives they headed for the mountain regions in order to make them as beautiful as rich and as fruitful as the lowlands.

Innumerable initiatives to come to the aid of the mountain regions were taken by cadres, by the young men and young women and adults in order to accelerate the rate of progress. The many men and women comrades who are engaged today in voluntary work in the mountain regions, together with their mountaineer brothers and sisters, have mustered all their efforts to lessen the discrepancy between the mountain regions and the lowlands, thus contributing to narrowing the gap between town and countryside.

It is the duty of the entire society to deepen and multiply the initiatives in favor of the mountain regions, which enjoying the support of our People's State Power, will give the desired results and will make up for lost time.

In this direction it is the duty of our learned people

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Woman,» p. 245.

to discover the problems that preoccupy these zones in all the sectors of life, but especially the social problems, to elaborate them on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha so that their conclusions and generalizations may everywhere open the road to the new socialist and communist standards of conduct.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW NARRATIVE AND TO THE NEW
MOUNTAIN TO THE MOUNTAIN

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MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

The lot of the Albanian woman was not different from that of the women in other countries, other than being, perhaps, a more gloomy and deplorable one. Her life was a complexity of patriarchal domination, feudal yoke, and capitalist exploitation that rested on the fatal outcome of a five centuries-long rule.

Women were mute creatures who had no voice in household problems, and still less in social affairs. They were confined within the four walls of their house, and, in those regions where women performed any task, they came out of their house to play the part of beasts of burden. Women and girls were not consulted about their personal affairs such as their betrothals and marriages. The latter were subjected to the laws of private property and were arranged to suit private interests. The open and underhand buying and selling of maids, infant betrothals, without the consent of the girl were the general rule.

Disdained at home by their fathers, husbands and sons and, outside the house, by all society, the women had come to be regarded as ignorant creatures, who were physically stunted and morally oppressed. The housewife had become the victim of the great plot devised by law and canon, by state power and religion.

This was the plight of women at the time of Zog's regime, it remained as such, in fact even worse during the fascist occupation of our country.

November 1941 marked the radical turning point for our people's destinies. It marked the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, the Party of the working class, the Party of the oppressed and humiliated, the Party that declared war on the fascist yoke and heralded the birth of a new society without oppression and exploitation.

With the birth of the Communist Party new hopes were born for the Albanian women as the most oppressed and tormented category of our people. The history of a true revolutionary movement of the Albanian woman began with the founding of our Party.

Certainly, it would be wrong to pretend that before the year 1941 and generally, in the past, there were no men to deplore the plight of the Albanian woman or who dreamt and strove for her emancipation. Among them we should mention our celebrated renaissance writers Naim Frashëri, Sami Frashëri and others, who nourished the ardent desire to see the Albanian woman free in an independent Albania.

In a very backward environment of ottoman domination characterized by looking down upon and debasing women, Naim Frashëri proclaimed the equality between man and woman. He said, «The birth of a girl

should not be lamented, for girls and boys, husbands and wives bear no difference».

With Naim, the equality between boys and girls is a sentimental equality within the family. He did not have in mind social equality, nor did he take into consideration the social circumstances conditioning it.

Naim also expressed the progressive idea, of the participation of women in work, in production. Women, he said, should not pine away at home, but should work at the loom and clothe the whole family. But he confines their productive work within the four walls of the house, at the hand-loom and at some other housekeeping routine. Naim's and his renaissance contemporaries' concept of the emancipation of woman was narrow and limited. They pondered on the problem within the framework of private property, they looked at it from the angle of a non-revolutionary ideology, therefore their conclusions could not be anything but narrow and limited.

These sparks of the renaissance militants were kept alive during the period of Zog's regime by the progressive and democratic persons. In their publicistic and literary works they deplored the state of the Albanian woman and raised their voice in defence of her rights. But their ideas and appeals — chiefly confined to the field of culture and matrimonial relations — didn't have any real effect on the women's life, did not stir up any movement of importance for the emancipation of woman.

That is why the real history of the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of woman begins on November 8, 1941 and is connected with the Communist Party and socialist revolution which was prepared, conducted and led to victory by the Party.

The Party of Labor, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, does not and cannot solve all the problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction at a stroke. It does not and cannot solve even every separate problem at once, but gradually, partially, in compliance with the demands of the actual moment, with the objective and subjective conditions. The struggle of our Party for the emancipation, of woman makes no exception to this rule. The development of this struggle has passed through several stages, and has experienced some qualitative leaps. If we were to separate them, three of them would stand out clearly: 1) the stage of the National-liberation war; 2) the stage of construction of the economic basis of socialism; 3) the stage beginning with the Party's «Open Letter», the 5th Party Congress and the programmatic speech by Comrade Enver Hoxha on February 6, 1967.

1) The National-Liberation war was initiated, carried on, and carried to victory as a people's war, under the leadership of the Party. It became the activity of the whole people — men and women. 6,000 women, arms in hand, joined the partisan units and brigades; thousands upon thousands of others in city and country lined up in the ranks of the rear-line that made up the most secure basis and the most powerful support for the National-liberation War. Thousands upon thousands of women in cities and in the countryside sheltered the partisans guarding them from the enemy, fed and clothed them, nursed and encouraged them.

The Albanian woman has always been by her husband's side whenever it was a question of fighting for the freedom of Albania. But during the National-liberation War something unprecedented in our history took

place. Women took part *en masse* in the National-liberation War; they were highly conscious that the war was being fought for the salvation of Albania and for *their own social emancipation*, for their rights. Finally they waged an *organized struggle* in the ranks of their own antifascist *revolutionary organizations* set up in the heat of battle. What had not happened during the former liberation movements became a reality during the National-liberation War — active participation, the connection of the war for national liberation with that for social emancipation and organization. And this happened because women fought under the Party's leadership, they were educated and inspired by its Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has attached particular attention to the education and organization of women and their mobilization in the war from the first steps of our Party's activity, when it had to face many kinds of difficulties for the organization of the liberation war. «...we should understand well» comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, «the importance of working with women, who are to play an important part in our work»¹).

The idea of the Party for the participation of women and girls in the National-liberation War, (against which the reaction of all hues arose) was a Marxist-Leninist idea, one of the fundamental ideas on whose basis every liberation war, every true revolution is organized and is won. Marx, in a letter to Kugelmann, wrote that no social overthrow could be carried out without the participation of women. «From

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana 1967, p. 258.

the experience of the liberation movements» — Lenin has written — «it turns out that the success of revolution depends on what extent the women participate in it.»¹)

Together with freedom and independence, the National-liberation War brought the people another, great, decisive victory — the state power. The People's Power is not the continuation of the previous state power, but its decisive negation, its outright opposite at all levels. At the same time it abolished the entire old legislation, which, among other things, sanctioned and protected the inequality between men and women. The new legislation proclaimed women the equal of men. The same rights as the menfolk were recognized to them in all fields — *in politics* (they enjoy the right of electing and of being elected to all the elected organs of the People's State Power), *at work* (they enjoy the right of being appointed to any job and receive the same remuneration as men); *in the family* (they may contract marriages and dissolve them on an equal footing with their husbands and enjoy the same rights and obligations as their husbands towards children born in wedlock); *in social insurance* the care for mother and child is one of its most important tasks.

These rights ensured by the People's Power were so great and radical that they marked a veritable uplift in the state of women and in their future. The setting up of women's revolutionary organizations, under the Party's guidance, the political awakening and tempering of thousands of women and girls, the legal proclamation of their equal rights with men, are some

1) V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 28, p. 196.

of the fundamental achievements of the Albanian woman brought about by the National-liberation War and the establishment of the People's state Power. These achievements served as a powerful basis for another qualitative leap ahead in the situation of woman, a leap which was made with the construction of the economic basis of socialism.

2) The proclamation and legal sanctioning of the rights of women were historic victories, but they were not all, they were only the beginning of the work. Lenin has more than once pointed out that by giving women the same rights as their husbands the problem of woman is not solved, for «legal equality is not yet equality in practice». In order to achieve equality in practice, to completely emancipate women under the conditions of the established proletarian dictatorship, two conditions are indispensable: *the abolishment of private property and of capitalist exploitation and the participation of women in production.*

When private property passed into the hands of man, woman was ruined and enslaved. Men's relations towards property determine all other social relations, among them being the family relations between husband and wife, as well as relations between parents and children. Wherever private property has its stamp inhuman actions and sentiments spring up. For from being his wife's equal, after marriage the husband becomes her uncontested master. This superiority is manifested in diverse ways even to that of beating, charging her with heavy tasks and using her as a beast of burden. Instead of being their children's tutors and protectors, the parents turn into their tyrants, going as

far as to resort to such barbarous acts as infant betrothals, selling-off girls, and beating and despising their children. «From the economic interest, Comrade Enver teaches us, stems forth the «superiority» of the male over the female, the patriarchal authority over the children, the marriages imposed, concluded and authorized by the parents, marriages subjected to their consent».

It goes without saying that the abolishment of private property will mark the woman's revival, will save her from her husband's and other kinds of slavery and will establish the relations between husband and wife, between parents and children on a new really humane footing. The Party of Labor has pursued and carried out this unique and broad line of the emancipation of woman, the line of doing away with private property. During these 25 years, our people, under the leadership of our Party have gradually, systematically and persistently liquidated private property, and have set up social property both in town and in the country. The abolishment of private property and the establishment of social property on the instruments and means of production were the greatest victories brought about on the road of the emancipation of the women. The abolishment of private property enabled the woman to enjoy her rights and freedoms proclaimed and sanctioned by the People's Power, bringing about a new unity in the family, unexperienced by the bourgeois family, based on pure feelings and complete freedom between husband and wife, between parents and children.

If the creation of socialist relations of production

is the decisive step towards the complete emancipation of woman, then it results that their perfecting should be further continued. The road to freedom and to the emancipation of women in particular and to the development of socialist society in general will be widened dependent on the triumph of general over private interest, on the uprooting of egoism and thinking based on private property.

The abolishment of private property is one side of the process of the emancipation of woman; the other side is closely connected with the participation of woman in production. «A prior condition for the emancipation of woman», Engels teaches, «is the return of the whole female sex to social work».

And in truth, private property could be done away with, but, if woman continues to be confined within the four walls of her house, if she does not participate in production and is economically dependent, she will remain dependent on her husband, bearing with it all the negative consequences for her, for her children and for society.

The rights of women and their liberty are achieved not only in the economic sphere, in their participation in production, but also in another sphere of great importance, in the political sphere, in their participation in running state affairs, and generally in all social problems. «...without the participation of the women in public service» — Lenin wrote — «in the militia, in political life, without detaching them from the household and kitchen atmosphere, which stultifies them, it is impossible to build democracy, let alone socialism»¹⁾.

1) V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 23, p. 402.

Eversince the early days of socialist construction the Party of Labor has firmly pursued the course of attracting woman to production, and to all social problems. At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «...woman should really achieve her independence. What does achieving her independence mean? It means that she should become the mistress of herself, that she participates in production work, at factories, hospitals and offices, that she should work wherever men work. This is not easy, it is even difficult, but we are convinced that we will gradually achieve good results»¹⁾

Comrade Enver Hoxha viewed the participation of woman in production work and all other social activities not only from the angle of her independence and emancipation but also from another wider angle, from that of our country's socialist construction. «Our country cannot make progress», Comrade Enver said, «Albania cannot be properly built without the participation of women, for women should render her contribution to the reconstruction of our country not only by their manual labor but also by their intellectual and spiritual faculties»²⁾.

Women began to take part in production work spontaneously eversince the establishment of capitalism. But like every other process taking place in such a society, this too, assumed horrible forms. Unequal payment to women for work equal to that of man as her husband, complete lack of care for her as mother and for her children, corruption and prostitution became inevitable cotravellers of the participation of women in production under capitalism.

1) Enver Hoxha, Works, p. 27.

2) Enver Hoxha, *ibid*, p. 27.

Capitalism did not reach an extensive rate of development in our country. The women could not join the production sphere in large numbers. As a consequence, our Party had to attract to work a mass of women that had been living all their life within the four walls of their houses. This constituted an important draw-back immeasurably complicating the solution of this problem. But while the Albanian woman lacked sufficient training for production work, — this being a disadvantage, — she possessed a rich training in another domain, in the political domain. During the National-liberation War, in face to face encounters with the invaders and traitors to our country, thousands of women and girls educated by our Party, had acquired a high political sense of duty, they were endowed with an unshakable trust in themselves, they were full of enthusiasm and determination to march ahead along the road indicated by our Party.

But in spite of this, the participation of women in production remained one of the most difficult problems to be solved in the struggle for her complete emancipation and socialist construction. Great obstacles of an economic and political, of a cultural and ideological, of an objective and subjective character had to be overcome.

First, the productive forces were to be developed, new working fronts had to be created so as to provide work for thousands upon thousands of women in city and country. This was not something easy and simple, considering the devastation of our country during the war and its general backwardness. The road towards carrying out this task had to pass through the expropriation of the capitalists, the socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture.

Second, the women had to be endowed with educational technical and professional knowledge, so as to make them able to take part successfully in all social productive activities to the same degree as their menfolk. This was a still more difficult and complicated task, if we bear in mind the fact that 90 percent of the women were illiterate, and that the number of women having any special training and profession could be counted on one's fingers. The mass actions, various short and long-term courses with or without interruption of work, the extension of the network of schools, the enrollment of an increasing number of girls in them — these were the revolutionary measures adopted by our Party in order to do away with the educational and professional backwardness of our women and to overcome this grave contradiction in our life.

Third, the obstacles of a subjective character had to be overcome. The policy of our Party on the participation of women in production came up against the opposition of kulaks, of the clergymen of various faiths, the reactionaries and ignorant persons of all hues. Slander, deception, intimidation by the «word of god», and stipulations of the canon and, when these did not hold water, open menace of terror, were the forms of class struggle resorted to by our enemies in order to impede the participation of women in production and in social activities.

But side by side with the opposition on the part of the enemy camp, there was also the resistance offered by the people, by men and women, who in one way or another, to one degree or another were still slaves of prejudices and backward customs inherited from the overthrown world of private property and

of exploitation of man by man. In many regions the unwritten, savage and barbarous laws of Lekë Dukagjini's canon and of other canons were still in force. The girl was treated much like a market commodity rather than a human being; she was sold off for money and married when still a child, she was given to the highest bidder, even if he were ugly or old. The marriage transacted in this way made the girl a creature who had sold herself, her dignity and her freedom. That is why in her husband's house the wife's opinion carried no weight. She was considered to be preordained for manual labor, for sewing, treated as a beast of burden and obliged to wash the feet of the other members of the family. Under these circumstances the word of the priest and of the hodja had a great influence on the subdued conscience of the woman; while prejudices and superstitions constituted the principal content of her world outlook.

These savage practices, these reactionary concepts from the death-like darkness of the past, doggedly haunted the living body of the woman of New Albania and hindered her from marching freely onward. The backward customs had to be fought, the reactionary concepts had to be uprooted from the minds of men and women. This has been a severe struggle, a real class struggle, but of quite another nature — class struggle in the bosom of the people. Our Party has persistently waged this struggle by pursuing the only correct path, the method of persuasion, the method of education and reeducation.

The great hardships our Party has met and is meeting with, regarding the question of the complete emancipation of woman reflects the magnificance of

its past. The unravelling of this entangled skein of economic and psychological contradictions concerning the woman and her destiny testify to the ability of our Party to follow the paths and roads leading to the solution of this problem, to the complete emancipation of woman.

By waging the class struggle against our enemies, on the one hand, and among the people for their socialist education and reeducation, by putting into practice a whole system of courses and schools of educational, technical and professional training, by developing uninterruptedly the productive forces in industry and agriculture on the other, a qualitative leap was made in improving the destiny of woman, and in bringing about a thorough change in her social standing. From an oppressed creature abandoned to her own fate as she used to be, the woman has become a worthy member of society. Just like men she now takes part in all sectors of activity, rendering her contribution to the construction of socialist Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the new situation of woman in these terms: «Like the swift waters, rushing down from their sources and making the plains fertile, thus has the Albanian woman flooded all the channels of our country's activities of life bringing in new blood, healthy blood, to work. Her mental, manual and productive power is so great that it defies description»¹).

If we express ourselves in terms of facts and figures, the participation of woman in production and in political and social life is represented as follows: the working women of the city and the countryside make up 42 percent of the total number of the workers

1) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.* p. 74.

of our Republic. If in 1948 the number of working women employed in the industrial enterprises, in the state cooperative apparatus and in the cooperative network was about 8000, in 1967 it rose to 112,000, i.e., 14 times as many. The number of peasant women taking part in agricultural work increased at the same rate, today reaching the 183,000 mark.

These figures speak of the revolutionary rhythm followed in solving the problem of the participation of woman in production; they speak of a radical turn, of a real transformation brought about in the conscience of women who now consider work as a natural thing and indispensable condition of their life, of their freedom and of their development.

The participation of women in running state affairs, economy, culture and art has also increased; 10,909 women councillors or 36 percent of the whole number of councillors have been elected to the local organs of state power. Over 600 women serve as directresses in enterprises, factories, social and cultural institutions, 22 are heads of agricultural cooperatives, 215 are assistant chiefs, 2210 are brigade leaders. Hundreds and thousands serve as teachers and pedagogues, engineers and doctors, economists and agronomists.

The work and deeds of our country's women and girls are a clear testimony to their intelligence and creative faculties. The example of our women refutes as groundless and reactionary the biological, anthropological and psycho-analytic theories on the «woman's natural inability», on «her natural inferiority» and on other slanders of this kind; *it proves the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the physical and intellectual abilities*

of women are in direct proportion with their participation in production and in social activities.

These great achievements do not deny the existence of still unsolved problems and tasks concerning the participation of women in production work, in social and political activities. It is through such successes that new problems are created and are brought into the foreground.

Thus, although in a decreasing number, there are still women and girls in city and country who remain at home without going in for any job. There are still women and girls who run after preferred jobs, who think that only certain jobs are suitable for women. In this case, they forget that our society has undergone a radical change in its attitude towards work. Work is honored and enjoys greatest respect, it is the criterion by which to gauge one's worthiness; therefore any kind of job performed to the interest of socialism is preferred and respected. On the other hand there are many professions and branches of industry considered suitable only for men. This is also an erroneous view-point that is being dispensed with but which should be completely uprooted. With the exception of certain rare professions in which their physiological conditions do not allow it, in all other professions women can be employed just as men.

Another, still more important problem is that of promoting the woman to responsible posts, and of laying more trust in her abilities. In this respect, too, a great turn-about has been made in recent years. The above figures speak clearly of this. But in spite of this progress the problem remains unsolved, it is still an acute and urgent problem. The number of leading posts held today by women does not yet respond

to the number of women, to their abilities, and to their revolutionary determination and enthusiasm.

Our socialist society is the freest and most democratic society ever known to history. The emancipation of woman, the growth of her ideological and professional personality are expressions of this freedom and democracy. The day is not far off when the number of women occupying leading posts in the economic, political and social life will be greater than today. Our task is to anticipate, to pave the way for the future, pursuing the course pointed out by our Party and the teachings and recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This requires first of all that in all the system of measures adopted by our Party and State Power for the education and the bringing up of the younger generation, special attention should be attached to girls. It is clear that women and girls will be entrusted with the leading posts of responsibility not because they are women and girls, but because they are entitled to them owing to their ideological and educational preparedness. Secondly, this requires the further extension of the measures adopted by our Party and State Power to facilitate the work of the woman as mother and housekeeper so that she can have more spare-time for her self-education and development. Lastly, this requires the continuation of the ideological campaign against erroneous concepts inherited from the past.

3) A stage in itself in the revolutionary movement for the complete emancipation of women marking a new qualitative leap begins with the Open Letter, with the ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Party 5th Congress and his programmatic speech of February 6, 1967. The fundamental content of this

epoch is the further deepening of the ideological revolution, the struggle for uprooting any kind of remnants, any customs, and practices violating the rights of woman, her dignity, and hindering her from occupying the position she is entitled to in life, in the family and in society. Naturally, this does not imply that formerly, during the process of abolishing private property and of the participation of woman in production, her education and ideological struggle was not carried on. And vice versa, this does not imply that now the perfection of relations in production or the participation of woman in the productive sphere is of no importance. The question is that every problem has many aspects, but at different stages this or that aspect comes into relief, assumes greater importance.

Thus, during the National-Liberation War the fundamental problem to which all the others were subjugated, was that of the liberation of our country and, connected with it, that of seizing state power. When this problem was solved in favor of the people, the problem of setting up socialist relations in production came into the foreground. Today with private property abolished, the socialist relations of production in city and country established, the problems of further deepening the ideological and cultural revolution assume a first rate importance.

The socialist transformations bring about changes in the material relations between people, their inner world, feelings and concepts. This action and co-action does not pursue a uniform path, does not bring about changes at the same time and at the same rate both in the material and ideal world of the society. As a rule, the material relations change first and more rapidly, while ideas and viewpoints, judgments and

prejudices change later on and more slowly. The latter offer a great power of resistance, shrink into the dark corners of one's consciousness and are difficult to remove.

For this reason, the transformation of people's inner world is not an easy process, but the outcome of an encounter, of a bitter battle, which in essence is a class struggle. «The dying old», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us «will always be at war and clash with the new which is born, reborn and strengthened»¹).

If this is true in general, it is ten times as true for the ideas, concepts, prejudices concerning woman, her life in the family and in society. Here, the old, which dies, sticks tighter and the battle is more bitter. But the victory of the socialist ideology, the establishment of new customs and norms is more urgent and necessary than in any other field. Without these victories one cannot speak of the complete emancipation of woman, one cannot consider that woman can enjoy all the rights she is entitled to by legislation and guaranteed by the socialist transformations.

In his various speeches and discussions comrade Enver has argued in a many-sided way the indispensability of deepening the ideological revolution as a necessary condition for the complete emancipation of women, too. By strictly applying the principles of materialist and dialectical philosophy, relying on the cognition of the past and the present situation of the Albanian woman, Comrade Enver has explained and discovered the core of the problem of the complete emancipation of women, has viewed it in all details

1) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, p. 257.

and shades and has presented a whole Marxist-Leninist, scientifically supported plan for the struggle for the final solution of this problem.

If we tried to outline this multitude of problems raised by Comrade Enver Hoxha concerning the emancipation of women which are the actual tasks our Party and the whole people have been fighting for, we would single out:

The problems dealing with the application of laws protecting the rights of women and, connected with it, the fight against such despicable manifestations as child betrothal, the buying and selling off of girls, and so on, acts which trample on the most elementary rights of the woman and humiliate her human dignity. Comrade Enver Hoxha's words «the whole Party and country should rise to their feet to burn and crush all those who violate our Party's sacred law for the protection of women's and girls' rights», spread over the mountains and plains, became the guiding slogan of men and women of various regions, who pledged to do away with all these flagrant violations of woman's rights and dignity. Of course, atavism could still have its way here, too. Therefore, vigilance, education, and ideological clear-sightedness are still the order of the day.

Another great group of problems are those concerning the family, the establishment of equality between husband and wife, between boys and girls of the family. Comrade Enver Hoxha places the same importance on the abolishment of inequality in the participation of woman in social production and considers it as one of the basic conditions for the emancipation of woman.

Legally, the wife is equal to her husband in the

family and in society. Not only legally but also in fact, woman takes part in social work and renders the same contribution as her husband to the maintenance and well-being of the family. But when the wife returns home from her work she is faced with the old family mentality denying her the right of equality in favor of the husband. She is faced with the patriarchal mentalities of «pater familias» of her father and in the person of her father and mother-in-law and even of her husband himself.

One of the most flagrant manifestations of this inequality in the family is the division of housekeeping work, or, to be more precise, its non-division; i.e., passing of all the burden of household work onto the wife. Back from her work where she has toiled and sweated as much as her husband, the wife has to tidy the house, clean it, and cook for the family. By thus burdening his wife with household chores, tiresome and boring as they are, the husband establishes in fact an inequality in his family and converts his wife into his proletarian.

Why does such a thing happen? There exists an erroneous and widespread idea that household work is for wives to look after and not for the husbands. The reactionaries extend this idea and say that women are only fit for household work, that women's place is in the kitchen. This idea was born under certain conditions and reflects a certain situation, namely, when woman had no claim upon anything, when she was shunned from social productive activity and nothing was left to her but the four walls of the house and the work within it. Such a situation no longer exists in our country. Today an entirely new situation has been created in which the women participate in

outside work just as men do. This new situation requires a new treatment of the problem, requires a review of all the old divisions of the household work and considers them as a common problem of husband and wife. Here, Comrade Enver teaches us, a new leaf should be turned, and «this radical turn should be made first and foremost in the mentality of the husband, and bear fruit in life, in other words, in the division of labor between husband and wife at home and in the society by encouraging the setting up of creches and kindergartens in towns and agricultural cooperatives, as well as other institutions, so as to unburden women from household work». This is a question of great principled importance; of moral importance (for it is not right that only one must do housekeeping while it belongs to the husband and wife); of ideological importance (for women should be freed from some obligations which would allow them to widely participate in social productive activity and would create more spare time for them to devote for their ideological and political education and to their cultural uplift).

Marxism-Leninism connects the abolition of tiresome and boring household work with the setting up of an all-round social service system and, generally, with the development of the heavy industry that would place machinery and devices at the disposal of families to facilitate household work and make it easier. In this field our public health organs, commercial and industrial enterprises are doing their best to set up more and more creches, kindergartens, dining halls and public laundries, and turn to out household devices of all kinds.

But until our economy can create conditions for household work to become more simplified and easier, our Party pursues other Marxist-

Leninist, revolutionary ways. Such a Marxist-Leninist way is that of the equal distribution of household work between husband and wife as has been pointed out by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver Hoxha links the complete equality between husband and wife with another question of great importance, with that of the family incomes and their administration. In the past, the inequality between husband and wife had a real basis, a material force. This material force was money and property. Money gave power to the husband, its absence, the fear of remaining without the means of subsistence made a humiliated slave of the wife.

Under the influence of this bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality many husbands, even today, seek to have all incomes in their own hands, including those of their wives and want to be consulted even when their wives want to buy a pettycoat or a dress. In order to uproot this mentality and the matter-of-fact inequality springing from the administration of all incomes by husbands, Comrade Enver recommends that the family incomes be kept and managed by wives. This, too, is a revolutionary measure, responding to the new situation of our society and is in the interest of both the woman (enhancing her authority) and all the family (the incomes would be better managed). «Having money in her keep», Comrade Enver teaches us, «the wife will not only manage it better but she will also have equal voice in the discussions with her husband»¹).

The complete equality between husband and wife in the family will eventually be reflected in the at-

1) Enver Hoxha, *ibidem*, p. 131.

titude towards the children at home, by treating the son and daughter in the same way, by exerting the same efforts for bringing up and educating both son and daughter. The idea of complete equality between husband and wife, one of the basic principles of our socialist society should be inculcated into people's minds from their very childhood days, then at school, at work to be finally crowned with the creation of the family.

In the long run, a large group of problems dealing with the further deepening of the ideological revolution, directly connected with the emancipation of women is that of the fight against religion, the unmasking of the norms of various canons, especially of Lekë Dukagjini's canon that were in force in the past and have governed the social life of many regions, particularly, of the Highlands.

The backward customs humiliating woman, the various mentalities on the woman's «inferiority», her «natural inability», have been ideologically justified and have taken root in the people's minds as «sacred and inviolable» by various religions and their clergy. It goes without saying that the campaign against all backward customs and prejudices humiliating woman cannot be waged successfully without exposing, at the same time, their ideological basis, without pointing out the reactionary character of the religious machinations, myths and precepts.

ELENI PASHKO

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THE ROLE WOMEN PLAY IN THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

The revolutionary radical transformations that the mode of living of women has undergone are a clear reflection of the grandeur of the deep revolutionary changes effected in all fields of activity in our country, first of all, in the leading branch of our economy, the socialist industry. These revolutionary transformations are also due to the broad participation of women who, as everyone knows, make up half of the population. Referring to this problem, K. Marx emphasized that «the development of a given historic epoch can always be determined by the degree of women's admittance along the path of freedom. . . The degree of women's emancipation represents the natural extent of the general emancipation»¹).

The Party of Labor of Albania has always maintain-

1) K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, Vol. 11, p. 224.

ed that women not only numerically make up half of the population but, when imbued with revolutionary energy and creative thinking, through their work in social production and household economy, they have contributed and contribute to our society as much as men and, in some instances, even more. The participation of women in production should never be viewed from economic positions alone, but from the indispensability of their contribution to socialist construction in order to ensure their complete emancipation. Our Party has made it clear that their emancipation could only be attained through productive labor, not outside it, not within the four walls of the house. By carrying out our Party's recommendations of this problem, women to-day make up 42% of the total number of workers in urban and rural areas, equal to a figure of 248.000 by the end of 1967. The above figure is a clear indication that the participation of women in production has marked a great leap forward.

Today, the women in our country, can be found in almost all trades, in all branches of our people's economy, in all state and social activities.

In certain branches, such as in the textile, food processing and other industries, women make up the majority of the workers, about 82%, 62% respectively, whereas in the agricultural cooperatives and commerce they make up half of the workers. Thus, women have today become so great a force that any economic or political activity cannot be considered, any five-year plan cannot be fulfilled without their active participation. In order to ensure a speedier march on the road of their complete emancipation it is necessary to continue to increase the number of women taking part in all walks of life in the future, too.

I. The industrial development of our country has gone hand in hand with the increase of woman's participation in the sphere of production, in general, and in the industrial sphere in particular.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, labor is a great economic, ideological and political emancipating factor; therefore in the future we should always base our struggle on making short work of obstacles in this regard.

The economic backwardness of our country prior to its liberation, especially in the industrial sector, was one of the factors impeding the participation of women in industry.

The fact that only 668 women were employed in all the sectors taken together, excluding some country women taking part in farming, indicates how insignificant and negligible the participation of women in the industrial sector has been. But even that small number of women were instigated for economic reasons to look for jobs, so as to earn their daily bread. They were assigned work of drudgery, requiring no qualification.

Nobody troubled themselves to teach them the trade of the sector they worked in. The sole interest of both the bosses of those workshops and of foreign capital was the profit reaped from women who although doing equal work with men were always paid 35 to 60% less. The old women workers of that time, say that their working day lasted 12 hours and frequently, on busy days, it lasted 14-15 hours. During those periods, work was usually organised in two shifts, each lasting 12

hours. The development of industry at faster rates, the setting up and putting into operation of a series of industrial projects, as well as the intense struggle waged by our Party following liberation against those concepts humiliating the woman and denying her role in the development of social production, created the possibility of broadening the participation of women in production and of fighting for their emancipation.

The Second Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania established still greater and more important tasks for the complete emancipation of women. Today, drawing up the balance-sheet of the successes achieved in the fulfilment of these tasks, we are delighted to see that these tasks are being carried out in industry, just like as in all the branches of our people's economy. Thus, at the end of the first half of the current year (1969) the Ministry of Industry and Mines employed about 43,100 women as against 32,800 employed during the same period (June 30, 1967 or before the Second Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania), or 25,9% more than last year, whereas the specific weight of the number of women as against the total number of industrial workers rose from 33,8 to 37,5%. The participation of women in the rubber, electric power, textile and other industries, has increased at a rapid rate.

The growth of woman's participation in productive labor is the result of both the great work done up to now for setting up new factories, workshops and production lines, and of the great struggle waged every day by the Party organisations at the grass-roots to break down women's and men's concepts concerning the participation of women on the new fronts of labor. Today women render their contribution to all the branches of

heavy and light industry, excepting heavy and difficult jobs from which women are excluded by law. The rich experience in connection with the employment of women even in such places as the Gramsh machine making plant, that of the tractor spare parts plant, the Gjirokastra metal workshop surface processes in mines and other sectors show that women, especially under the conditions of extensive and complex mechanisation are able to turn their hand even to these sectors as a turner, lathe worker, fitter, cast worker and to all kinds of jobs of machine manufacturing which in the past men alone were considered capable of. Today the number of women in this sector make up 30% of the total number of workers. But in such plants as that of Korça, Elbasan, Shkodra, and the Geological plant of Tirana, the number of women workers is still low and there is still much to be done to further increase the participation of woman in production by fighting against the conservative concepts concerning the participation of women in these branches of industry. The prospects for the development of our industry create all the possibilities for the further increase of their participation in any sector. Certain partial evidences show that in 1972 the «Stalin» Textile Mills will employ about 3,500 women out of a total of 4,550 workers (or about 70%); the «Mao Tse-tung» Textile Mills 6000 of a total of 7,500 workers (or 80%); the Korça Knit wear Mills 700 of a total of 1,200 workers (or 82%).

Women engaged in industry, by deeply realising politically and ideologically that they make up one of the most important forces in the construction of socialism, are resolutely fighting against the erroneous concepts in connection with their role in social production

and in order to put into practice the tasks set by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

2. Socialist industrialisation is closely connected with the uplift of the ideological and technological-vocational level of women engaged in industry.

The uplift of the ideological and technological vocational level of women is an important factor which speeds up women's complete emancipation and ensures the rise of social labor output. Women engaged in industry, bearing in mind that the development of socialist industry requires an increasingly higher level of qualification, have shown great concern about their ideological, technological and vocational training. Today the whole army of 13,783 upper and secondary technologically educated women contribute to the people's economy, whereas 17.8% of all upper and secondary educated cadres in the industrial sector are women. A considerable number of women engaged in different branches of industry attend low vocational schools and part-time courses. Thus, for example, about 1300 women and girls engaged in the mechanical-engineering industry, 1100 in the raw material industry, 400 in the light industry, about 5,900 in the handicrafts sector and others attend these schools and courses. The training of a great number of women and girls in vocational schools as well as in the courses opened at the tractor spare-parts plant in Tirana and the metal Plant in Gjirokastra (in order to fulfill the needs for laborpower in these sectors), does not only help the uplift of the ideological and technical-vocational level of women but it smashes the concept that women and girls are incapable of work-

ing in the mechanical sector, that they can not run metal-cutting machines, that they cannot repair machines.

In spite of this, the task of raising the level of qualification continues to confront women engaged in industry because evidences show that women's personal category of work is lower than that of all the workers and below the average category. This happened, firstly, because in the past no concern was shown for the raising of the work category of the enterprises and of the women themselves and, secondly, as the number of women employed has recently increased this has lowered their average work category.

By increasing the attendance of women at courses, low and secondary vocational schools, there exists every possibility for raising their level of qualification and promoting their role in the intensification of our socialist industry.

Women's participation in the technological and scientific revolution is another proof of the transformations women have undergone in our country.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have outlined a series of tasks in respect to the further deepening of the technological and scientific revolution. In order to carry these tasks into effect, women workers of the industrial sector, being aware of the fact that this revolution is, first and foremost, an ideological and political problem where man is the decisive factor, have set to work and solved a series of complicated problems regarding the promotion of production. They have advanced many proposals whose applications have brought about improvements in the technology of production, in the increase of output, in lowering costs, etc. At the technological and scientific sessions held recently at

some industrial enterprises, such as the «Stalin» and «Mao Tse-tung» textile mills, the «Ali Kelmendi» Food-processing plant and others, women, too, treated such problems as: improvement of textile technology, improvement of the oil-processing and wood-processing industries, and others, which aroused interest and helped directly in promoting production.

The further development of our industry requires women involved in the technological and scientific revolution to exert still greater efforts in the direction of:

- 1) stepping up initiatives to further increase production,
- 2) further studying in order to improve the technological processes and establish the advanced technology.
- 3) intensifying the exploitation of existing capacities and availabilities.
- 4) mechanizing the still backward processes of work.

The uplift of women's technological and vocational capabilities to the level of men and their mastering of the so-called «men's trades» should contribute to the strengthening of their country's potential; our women should be trained in such a way that, when the need arises, they should be able to bear the brunt of economic tasks in the people's economy as a whole and in industry in particular. In this regard the uplifting of women's qualifications assumes first rate importance.

By correctly understanding the tasks the Party assigns us, it is indispensable for us to always look ahead. Our Party, abiding by Marxism-Leninism, has taught us to fight the old, which impedes the revolutionization of life and production. In spite of all the

progress made so far, as the Fourth Plenum of CC of PLA pointed out, manifestations of conservatism have cropped up again in industry, in the form of handicraft tendencies in various production sectors, the stand on the mechanization of some processes of work in factories and various workshops and the organization of work and setting up of a more advanced technology. In some branches of economy, where the majority of workers are women, as in the canning, food-processing, and soap making industries, as well as in food packing production and in a number of other processes, 80% of the work is done by hand.

Women engaged in these sectors, as well as the workers of the other branches of industry, especially those of the machine-tool sector, have to make efforts in order to revolutionize production through the mechanization of some processes of work which at present do not only make work more difficult for women but lower the output as a whole. Therefore, by introducing the advanced experience into industry and other branches of the economy, women should fight for the revolutionization of our socialist production.

Women engaged in industry, carrying into effect the Party's instructions bear in mind that the fight for women's emancipation is, first and foremost, a fight between opposing ideologies and world outlooks — between our revolutionary socialist Marxist-Leninist ideology and world outlook and the alien, conservative and reactionary, feudal-bourgeois and patriarchal ideology, that a fierce ideological class struggle is being waged between the capitalist and socialist roads on the question of the stand towards women.

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THE ROLE ALBANIAN WOMEN PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

I. The Participation of Women in Production

Today the women of our country have become so great a force that no five-year plan can be accomplished, no major political, economic or social activity can be thought of, and socialism cannot be built without their active participation. There is no production sector, cultural, educational or scientific institution to which the women have not contributed, where the heroism of Albanian women has not been manifested.

The rapid development of the productive forces in our socialist society has deepened and widely specialized social division of labor, it has created new branches and sub-branches of economy in which numerous forces of women are constantly engaged, new labor fronts have been opened where our laboring women render their

valuable contribution to the progress of our society and the complete construction of socialism.

Today the total number of women engaged in all sectors of the people's economy amounts to more than 250,000 making up 42% of the total number of the laboring people in rural and urban areas.

Analyzing the question of women's participation in the various branches of our people's economy, we find that their number has increased in all branches without exception especially, in the production sector where the number increased 143% in comparison with the figure at the end of 1960. Whereas the number of women engaged in non-productive branches increased 85%, in comparison with that at the end of 1960. In comparison with the end of 1960, the number of women in the industrial sector increased 146%, in building construction 107%, in agriculture (the State sector) — 232%, in transport and communication 141%, in trade and accumulation 75% and in the municipal sector 162%.

Regarding the non-productive sphere the educational sector underwent a great increase of women's participation at work. In comparison with the end of 1960, their number at the beginning of this year, increased by 127% whereas in banks and public health institutions their number increased by about 51% and in administration 36%.

At the beginning of this year more than 174,000 working women were engaged in the cooperative sector of agriculture making up 43,3% of all the workers of this category, with an increase of 46,3% in comparison with 1960.

As a result of a higher rate of increase of the number of women engaged in the people's economy in com-

parison with that of men, their specific weight has constantly risen. At the beginning of 1970, in addition to the sector of social services, where this percentage was greater (about 70), in other branches of the economy such as Trade and Amassment, credit institutions and education, the specific weight of the working women increased by more than 50% of the total number of workers.

By the end of 1960, the specific weight of women engaged in the branches of material production was 72%, whereas by the beginning of 1970 it had risen to 77%. The specific weight of women engaged in non-material production branches fell from 28 to 23%. This disproportion was due to a wider participation of women in production, especially following the Second Plenum of the CC of the PLA on «The further development of the struggle for the complete emancipation of the women and the enhancement of their role in socialist society».

A similar increase of the rate of participation of women in work is also noticed in the cooperative sector of agriculture. Last year the cooperative members of working age scored more than 35 million work days with an average of 200 work days per capita whereas in 1960 the average number of workdays for each member was 144. Thanks to an ever greater participation of women at work in agricultural cooperatives, the ratio of the number of work-days recorded by women has constantly increased. From 58% in 1960 and 61% in 1964, it rose to 69% in 1967.

In those districts where the average of work-days recorded by men is higher or lower than the Republic's average, the average number of work-days achieved by women, too, is higher or lower than that of the Republic.

A typical exception is that of the Tirana district where the average work-days recorded by women is 14% above the Republic average, whereas that of men is about 4% below that average.

Generally, the greater increase of women's participation in production is due to the increase of the number of plants and enterprises, to the extension of workshops near the existing enterprises, to the setting-up of new lines and departments in many enterprises and production and social services cooperatives.

The extension of the participation of women in production makes up one aspect of the problem, which assures the speeding up of production rates and the increase of national incomes, but what is most important is that by being politically and ideologically mature, giving priority to politics, i.e. by always bearing in mind that the sweat shed on labor fronts increases material goods, that it helps consolidate socialism and inspired by the Party decisions regarding the revolutionization of the whole life of the country, the women have mustered all their efforts giving a practical proof of their creative genius. They have succeeded in fulfilling and overfulfilling their work quotas in the industrial sector as well as in the other branches of our people's economy. They have taken initiatives to pass from individual to collective quotas, to reduce the individual plots of land, to be transferred to the most difficult labor fronts, etc.

Many women workers of various enterprises have already set to work to successfully accomplish the tasks set for the 4th five-year plan of economic and cultural development. Today, hundreds of innovators and rationalizers are women who, through their valuable proposals, have rendered great contributions to our people's economy. During the first half of this year alone our

workers have advanced more than 18,000 innovation and rationalization proposals of which 14,000 have been approved and more than half of the latter have been put into practice in various enterprises. Of the proposals advanced and approved more than 2,000 have been submitted by our women workers.

The most important number of proposals have been advanced by the women engaged in industry (69%). In commerce this percentage is 19% and in agriculture 8%, and so on.

In spite of the successes achieved, we should exploit all the existing availabilities offered by the social division of labor in our country to ensure a wider participation of women in the various fronts of production.

In comparison with the other branches of the economy, the participation of women in some branches of material production is still unsatisfactory: in building construction, transport and communication the women respectively make up about 10% and 12% of all the workers. The disproportion in the participation of women in work within the main branches is also pronounced. Thus, for instance, the number of women engaged in the textile, food-processing and other sub-branches of industry and, moreover, in special enterprises is very high (over 80% of the workers are women), whereas their number in building construction, in metallurgy and in electric power plants, as well as in other sub-branches of industry is relatively low.

This low participation is the result of a pronounced harmful influence exerted by conservatism deeply ingrained both in the minds of men and women, according to which the latter should work only in sectors suitable allegedly to women's physical weakness, where-

as various justifications are advanced for the so-called 'unsuitable' sectors.

One of the greatest achievements of our society is the creation of most favourable standards of hygiene and the adoption of measures to enforce technical safety at work. In addition, bearing in mind that the working woman is at the same time a mother, our socialist legislation contains many provisions prohibiting women from being employed in dangerous and strenuous jobs.

Thanks to the introduction of advanced technology in the processes of production, manual work has become considerably lighter even in the branches unsuitable for women. Thus, for example, at present we have automatic metal-cutting machines and are applying advanced technology in repairing certain machines and electrical and mechanical devices, we have automatic measuring and commanding machines in various enterprises and in construction enterprises, where women's participation can increase.

II. The raising of women's educational level

The training of our national cadres, our national technical intelligentsia and of all the other cadres has been and will always remain an indispensable requirement for the independent management of our economy and of our socialist construction. The Party of Labor of Albania proceeding consciously towards the socialist construction of our country and applying the economic laws of socialism, first and foremost, the fundamental economic law and that of the proportional development of our people's economy, has correctly appreciated the importance of speedy rates and correct proportions of the

development of the economy in general, and the training of cadres, in particular. This has been taken into account especially as regards the women 90% of whom used to be illiterate prior to liberation.

Due to the setting up of a wide network of schools all over our country, the number of females attending them (with the exception of primary schools) occupies 42% of the total number of pupils and students, whereas in 1938 the number attending was only 24%.

In 1938, one in every 28 females attended school, whereas today the ratio is one in every four. Such a wide participation of women in schools has not been met in any of the neighboring states.

It is a fact that the reproduction of man-power is the reproduction of workers and cadres imbued with a certain degree of culture, general education and the necessary qualifications.

At the beginning of this year we had 1825 women cadres of higher training employed in all the branches of the people's economy, making up about 20% of all the cadres of our country. Of all these female cadres trained during the years of People's State Power 230 are engineers, 335 are physicians and dentists, 215 are economists, over 700 are teachers and so on. At present the total number of female cadres who have graduated from the university has more than doubled over the figure of 1960. Today, female engineers alone represent more than 69% of all the cadres of higher training in 1938. In education and public health services more than half of the respective cadres are women.

The number of female cadres with middle school training has also greatly increased. At the beginning of this year they reached the 2,000 mark, making up 39% of all the cadres of middle school training.

Irrespective of the high rate at which female cadres are being trained for the purpose of meeting the needs of our People's economy, their number is still very low in comparison with that of men.

In addition to ordinary schools, numerous lower vocational part-time schools and qualification courses have been opened for workers. At present, these part-time schools and qualification courses are being attended by about 4,000 workers of the light industry, 6,000 others working in the handicraft sector and about 1,300 workers of the machine tool manufacturing industry attend full time schools. But still, in spite of the perceptible improvement of the level of qualification, they have not succeeded in coming up to the level of technique and technology of production which keeps advancing with each passing day. In the majority of our enterprises we notice that the women's category of qualification is lower than that of men. Thus, for instance, the ratio of women to men in categories of qualification at the «Ali Kelmendi» Food-processing plant is 3 to 4; at the «Enver» Machine shop it is 1,5:4,3.

In certain enterprises this is due to the large number of women engaged in labor for the first time during recent years, but the main cause is that the respective enterprises have hesitated to raise women's level of qualification by underrating their abilities. The cause of this is also to be found in the fact that some women themselves lack confidence in their own capabilities and consider themselves inferior to men.

Failure of the worker's personal category of qualification to meet the demands required by the job, which is more pronounced among women, lowers

the quality of products, reduces work productivity and increases production costs.

The raising of the workers' qualification, having a direct bearing on their wages, will lead to a happy solution of the problem relating to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the economic plans in various enterprises and in economy in general. Adopting linked processes of work will further smooth out the differences between men's and women's personal qualification categories.

* * *

Due to the improvements of material conditions the average life span in our country today has risen from 52 in 1950 to 67 years in 1968, surpassing the life span of men in many other countries. The lengthening of women's average life span brings about the lengthening of the period of time during which women work. As a result, the number of females of all ages in 1980 will be above 1,300,000 which will be equal to the population of Albania in 1952. Due to the increase of births and the constant decrease of deaths, the number of females of working-age (from 16 to 55), which today is more than 430,000, will reach about half a million in 1975 according to approximate calculations, whereas by the end of 1980 their number will reach 650,000 or equal to 53% of all females.

Our people's economy is constantly intensifying and developing. An ever growing number of workers and cadres are required for the construction of the major works during the future five-year periods. The great army of our working women will render a still greater

contribution to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the economic plans — to the general increase of social production, to the increase of material wealth, as a consequence of which our people's welfare will improve. Thus women will keep rendering an ever increasing contribution to the ultimate consolidation and prosperity of our socialist homeland.

VIOLETA FOTO

Engineer, Chairwoman of the Women's Organization of the Berat District.

THE UPLIFT OF THE CULTURAL, TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL LEVEL OF OUR WOMEN IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION

This problem is of special importance for the «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill, because women make up 69 percent of all its workers. The «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill is a newly set up establishment employing about 4,200 workers of an average age of about 23 years. In the future, when the Textile Mill will be exploited to the full and the number of workers will reach the 7,500 mark, the number of women workers will also increase.

A considerable number of the women workers in the Textile Mill have only had elementary schooling. Most of them used to lead an isolated life stifled by prejudices and their concepts towards work were primitive. The task of managing and exploiting a new industry, equipped with advanced technique was to be entrusted to them.

Prior to liberation of the country, hardly any in-

dustry existed in the district of Berat. The only factories that existed there were a flour mill of a capacity of 20 qt of flour a day, an oil press of a capacity of 10 qt a day and a threshing machine. (We exclude here the former Kuçova town).

Among the manual labor trades, handicrafts were practised on a larger scale.

The town of Berat had 797 workers all told.

Among intellectual jobs, those more widely followed were the professions of lawyers, teachers, public notaries, employees of the municipal administration and of public works, and so on.

Working women made up only a very small number. Only 23 of them were employed in jobs outside their homes, of whom 13 were teachers, 3 employees in the public health service and 7 in the administration.

The women of Berat did not take direct part in the production of material goods outside their homes. They were engaged in handicraft work (embroidery, weaving, etc.).

Some women owned laundries to serve the rich families of the city.

Thus, the town of Berat had no tradition in the field of industry.

The participation of women in social productive labor was achieved due to the concern the Party of Labor of Albania showed for the people's welfare by creating continually better conditions for them.

Today the district of Berat has over 15,000 workers. The working class make up 41,6% of the urban population in our district, of whom 5,800 are women.

The «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill was provided

with laboring women from the free forces of the city of Berat, Stalin city and Ura Vajgurore, from those graduating from the eight-grade and secondary and vocational schools, from the State Agricultural and other existing enterprises.

Thus, various paths have been followed to ensure workers in order to put this great project into operation. The make up of the women was heterogenous as far as their educational technical, vocational level is concerned.

The difficulties of forming the labor-force of the Textile Mill appeared from the very days of its construction. Those who came to work at the Mill had to change their professions. Those coming from farms had been accustomed to work only during the day while here they had to work in three shifts. The inhabitants of Berat had been used to seeing their women employed within the city, whereas now they had to be sent to Tirana to follow the courses of apprenticeship.

These problems were not easily solved. The militants of the city's women's organisation played a great role in this case. They went from house to house to persuade the women. On their part, they themselves attended these courses. In this way this mentality began to break down.

The laboring women of the «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill were trained in lower vocational schools, partially near the «Stalin» Textile Mill and partially near the «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill, where other women are still being trained. But there still existed a great disproportion between the working women's category of professional qualification and the category required for the job. This exerted a negative influence

on work productivity, on the quality of textile fabrics and on the upkeep of machines.

In order to overcome these difficulties, importance was attached to the ideological and political education of the women. Good work was done in organizing studies of the documents of the Party, such as Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967 «On the further revolutionization of the Party and of the State Power», the documents of the Second Plenum of the CC of the PLA, and those of the Third Plenum of the CC of the PLA «On the cooperation and the technical and scientific revolution». The study of these materials aimed at inculcating correct concepts among them, at ridding them of mystic, religious and reactionary concepts and at forming a materialist-scientific world outlook on life, nature and society.

In order to form a deep conviction of the ability of man to transform nature and society, it was aimed at forming the concept that labor is not only a source of income for women, as was thought, but a factor for the progress and the complete emancipation of women, by means of which women become conscious members of the society, so that they may render their contribution to the construction of socialism, to the carrying out of the Party's line.

Parallel with developing production, the «Mao Tsetung» Textile Mill, also became a training school from which graduated new production cadres and hundreds of skilled workers.

During the 1967-68 school year, 500 workers, among them 273 young women, pursued without interruption their studies in different full time and correspondence schools. At the beginning of 1968, a subsidiary of the Department of Textile Engineering was

opened at the Textile Mill and was attended by 72 students, among whom 17 were young women. 88 qualification courses, attended by 1718 workers, including a course of advanced mathematics, were set up for the vocational qualification of our workers.

Consultations have been organized among workers of a certain profession to solve technological problems emerging from the work process. Such consultations have also been organized between workers of two different professions linked with each other, such as between the loom-workers and the fabric checkers, between loom-workers and others.

Of 21 themes which were studied and taken up for discussion this year, 14 were prepared and delivered by workers, 80% of whom were women.

These themes concerned the solution of technological problems such as those of cotton mixtures, calculation of production costs, thread stiffening, and others.

Women have advanced proposals with a view to improving the quality and lowering the cost of production. Thus, for instance, at the dyeing factory, they have used «universal» during boiling which adds a lot to the quality of light fabrics, they have successfully experimented with simultaneous bleaching and dyeing establishing the most favorable conditions for dyeing with sulphuric colors, etc.

Numerous organizers and managers of social and state affairs have emerged from the ranks of the women of the Textile Mill. At present, there are 13 forewomen, 10 assistant-foremen, 2 women in charge of departments, 13 brigade-leaders, 3 chiefs of sec-

tions, a chief woman engineer and the assistant manager of the Textile Mill.

In the Textile Mills, the women's personality has also been asserted through their activity and initiatives.

After the Vth Congress of the PLA, the workers' collective of the Textile Mill took the initiative of trying collective technological-scientific experimentation in order to reach the technological targets of the industrially and technically advanced countries.

One hundred workers, technicians and engineers have participated in this initiative. Over 80% of them are women. It aims at activating not only the laboratory collective but all the workers in order to discover the most favorable technological methods, to increase production and improve the quality of products to discover and remove shortcomings, errors and defects occurring during production.

First and foremost efforts have been exerted to make clear the main political and ideological objective of this initiative, which is in compliance with the Party's orientations, in order to assist in solving those non antagonistic contradictions of our society concerning the complete construction of socialist society and then of communism.

The application of this initiative aims at reaching through practice and daily efforts that unity and complete collaboration between workers, technicians and engineers that is inspired by the Party's ideology and objectives, i. e. to exert common efforts for the building of socialism. Relying on sound bases and being inspired by such objectives, this unity and collaboration has found its concrete expression in collective research work, where every woman worker renders

her own contribution, where all help one another with the experience and knowledge needed to keep up production, to arrive at theoretical and practical conclusions scientifically based on technique and technology.

During the concrete work of technical-scientific experimentation, by acquiring an ever better grasp of the principles, norms and regulations which make up the complex of the technological process, the women workers themselves apply, correct, complete and improve them.

At the beginning, not everyone understood thoroughly the substance and importance of this initiative. Some began to consider it merely and mainly from the viewpoint of the immediate advantage, of their influence on the improvement of the main targets of production, but they were far from understanding its deep political and ideological significance. Therefore, allround efforts had to be exerted again in order to convince these women workers not only of the technological and economic importance of this initiative, but also of the significance of the ideological and political content of this mass action in the domain of the technical and technological research work to attain a high production quality. The erroneous views that since we are a newly-formed collective, and everything here is modern, therefore there is nothing left which needs improvement, and such work should be done in the laboratory by able technicians and engineers and not by workers were made clear and refuted.

Precautions were taken against such opinions which might detach the worker collectives from creative work. Relying on the Party's teachings, the relation between man and technique was made clear with ar-

guments drawn from everyday experience in production.

Initiatives were taken by the loom-workers to apply the «Popy» method which fixes the proper order of the work operations and the most suitable speed to follow in order to keep the machinery in good shape, establishing advanced technical norms in the application of production technology, strengthening technical and scientific discipline, enhancing the spirit of collaboration and mutual assistance among the loom-workers.

Loom-workers like Qelibare Arapi and her companions, who have applied this method, have increased the production of high quality fabrics from the planned 86% to 98%. Such results strengthen the workers' confidence in their own forces, further strengthens their passion for creative work and the spirit of discovering and applying the new, of getting rid of artisan concepts and methods of work and of forming habits, traditions and methods which are inspired by advanced industrial concepts on the production development based on the achievements of modern science and technique.

AFKA GAMBETA

Secretary of General Council of the WUA.

ON THE PARTICIPATION OF ALBANIAN WOMEN IN THE STATE ORGANS AND THE ROLE THEY ARE CALLED TO PLAY IN ITS DEMOCRATIZATION

No revolution or bourgeois movement has ever ensured complete equality of rights to women. Even the so-called most democratic bourgeois republics, which have proclaimed women's equality of rights have not only imposed a wide range of limitations upon women's rights but have also prohibited «the poor and the women» from engaging in politics, from taking an active part in the social life of the country.

This confirms Lenin's saying that,

«There can not, does not and will not exist «equality» between the oppressed and the oppressors, between the exploited and the exploiters. Real 'freedom' can not, does not and will not exist as long as the woman does not enjoy the same legal rights that man is entitled to.»¹⁾

1) V. I. Lenin. Soviet State Power and Women's state. Works vol. XXX, p. 119. Albanian edition.

It is the custom of the capitalist world to make a lot of noise regarding legislation that would ensure equality to women and in fact, to put into practice not even one hundredth of what they promise. But when the revolutions and the progressive movements are led by Marxist-Leninist Parties, having in their program the real liberation of the masses, only then is the women's emancipation attained. The means to reach this end are not legal proclamations and provisions, but class struggle in all fields — military and political, economic and ideological — just as it happened in our country. During the National-liberation War full equality of rights already existed in the ranks of our army between the women and men partisans who were fighting for freedom and democracy. Numerous women comrades carried out the political and military management of partisan units, showing in this way that women are able to fight, organize and lead the masses.

Even before our Party came into being, the women in our country had fought for political rights. But only after the Party was founded, did their fight, and that of all our people, assume an organized character and lead to the realization of their democratic aspirations.

This confirms the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint according to which the political rights of women and the people's masses can not be attained by means of reforms, but only through armed revolutionary uprising. «The Albanian antifascist women» Comrade Enver Hoxha said on the eve of the country's liberation, «won their rights by shedding blood and these rights are guaranteed by the People's Power, which

they together with their brothers set up sacrificing everything dear to them.»¹⁾

Eversince the first days of its existence our People's State Power took measures to provide complete political and civil rights for women, as for all the laboring people in general. It did away with all the norms and laws of the exploiting order, abrogated the norm of the «Shariat» and of the «Law of the Mountains» which enslaved and humiliated women. The new legislation, drawn up in conformity with the objective laws of the development of our society, entitled women to equal rights with men.

The Constitution of the P.R. of Albania promulgated in 1946 stipulates that «women enjoy equal rights with men in all the domains of private, political and social life». This principle found its expression in the laws that govern the activity of peoples in all the fields of life, in the laws regarding work, the family, education, political and civil life and so on. Thus, with the establishment of the People's State Power the woman was placed on an equal footing with men by law.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, equality recognised by law is not everything. In order to ensure complete equality between men and women, the Party and Government had to create the necessary conditions as well. These conditions were of a material and spiritual character. Only a profoundly democratic power like ours cares whether the laboring people, especially the women, fully enjoy their rights, whether they air their opinions freely about state and social problems.

1) Enver Hoxha. On the problem of woman p. 20.

Through uniting the laboring people in political and social organisations, the socialist state attaches great concern to the carrying out of their initiatives in the political, economic, social fields, in the administration of the country in general.

The radical economic transformations that have taken place in our country, the establishment of socialist relations in production throughout the whole system of the people's economy, the cultural revolution which accompanied the radical changes in the economic and social domain, getting rid of exploitation and involving women in social production work created favorable conditions for equality, for a wider participation of women in state administration and in all the state activity of the country.

Since the first days of the People's Power, women were assigned to state administration posts. But at that time the conditions of our women were deplorable, they were very backward and they lacked the minimum training for taking part in state affairs. We must also admit that the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants who took the Power into their hands lacked such training. The Party of Labor of Albania, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, solved this question in a revolutionary way. In opposition to all the bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist theories which hold that women are not capable to participate in political and state affairs, our Party, considering women as a revolutionary force, did not wait for women cadres to be trained or for their cultural level to be raised but, ever since the first days of the country's liberation, it set forth the task that «women should take part in people's councils,

which are their Power, and have their say in all the country's problems»⁽¹⁾.

For the first time in the history of our country, the women made use of their democratic right to vote in December 1945. The democratic right to vote is a great political victory for all, but in a specific way it constitutes a major victory for the Albanian woman. Through the democratic right to vote, the woman, the same as man, gained the right to voice her opinion in State affairs and in society»⁽²⁾. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: By electing their representatives to the state administration, the women themselves were represented at all levels of the People's State Power. Their number keeps growing from one legislature to another. In 1966 as against 1945, the number of women deputies in the People's Assembly increased 13 times. In 1967 the number of women elected to the district, city-quarter and village people's councils increased twofold in comparison with 1960. According to 1967 election figures, women make up from 35 to 40% of all those elected at each level.

Women's representation in the state organs differs from one organ to another. In some organs their number is smaller. Thus, in state executive organs, there are few women members of Executive Committees, while as members of the People's Councils of districts women make up 35% of all the members. It turns out that the election of women to people's councils does not proceed parallel with their election to state executive organs. A kind of inequality exists here which is caused mainly by subjective difficulties, the survival of the old con-

1) Enver Hoxha. On the problem of woman, p. 36.

2) Ibid, page 197.

cepts according to which «women are unable to do managerial work». Such concepts have been got rid of especially since Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on February 6, 1967, but some hangovers of them still exert their influence on the promotion of women to posts of leadership, particularly in the management of state organs. There exist some objective difficulties as well, such as the educational level of women, being generally lower than that of men, which should be overcome through efforts. Bearing in mind that among the women elected to the state executive organs, especially to the district Executive Committees, there are many of them who are in charge of other posts and few of them directly engaged in the daily management of state affairs, the problem assumes greater importance. In this way, the fight against these obstacles should be further intensified.

When speaking about women elected to the state organs we refer only to one aspect of their participation in State affairs. Hand in hand with that, the role which they and the broad masses of women play in the further democratization of the state Power is of great importance.

The experience of socialist construction in our country has continually confirmed that the strengthening and democratization of People's Power cannot be attained without fighting bureaucratism. Therefore the closer ties of the state Power and its apparatus with the masses and the development of the initiatives of the masses for the solution of all the problems of so-

cialist construction are the main tasks set by the Party for the democratization of State Power. Women play an important role in all this activity.

The activity of women elected to the State administration is no less than that of men. In some links of the state organs, especially in the People's Councils of city quarters, women are more active than men. Many problems preoccupying the inhabitants of the city quarters are solved as a result of the great help rendered by women. But the role of women elected to the State administration differs from one level to another. Women elected as councillors to the state organs at the base, especially in city quarters, are more active than women councillors at higher levels, in particular, those elected to the People's Councils in localities and even in certain district People's Councils, pay more attention to the formal and bureaucratic side of their functions by organizing 'pro forma' meetings with their electors. «He,» (the deputy) Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his February 6 speech, «is a deputy and at the same time a member of the great masses of men and women who not only apply but create, decide, discuss, make proposals and amendments and criticize»¹). Thus, women elected as deputies and councillors should not only organize meetings with their electors, take notes and give orders, but they should also organize and lead the masses, help solve their daily problems and overcome the difficulties which crop up in everyday life.

Many women councillors do not take an active part in the solution of all the problems preoccupying

1) Enver Hoxha. «The Further Revolutionization of the Party and state Power» p. 35.

the people, but they select and concentrate only on some of them. At the people's council meetings women councillors are more interested in discussing problems concerning trade and municipal services and less the other problems.

But the fact that these representatives of the people confine themselves to a few problems of state activity does not mean that the masses of women are not actively concerned about state problems. On the contrary, women make up an active and revolutionary body who render a major contribution to the solution of state problems. These shortcomings are due to the fact that some women councillors fail to deeply politically understand the mission the people have entrusted to them as their representatives as well as to their bureaucratic tendency of concentrating all work in the hands of a few.

Therefore the People's Councils today are confronted with the great task of better organising the work so as to activate all the women councillors in state affairs. The Women's Union of Albania is called upon to render active assistance in this respect.

The normal functioning and perfecting of the democratic State Power demands an ever wider participation of the masses of the people in its affairs. The participation of a large number of woman in state affairs is also an indispensable condition for its democratization.

Our Party raises the problem of the democratization of state power in a revolutionary way. In this too, it

has applied the mass line. Consequently the question of democratization of the state Power is not considered as a question concerning only councillors and deputies, but all the people. It is linked with the struggle of the people's masses against bureaucratism, with their active participation in the solution of the problems of socialist construction.

The participation of the masses of women in the affairs of the People's State Power dates back to the period of the National-liberation War and has kept growing ever since. The large-scale consultations of the elected organs with the masses, therefore also including women, as well as the control women have exerted on these organs especially for public health, education, trade, municipal services, housing and other problems are concerned have helped a great deal in democratizing the state power. Women have made good suggestions to the state organs in connection with the application of their important functions — the management of the socialist economy, education and culture. They have taken an active part in the discussion and modification of the state plans; together with the other people's masses, they have helped improve these plans and make them more realistic, they have brought forth new sources of economic reserves and human energies. During this year over 15% of all the proposals for inventions and rationalizations have been advanced by women workers. But, of the proposals advanced by women, only a few are due to their being familiar with and mastering technology, to the application of scientific theory to practice. Thus, the indispensable technical and vocational uplift of women is necessary so that they may assert their role in

solving the difficult economic problems the State may come up against.

In rural as well as in urban areas women have helped the state organs in protecting socialist property and have fought in a revolutionary way against tendencies to infringe upon and damage this property. They have also rendered valuable assistance to the State in upholding and enforcing socialist law. While exercising their functions in people's councils and courts of justice, women have stood as vigilant defenders of their own dignity and as the severest prosecutors against those infringing upon women's equality. Women speak freely and fight with resolution to help State organs solve all their problems correctly. Women's criticism in the people's meetings is strong. It often happens that women who speak and criticize also express the opinion of their companions. We have here a collective criticism and a collective opinion.

But the timidity and the petty-bourgeois sentiment still impeding some women, in particular in rural areas, from courageously and everywhere expressing their opinion, as well as the conservatism of some men to appreciate women's opinion and encourage them, account for the fact that the same women take the floor at meetings. Of course these are the most resolute fighters, those who have won authority among the people who they turn to concerning every problem. But it is the duty of the political organizations and of society as a whole to see to it that the women gain more confidence in their own forces, so that they can fight every manifestation of conservatism which lies in their way in this respect.

As the Second Plenum of the CC of the PLA

pointed out, the complete construction of socialist society requires a still higher increase of the political and social activity of the masses of women, requires their wider participation in state affairs. To achieve this, it is necessary that directives should be carried out better so that the ideological and political, educational and cultural level of women may be raised to an ever higher level.

The political and state activity of the present stage requires more political and ideological insight, more knowledge and culture.

Only people who have a deep grasp of the Party's policy, who are endowed with its ideology and who master technology, science and culture in a continually better way are able to build socialism in their country. Our women should also follow this course.

The struggle for the complete emancipation of women which is successfully conducted by our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a struggle dedicated to a lofty revolutionary goal, will contribute greatly to the complete construction of socialist society, to the ultimate consolidation of our People's State Power.

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ON CERTAIN ANTI-MARXIST CONCEPTS OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS IN CONNECTION WITH WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL PRODUCTION WORK

In the problem of the emancipation of women, as a great social problem, we run up against two fundamental lines, two diametrically opposed concepts, the Marxist-Leninist concept and the bourgeois and revisionist concept which are at war with one another.

Marxism-Leninism considers the emancipation of women as the basis of the problem of the woman. As a matter of fact, the only way which leads to the realization of this objective is to overthrow the social regime of exploitation in order to carry out the socialist revolution non-stop, to involve women in social production work, and political and social life and to establish complete social equality between the two sexes in all spheres of life.

The question of inequality between women and men cannot be passed over in silence even by the

bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and sociologists. But, contrary to the Marxist-Leninists, they view the problem of women's emancipation in the light of illuminism, without raising the problem of overthrowing the social order of things which is based on the oppression and exploitation of man by man, preaching that women's emancipation can allegedly be attained within the framework of the capitalist exploiting order of things, by means of reforms and not through the socialist revolution.

The bourgeois illuministic views on the problem of women's emancipation and on the establishment of social equality between man and woman are spreading among and being adopted with increasing rapidity by the Khrushchevite revisionists. This is clearly seen in their line and preachings pretending that this problem can be solved by means of reforms even under the conditions of capitalism and in regarding this problem merely from the sentimental and ethical point of view, detaching it from the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

As in all other problems, in the woman's problem too, the Khrushchevite revisionists have abandoned the principles of Marxism-Leninism, this being closely linked with their course of capitalist restoration. These views and this line are clearly expressed in the most radical point in connection with woman's emancipation and precisely in the stand they have adopted towards the problem of their participation in social production work.

In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries there is a growing crystalization of the anti-Marxist tendency of keeping women away from production and of confining them to household chores.

The «Nedelja» weekly of May 12, 1968 stresses that the majority of men hold that women should be removed from production work. «They», the above mentioned newspaper wrote, «hold that she had better stay at home». The weekly continues: «At the present economic stage it would probably be more reasonable to leave the women free at home to look after their children» 1).

How has this anti-Marxist tendency concerning the stand on the problem of women originated?

Having embarked their country onto the capitalist road of development the Khrushchevite revisionists are not able to solve the contradictions that exist in the state of women as workers, as mothers and as housekeepers. That is why they urge the women to stay at home and dissuade them from participating in social production work. Resorting to demagoguery they try to represent this as a Marxist-Leninist view fully compatible with the objective conditions and, on the other hand, they strive to make public opinion believe that they are allegedly concerned only about lightening the burden of the working women.

What are the «arguments» the Khrushchevite revisionists advance in order to prove that their concepts and positions are allegedly Marxist-Leninist and that they are allegedly fighting to lighten women, as workers, as mothers and housekeepers, of their burden by drawing them away from social production?

First, they try to justify the exclusion of women from production work by the fact that in the present period society can not fully socialize household eco-

1) «Nedelja» weekly newspaper. The article «Women and Work», p. 20, of the May 12, 1968 edition.

nomy. «Society» Larisa Kuznecova, stresses in an article published in «Literaturnaya Gazeta» of February 28, 1968 «has provided accommodations in creches and kindergartens for only 23% of the children, whereas the economists have estimated that society has removed only 1/20 of the weight of household work from the woman's shoulders.

Thus, according to the Khrushchevite revisionists, since society is not able to transform household economy into social economy and at a time when the economic and material level of every family has been greatly raised, the problem that women should take an indispensable part in production can no longer be raised.

These «arguments», which at first sight give the impression that special concern is being shown for the laboring women, are contradictory: On one hand, they stress that society, due to the level of economic development, is not able to carry on the process of socializing household economy and overcome the contradiction in the state of women on this basis, on the other hand they pretend that family incomes have greatly increased.

If this is so, then the legitimate question arises: Why is society not able to socialize household economy? Isn't this only a demagoguery to cover up the difficulties that have been created and to justify the exemption from work of women of that bourgeoisified and privileged stratum of society, who at present do not take part in social production and lead a typically bourgeois life?

Second, the Khrushchevite revisionists try to reassure women preaching that household work merits the same respect as work in production. But these preach-

ings, too, have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Of course, household work, which fulfils vital needs of men has always merited and still merits respect. But this respect must not be confused, as the revisionists do, with the role production work and household work play in the allround progress of people in general and of women, in particular.

«Household economy» — Lenin has stressed — «is, in most cases, the most fruitless, crudest and hardest work that women do. It is done in extraordinary detail and, in reality, it contains in itself nothing to help more or less in the progress of women»¹). Then how could the important role of social production work and that of household work be considered as equal, when it is a question bringing about the complete emancipation of women, of ensuring their equality with men and their allround progress?

Third, the Khrushchhevite revisionists say that the main task of woman is to rear children and take care of herself since she is a delicate creature, a symbol of beauty destined to be an «ornament» for man or a means to fulfil his desires. In connection with such a treatment of the problem of woman, the candidate of the philosophical sciences, I.M. Kitchemova, wrote: «The present woman is not only a worker, or a social activist. She is a housekeeper, a mother and a woman as well. The husband, it should be said among others, does not remain indifferent towards the mood of his wife returning from work; does he find her delighting, fresh, nice, quiet or ill-humoured and tired? This is the origin of the opinion often expressed by men; that it is better for the family if women would work only a

1) V. I. Lenin: Works, vol. 30, p. 420. Russian edition.

little or not at all⁴). As may be seen, we have to do here with those bourgeois concepts which treat women as a means to give birth to and assure the continuity of the species, on one hand, and as a «creature of luxury» for the use of men, on the other.

Fourth, the Khrushchevite revisionists link the question of the exemption of women from production work with the fact that the Soviet economy no longer stands in need of women's productive forces. In connection with this, the «Nedelya» magazine, reporting the comments of a participant in an interview organized by its editorial board, emphasized: «As may be seen, during the first decade, our country demanded the participation of women in production. Today, however, this necessity does not exist»²). Treating the problem of women in this way is anti-Marxist. This is an anti-scientific stand viewing the problem of woman from the narrow positions of economism, of the family needs to ensure incomes for subsistence. Thus, the Khrushchevite revisionists view the participation of women in production merely from the angle of economic interest, they vulgarize it and do not see in it the social significance of the complete emancipation of women and of the establishment of social equality between man and woman.

All these views did nothing but express in essence the interests and reflected the state of mind of that bourgeoisified stratum of the intelligentsia and of the working class aristocracy of city and country, shaped in the Soviet society by the Khrushchevite revisionists and which support their course of capitalist restoration.

1) «Nedelya»; «Women and Labour», May 12, 1968, p. 20.

2) Ibid., p. 20.

These concepts of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the problem of women are typical bourgeois concepts. They have nothing in common with the interests of the broad masses of the working and peasant women, they have nothing in common with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which regard the problem of the complete emancipation of woman and her complete equality with man as a fundamental question of the socialist revolution, of the construction of socialism and communism.

Contrary to the Khrushchevite revisionist views, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, after the overthrowing of the exploiting order of things and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the decisive factor for women's emancipation for her growing role in society and for the establishment of actual equality between men and women, is the labor factor, the broad participation of the masses of women in social production and in political and social activity.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism consider the participation of women in social production work as the only road to their emancipation. In connection with this Engels wrote: «...woman's emancipation, her equality with man is impossible and will remain so as long as women stand aloof from social production work and confines herself to private household work. The emancipation of women will be achieved only when they will take part in production on a wide scale, on a social scale and when they will devote only part of their time to household work»¹). Taking up the same subject

1) F. Engels. «The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State». Selected Works. Vol. II, p. 293. Albanian edition.

Lenin emphasized: «In order to attain women's complete emancipation and her real equality with man, social economy and women's participation in common productive labor are indispensable»¹). Thus, we can have emancipated women only when we do our utmost to mobilize them for work in production, when we wage an earnest and continuous fight without retreating before difficulties in order to create the necessary conditions through socializing household economy or through other means which lighten the heavy burden of women as mothers and housekeepers.

In opposition to the demagogic sermons of the Khrushchevite revisionists and in open battle with them, the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have devoted special attention and concern to the problem of the participation of women in social production work and in political and social activity. Referring to the factor «labor» as a great determining factor for the emancipation of women, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed: «If we do not rely on this factor, if we let it slacken off, then women's liberty, initiative and equality with men in life, in society and in the family will slacken off as well. They will remain under the domination of the old law of the patriarchal family with its survivals in people's consciousness still alive»²).

1) V. I. Lenin. Works. Vol. 39, p. 201. Russian edition.

2) Enver Hoxha: Discussion on Certain Principal Problems concerning the Lushnja district at the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA (March 14, 1966).

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ALBANIAN WOMEN FIGHTING FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Albanian women, though oppressed and leading a life which in the past has left no trace in the social and political life of the country, have, nevertheless, played an important role in the centuries-long struggle for freedom and independence, for the preservation of their mother tongue, for a life free of exploitation and social injustice, as well as in the struggle which was crowned with the establishment of the people's power. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The efforts of our people in the past for national liberation cannot be thought of without taking into account the great contribution rendered by the women of our country, though men have tried to attribute all the glorious deeds of the past to themselves. The great contribution rendered by our women should be entered as an asset on the balance-sheets of the struggle of our people for freedom and independence.»

The historical sources, though meager as regards the participation of women in the struggles for freedom and independence, enable us to closely follow the role the Albanian women have played in the major events of the time, ranging from the struggle of our people under the leadership of our National Hero, Skanderbeg, to the heroic National-liberation War where our women, led by the Communist Party of Albania, succeeded in regaining their freedom, their equal rights and in becoming a lively force for the socialist society of the People's Republic of Albania. Under the conditions of the merciless war the Ottoman invaders waged against our people in the 15th century, it was only natural that the Albanian women could not stand aloof from the events and the grave consequences of the war.

The contribution of the Albanian women to the centuries-long struggle for national liberation cannot be properly appreciated if we only take into account her participation arms in hand on the field of battle. We should take into account here the fact that in Albania, the struggle for national liberation and for strengthening the independent Albanian State, whose prologue lay in the legendary epic of the 15th century, was waged when feudal relations held sway, when the woman was considered as a simple productive force and treated like a negligible member of the family, dependent on her parents when a girl, on her husband when a wife, and on her son when a widow. Marriage charged Albanian women with a double function: to add new human forces to and toil and sweat for the prosperity of the family. Being charged with this double function women were naturally exempted from the task of waging an armed struggle in defense of

life, of property, of the family and, least of all, of the freedom and independence of the country. The feudal order compelled the women to hold in their hands not the rifle and the plough but the cradle and the distaff without which they could not justify their presence in their husband's family. Of course, the economic and juridical dependence of women on men who bore arms and owned property has not been the same at all times and in the regions of the country. Though the economic and social order of the time did not allow women to actively participate in the armed struggle, they did not live isolated from their social and family life. They did not stand aloof from the problems that arose in society, in general, and in the family, in particular. As daughters or sisters, they possessed the most valuable virtues the times and the country stood in need of. They grew up in the midst of brave, proud and generous parents and brothers and were educated in the spirit of these virtues by the whole social environment. Later on, as mothers and grandmothers they became educators. At a time when Albania lacked completely an educational system organized by the State or public institutions it was incumbent on the family, especially on the mother and grandmother, to play the role of educator. Brave men are born and reared by brave mothers. The Albanian women have always looked down upon cowards, they have despised and cursed even their own sons for any manifestations of cowardice in face of death. During the long Albanian-Turkish war led by our hero, Gjergj Kastrioti, Albanian mothers and sisters were present at every battle and boldly fought the enemy, especially by the courage they imparted to their sons and brothers. During the first siege laid

on Kruja in 1450 by the whole Turkish army led by Sultan Murat II, Skanderbeg ordered the evacuation of the town leaving behind only the fighters who would protect the fortress to the bitter end. Shkodran humanist Marin Barleti tells us that the moment of departure of the Albanian mothers from their sons was very moving «But, later on», he writes «when tears had somewhat abated their pain, they turned toward their sons... and urged them to be brave». After hard-fought battles it was the women and girls who sang the feats of the heroes fallen, to the glory of the brave and immortalized the memory of those who had fallen in the field fighting the enemy.

It is only natural that in the 11th century, the highest praises should be sung to our glorious hero Skanderbeg. The Venetian chronicler A. Sabelico, who lived during that legendary period, wrote in 1484 that in the heat of battle, when everything was drowned in the clamor of arms of the barbarians in those towns where he (Skanderbeg) had reigned, groups of girls used to get together every eight days and sing their praises to the deceased hero and Prince just as the ancient people used to honor the glorious heroes of ancient times. In this period the contribution of the Albanian women to the struggle for the liberation of the homeland may be regarded as decisive, if viewed from the angle of their role as teachers of the brave people and inspirers of the heroic deeds of their sons.

Under the conditions of the 15th century, the contribution of the Albanian women to the liberation war went beyond the limits of the moral and juridical norms established during the Middle Ages. There were at least two historical reasons for this. First of all, there were the ancient freedom-loving traditions of

the country and the cult of family honor and of the lofty spirit of sacrifice. These virtues have been noticed and pointed out by every Albanologist. Second, there were the wide proportions the war of the Albanians took against the terrible and inexhaustible Ottoman hordes. The Ottomans were savage and barbarous invaders devastating and plundering the country with a vengeance. But the most valuable trophies for the Turkish soldiers and Janissaries were the women prisoners of war whom they sold as slaves.

For the Albanian women, to fall in to the hands of the Ottomans was the greatest misfortune and humiliation, for after having lost their sons, their brothers and their parents, they were forced to give up both their freedom and their honor, they were raped by the hateful enemy and very often were confined to the harems of their captors. In order to escape from this catastrophe and humiliation, the Albanian women violated the moral norms of the Middle Ages which prevented them from going down to the battle field. They grasped their rifles and arrayed themselves shoulder to shoulder with their husbands, brothers and fathers on the fire-line. Marin Barleti has depicted many vivid scenes from the heroic feats of the Albanian women. Describing the legendary resistance in Shkodra, he writes that both men and women fought with valor, in no respect did women lack in qualities, they were zealous and ever-ready to perform any act that would help to redeem the fatherland. And further on he adds: «Women together with men stormed fortifications, fought boldly against the enemy and many of them were killed by the cannon fire of the enemy». «There one could see the husband bleeding at the feet of his wife... the father standing

firmly, without shedding a tear for his dying son, the daughter who does not stop to mourn for her dying or dead father».

The participation of the Albanian woman in the epic wars of the 15th century has been preserved also in our folklore. To this day one hears people tell of the group of women captured alive by the Turks and drowned in one of the picturesque lakes of Lura for the sole reason that during the combat they had killed many Ottoman soldiers. At Martanesh there is a rock which still retains the name of the «Council of Girls» because it was there that the girls of the Gjon village had pledged to each other to throw themselves from the cliff rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Such episodes have also been confirmed by historical documents: according to the Byzantine chronicler of the 15th century, Kritoboulos of Imbros, groups of Albanian girls pursued by the Turks hurled themselves down into the gorges when they could no longer offer resistance. Under similar circumstances such decisions were taken by the Albanian women and girls in the course of subsequent centuries not only when faced with the shameful servitude of the Turks but also when faced with the violence of the chauvinist invaders. Such are the examples set by the girls of Zgator and Brodosant in Prizrend and by the young women of Topojan and Ogren in Përmet in 1913.

By means of her valuable contribution to the bitter struggle fought by the Albanian people against the Turkish invaders, the Albanian woman, by taking up arms against the enemy, ensured at the same time the right to a more favorable social and political position in society. But with the establishment and consolidation of the feudal and military Ottoman regime the Alba-

nian women found themselves under contradictory pressures. In the areas where the resistance against the invaders was stronger, the traditions consecrated by their heroic struggle urged them to fight on. Whereas in the areas where the resistance was weaker, the Turkish feudal and military regime retarded the economic and social development of our country and suppressed this freedom of the Albanian women. The feudal standards of life introduced by the Turks and expressed in their Islamic canonical law impeded the progress of the Albanian women. This canonical law imposed many obligations on the women of the lowland towns and villages. It forced them to keep aloof from social life, to veil their faces and to cohabituate under the same roof with the other wives of their husband. As a consequence the Islamic law allowed for the birth and development of a chain of backward customs and prejudices which turned women into marketable commodities. These conditions likewise led to the juridical servitude of the Christian women as well. As a result, the Albanian women were confined within the walls of their house.

Nevertheless, this did not put an end to the important role of the Albanian women in the liberation struggle, for the uprisings against the Turks were frequent and the traditions of women in fighting the invaders were still strong. In spite of the patriarchal environment, women were still free to move about, this freedom of movement enabling them to take part in social life. Nora of Kelmendi, the pretty young mountaineer woman, is the symbol of this period. In 1637, she sacrificed her own life by killing the Turkish commander who was leading the expedition against the Malësia Madhe region and thus saved the other

highland girls from being dishonored. Due to this contribution the highland women, though not admitted into the public institutions, stood by their husbands as their comrades. Four hundred years after the establishment of the Ottoman feudal and military order, they still held their own. By the middle of the nineteenth century, one of those who knew most about Northern Albania, Hyacynthe Hecquart, wrote that the Albanian women, Christians or Muslims, though yielding obeisance to their husbands, remained their advisers not only on family affairs but also on problems concerning the country. They have often given proof of their heroism. When the armies of the Sultans attempted to violate the decisions of the Highland of Shkodra, the women were among the first to sound the alarm and to urge their husbands and sons to take up arms; they themselves following them to the battle-field. «The Albanian women», Hecquart continues, «know how to suppress their tears and put up with pain even when they are face to face with their beloved ones lying dead on the ground. Carrying their corpses on their shoulders, they often present them to the fighters in order to arouse their spirit of vengeance». Further on he adds: «I have heard mothers say that they had closed the doors of their house to their children who had deserted the battle-field out of fear and had sent them back to the field, or young brides who had divorced their husbands because they had left the battle field even for a single moment.»

The Albanian National Renaissance marks an important point in the long process of the liberation war against the Ottoman rulers, having inscribed in its program not only the liberation of the country but also the setting up of a national independent state.

This stage also marked a turning point in the social relations of the country.

As a liberation movement of a democratic character, the Albanian National Renaissance had to become a mass movement. The most progressive-minded elements realized that the woman made up a social force which they should make their ally. The most eminent ideologists of our National Revival, who claimed the merit of having grasped this historical necessity, raised their voice for freeing women «from the cage» — as our national poet, Naim Frashëri, has put it. In spite of the fact that their concept of the emancipation of women did not go beyond the confines of the narrow bourgeois views on this question, the fact that they attached such importance to women and helped them take a step onward towards being freed from the state of slavery they lived under, was positive. Sami Frashëri's views that women constitute the basis of a nation, or Naim Frashëri's appeal to give women more schooling than men since children are first taught by their mothers, were ideological theses that served the emancipation of both the women and of the nation as a whole.

Against innumerable difficulties the Albanian women have pressed onward and responded to the fundamental demands of the Renaissance to fight with the pen if they could not fight with the rifle, at school if they could not fight on the battle field. It can be emphasised that only four years after the first school in the Albanian language was opened for boys at Korça, in 1891, the courageous young woman Sevasti Qirjazi opened the first school for girls in the same town. This school became a hearth of education and culture and a hearth of nationalist activities, as Mihal Grameno

called it. Indeed it was a nest of patriotic movement; from its benches came not only simple teachers but also ardent fighters for the sacred cause of the liberation of the country, for national independence and the emancipation of woman.

Many girls and women, unknown up to then, daughters of the families of the rank and file, distinguished themselves as active agitators and militant organizers. The patriotic press of that time published the initial but ardent writings of the progressive Albanian women and girls. In 1910 «The Morning Star» society was founded in Korça, the first society of the Albanian women, which, though persecuted by the Greek clergy and soon suspended by the Turkish authorities, did not cease its fruitful activity. Honorable and respected women such as Lina Grameno, Zekije Krasta, Poliksen Luarasi, Qelidhonka Falli and others, became tireless agitators for the general liberation uprising. Hundreds of women aided the insurgents by sheltering and providing for them by giving them information and encouragement. During those years of turmoil women did not keep to the rear-line. The participation of Albanian women in the 1910-1912 uprising is one of the most brilliant examples of their contribution to the liberation of the country. The Kosova women, arms in hand, openly defied Shefqet Durgut Pasha's hordes at the Kaçaniku pass. Their example was followed by the women of the Highlands of Shkodra and Dibra. In its April 16, 1911 issue, the Turkish paper «Sabah» wrote: «Among the Albanian insurgents there were also women. In the encounters we had with the Mountaineers in the region of Tuzi they were women dressed as men. The mountaineer women who took part in these encounters had already

been taught to wield the rifle when they were still young, some of them being so brave as to be seen on the front line of battle». Tringa, a girl from the highlands of Shkodra, Zekije Krasta from Kolonja, Qerime Galica (better known as Shota) from Kosova and others fought heroically up to November 28, 1912 when Albania was proclaimed independent in the city of Vlora. Even the hall where the historical Assembly of Vlora was held had been prepared by a patriotic woman. She was Marigo Pozjo, a disciple of the men of the renaissance, who had worked tirelessly to provide the best conditions for the meeting of the Assembly there and who had embroidered the flag she handed over to Ismail Qemali at the moment of the proclamation of the independence of the Homeland.

* * *

The Proclamation of National Independence was a historical event of extraordinary importance. After 500 years of onerous Turkish slavery and unbearable feudal yoke Albania regained its freedom and national independence. But our people did not enjoy this freedom and independence for long. Other enemies and invaders fell upon the martyred Albanian people. The national flag was once again trampled underfoot. As a result, the war for national liberation and for the consecration of independence was once more on the order of the day, as one of the fundamental tasks to be accomplished by all the patriots of the country.

The Albanian women who had rendered their precious contribution to the proclamation of national independence did not shirk these tasks. Making use of

the experience of the past years the Albanian women tried hard to come to the rescue of the country in a new and better organized way. Thus a number of patriotic women's organizations sprang up, such as «The Morning Star» society of Korça which was reorganized under the guidance of Parashqevi Qirjazi; the «National Aspiration» society at Vlora, organized by Marigo Pozja; «The Albanian Woman» society in Shkodra led by Shaqe Çobe; and similar societies in Tirana, Elbasan and elsewhere. These societies undertook a considerable number of activities in defence of the national cause. At the same time, they collected funds to help the refugees who had been left without shelter and food as a result of the barbarities of the chauvinistic hordes of the Balkans. The first teacher of the girls' school using the mother tongue, Sevasti Qiriazhi, did her utmost in defence of the frontiers of Albania. In the years 1919 and 1920 she headed the delegation of the Albanian colony in the United States with dignity and defended the Albanian cause at the Peace Conference in Paris. In a memorandum addressed to the Big Powers, she opposed the idea of an International Commission of Control, saying that this Commission would not only be of no use whatsoever, but that it would be an impediment not to say a danger, to our cause, for its members would only look after the interests of their own countries. At the same time the Shkodran women were actually helping the Albanian armed forces, fighting against the chauvinist bands in 1920, whereas other women like Zekije Krasta, Rabije Hysi from Kolonja and many others took up arms, abandoned their homes and took themselves to Vlora to fight and oust the armies of the Italian invaders from the soil of our country. Once again Albania won

its independence and embarked on the road of economic, social, political and cultural restoration.

As a result of the contribution they had rendered to the protracted war for national liberation, the Albanian women had regained the right of their own emancipation, of enjoying equal rights with men in a free Albania, of developing and progressing in step with the requirements of the new times. But events took a different turn. After the Congress of Lushnja and the Battle for Vlora, state power fell into the hands of the reactionary ruling circles of the country with Ahmet Zogu as their representative. The reactionary Government circles almost entirely neglected the question of the economic, social, political and cultural progress of the country as well as the question of the emancipation of the Albanian women. Thus, the aspirations of the Albanian patriots of the period of National Renaissance were totally neglected. Thus they left women in the same dependent juridical position they had been in during the long Ottoman domination. No measures were taken to provide for their employment and schooling, — necessary conditions for their emancipation. They were denied every political right, even the right to vote. The reactionary ideologists developed the thesis that the principal and sole function of the woman in society is to be a good housewife. This thesis was adopted and became the political line of the Government. The reactionary circles of the clergy distinguished themselves in this field; according to them the dependence of woman on man was dictated by the so-called «divine» laws. But the Albanian women did not give up their arms. Times were favorable and there were supporters of their struggle. These supporters were among the progressive circles of people

holding democratic views who had kept up an active struggle against the reactionary state power. The Albanian women helped these circles during the democratic and bourgeois revolution which triumphed in June 1924. The question of the emancipation of women was an item of importance in the program Fan S. Noli's Government. But practically nothing was done because most of the leaders in the new Government had narrow concepts about the problem of the emancipation of women. The others regarded emancipation as a question of official declaration of equality between man and woman. Then, there was the counterrevolution that brought the dictatorship of Ahmet Zog to power. During the 15 years of his reign, his government did not trouble to consider the question of the emancipation of the Albanian women. A great fuss was made about the law prohibiting women from veiling their faces, but even this law was not applied lest it would arouse the indignation of the ultra-reactionary circles of the country. Women were not admitted to any state or public institutions and as before, they were deprived of the right to vote. Being economically dependent on men, they could not help but be juridically dependent on them.

However, the Albanian women did not give in. During the 30's and in defiance of the reactionary laws, of the regime, they became factory workers, teachers and intellectuals. Relying on their own resources and the assistance of the progressive-minded compatriots and in particular, of the revolutionary communists, they fought against Zog's reactionary policy. When they came up against laws to their disadvantage they appealed to and gained the support of public opinion. The women who had formerly taken up arms against

the foreign invaders, had now taken up the cudgels against Zog's gendarms. Together with men they joined the trade union organizations and the artistic societies. Men who used to play the role of women on the stage no longer needed to do so, for women themselves now appeared before the public and demonstrated their talents in dramatic performances. During these years many Albanian women embraced Marxist-Leninist ideas and became pioneers of the struggle against the Zogite obscurantism against capitalist exploitation and against fascist danger. If from the stand-point of law the Albanian women gained nothing during the reign of Zog, they won something else of decisive importance: they succeeded in placing the question of their own emancipation the order of the day before Albanian public opinion.

Far from encouraging the further development of the patriotic traditions of the women, Zog's reactionary Government strove to curb them.

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THE ALBANIAN WOMAN AS A FIGHTER AND HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE ACCORDING TO POPULAR TRADITIONS

In spite of the twofold oppression woman has had to suffer in the past — oppression by the exploiting political systems weighing heavily on the laboring masses in general and that imposed upon her by patriarchal oppression so as to restrain and subdue her personality — she has made her voice of protest heard through the centuries. She has asserted her willpower, her sentiments and aspiration towards lofty social ideals and has not hesitated to take up arms and render her contribution to the people's movements for freedom and independence. Speaking of the liberation struggles of the Albanian people in their history, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «one cannot separate them even for a moment from the struggle and resistance the Albanian woman has offered, side by side with her husband, brothers, and sons, to the in-

vaders and to the enemies of our land and people, either by taking up arms or by offering passive resistance.»¹⁾

Alongside the historical evidences, folklore, — as an historical reality reflected from the position of the people — constitutes an important source which enables us to become familiar with the virtues and ideals of the Albanian women, to see by what heroic deeds and what great sacrifices she has blazed her own path through history and has rendered her contribution to the protection of the country, the life and honor of her family, to the acquisition of her human rights and social progress.

Portraits of legendary women, dating back to remote times, have survived up to the present by word of mouth. In spite of the fantastic features attached to them, these portraits bear in their essence the stamp of reality. In folk tales one comes across portraits of heroines that amaze one with their virtues, their war-like initiatives and the masterful way they led the fighters to victory. The legends speak of many other women who distinguished themselves in defending the besieged castles and in making their supreme sacrifice by hurling themselves from the battlements rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The maids of the knights' ballads — like the «Maid of the old good natured man», and others, do not fall short of the other heroes of this cycle. With extraordinary courage they come face to face with and drive away the giants and brave-doers who come «to blaze the country and lay it waste», — «to demand ransom from every household». Features

1) E. Hoxha. Discussion at the 2nd Plenary Meeting of the CC of the PLA.

of such heroines no doubt draw their origin from real life. They are generalized virtues characterizing the personality of the woman in an active social role during earlier ages. That is why such heroines in spite of their legendary background stand out as a living testimony representing the grandeur of the woman's personality all through the distant centuries.

The heroic deeds of the women of Kruja, Lura and of the gallant Sopot Maidens bounding upon the Ottoman hordes with a rare sentiment of patriotism and manifesting brilliant military genius came to be read in the historic documents of that time. Referring to the historical events of this period, in his works our humanist Marin Barleti writes: «Women behaved like men. They were distinguished for their zeal and readiness, their strenuous efforts to do everything possible that would help to save the homeland, women... are entitled to special praise for such feats of valour: They scaled the castle walls together with their husbands and rushed fearlessly upon the enemy; a number of them lay bleeding from artillery shells». According to Barleti, such battle-cries as «Women, take good aim and hit the enemy with stones!»¹⁾ were common among the battle-cries urging the people on to fight.

Such patriotic spirit and mass heroic deeds of our women continued throughout the gloomy period of the Turkish occupation. From the events of the first centuries of this period as a whole, little has survived of traditional evidence about the heroic deeds of our people owing to the destructive measures taken by the invaders to fight against our traditions and thus frus-

1) M. Barleti, The Siege of Shkodra. Albanian translation by Henrik Lacaj, Second edition, 1967, p. 81, 85.

trate the Albanian resistance and prepare the ground for sowing their own ideology. Though rare, there are still individual examples such as that set by our highland maid who, with legendary valor and self-sacrifice, infiltrated into the enemy camp, killing its commanders and feeding the flames of the people's insurrection. Nora of Kelmendi is a brilliant example of such heroism. Maro Konda of Çorraj, a simple girl, does not bow down under the whip of the invader. According to the legend, she does not betray her fellow fighters into the hands of the enemy, though beastly tortured by them. She lures and entangles the enemy into the death-sowing paths of the Labëria mountains where her fellow fighters were laid in ambush. The freedom-loving sentiments, the combativity and the contribution made by our women to the liberation movements are reflected with realistic power in the creations of the people during the last two centuries. The Albanian women's heroism soared to great height during the insurrections of our peasants against «Tanzimat»¹). The determination and uncompromising fight against the invaders, the militant class spirit and the sense of mass patriotism manifested by our people at these moments of importance to their history include the mass of the women as well. At the call of the «Nine Mountains of Dibra» to bar the way of the Turkish hordes of Hayredin Pasha, men abandoned their ploughs in the fields and the women rushed after them, displaying the same fighting spirit. The torrent of men and women stopped the rush of the enemy at the Plain of Gjorica, which was transformed into a furious uprising. The hordes

1) The new Ottoman system of taxes.

of Hayredin Pasha were scattered among the mountarins where they found certain death. The Albanian women's heroism towered with all its splendour at all stages of the 1847 uprising and aroused all the inhabitants of Southern Albania to their feet. We learn from the folk song about the determination of women to join the insurgents at the very breaking out of this insurrection, at its first summon:

*«Kurvelesh, up yee rise,
Men and women take up arms!»*

Women are to be met with everywhere in the battlefield — on the fire-line of Mallakstra sending «bread and powder» to the fighters; at Greshica and Sinja where, together with their menfolk, they give vent to the age-long vengeance against the class enemies, killing the hateful Vrionis at the head of the Turkish troops that had come to smother the people's insurrection; at Konisbalta and Berat, tending the wounded and digging graves so as not to let the enemy mutilate the fallen fighters; at Kurvelesh, where, as the folk song goes, they manifested their best skill and courage in action amidst the battle flames:

*«Kurvelesh, a rugged rock,
Men and women a valiant stock!»*

In the midst of these movements other spiritual qualities such as vigilance, social solidarity, initiative at crucial moments, distinguished and raised the personality of women. The 1845 insurrection of Çermenika was, according to the folk song, initiated by a woman who, upon seeing her fellow villagers fettered and on

their way to prison, left Elbasan, where she happened to be carrying out her own affairs, ran breathlessly back to Çermenika and sounded the battle call. At the news: «The country stirred», men made haste through mountain paths to bar the way of the Turkish escort troops at the Thana Pass where they engaged in a skirmish and freed the prisoners.

Tradition has preserved memories of an active participation of women later on in other movements, too. The encounters for the defense of the northern regions of Albania during the period that the Prizren League was in power against the Serbians and Montenegrins; the bloody battles of Shtimbe in 1881 against the Turkish troops of Dervish Pasha; the uprisings at the end of the last century and at the beginning of this century have had at their basis the active resistance, solidarity and heroic spirit of our women. In order to check the vigour of the punitive expedition of Turgut Pasha, after the historic battle of Kaçaniku, men and women of Kosova rose to their feet; at the uprising of Malësi e Madhe in 1911, the figure of Tringa shone brilliantly as the generalization of the traditional heroism of the Albanian woman.

These traditions were preserved even after 1912. The women of Labëria manifested once more their glorious traditions during the heroic battle fought for the town of Vlora by helping their menfolk who drove the Italian imperialists into the sea in 1920. They were on the fire-line supplying arms and food, and nursing the wounded. Shote Galica, the heroine of Kosova, took to the mountains for 12 years, rifle in hand, and became the fiery symbol not only of the freedom-loving sentiments, patriotic strength and ideals of the Albanian woman, but also of her endea-

vours to rise above the concepts of patriarchal conservatism.

Parallel with these attempts of a nation-wide and social background it is fitting to mention some remarkable heroic acts that, though of a narrower framework, are of interest for a better understanding of the militant portrait of the Albanian woman, of her feelings and high moral qualities. Under the Turkish yoke, when the life and honour of the family were continually threatened by the violence of state authority and of the classes in power, women were often forced to stand by their menfolk, arms in hand, to defend their rights. Thus, in a series of historic epic songs, women have praises sung to their heroic stand shoulder to shoulder with their sons, husbands and brothers, directly participating in encounters, encouraging the fighters to accomplish their duty as it was expected of them. About the year 1885, the mother of a highlander was attacked by the Turkish government forces; she and her son fought against 30 soldiers a battle that «echoed through seven kingdoms». The song goes:

*«Mother load and Baltja shoot,
The seven Kings tremble a-foot¹».*

Another highlander, who had come down to the bazaar of Shkodra to sell his ewe, when he started shooting against Hamza Aga, was ill at ease because of his mother's presence:

*«Just one thing amiss I find;
That my mother is behind»².*

1) «Early Collectors of Albanian Folklore», Tirana, 1962, Vol. III, p. 292.

2) Ibidem, p. 293.

But his mother, far from being frightened by the bullets of Hamza Aga, plucked courage and urged her son to conquer the adversary:

*«Dear son let not us shame,
Do not stain your uncle's name,
Fight this day and fight for fame.»¹⁾
«Pluck up mother, belittle me not,
For the Sire the day comes hot.»²⁾*

Likewise, the mothers of Bec Petani, of Tuçi and Leka, of Mahmud Daci, Sulë Rezalli and of many others, boldly stand by their sons. The folk song tells of these mothers with special affection. The portrait of the spouse is rarely encountered because of the patriarchal customs; whereas that of the sister is common. She, heroine-like, stands by her brother fighting against the «*Turkish invaders seymens and hordes.*» Such are the sisters of Xhafer Kampula, Rakip Hoxha, who joined the fighters against the Italian soldiers immediately after the First World War. Lahe Rexhepi (1919) from a village of Kukës, together with her brother, killed five enemies, took away their arms and fought at close quarters with them making the Italians admit:

*Used to snow and used to rain,
Lo! the lasses with rifle aim,
Like soldiers of good train.»³⁾*

There are also songs praising the resistance of

1) Historic Folk Songs, Tirana 1956, p. 193.

2) Early collectors of Albanian Folklore, Vol. III, p. 77.

3) Historic Folk Songs, p. 296.

daughters at the elbows of their parents, such as the daughters of Çausht Lika, Can Çollaku and so on, or of anonymous women coming to the rescue of the men encircled by the government forces, inciting their sense of pride to stand unyielding and fight to the end with the prospect of victory in view. Such was the case with some young men of Dukagjini who were encircled by the forces of the antipopular Zog regime, and with some highlanders encircled at the bazaar of Shkodra, and so on.

The heroic acts of our women, boldly rising against the whip of the exploiting classes, against oppression and economic and moral exploitation by the feudals and bourgeoisie, against the reactionary clergymen and highland chieftains, have left their traces on our folklore. The overthrow of some big feudal lords of our country, such as the house of beys from Plasa in the region of Korça, of the Dostëllarë beys from Gostivishti in Kolonja, and so on, was, according to popular memory, connected with their members being slain by heroines. Mara Shterpja from Gëziqi fires at the mercenary from Peja, thus putting an end to a custom humiliating the inhabitants of this region for a long time. Miro Tërbaçja «the orphan girl» who was brought up by the charity of her villagers, the song goes, «took up rifle and scimitar» and boldly fell upon the beys of Vlora:

*Poor young Miro Tërbaçe,
Orphan lass brought up with mite,
Fed on cabbage day and night,
At the mercy of Tërbaçe. . .⁴⁾*

1) Ibid, p. 253.

«Zoga of Kapiçi», a poor peasant woman from Bezhdani of Përmeti, came to grips with the followers of the bey of Këlcyra to defend her honour and land. The women from Sopiku of Saranda set the aga's saray in their village on fire, expressing their feeling of powerful class revenge. The painful scenes of women trying to defend their honour unstained from the rotten lustful desires of the exploiting classes, ending tragically as the latter's prey, are preserved by word of mouth in our folklore.

These heroic acts of our women through the centuries, of course, could never have been conscious and organized attempts based on a certain political platform. They were bold expressions of protest and indignation under conditions of the heaviest feudal oppression and violence, directed against the mentality of the severest canonical rules ever derived from patriarchal life throughout the centuries. Under those conditions, when women were denied their right to play an active part in the society, when the concepts of man's manual and mental superiority had been so widespread as to coin special terms in everyday language such as «manliness», the synonym of «heroism», (woman was manly — she could act manfully), women had been forced to disguise themselves in men's clothes in order to bring into relief their abilities, and to play an active part in everyday social life. Not without cause do the heroines of the fairy tales appear at the head of their people in man's guise, or the knightesses, disguised as and under young men's names (Young Omer, and so on), who face the monsters; it is not by chance that Miro Tërbaçe «had her hair cut like a man», when she was settling accounts with the feudals of Vlora, or the ancient custom of various people

had maidens were leading their life disguised as men. Such cases show both the great obstacles thrown by the patriarchal moral norms to handicap women from participating in the social activity and the indomitable will-power of woman to manifest the virtues and capacities of her personality in life.

The militant initiative, the endeavours and heroic deeds displayed by our women through the centuries despite the shackles placed on them by the reactionary political systems and by patriarchal life, bear witness to the extraordinary revolutionary energies springing from their spirit, to the considerable contribution they would have rendered provided they were free from the oppression of the exploiting classes and anti-popular regimes.

These resources and abilities were set into motion during the stormy days of fascist invasion. At these crucial moments for our homeland, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) called on the masses of the people to take up arms and rise boldly not only against the foreign invaders but also against the feudals and the bourgeoisie who had weighed heavily upon them for centuries on end. The Party also drew the masses of women into this struggle. Due to her political and ideological education the Albanian woman shook herself free from the dust of centuries, broke the shackles of fanaticism and backwardness and embarked on the heroic road of fighting for the liberation of the country, of the people and of herself with an unprecedented determination. One is struck by the emotional spirit of our folk songs and has the events of those glorious years brought to life by the description of the bloodied roads of our tons, not only strained with the blood of young men

*You have dreamt of the flag,
Saluting it with your clenched fist»¹⁾*

The folk songs represent a whole chain of heroines and events. The examples vie with one another to more vividly describe the inexhaustible spiritual and moral resources of our women, their patriotism and lofty qualities our Party inculcated in them amidst the flames of the battles fought against the enemy for the final liberation of our country. «The graceful girl and handsome young man», their commander at the head, ousted the Germans, swept away the traitors and «made Albania entirely free». Mountains and plains, streets and squares were quenched in the blood of those who laid down their lives for the abolishment of the yoke imposed on them by the Italian fascist invaders and «the high class» who had been constantly preying on the people, for the blossoming «of a new life for young men and women, for workers and shepherds».

More than 6,000 women joined the ranks of our glorious National-liberation Army. A number of them capably commanded various partisan formations, in the function of commissars and commanders. Hundreds of other women sprinkled the battle-fields with their blood after tit-for-tat encounters with the enemy.

The folk songs are resounding echoes of the revolutionary situation created owing to the political education and military leadership of the Party. Within a span of 4-5 years our people wrote such a large number of songs to the participation of women in the war, to their heroic stand, to their virtues and capa-

1) Ibid, p. 144.

cities, that the prewar folklore can hardly match them. These songs cast light on the qualitative changes in this new heroism. In the traditional folklore, love of the homeland and hatred against enemies stem from spontaneous reactions, scarcely organized and without a clear perspective of victory. Whereas, in the songs of the National-liberation War, women's heroism and the heroism of our people in general originates from a clear political and ideological basis and bears upon itself the newly created powers and elements that had been sowed by the clear and farsighted ideas of our Party in the consciousness of our popular masses. Our women joined the war against the enemy in order to liberate the country from the foreign invaders, to free themselves from the shackles of fanaticism and age-long oppression, to overthrow the exploiting order and to build a new world. Women rose and fought this war with a gigantic strength, with unrestrained revolutionary vigour, that mounted irresistibly, becoming one of the decisive factors in ousting the invaders and traitors from our country, in the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the foundations of socialist Albania.

With the setting up of the People's Power, the revolutionary energies of our women were placed at the service of new ideals. The epic spirit of the endeavours for the liberation of our country was turned into a great enthusiasm of work and heroic deeds for the socialist construction of our country, for the prosperity and defence of our socialist homeland, for the protection of the great cause of our people and Party. Our folk songs are an echo of the new heroism of our women, to the heroism of the Mirdita heroines, of Shkurte Pal Vatës and a number of her comrades,

who, through bitter class struggles and heroic work are uprooting the remnants of a world full of prejudices we inherit from the centuries and are now engaged in self-sacrificing work for the magnificence of socialist Albania.

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ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY RELATIONS

With the further development of the socialist relations in our country, it has become necessary to transform also the matrimonial and family relations, to adjust them to the socialist nature of our economic and political order, to the norms of communist morality and the principles of our socialist ideology. The stand of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the People's Power towards this great social problem has been based on the sound foundations of Marxism-Leninism and on the invaluable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The bourgeois ideologists and the enemies of the working class have long been and are trying to show that socialism and communism are allegedly intransigently hostile to the family.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have pointed out that the proletarian revolution could not but affect the

matrimonial and family relations predominant in capitalism. They stressed that the communists are opposed to the bourgeois family and the degeneration it gives birth to, to that family which is based on «capital, on private profit», which coexists with «public prostitution», with «the exploitation of women by their husbands, of children by their parents»¹⁾. But, the inevitable abolition of the bourgeois family, F. Engels has pointed out, does not imply the abolition of the family in general. With the liquidation of private property by the socialist revolution, the monogamous family «far from disappearing, will on the contrary, be completely realized, for,» Engels continues, «the transformation of the means of production into social property will do away with both the wage earners and the proletariat and consequently there will be no need for a statistically calculated number of women to sell out their bodies. Prostitution will disappear, whereas monogamy, instead of dying away, will at last become a reality for men, too.»²⁾

Inspired by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Party, ever since its founding, while exposing and refuting the slanders and trumped up charges that the Albanian communists would allegedly destroy the family, also severely criticized the incorrect, liberal, bourgeois and anarchic viewpoints on the family that spread among the communist groups, especially, in the Communist Youth Group, and by this principled stand showed that it was striving to strengthen the Albanian family.

1) K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, Albanian edition, vol. I, p. 36.

2) K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, Albanian edit. vol. II, p. 219.

During the National-liberation War, the Albanian communists engaged in fighting for the protection of the country from the invader and for the protection of the Albanian family from the germs of denationalization spread by the propaganda of the foreign invaders, for overcoming the artificial obstacles of contracting marriages that emerged from religious antagonisms, for the equality between wife and husband and for the participation of women and youth in the National-liberation War, in the social and political life of the country, and so on.

In the process of socialist construction, our Party abided by the Marxist-Leninist line as well. Regarding the issue of family development as an all-important social problem in the struggle for socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha has underlined that the Albanian communists are, on the one hand, irreconcilably hostile to all relations of oppression and inequality in the family stemming from private property and the exploiting order, while, on the other, they are for the development and consolidation of the new socialist family, based on truly human relations, moulded with the ideals of communism. The aim of our Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 3rd Plenary Session of the CC of the PLA, is to «engage in intensive ideological work to temper the Albanian family, which is possible to achieve only when correct, equal, and free relations blended with lofty sentiments are established, doing away with submissiveness and survivals of private property and its concepts».¹⁾

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the problem of the Albanian Woman»; 1967, p. 273.

1. Socialist Revolution and the Transformations in Family Relations

Marxism regards the family as an institution of an historical character closely related to social life. Changes in the economic basis and in the social and class structure, in the political and juridical order, in the political and moral ideals, etc., always bring about changes in the types of families and marriages, in their social content and functions. Therefore, even the tableau of the development of matrimonial and family relations in our country towards the end of 1944 and onwards comprised changes of historic importance that are a direct outcome of our people's revolution and of socialist construction.

During the transitory period, our country inherited an especially pronounced backwardness in the sphere of matrimonial and family relations. On the eve of the liberation of the country, sundry kinds of marriages and families, such as the feudal and bourgeois ones, patriarchal and petty-bourgeois unions and those of peasants and workers, corresponded to the heterogenous character of the economic basis and of the social and class structure of the society. At that time the type of family relying on private property with all its evil consequences and bad points characterizing it, was predominant. The family appeared as the institution which ensured the accumulation and inheritance of property.

Relations of oppression and exploitation between family members, between husband and wife, parents and children reigned in the majority of families. The workers' families suffered from poverty, ignorance, lack of most elementary commodities, and from backward and reactionary customs and traditions. Legal and illegal

prostitution was wide-spread. One of the things plaguing the Albanian family was the pronounced inequality and enslavement of women by men. The exploiting classes and the foreign invaders spread the norms, customs, and principles of their degenerate morals, and urged immorality and corruption among the worker families in order to paralyse the sound revolutionary forces of our society

With the victory of the people's revolution, the deep economic and social transformations began to exert an ever-growing influence on the matrimonial and family relations as well and brought and have been bringing about essential changes in the family.

Now that our society has embarked on the stage of the complete construction of socialism, instead of the old type and kind of family, a new type of family, the socialist family, is taking shape and being consolidated.

This fundamental tendency that prevails in matrimonial and family relations is, first of all, connected with the construction of the economic base of socialism, with the liquidation of the economic relations of oppression and exploitation of man by man, with the elimination of the exploiting classes. These processes destroyed the economic and social base of the feudal and bourgeois family, weakened their negative effect on matrimonial and family relations in general, and paved the way to a social unification of the family from the class viewpoint. The setting up of the economic base of socialism in the town and countryside, the socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture made it possible for the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to be developed as socialist classes and strata.

The number of families with their head having

worker and office worker social status has greatly increased. In 1938, there were 15,000 people in the ranks of the working class, whereas in 1960 the working class made up 22.5 per cent of the total population of the country. The number of workers and office workers increased from 151,000 in 1957 to 205,000 in 1960 and to 276,000 in 1965. In 1955 there were 45,194 families with their head having the status of a worker, totalling 221,839 people, i.e. 15.94 per cent of the total population. While in 1955 the worker's families made up 17.95 per cent of the total number of families, in 1960 their number grew to 28.52 per cent of the total number of our country's families.

The families of office worker status were greatly increased after liberation, especially with the extension of mental work sectors, although during the 1955-1960 five year period it remained at the same level. In 1955 there were 35,614 such families, with 164,080 people, making up 11.79 per cent of the total population, whereas in 1960 their number was 36,891, with 182,913 people, i.e. 9.63 per cent of the total population. In 1955 the office workers and intellectual's families made up 13.95 per cent of the total number of families in our Republic, whereas in 1960 they made up 13.18 per cent of the total number of families. Out of the total number of worker's and peasant's families in 1960, in the countryside, the worker's, office worker's and intellectual's families made up 12.55 per cent of the total population of our country. Meanwhile, the number of peasant's families has decreased due to the development of our country's socialist industrialisation that drew a great many peasant families into the towns. In 1955, there were 155,236 peasant's families, comprising 67.87 per cent of the total population of our country, i.e. 944,532 people,

whereas in 1960 the number of peasant families fell to 150,197, making up 58.13 per cent of the total population, i.e. 945,591 people. If in 1955 the peasant families made up 61.66 of the total number of families, in 1960 their number fell to 53.67 per cent. The number of families with their head having the social status of artisan fell from 3.82 per cent to 2.53 per cent of the total number of families; whereas the number of petty-merchant families fell from 0.80 per cent that it was in 1955, to 0.42 per cent in 1960.

As the peasants made up the majority of our country's population, the collectivisation of agriculture was of major importance for the creation of the economic and social objective possibilities for the transformation of the old kind of patriarchal and petty-bourgeois peasant families and for the development of the socialist family in our countryside. Immediately after liberation all the peasant families relied on private property, but side by side with the development of collectivisation the number of cooperative peasant families increased. In 1955 there were 144,669 individual peasant families, making up 57.46 percent of the total number of families and at that time only 10,567 peasant families had joined the cooperatives, making up 14.19 per cent of all peasant families. The number of peasant families that had joined the cooperatives by 1960 had increased to 105,778, i.e., 37.80 per cent of all peasant families, whereas the number of individual peasant families fell to 44,419, i.e., 15.87 per cent of all peasant families. With the development of the collectivisation of agriculture in the mountain regions too, now, the entire laboring peasantry have joined the cooperative farms. The number of small merchants and the artisans that had not

joined the artisan cooperatives had decreased to a great extent.

The specific weight of urban families increased in comparison with rural families. From 15.9 per cent that it was in 1938, in 1967 the urban population grew to 33.3 per cent. This is a positive process expressing the progress of the family because in general in the urban family more progressive relations exist than in the peasant families.

Second, the creation of socialist family is connected with the powerful influence exercised by the policy of our People's Power and of our Party on the matrimonial and family relations, by the continual perfection of the socialist legislation on the family, by the concern and allround aid for the strengthening of the socialist foundations of the family, by the legal declaration of equality between husband and wife and the correct implementation of this equality, the protection of woman as a mother and of families having many children, the concern for the protection of the younger generation's health and for their education, and so on

Thirdly, the socialist transformations have also strengthened the impact of socialist ideology and communist morality on the Albanian family; they have developed the spiritual and ideological relations of socialist character within the family. The spiritual development of the broad working masses, especially the deepening of the ideological revolution, have marked radical turning point in their world outlook, ideology and morality, have given birth to new criteria of appreciating man; new concepts are being implanted as to the aim of life, happiness, marriage and the family. The working masses are being emancipated from old traditions, customs and prejudices, while new customs and norms on the mode

of living are being created in the family in compliance with the ideals of socialism.

Nevertheless, however rapid this process of socialist transformation of marriage and the family may be, it cannot be said that we are at the final stage of the creation of the socialist family. This process goes on and will continue for a very long period of time.

2. The family and the development of matrimonial relations

One of the most important consequences of the socialist transformations in our society of the destinies of the family is the extension of a new type of marriage, the socialist marriage, relying on the free mutual love of husband and wife. «The separation of State Power from the Church», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the establishment of the Civil Code, the National-liberation War and the construction of socialism, brought about the legal recognition of no other marriage but that accepted of their own free will by the young man and woman before the state registry office, and got rid of the social practices of the past in our country for good.¹⁾

As long as private property was predominant in our society, the main kind of marriage was the purchase marriage, the marriage based on no love at all, that is, a union imposed by the parents on the future couple without their consent. The most typical form of this marriage was that practiced among the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie sets a certain economic objective concerning it as a means to increase their capital and to bequeath their property.

1) Enver Hoxha, «On the problem of women», 1967, p. 269.

In the framework when private property predominates, the marriage exists as an ordinary commercial contract. Variants of such kinds of marriage also predominated in our country within the framework of private property; Infant betrothal, marriages of couples of great age differences, the buying and selling of girls, marriages with dowries, the selection of the bride and the bridegroom according to their economic position, income, social position, and so on, were widespread. But the abolition of private property and of the exploiting classes and the establishment of social property in town and countryside have created the economic and social premises to reduce the number of these kinds of marriages, and have made it possible for the civil marriage based on love to become widespread, this being typical of our socialist society. The experience in our country testifies to the correct foresight of Engels, saying that only in the socialist society is born «a generation of men who in their life will never have the opportunity of buying their wife with money or other means of public state power, and a generation of women who will never have to bind themselves to their husbands for reasons other than true love».1)

As a result of our Party's protracted work among the masses to contract marriages on a new socialist basis and of the fight against old reactionary concepts and canons, new striking phenomena are developing and consolidating in the creation of the new family. Young men and women, going beyond the confines of their house,

1) K. Marx — F. Engels. Selected works, Alb. edition, vol. 2, p. 225.

working and learning together have all the possibilities to get acquainted, get to like each other, eventually to fall in love, have the consent of their parents and marry. Even in those cases when marriage is not based on love, the parents ask for the consent of their children before arranging a marriage.

Sociological data based on some inquiries made by the chair of Philosophy at the State University of Tirana (SUT) bear testimony to the spread of new motives in the creation of families. Thus, for instance, in Mirdita, one of the areas where the old customs were more deeply rooted until recently, cases of marriage based on love and on the future couple's consent are not rare. From the questions put to 50 families, with the head of the family working in industrial enterprises, but still living in villages, it resulted that 10 couples were married of their own accord and with the consent of their parents, 9 couples on the parents' initiative and the approval of the future couple whereas 31 couples by means of go-betweens. In the families working and living in the towns of this area, the number of marriages contracted by means of a go-between were more limited. Thus, from the 54 couples working and living at the town of Rëshen, 2 couples were married of their own accord, 15 couples at both their parents' initiative and with the consent of the future couples, whereas only 13 couples were married by means of go-betweens. In more developed areas, especially in town and particularly among the ranks of the working class the contracting of marriages of the future couples' own accord makes up a much higher percentage.

The data from the poll taken among young men and women as to the parents' role in their future marriage were interesting. To the question, «who will decide upon

your marriage,» the young men and women answered: the parents — 6.6 per cent; ourselves — 56.6 per cent; parents and couples together — 36.6 per cent. When asked, «what would be the best way?» 38.3 per cent answered: «to decide for ourselves», while 61 per cent said «together with our parents.»

The data from the answers of young men and women on the threshold of their wedding on the qualities they appreciate most in their future spouse are significant. Of the young men and women questioned, 55 per cent rank honesty, moral purity and love as most important; 13.3 per cent industriousness; 10 per cent physical beauty; 6.6 per cent educational level; 5 per cent intelligence, 5 per cent modesty and 5 per cent mutual understanding. The poll taken of a group of 100 married couples on the fundamental condition for a stable socialist family yielded the following results: loyalty and understanding — 64 per cent; love — 27 per cent; economic situation — 5 per cent; the equality between husband and wife — 1 per cent; pre-nuptial mutual acquaintance of the couple — 2 per cent.

All these data, though partial and limited, show one tendency, i.e., among the younger generation in the contraction of their marriages those motivations prevail which fully comply with the norms of communist morality and socialist ideology. Certainly, nowadays, hand in hand with the marriage based on love, great influence is still being exerted by the other types of marriage maintained in the form of customs and traditions from the families formerly relying on private property. But the general progress of our society towards socialism will ever better develop the material and spiritual premisses necessary for the predominance of free mutual love in the creation of socialist families.

3. The ratio of marriages to the population

The number of marriages in proportion of the population is one of the most important indicators of the situation of family relations in a society. The increase of the number of marriages in general is an expression of the consolidation of family relations.

Statistical data of our country show that in the process of building the socialist society the number of marriages in proportion to the total population and its development has increased. Thus, if in 1938, 5.8 marriages were contracted for every thousand inhabitants, in 1965 this number reached 7.5 for every thousand inhabitants. At present, the number of marriages is approaching the level of those countries having the greatest number of marriages, and higher than dozens of developed and underdeveloped countries of the capitalist world. This tendency runs counter to that of the capitalist and revisionist countries, where, as a result of the growth of social insecurity, the number of marriages is rapidly falling. The increase of the number of marriages in our country bears witness to the strengthening of the social security of our younger generation and to the moral and social progress of our society and family.

The data on the number of marriages in town and countryside bear witness, first of all to the absence of essential differences between town and countryside. In 1965, 7.3 marriages were contracted for every thousand inhabitants in the towns, whereas in the countryside there were 7.5 marriages. This fact is closely linked not only with the progress of the town but also with that of the countryside, as long as there exist the socialist classes there from the point of view of their eco-

conomic and social situation. Secondly, the statistical data show that in the towns the number of marriages has been generally increasing: from 6 in every thousand in 1955, to 7.6 in 1963, 7.5 in 1964 and 7.3 in 1965. Meanwhile, in the countryside the number of marriages has been falling from 10.3 in 1950, to 9.0 in 1955, 8.8 in 1960 and 7.5 in 1965. This phenomenon is explained not only by the weakening of patriarchal relations in the countryside during the socialist construction, but also by the departure of a considerable number of the population from the countryside to the towns. As the data indicate, a number of peasant girls are increasingly being married in the towns.

The statistical data show a perceptible oscillating trend in the number of marriages in two fundamental respects: First, generally there are constant differences as to the number of marriages between big and small towns. Thus, during 1965, in the town of Shkodra 9.6 marriages for every one thousand inhabitants were contracted, in Tirana 8.4, in Korça 7.6, in Elbasan 8.3. In the small towns were contracted less marriages. Thus, for example, during 1965 at the town of Burrel 1.3 marriages for every one thousand inhabitants were contracted; at Puka 2.4; at Permet 5.9; in Mirdita region 3.8; at the town of Librazhd 6.2; at Bajram Curri 3.3. It appears that the number of marriages is directly connected with the number of the population of the towns and surely also with the degree of comfort they enjoy. As a rule, in densely populated towns, the coefficient of marriage is high.

Secondly, there are pronounced and constant differences concerning the number of marriages in the rural areas. Thus, during 1964 the greatest number of peasant marriages is recorded in the region of Shkodra (9.1 mar-

riages for every one thousand inhabitants), of Kruja (9.3), of Korça (8.1), of Tirana (8.1). Meanwhile, for the same period the lowest number of peasant marriages were registered in such regions as those of Kolonja (5.1 for every thousand inhabitants), of Tepelena (5.3), of Mat (5.5) and of Librazhd (5.7). It appears that the regions with a more rapid economic, social and cultural development during the last 20 years have had the greatest number of marriages. In general, the economic and social advance of our country is associated with the growth of the coefficient of marriages. This is an expression of the elevation of family prestige and of its general consolidation.

Among the factors influencing the development of matrimonial relations on a national-wide scale is also the perceptible difference in the ratio of population according to sexes. Statistical data shows that the number of male births as compared with the number of female births is higher. Thus, in 1945 there were 18,678 more males than females, in 1950 almost 33,000, in 1955 — 44,200, and in 1965 — 52,740. This growing difference of the male population is mainly accounted for by the fact that the male sex dominates in the total number of births. Ever since 1955 the number of births of males surpassed that of females by 1,500. In the future this difference may be narrowed down because the average life span of women, on a nation-wide scale, is longer than that of men. Nevertheless, the disproportion existing between the female and the male population is an objective natural factor having negative effect on the process of marriage development which restrains the increase of their number.

4. Marriages and the Ages of Couples

The tendency of improving the ratio of ages between the couples contracting the marriages is another expression of the development of the family under the conditions of the development of our society on the road of socialism. The average age of the man and woman at the time of their marriage is generally connected with the economic and social conditions existing in the society. Under different social conditions we come across different ratios pertaining to the age of the couple. On the other hand, the ratio of ages of the couples is an indicator of great importance showing the objective motives inducing people to contract marriages.

Stressed differences of age between the couple exist in those social environments where there is a serious inequality between husband and wife, where purchase marriage and career seeking marriage with great age difference are widely practised in the bourgeois circles of the capitalist revisionist countries.

Statistic data of our country, notwithstanding the peculiarities of different social groups, show that the difference of age between man and woman is being reduced, approaching a normal average. Lacking evidence of the situation of marriages before liberation, according to sex and age-groups, we rely on comparisons of the 1958-1964 data. As the changes within this period have been limited, we represent here the situation of marriages according to sex and age-groups for the year 1964. Of 13,021 marriages contracted in this year on a nation-wide scale, we come across these main age groups of married people:

1. 24.6 per cent of them (bridegroom and bride) were of the same age.

2. Of husbands, 38.5 per cent are 1-5 years older than their wives;

3. Of husbands, 24.5 per cent are 6-10 years older than their wives;

4. Of husbands, 7.6 per cent are over 10 years older than their wives;

5. Of wives, 3.9 per cent are 1-5 years older than their husbands;

6. Of wives, 0.3 per cent are 6-10 years older than their husbands;

7. Of wives, 0.08 per cent are over 10 years older than their husbands.

From the above data we can conclude the following: first, women marrying younger husbands are few. During 1964 in our country there were 43 marriages of women 5-10 years older than their husbands, and only 11 marriages of women over 10 years older than their husbands. The rarity of such marriages is a positive tendency, in favour of the strengthening of family stability, if we bear in mind the fact that women have an earlier physiological development than men. Second, the marriages of people of equal age are rather numerous (24.6 per cent). Third, in the present matrimonial relations the main place is occupied by marriage of men with women 1-10 years younger (63 per cent). During 1964 the marriages of men with women 1-5 years younger made up 38.5 per cent of all the marriages, and with women 6-10 years younger they made up 24.5 per cent.

If we compare 1964 data concerning marriages combined according to sex and age-groups, with those of the year 1958 it results that the percentage of the category of married husbands and wives of equal age has fallen from 26.5 per cent it was in 1958 to 24.6 per

cent in 1964, the marriage category of husbands 1-10 years older than their wives has increased from 57.9 per cent in 1958 to 63.1 per cent in 1964, the marriage grouping of husbands over 10 years older than their wives has decreased from 9 per cent to 7.6 per cent, whereas, all the marriages of women in the category with younger husbands has fallen from 6.4 per cent of the total it was in 1958 to 4.3 per cent in 1964. All these changes, although limited, still show that hand in hand with the socialist construction, the ratio of ages between the husband and wife is continually improving, approaching a more normal average, which is characteristic of our socialist family.

But the ratio of ages between spouses nowadays has shown perceptible improvement especially if we compare it with that of the pre-war period.

If we compare the figures for 1942 (7,690 marriages) with 1964 (13,021) we come to the following conclusions as to these marriages according to sex and age-groups:

a) Marriages of men:

1. The age-group of men up to 19 years old fell from 15.4 per cent in 1942 to 4.6 per cent in 1964.
2. The age group of men 20 to 29 years old has increased from 53.2 per cent in 1942 to 75.9 per cent in 1964.
3. The age group of men 30 to 34 years of age fell from 16.3 per cent it was in 1942 to 11.9 per cent in 1964.
4. The age-group of men over 34 years old has fallen from 14.1 per cent it was in 1942 to 8.3 per cent in 1964.

b) Marriages of women:

1. The age-group of women up to 19 years old has

increased from 37.9 per cent in 1942 to 42.3 per cent in 1964.

2. The age-group of women 20-29 years old has fallen from 55.4 per cent in 1942 to 51.4 per cent in 1964.

3. The age-group of women over 30 years of age has fallen from 5.7 per cent in 1942 to 4.8 per cent in 1964.

The shift in the ratio of ages shows, first of all, that the majority of marriages tend to be contracted between the age of 20-30 for both sexes. During 1964 the marriages of men of up to 30 years of age made up 79.5 per cent of all marriages, whereas the marriages of women of up to 30 years of age made up 93.7 per cent of all marriages. This is a positive tendency, for, generally speaking, the most suitable age for marriage ranges between 20-30 years of age for both sexes.

Second, the number of men under 19 years of age has fallen. In 1964, this category of marriages constituted only 4.6 per cent of all married men. This, too, is a positive tendency, for it shows that the majority of men marry when they come of age. This tendency also is connected with such facts as the limitation of early marriages which are due to special provisions of our legislation regarding the family, with the raising of the educational and professional level of the younger generation, and other factors.

Third, the marriages of couples of advanced age have fallen. Thus, the age-group of men marrying over 35 years of age has fallen to 8.3 per cent in 1964, whereas that of women marrying at this age has fallen to 4.8 per cent. This tendency is an expression of the uplift in the well-being of the laboring masses and of their general social security, for now, the demands of the family could be met at an earlier age.

Fourth, the number of women marrying under 19 years of age is still high (42.9 per cent). This shows that many of them are married before they go out into life. The extension of the struggle for the complete emancipation of women in our country that is being unfolded with greater impetus, is restraining this tendency, and in the future this category of marriages will be brought to a more normal level.

Another phenomenon generally expressing the progress of matrimonial relations at the present period in comparison with the future, is also the change of marriages according to the bridegroom's and bride's civil status. Statistical data show that the percentage of those remarrying is increasing. If in 1942 divorced couples marrying made up only 2.7 per cent of the total number of marriages and in 1948 they made up 5.4 per cent, such marriages have kept on increasing and in 1963 they were 12.9 per cent, in 1964 12.3 per cent of all the marriages. This tendency shows that divorced men and women, under the present conditions, find it easier to remarry, a fact that shows the development of the process of emancipation in matrimonial relations. But, while the number of divorced couples remarrying has greatly increased, the percentage of widowers and widows remarrying is on the decline. If in 1942 the remarriages of this category made up 11.2 per cent of the total number of marriages, in 1948 they made up 16.7 per cent, in 1963 3.8 per cent, and in 1964 3.5 per cent. The decline in the number of marriages of this category is a direct result of the lowering of the general mortality of the population, as well as an expression of the raising of the workers' material well-being under the conditions of socialism.

5. Family relations and divorce

Divorces are also an important indicator showing the state of family relations. The growth of the number of divorces expresses the weakening of the ties and the narrow character of motives in contracting marriages, while the diminishing number of divorces is an expression of the strengthening of ties in the family life. In the capitalist world the trend of the rapid and alarming growth of divorces is a festering wound of society that brings about the weakening of the family. The social prestige of the family and marriage in these countries is falling at a catastrophic rate. Thus, in the USA for every four marriages one ends in divorce, in the Soviet Union (during the 1966-1967 period) for every three marriages one ended in divorce. In Yugoslavia, if in 1940 for every one thousand marriages there were only 57.4 divorces, in 1960 for every one thousand marriages there were 131.4 divorces. In England, from 1938 to 1950 the number of divorces increased 5 times.

Divorces in ratio to the population and marriages in our country appear as follows:

	Y E A R								
	1946	1948	1950	1955	1960	1961	1962	1963	
Divorces for every 1,000 inhabitants	0,6	1,0	0,8	0,9	0,5	0,8	0,7	0,6	0,6
Divorces for every 1,000 marriages	63,6	64,3	79,0	93,8	67,6	70,1	96,2	79,3	84,7

From this table we conclude that, in our country the number of divorces is very low, quite the opposite of the capitalist and revisionist countries. In spite of the raising of the degree of emancipation in matrimonial and family relations during the process of socialist construction, the number of divorces in proportion to the population has not increased. Likewise, excluding the first years of the post-liberation period, the number of divorces in proportion to the total number of marriages has not undergone any important change. But statistical evidence shows that perceptible changes have taken place in the number of divorces in town and countryside.

The number of divorces in the towns is greater than in the countryside. During 1964, of 1,104 divorces 58 per cent have taken place among urban families and 42 per cent among peasant families. In this same year, in the towns there have been 1.0 divorces for every 1,000 inhabitants, whereas in the countryside 0.4 for every 1,000 inhabitants. This fact, no doubt, expresses the backwardness of family relations in the countryside as compared with the town. The right of divorce is practised in a more limited way in the countryside than in the town, owing to the influence of backward customs and the inequality between husband and wife. Likewise, before the collectivization of agriculture, the objective conditions to wield this right had been much more limited in the countryside.

The small number of divorces in our country is the result of two factors of opposite nature. On one hand, this process is the result of the backwardness in matrimonial and family relations that is observed in certain social conditions, especially in the countryside, which limits the scope of exercising the right of divorce; on

the other hand, this process is the result of the new social and economic conditions of socialism, especially of the correct policy pursued by our Party, by our juridical institutions, designed to strengthen the family and its life, a thing that again limits the number of divorces.

During periods of deep revolutionary upheavals in social life, old moral norms and relations, matrimonial and family relations collapse, and trends emerge objectively which upset the balance of family relations and disorganize sexual relations. The period from liberation up to the present has been of such a character in our country. But, in this situation our Party has declared a consistent struggle against liberal, bourgeois and anarchic manifestations of moral dissipation, and has maintained a correct stand on the question of divorce. The anarchic, liberal and bourgeois manifestations and attitudes had been more widespread in the towns; therefore Comrade Enver Hoxha has also stressed that, without underestimating formalism and conservatism, the fight against manifestations of moral dissipation should be kept up. «People say that the town influences the countryside through carrying the new to it,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out. «This is right, but not always, because even in the town, in some respects concerning the family issues, it is the same as in the countryside, if not worse. The allegedly «modern» viewpoints, alien to the socialist understanding of family development, are worse than «conservative» viewpoints of the countryside»¹). Our Party has been and remains against the so-called theory of «free love» and against absolute freedom of divorce.

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana, 1967, p. 203.

According to Marxism-Leninism, true freedom of marriage has nothing in common with the light-minded attitude towards it, with the right to break the bond of marriage on the smallest pretext. The true freedom of marriage consists in the freedom of choice, in an earnest and conscious attitude towards the marriage, in the understanding of social necessity for strong and stable family bonds in the interests of the younger generation's education and of the happiness of the family. Therefore, the classics of Marxism-Leninism have brought forth arguments supporting the absolute necessity of adjusting the part to be played by the social and state order in marriage and divorce, and are opposed to the absolute freedom of divorce under the conditions of socialism. «Nobody is bound to contract a marriage,» says Marx, «but everybody should be bound to obey the laws of marriage».

«He who contracts a marriage does not create it, nor does he invent it: he creates and invents it as much as the swimmer creates or invents the nature and laws of water and weight. Therefore, marriage cannot be subject to arbitrariness, but, on the contrary, the arbitrariness of contracting a marriage should be subject to the essence of marriage»¹).

By fighting against manifestations of revisionist bourgeois liberalism, our Party also wages a bitter struggle against manifestations of conservatism. Family life, as everything else, is contradictory, it is both the source of happiness and of conflicts and sadness. These conflicts under certain circumstances make married life unbearable. Hence, the association of freedom of marriage with the right of divorce, the latter being also sanctioned by law. Under circumstances justified by

1) K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, Vol. I, p. 169.

law, the right of divorce represents the protection, by the state power, of the right of every person to family happiness. V.I. Lenin, regarded as obscurantist the viewpoints of those people who considered the right of divorce as the source of the weakening of the family. In our socialist society divorce ensures the conditions for the strengthening of the family, and for the development of equality between husband and wife.

Under the present conditions of the struggle for the complete emancipation of woman, the right of divorce, especially for women, is assuming great importance. The statistical data show that women are becoming conscious of this right. During the last 17 years, the divorce cases brought before the court by husbands and wives are almost equal. About 53 per cent of all the divorce cases brought before the court by women have been successful. This shows that women are making wide use of this right in our country.

The majority of divorce cases in our country are brought about by these two main reasons: serious disagreements in marital life, and adultery. During 1964, of the 1,104 dissolutions of marriage, 57 per cent were effected for serious disagreements in marital life, and 31.5 per cent for adultery. But for the latter group the first reason is not simply adultery, because the court of justice includes in this group again those persons that after leaving their family for other reasons cohabit with and marry other women. The statistical data show that dissolution of marriage for adultery has been decreasing with every passing year. In 1960, divorces effected for lack of matrimonial fidelity were 42.8 per cent, whereas in 1964 they were 31.6 per cent. Divorces when the blame rests on the husband alone have been more numerous than those when the blame rests on the

wife. Thus, in 1955, the divorces of the first group made up 43.6 per cent, whereas those of the second group were 23.7 per cent; in 1964 the divorces of the first group made up 26.0 per cent, and those of the second group 24.6 per cent. The opinions of our families about the causes leading to serious misunderstandings in married life are interesting to note. Of one hundred couples questioned on these causes, these answers were received: 23 per cent regarded the economic state of the family as the main cause of serious misgivings in marital relations; 22 per cent the lack of understanding within the family; 15 per cent backward customs; 10 per cent adultery, 8 per cent jealousy; 8 per cent bad moral conduct and brutality; 3 per cent difference of the educational level of the couple; 2 per cent lack of housing, etc.

A positive characteristic for our country is the small number of divorces brought about through reasons of property, drunkenness, adultery, and other causes that are more commonplace in the capitalist countries.

In our country the majority of divorces belong to the category of families with one or no children. During 1964, of 1,104 divorces 82.3 per cent belonged to this category. It is selfunderstood that these groups, from the social viewpoint and the interests of bringing up children are the least «painful» divorces.

The number of divorces in our country, as compared with other countries, is positive, from the viewpoint of the duration of marriages of the persons seeking a divorce.

During 1964, of 1,104 divorces, 15.1 per cent of the separated persons had been married for less than a year, 43.8 per cent for 1-4 years, 24.1 per cent for 5-10 years, and 15.6 per cent for more than 10 years, etc.

If we compare these data with those of the previous years, for example with 1960, it turns out that the category of divorces of less than one year's marriage increased from 11.7 per cent it was in 1960 to 16.1 per cent in 1964, the category of divorces of 1-4 years' marriage decreased from 48.2 per cent it was in 1960 to 43.8 per cent in 1964, and the category of divorces of 5-10 years' marriage decreased from 26.4 per cent in 1960 to 24.1 per cent in 1964. These facts show that the trend of divorces according to duration of marriages are relatively stable and have undergone partial modifications only.

Of interest are also the data for the years 1961-1964 on the ratio of ages between married couples and persons seeking divorce.

First, the number of divorces of men and women of the same age is relatively high (in 1964 it reached 25.9 per cent). This indicates that the number of marriages of men and women of the same age should also be considered as high. Therefore, the limitation of marriages in this age-group would bring about the reduction of divorces.

Secondly, the number of divorces of husbands and wives with an age difference of over 10 years is relatively low (for 1964 it was 7.4 per cent). This shows that the marriages of this group are in most cases built on narrow and backward motives, and that the degree of social emancipation in this category of families is low.

Thirdly, the number of divorces in the category of marriages with the wives 1-10 years older than their husbands is high, for this type of marriages is generally based on narrow motives.

Of no less importance are the data on the number of divorces according to the age of the partners from

1950 to 1964 bring forth the following conclusions:

First the number of divorces of husbands and wives under 20 years of age is decreasing. In 1950, the number of divorces of men and women of this age were respectively 1.6 per cent and 11.8 per cent of all the divorces, whereas in 1964 the number of divorces of this age group were reduced to 0.18 and 8.24 per cent respectively. This is a positive process accounted for by the fact that the motives in contracting marriages are being improved with the younger generation.

Second, the number of divorces of husbands and wives 25-34 years of age has increased. In 1950, the number of divorces of husbands and wives of this age was 38.8 per cent and 28.2 per cent of all the divorces respectively, whereas in 1960 it increased to 59.4 per cent and 39.1 per cent respectively. The increase of the number of divorces of women aged 30-34 is a negative phenomenon if we bear in mind that this age is beyond the active marriage stage of women, which limits the possibilities of this category of women to remarry. Likewise, the number of divorces of couples over 35 years of age, although still high and reflecting a negative phenomenon, as long as not only women but men, of this age, too, enter an inactive stage of marriage, no perceptible change has been observed as compared with 1950.

Thirdly, the number of divorces of couples over 50 years of age is on the decline. In 1950, divorces of this category for couples made up 9.8 per cent and 3.4 per cent respectively, whereas in 1964 they made up 4.8 and 1.6 per cent of all divorces.

The new economic and social conditions of socialism

have generally had a positive effect on the number of divorces as well, strengthening the family ties and the degree of emancipation of women.

6. The family as the cell of reproduction of the population and of the education of the younger generation

The strengthening of family relations in the process of socialist construction of our country is expressed in the fulfilment of its function to reproduce the population. Sociology gives ample proof that the accentuated decline in the rate of the population's reproduction is an expression of the disorganization and weakening of the family. It is not by accident that the disagreements in marital life resulting in divorce are more numerous in the category of families with no or only one child.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries, the rates of the population's reproduction are being slowed down alarmingly due to the deepening of those processes bringing about divorce and the weakening of the family. This fact shows that the family is not able to fulfil one of its traditional functions. On the other hand, the absence of children is a factor making the matrimonial and family relations even less stable in these countries. The bourgeois sociologists regard the rapid increase of families without children as an alarming phenomenon. But the disorganization of the family in capitalism appears not so much in its importance to ensure the extensive reproduction of the population as to improve its educational function. The bourgeois sociologists are alarmed by the detachment of the younger generation

from the educational influence of the old generation within the family.

During the socialist construction, the overthrow of the old relations and of the old mode of living, our family has shown great vitality to ensure rapid rhythms in the reproduction of the population in compliance with the social needs of our economy and of the defense of our country. This finds expression in three main directions: first, in the high birth rate. If in 1938, 34,7 children were born for every 1,000 inhabitants, in 1960 34,3 children were born, in 1964 34,0 children for every 1,000 inhabitants. Second, the general mortality rate has declined and the average life span increased considerably during the same period. In 1938 there were 17,8 deaths for every 1,000 inhabitants, whereas in 1965 the number of deaths fell to 9 for every 1,000 inhabitants, while the average life span was raised from 38 years in 1938 to almost 67 years in 1967. Third, as a result of these changes, the coefficient of the natural increase of the population per year rose from 16,9 it was in 1938 to 25,4 in 1966. The extensive reproduction of the population is a phenomenon having its source in the new favorable social and cultural conditions which the Albanian family now enjoys.

The growth of the population has influenced the numerical make up of families. In 1923 every family was made up of 5-6 members, in 1945 5.7, and in 1960 5.8 members; the urban family had 4.9 members before liberation, in 1955 4.9, whereas in 1960 it had 5.3 members.

The total number of families of our Republic, according to the number of members, has been divided as follows in the years 1955 and 1960.

Capita per family	1-4 capita		5-8 capita		9-12 capita		above 13 capita	
	1955	1960	1955	1960	1955	1960	1955	1960
Families according to capita	39,8	35,2	45,7	49,2	10,9	11,8	3,9	3,1

From this table we can see that the percentage of families with 1-4 members is on the decline, the percentage of families with 4-12 members is on the increasing, whereas the percentage of families with more than 12 persons is decreasing. Though it appears that the patriarchal family has increased from the viewpoint of numerical structure, in fact the tendency towards reducing the size of the family is growing, especially among the mass of employees' and intellectuals' families in the cities. In spite of this, the tendency to maintain large families in the cities is still strong. The figures above are also confirmed by a questionnaire taken among couples on their relations with their parents. Of the newly married couples, 87 per cent want to live under the same roof with their parents and 13 per cent apart from them. In the countryside there are no fluctuations in the numerical make-up of the family and in the separation of its members. In 1923 every peasant family on an average had 5 members; in 1945 5.6; in 1955 5.8, and in 1960 6.1. This is explained both by the patriarchal character of families, and the impossibility of dividing up the small personal property owing to the small plot of land possessed by the overwhelming majority of peasant families whereas during the collectivization of agriculture the distribution of income according to work-days is a factor influencing the preser-

vation of larger families. No doubt, the head of the family exerts still a strong influence in peasant families, and other conditions for smaller families to set up on their own are lacking, e.g. the personal plots of land are too small, etc.

Of particular interest are the data about the number of members in families according to the social make-up of the heads of families.

From the data of 1960, as against those of 1955, it comes out that, first and foremost, the number of workers' families of 1-4 members has increased (from 21.4 to 32.7 per cent), whereas the number of employees' and peasants' families of this size has fallen (from 19.5 to 50.4 per cent to 16.9 to 42.6 per cent respectively).

Secondly, the number of workers' and employees' families of 5-8 members is increasing, from 17.8 per cent and 12.4 per cent in 1955 to 13.0 and 54.0 per cent in 1960 respectively, whereas the number of peasant families of this category is decreasing (from 64.5 it declined to 54.5 per cent in 1960).

Thirdly, the number of workers' and employees' families of 9-12 persons tends to rise (from 10.1 and 5.6 per cent in 1955 to 20.9 and 6.1 per cent in 1960 respectively), whereas the number of peasant families of this category is decreasing (from 80.4 per cent in 1955 to 71.0 per cent in 1960).

Fourthly, the number of workers' and employees' families of over 13 members is increasing (respectively from 3.5 and 2.0 per cent in 1955 to 9.2 and 2.5 per cent in 1960), whereas peasant families of this category are decreasing (from 92.7 per cent in 1955 to 81.4 per cent in 1960).

From all these data we can draw the conclusion that there are two opposite tendencies acting; on one

hand, the number of workers' and employees' families of more than 4 members is increasing, whereas, on the other, the number of peasant families of this category is decreasing. This shows that the economic and social advance of our country during its socialist construction is being reflected in the structure and numerical make-up of our family. But, notwithstanding all these, the families of greatest numerical make up (9-12 and 13 members and above) belong to the peasantry (71.0 per cent and 81.4 per cent in 1960). This shows that the patriarchal relations are still strong among the ranks of our peasantry

The superiority of our family is not so much expressed in the high rates of our population's increase as in the increase of its moral and spiritual potential, in the extension of its abilities to bring up a younger generation of high moral qualities, of most progressive ideals, of much higher cultural and educational level than the older-generation, to bring up a physically, morally and ideologically sound younger generation.

The family is not an «incubator» producing biological beings and taking upon itself the reproduction of human beings. For the society, man is a valuable social being, a social personality. Therefore, our family, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, by performing the function of reproducing the population, takes upon itself the social education of the younger generation. «Family education,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is a factor having a great influence on the youth»¹⁾.

It would be wrong to consider that the education of the younger generation can be completely carried

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», Tirana, p. 201.

out outside the family. The family performs an educational function that cannot be carried on outside it. The fundamental peculiarity of family education and its necessity rests in the fact that it has an emotional character, being based on the mutual love of its members. The intimate life in the family makes the relations between different generations sincere. In this respect, the family plays and will play an important role in the education of the younger generation. Furthermore, the family fulfils the important function of the material provision of its members with food, clothing and footwear rest and recreation, hygiene, lodging, and so on.

Concerning our socialist family, its educational function is not and cannot be a purely «private» question, it has also a social content, and importance. «The education of the young in the bosom of the family», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «is not a purely private question, but first of all a task of social character of primary importance, it is closely connected not only with the interests of the family but also with those of the society, socialism and communism»¹). Education in the bosom of the family is part of the communist education and not an end in itself, it should aim at preparing the younger generation to confront life themselves, to carry the socialist construction further, it should make sure that they connect their family life with the whole life of the society. Our family is fulfilling this function by rearing a generation of staunch fighters for socialism. But the family education should neither be underestimated nor overestimated. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the education of the younger gen-

1) Ibidem, p. 207.

eration cannot be carried out solely in the family, that the family should «cooperate» with the society in order to make the education of the youth complete. The education of the younger generation outside the family plays a great role because it is generally divested of that one-sided subjectiveness stemming from the love of the parents towards their children. «It is natural,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «that the mother and father love their son or daughter wholeheartedly, but at the same time the mother should educate her son, should teach him to fight for life, for, if the parents take their son or daughter under their wing, always and for everything when they come of age, they would be afraid of life, of the struggle for life»¹). The social education outside the family mends the character of man, if this character is spoiled by the family, it places the children on equal terms with their mates, by «freeing» them from their parents' tutelage, preparing them to be able to act independently in life. The great work of our Party, the educational activity of the social organizations and of the educational and cultural institutions, the life and reality of our country are the decisive factors in the endowment of our younger generation with communist features, which is at the same time our family's task and brings about the enhancement of its spiritual capability.

7. The relations between family and socialist society

The development of socialist matrimonial and family relations in our society brings forth another important

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 166.

problem that of the relation of the family on one hand, and society, socialist state power, our social opinion on the other. The bourgeois revisionist sociologists try to show that allegedly the family is weakened due to the interference of external forces, of society, state power, public opinion, thus claiming that a sacred side of the family - its intimate life is violated. They exert their efforts to demonstrate that allegedly the founder of Marxism had been against any intrusion of society into the family life and its development. In this case they refer to a consideration of Engels expressed in «The principles of communism», that in communism, «the relations between the sexes would be a purely personal question, that would concern only the interested persons and in which the society would have no need to interfere.»¹⁾ But the revisionists and the bourgeois sociologists distort and falsify this consideration of Engels.

First, ever since the birth of such a social institution as the family, society has not remained indifferent towards it. Any society, any state power, in spite of its economic and political order has interfered and regulated many aspects of the family by means of laws on the family, religious concepts, morality and by other means. Therefore, if the socialist society or state power does not remain indifferent towards the development of the family, this is not something characteristic of only socialism. Our society and state power cannot remain indifferent towards the family which fulfils a series of important social functions.

Second, when Engels regards the intervention of society in this field as superfluous he has in mind integral

1) K. Marx, F. Engels; Rus. edit. vol. IV, p. 336-337.

communism, i.e., that stage when there would be neither classes or state power, not juridical norms in the society, when the individuals would have such a developed personality that the norms of communist morality would be innate and sacred convictions for them. Under such conditions, when the family relations will be ruled by norms of communist morality, society could have no need to intervene in relations between the sexes. Under the present socialist conditions our society and state power do not interfere in the relations of those families whose essence complies with our legislation and socialist morality. But, certainly, not every family lives up to these norms and principles. If the principles of our legislation, ethics, and ideology are trampled upon, thus leading to the weakening of our family, the public opinion, society and our state power cannot remain indifferent but should intervene to protect these principles. Therefore the importance rests not so much on the intervention as such, but on the aim of this intervention, on its scope

Third, in communism Engels did not regard any influence of the society on the family as necessary, but only its intervention in relations between the sexes, i.e. intervention in the right of the individual to the free choice of his partner according to his wish. In this meaning, such a right is fulfilled under the conditions of socialism as long as our legislation recognizes only the monogamous family based on the civil marriage resting on reciprocal love. But the family is not reduced simply to the act of choosing a partner, it comprises a whole complex of other relations, of great importance not only to the fate of the family itself, but to the society as a whole. For this purpose, the socialist family, the state power and public opinion are obliged to intervene

in marriage conflicts to support the equality of husband and wife, to protect the interests of children and old people, and in other questions so as to harmonize these relations with the general interests of the society.

Fourth, our state power takes under its protection the intimate life of the family members and forbids any intrusion into this sphere of family relations. There is no doubt that the intimate life of the family is one of the sources of happiness for the members of our socialist family. Therefore, vulgar interference and administrative intrusion into the details of intimate family life are in opposition to communist morality, to socialist legislation, they are the source of destruction of family harmony and of troubles in family relations, they are no less harmful than the backward customs and traditions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasised that the question of the development and strengthening of our socialist family should by all means become an object of concern for our society, state power, Party, public opinion and should not be regarded merely as a private problem. The question of the victory of our socialist morality and ideology in the family, the question of ensuring equality between husband and wife within the family, the question of bringing up the younger generation and other such questions are of major social importance. The hostility of the family to the society does not emerge from this intervention, but from the anti-socialist ideological influences still prevalent among many families, causing great harm both to the society and the members of these families. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the further strengthening of the Albanian family will be attained by an irreconcilable struggle against any anti-socialist ideological in-

fluence in its bosom. «Our family,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «should be imbued with the new socialist spirit, this spirit should strengthen and temper our sound principles such as mutual love, solidarity, honesty, frugality, patriotism, and so on, that are distinguishing features of our family, but, on the other hand, for the triumph of this spirit it is indispensable to eradicate the mentality of private property, the idea that family problems are «merely private», and to purge everything idealistic in all manifestations and thoughts that linger on in the bosom of the family»¹). Socialism has prepared the most appropriate social terrain in our country for firm ties and complete harmony between the family and the society.

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of the Albanian Woman», p. 208.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CREATING AND STRENGTHENING OUR SOCIALIST FAMILY

Contrary to the bourgeois ideologists who regard family problems as entirely private matters, Marxism-Leninism looks upon them as mainly social phenomena and regards the family as an indissoluble part of the society. The influence and interaction between family and society is reciprocal. The family, its features, and the nature of the relations among families depend upon the nature of the society and the social order. On the other hand, the family also exerts a considerable influence on social development. The stronger the family, the more solid the society.

The new socialist family does not fall from the skies as something ready-made and perfect on the morrow of the victory of the socialist revolution, or on the morrow of the construction of the socialist economic base. An indispensable condition of the building of the new socialist family is the transformation of the economic relations of society, of the class structure of society, the

development of the socialist revolution in all fields of social life: economy, politics, ideology.

The formation of the new-type socialist family is a protracted process, for it has to deal with the solution of many problems of an economic, political, juridical and cultural character, it has to wipe out many backward customs, old concepts and world outlooks that still possess a great force of resistance.

Therefore, the creation of the new socialist family and its transformation into the dominant one directly depend on the further development of our country towards socialism. But this problem must also be viewed from another aspect. Comrade Enver Hoxha has argued that the development of socialist family relations is closely connected with the struggle for the complete emancipation of women. So long as equality between women and men is not completely achieved in all fields, the creation of the socialist family cannot be guaranteed.

Here I would like to stress some problems concerning the position of women in the family and the part they play and should play in moulding our family on a socialist basis. Certainly, the strengthening of the family is the common concern of both husband and wife. But owing to the inequality that existed in family relations, the role and authority of women had been restricted, and the idea that the man alone is the pivot of the family, that the fate of the family depends on him, had taken root among people. This idea is not only regressive and reactionary, but it runs counter to the reality and does not comply with the real situation of our family. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that women are the most important force on whom we must rely in creating the new family relations.

Why do women play a leading role in the family? Why should we rely more upon women in strengthening our new family?

Here Comrade Enver Hoxha first of all points out the role of the woman as a mother. «Nature has assigned you the task of giving birth to children,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «that is to say, of renewing life, of giving the homeland children, its population. This is a major role in the world! There is no life without women». This noble sacred mission, just like everything else that concerns women, has been underrated and resented by the ideologists of reactionary classes of all times.

It is worth mentioning here that despite the inhuman efforts of the «Sheriat» and the Bible and the severe laws of ancient canons, our people have held women in high esteem, especially in regard to them as mothers. But, it is only in the socialist society where the necessary material and ideological conditions have been created, that mothers are given the place they are entitled to.

Second, women are not only natural bearers of life, but also the natural teachers of children, of the younger generation.

Some problems of women's work in the family as teachers of the younger generation assume particular importance. On one hand, the course, objectices and contents of the educational function of the family are of great significance. Mothers in the role of teachers should implant the lofty ideal of socialism in their children's minds, should educate them in the spirit of putting all their forces and efforts in the service of their country and socialism, and bring up a generation of revolutionaries. The mother can make her greatest contribution to the fulfilment of the educational task of the new socia-

list family when her love for her children is closely linked with the socialist education and cultivation of the younger generation. This love, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, should be aimed at elevating and developing the child's personality in compliance with the interests of socialist society; it must not become the source of intemperate petting, for this spoils the child's character, makes him unable to act and cope with all the difficulties and problems of life.

On the other hand, something qualitatively new is needed in order to enable women to fulfil their educational mission towards the younger generation in our society. Even under the most difficult conditions of the exploiting order, mothers have been the natural teachers of the younger generation. But the accomplishment of this mission in the present situation of socialist construction, of the all-round material and spiritual progress of our society, requires new qualities. Nowadays, the Albanian women can accomplish their mission as teachers of the younger generation provided they march more rapidly and with unrestrained impetus on the road of completely emancipating themselves, provided they succeed in raising and developing their personality fully and to a higher stage, by direct, active participation in social work, in the political and cultural life of our country, by fighting for their complete equality with men, inside and outside the family.

Third, concerning the economic support for the family today both husband, and wife contribute equally, the life of women and children does not depend solely upon the job of the husband, but on the incomes of both. They contribute equally to the life and wellbeing of their family. This deep transformation in economic relations in the family, which is the result of women's par-

ticipation in production work, has resulted in the collapse of the old relations between husband and wife.

Fourth, the woman is among the most revolutionary and progressive elements of our society in general, and of the family in particular. This Marxist thesis is repeatedly stressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the past, women suffered more than anyone else. They had been the most exploited, miserable and oppressed; and those who are most oppressed and who suffer most are more revolutionary and progressive.

These are some of the factors which, objectively, make women a most important element for the strengthening of the new socialist family in our country. But these factors in themselves do not serve to automatically solve this problem. We cannot help but admit that women still do not play their progressive role to the full extent, they do not enjoy complete equality with their husbands in the family. The causes of this state of affairs should be sought mainly in the ideological field, in the subjective factor. First of all, women are not fully conscious of the new position they have gained due to the policy of our Party and their own efforts. On top of this, men have not yet discarded old customs and patriarchal concepts. As well, old customs, have not been completely done away with, they are still lingering on in our new family, quite often poisoning the atmosphere and degrading the just relations that should exist between husband and wife.

Therefore, the struggle for the further strengthening of our family is, first of all, an ideological struggle for the complete emancipation of women from any feelings they themselves have about being inferior to men, and for the complete emancipation of men from concepts they have about «pater familias». This struggle

should be spearheaded against eradicating the backward customs connected with engagements, marriage, married life, with the division of household work within the family and of the task of educating the children. This also depends on our ability to restrict the influence of backward social opinion, on the broadening of the authority and effectiveness of the new social opinion. The latter should be irreconcilable to everything old in the family and assist the implantation of norms and customs of a new socialist character into the family.

There are two principal problems whose correct solution conditions the creation and strengthening of our new family: 1) the character of marriages and 2) the relations established between husband and wife after marriage.

Particular attention should be attached to marriage and its character if we want to build a new socialist family. If we contract a marriage on a socialist basis and divest it of anything old and reactionary, then we have done something worthy towards broadening the family relations of a socialist character, towards raising the role to be played by women in the family and ensuring their equality with men.

In this field too, important changes have taken place; the base of the old is narrowed down and has become shaky, while the new has struck root and is spreading during the process of socialist construction. The most barbaric and flagrant backward customs of infant betrothal, purchase marriages, and so on, have been limited. Following Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, a change has been observed even in the most backward areas of our country. Hundreds of engagements contracted according to old customs were dissolved. This is certainly a great achievement. But this by

itself is not enough to rejoice over. The public dissolution of unjust marriages and engagements does not yet mean that the regressive customs have been uprooted. Patriarchalism and conservatism are still alive in our families. The old, the regressive, do not give way easily, they resort to new ways and means in their struggle for survival. Therefore, thorough work is necessary to establish the new relations since the very first steps for the creation of the family on a new ideological basis.

In what direction should we concentrate our attention in order to fight against the old customs? Our fight should be aimed at making it impossible for purchase marriages to recur, because such marriages trample upon the dignity of women. Many young women whose old engagements were dissolved for the sake of appearance in face of public opinion were re-engaged by their parents according to the old customs.

We cannot help being concerned when observing numerous cases of parents, even in cities, still fostering prejudices and conservative ideas in new shapes and forms, opposing the direct acquaintance of young men and young women without a go-between, wanting to be the only ones to organize and to contract a marriage of their children heedless of the feelings of the young people. Sometimes, pretending to adhere to socialist social opinion, some parents arrange a formal meeting of the future couple after having made up their minds about everything. Such trends constitute obstacles to the realization and extension of marriages built on love, that are a characteristic of socialism.

We should work for the consolidation of new concepts, especially among young people, implanting among them the idea that marriage is of great consequence

to their future life, and that they should not neglect this problem. It should be clear to them that it is up to them to look after this problem. In engagements, it is the young people themselves who are directly involved, who must have the decisive say. In consulting their parents, young people should strive to preserve socialist principles of marriage.

We should see to it that young women are not married immediately after graduating from the 8th grade school, for at such a tender age they can neither assert their personality, nor defend their dignity in married life. Marriages of girls in their teens are still more harmful in that this prevents them from being able to raise their educational level, and this brings about inequality between husband and wife in the future family. There is no doubt that one urgent problem is the creation of suitable conditions for marriages of young people both living in the same village in order to eliminate the old, groundless custom of marriages only between people living in villages distant from each other, making it necessary to use go-betweens. If we fight against this custom within the cooperative farms, even in villages of the most backward areas, this will facilitate the extension of marriages based on mutual acquaintance and love.

Finally, the customs according to which marriages are contracted are also important. In various regions and according to different religions wedding ceremonies were celebrated with proceedings and rites that humiliated women and wasted a lot of the family's time and money. All these customs were based on total negligence of women's dignity. Therefore, all the customs concerning engagements and wedding ceremonies should be reviewed. New customs, stemming from our socialist

principles should be created, and must be based on respect for the dignity of women. We should not incur superfluous and unnecessary expenses, we should not prolong the wedding ceremony for days on end, because our society is active and is led by the principle of working in such a way as to waste as little time as possible and exploit it to the utmost.

All our efforts should be aimed at creating moral values which enable young people to make their choice on the basis of communist morality and respect of each other's human rights. While up to now, the main efforts have been directed towards dissolving unlawful engagements, towards unmasking their regressive character as remnants of the former social order of private property, in the future the main efforts should be directed towards creating new customs for new engagements according to the teachings of the Party.

The new socialist relations established in our country and proletarian morality will also have to struggle in the field of customs dealing with engagements and marriages. But this struggle should not be allowed to develop spontaneously. We should actively intervene in order to implant the new customs that socialist life creates and demands.

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ON LIQUIDATING THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN AS WORKERS, AS MOTHERS AND AS HOUSEKEEPERS IN SOCIALISM

In the present period of the further revolutionization of the life in our country, the problem of the emancipation of women occupies an important place. The building of socialist society requires the complete solution of this problem so as to enable women to take an active part in social production and in the whole of social life. This could not be fully achieved without liquidating the contradiction in the status of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers.

The solution of this contradiction ensures not only the extension of social production, but also strengthens the basis for real equality between men and women.

Historically, the contradiction in the status of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers originates from the exploiting order, based on private property. Non-activation of women in social production was a

special feature of the pre-capitalist exploiting formations where the development of productive forces was limited and where women were considered as mere objects, as part of the property.

The capitalist order, by fulfilling the indispensable conditions of capitalist production — depriving the workers of the means of production, and turning them into proletarians, into persons who can dispose only of their labor force and sell it to whoever they choose — created the possibility of drawing women into capitalist workshops and factories. In comparison with their previous position in the feudal order, when women were generally restricted to the household economy, this was a step forward.

But the capitalist system, as an exploiting order which aims at increasing the profits of the capitalist ruling class, cannot ensure women all rights and true equality with men. Capitalism, by means of impoverishing and discriminating against women, restricts their freedom and makes it impossible for them to be fully activated in social production. In the conditions of the capitalist order, women have not the possibility of completely freeing themselves from household slavery.

The bourgeois ideologists and sociologists try to justify the situation of women's subjugation to men and often assert that it is more advantageous for women to do housework than to take part in social production. Thus, they mean to solve this contradiction by means of regressive steps, by means of intensifying women's slavery.

Nowadays, the revisionist ideologists share the same ideas as the bourgeois ideologists and sociologists. The process of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionists have usurped

state power, the tendency towards reviving the capitalist economy, and the social situation of the new bourgeoisie which is being born in these countries, bring in their wake, as a consequence, the re-formation of capitalist social consciousness and the maintenance of similar stands towards problems as that of the bourgeoisie. In fact, with increasing resolution the revisionist sociologists are supporting the idea of estranging women from social production by resorting to subtle tricks and proposing some transitory stages of limiting women's work day by day, etc. The reactionary ideologists of the clergy, struggling in a traditional way to separate women from social life, to force them under the weight of humiliation, fear and obscurity, come in this way to the aid of the bourgeois ideologists.

Under the conditions of our socialist order the situation changed thoroughly. As a result of the transformations in economic and social relations, of the socialization of the means of production, of the creation of socialist relations of production, the situation of the Albanian family also changed.

The Albanian family entered the period of the liberation of the country burdened with concepts inherited from the feudal-bourgeois system. We have witnessed the decomposition of the patriarchal family with all its consequences. In the cities, where the process of the socialization of the means of production took place earlier, the process of the formation of the socialist family developed in a shorter time. In the countryside, after the enactment of the land reform, the peasant family remained both as a producing and consuming social unit. The process of moulding the socialist family in our countryside began from the moment when one of the basic resources of the peasant family for the fulfilment

of its needs became the social productive work of its members within the collective economy. This process still goes on. When the economic function of our family is transformed into a function of the whole society, when the household economy is socialized and our family is transformed from an economic unit into a community, when women, on top of productive work, are not burdened so much with housekeeping and other work, only then can we say that the socialist family with all its features is being created. The question is how to solve the contradiction in the situation of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers. The solution of this contradiction will provide the possibility for women to increasingly participate in social production. This constitutes an important link in the process for the complete emancipation of women. In this struggle women will rid themselves of «chores of drudgery», as Lenin calls them, and will have more spare time at their disposal. With the solution of this contradiction, we will be able to solve other links conditioned by the first one.

As a result of this, great productive forces will be released to be totally engaged in the work for the socialist construction of the country. Without these forces our society cannot make headway at the rate required.

We deal with this problem today not in the sense that it is a new problem, unknown to us, or that our Party did not take it up in time, but to open up new fronts of struggle in order to achieve greater successes. This problem is part of the process of the solution of all other problems which the present period and the prospects for the development and deepening of the revolution in every field assign to us.

How does the contradiction in the situation of the women as a worker, on the one hand, and as a mother

and housekeeper on the other, manifest itself today in our country? The contradiction in the situation of the woman as a worker, and as a mother and housekeeper still exists during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but its nature is different. It is not a deep, antagonistic and insurmountable contradiction. The basis of its existence is constantly reducing and its impact is confined within an ever-narrowing sphere. Today, the solution of this contradiction is connected not only with the economic and social transformations, but also with the ideological education of the working people as well.

This contradiction will definitely be solved only in communism. The gradual socialization of the household economy in urban and rural areas provides the key to its solution. The above-mentioned process has already begun in our country. Thus, for example, important work is being done to free peasant families from the economic function of household handicrafts which suffocates and suppresses women by taking so much time from them, keeping them closely bound to the household economy, impeding them from taking part 'en masse' in social production.

The state has produced and continues to produce increasingly greater quantities of work tools and other means of production to supply the countryside; a trade network has been set up to sell them to the countryside; the ties between the town and the countryside are being strengthened. In 1967 the network of trade units increased 3.8 times over that of 1964, industry produced more utensils, furniture, wollen stuffs and cotton fabrics, food products, etc, for the countryside. At this stage, the town with its industry and handicrafts bears the brunt of the work in this direction.

In some villages, especially those situated in the lowlands, this process is easily carried out due to the cooperative handicraft units being set up there which have been gradually satisfying the demands of the peasants.

The other aspect of socializing the household economy, i.e., of socializing the services, represents a more difficult front. The setting up of bakeries in every four villages, disseminating the experience of the Vora agricultural cooperative to open up social catering units and to send the cooperativists' meals to the fields, as well as the preparation in some agricultural cooperatives of various products such as cheese, butter, pickled preserves and other products with their own forces, the opening of creches and kindergartens and social catering units in every city quarter, the setting up of laundries and public baths, mainly in Tirana, are the first steps taken to spread the new all over the country.

Our Party and Government are showing special concern about this problem. The recent instructions of the Government to create facilitating conditions for women, stress that we should not be content with opening only one creche, but should strive to have more of them, to have one in every village or city quarter. Every agricultural cooperative should strive to set up its own maternity clinic and bakery. We should find the most suitable and efficient ways to achieve this without making great investments for these projects.

The extension of socialized services as well as domestic handicrafts on a national scale is a complicated problem. These problems, which are conditioned by the degree of development of our economy and technology on a national scale, take time to be solved. They have to do with our present availabilities to increase indus-

trial and handicrafts production, speed up the building of service units (catering units, laundries, public baths) and to open more creches, kindergartens, maternity clinics, etc.

Our Party, realizing the difficulty of this complicated problem, has outlined the road to effectively turn the economic function of the family into a function of the whole society. Our Party proceeds from the viewpoint that we cannot wait for the complete building of the communist society in order to completely solve the contradiction in the situation of the women as a worker, mother and housekeeper. The 2nd plenum of the C.C. of the Party stressed that: «We should immediately begin our work in this direction according to the existing availabilities and to those which will be created gradually.» We should accelerate this process, continually restrict the sphere where this contradiction acts with all its negative consequences and gradually wipe out those obstacles which we come across on our road towards the complete emancipation of women. The conditions to do this exist. Today, we have our people's economy with a more or less developed industry and our handicraft cooperatives which have made great progress. The collectivization of agriculture has already been completed. As in every revolutionizing process, in this domain too, by always bearing in mind the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we rely on two main links, namely; on the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings which guide this process, and on the revolutionary initiatives and actions of the masses who have undertaken the problem of the further emancipation of women and are solving it with the aid of the State and who, by relying on their own efforts, are solving many problems concerning the facilitation of sharing the burden weighing on women as mothers and housekeepers.

We consider that under the present conditions, in order to define the correct ways and methods to solve this contradiction, we should bear in mind some certain aspects of this problem.

First, this problem, as many other problems, should be considered from the political and ideological angle. Therefore, efforts should be made in order to liquidate old and backward, conservative and reactionary concepts impeding women from being active members of society. We should fight the erroneous and regressive concepts underrating women in society, the concept that women are predestined to be engaged only in the household economy as well as other concepts hindering the rapid solution of the contradictions in the situation of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers.

In the light of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report at the 5th Party Congress «we should wage a fierce struggle against the old concepts enslaving women, against the atavism of men ruling over women, against the concept of considering women as a household piece of furniture.» We should fight to eradicate the feeling of inferiority of women towards men; we should make them aware of their responsibility in solving the country's economic, political and social problems.

Second, we should create greater possibilities for women to raise their political, ideological, cultural, educational and vocational level. This will bring in its wake the constant narrowing down of the gap in the cultural level existing between women and men. Our school faces many important tasks regarding both the equipping of women with scientific knowledge and the moulding of their personality in order for them to become real fighters in the solution of this contradiction.

Third, to this end the gradual socialization of the

household economy is indispensable. Therefore, the industry, handicrafts and commerce should ever better fulfil the needs of urban and rural families, lessen women's chores by resorting to mechanized means of services. This task should be viewed from the political aspect, as part of the great struggle for the emancipation of women. In addition to this, the network of creches and kindergartens should be extended into rural as well as urban areas.

Fourth, it is extremely important that the new elements which have emerged in family relations should be carried further to a higher stage and a new leaf should be turned regarding the accomplishment of household work by all the members of the family. Just as in social life, in the family life too, men and women should bear the same responsibility. Women should not be burdened with all the household chores, while men enjoy the privilege of having a leisurely free time after the work-day. Such a state of inequality seriously impedes the emancipation of women. We should eradicate all backward concepts according to which women alone should do the household work. We should fully establish socialist relations in the family. Today, when the whole social mechanism functions according to socialist principles, family relations should not be patriarchal, for this hinders our society from making headway. The whole society should fight for the implementation of the principle of a socialist stand towards work in all spheres of life; no one should be allowed to maintain a double-faced attitude in social production and in family life.

A correct division of household work between the members of the family will enable women to take a more active part in social production, raise their educa-

tional and cultural level and activate themselves to a greater extent in the political and social life of the country.

In general, the solution of the contradiction in the situation of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers will contribute to the more rapid development and further perfection of socialist relations in production, it will help to make a new leap in the development of the economy in general and of the rural areas in particular, to narrow down the distinction between town and countryside, between physical and mental work and the disproportion in the cultural level between men and women.

Under our conditions the solution of the contradiction in the situation of women as workers, mothers and housekeepers, the successes we have achieved in this direction and the correct paths which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defined are a great contribution of our Party to one of the most important problems of the period of transition to socialism, namely, the problem of the creation and consolidation of the socialist family and that of the struggle for the complete emancipation of women under the conditions of socialism.

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CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF THE PEASANT WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

*(According to materials collected in the «Çlirimi»
cooperative farm of Pojan of the Korça district)*

Our people's revolution overthrew the landowner's and capitalists' state power, nationalized the land and distributed it to the peasants, thus helping to extricate them from their centuries-long poverty. Then, the collectivization of agriculture laid down the basis for the radical reorganization of life in the countryside. These victories in the field of the economy were followed by other important political and juridical victories that ensured our peasant women complete equality before the law. «The liberation of the woman from the centuries-long oppression and her equal rights with the man, are among the greatest achievements of the Party of

Labor of Albania, among the most brilliant victories of our people»¹⁾).

The «Çlirimi» enlarged collective farm lies south of the Korça plain, at the foot of Mali i Thatë, 16 km from the city of Korça. It is connected by motor highway with the city. Four villages — Pojan, Kreshpanj, Zvezda and Shëngjergj — are included in this cooperative farm which numbers 941 families with 5,084 inhabitants. The cooperative farm of Pojan village was set up in 1948, then it was joined by Kreshpanj and Zvezda in 1959 and, later on, by the village of Shëngjergj in 1964, but the center of this enlarged cooperative farm remained the village of Pojan.

Today the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm possesses a total of 1855 ha of arable land divided up into orchards, vineyards, and plots under cultivation, there are also a considerable number of livestock and fowls (1,908 cattle; 1,510 ewes; 1,028 fowls, and so on). A wide-spread sideline activity, besides everyday work, takes place there. The total labor force of 2,191, of which 1,039 are women and 1,152 are men, is engaged in farming. The general income of the cooperative reaches the sum of 13,887,610 leks. The indivisible fund for the year 1968 was 1,545,000 leks. In 1967 the value of a work-day was 15,6 leks. From these few general data one can gather that this cooperative farm is a powerful agricultural economy with a wide perspective of development for the future.

The four villages of the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm were not all at the same standard of living and social development prior to their unification. On the contrary, among them there were backward villages such as

1) Enver Hoxha, Letter to the young cooperative women, «Zëri i Popullit», November 8th, 1959.

Zvezda and Shëngjergj that were far behind in comparison to Pojan. But even within the same village the development of the various social strata was different. This was first of all conditioned by the class distinctions apparent immediately after the liberation of the country. Some differences in family and social life were caused by the fact that the inhabitants of these villages were partly Christians and partly Muslims. Religion had exerted a strong influence on the way of life and had especially affected the attitudes towards women. For the Muslim section of the population this influence was characterized by a conservative and fanatic stand towards women. Following liberation, the application of the land reform and the setting up of the collective farms, the peasants were placed on an equal economic footing with each other; nevertheless, the differences in their ways of life were still distinct.

The transformations in the status of women in the family may be divided as follows: transformations brought about by the collectivization of the economy and those resulting from the transformations in the composition of the family, as well as those originating from the rise of women's educational and cultural level.

1. — During the years of the People's Power, the collectivization of the peasant economy brought about a series of changes in the household economy.

Prior to the formation of this cooperative farm, the economic basis of the peasant family was the private economy which in fact preserved the real inequality between the members of the family. The head of the family continued to be proprietor of the family belongings. The division of work between the family members depended on him and it weighed heavily upon the woman. Only the wiping out of the small private pro-

party and the establishment of the large social economy could free the woman from this situation.

Thus, immediately after setting up the cooperative farm, and having handed over the domestic animals to the common fund of livestock, women were relieved of a series of jobs of drudgery having to do with their feeding and care, with the processing of dairy products, wool, and so on. Later, the supply of bread from the cooperative bakeries and the extension of the catering net works the villages reduced the work of women for cooking and preparing the winter provisions by a considerable extent. A decisive turning point was marked after the 5th Party Congress with the opening of dining halls in many cooperative farms of our country, among them being the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm, where the peasants and their families could have their meals. As well as this, the possibilities of setting up laundries and public baths in this cooperative are being studied. Pre-school institutions (the kindergarten in 1958 and the creche in 1963) created facilitating conditions for women. These institutions are now open all the year round, whereas before they functioned only seasonally.

These have not been easy victories. The main stumbling blocks were the old concepts of the peasants who were used to considering all household chores and the rearing of children as the task of women. Besides, there existed the patriarchal concept that it was a disgrace for a woman if she could not manage to cope with all household work by herself. These concepts became especially dangerous when the woman began to take part in the cooperative field work, for these and other tasks aggravated her situation even more. Such erroneous concepts have sometimes brought about the manifes-

tation of regressive phenomena such as the hesitation to send children to the creches and kindergartens, the reluctance of women to dine at the dining hall, and so on.

The creation of these facilities helped to increase the participation of women in production work. In the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm the participation of women in production work is quite satisfactory. From the able-bodied cooperative members (i.e. males from 16 to 60 and females from 16 to 55 years old) 52,6 per cent are men and 47 per cent women¹⁾, whereas, on a national scale, women make up 42 per cent of the labor force.

The attraction of women into cooperative farming work was not done everywhere at the same rates. The women of Christian families, who had been farm-hands of the landowners before liberation, or who had been free peasants, were already used to working in the fields and found it easier to join the cooperative teams, whereas the Muslim women found this problem more difficult to resolve. But with the passing of time, following the example of those women who worked and ensured better incomes for their families, the resistance of those women who did not like the idea of working in the fields began to give way. Thus, the example of the women of Pojan has had a great influence upon the women of Zvezda and Shëngjergj. Their example, after the unification of the villages into a single cooperative, served to attract an increasing number of women into the daily farming work. In this respect, an important part was played by the clarification and convincing work done by the Party and Government organs in the villages.

1) The 1968 plan of the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm of Pojan (from the records of the cooperative's managing board).

In the united «Clirimi» cooperative farm, in spite of the satisfactory participation of women in production work, if we make a closer examination of the situation we can conclude that women contribute much less in work days than men within the same period of time. In Kreshpanj work sector, during 1967 the men put in an average of 398,5 work days each, whereas the women only contributed 230¹⁾. The main reason lies in the fact that the woman still has her hands full with household chores. To facilitate the work of women in the family, one should not wait only for the radical measures adopted by the Party and Government organs to be put into action in this respect; it should be attained by means of a more correct division of work in the family between husband and wife as far as the household chores and the education and rearing of children are concerned.

Regarding the participation of women in administering the family incomes, we might admit that good progress has been made in spite of the fact that the incomes of all the members of the family are paid to the husband who, in turn, hands them over to his wife. From a questionnaire made among a group of young people in the village of Pojan, it resulted that from the 37 people asked about who was administering their family income, 21 answered the mother, 8 the father and 8 the parents, without making any distinction between them.²⁾ Similar answers were received from many peasants in separate conversations.

1) Questionnaire with the youths of the Pojan village, April, 1968.

2) This information comes from the answers of the youths to question four of the questionnaire: «Do you take part in the administering of family incomes and how?».

A radical change can be observed in the administering of family incomes by women and girls, who were completely neglected in the past. Through their demands and suggestions, peasant women and girls have their say in spending the family incomes. Of course, this is an achievement that strengthens their positions in the family; however, girls and women still go on making unnecessary expenditure only for the sake of appearance. It is observed that — and this is due to the negative influence of the town — excessive expenditures are made for the dowry of girls, a phenomenon that has assumed an almost wide-spread and obligatory character for all. It is also observed that people pay more attention to the furnishing of the rooms than to the hygiene of the house. This petty-bourgeois inclination should be fought against so as to instil among the cooperative members more correct views concerning the growth of material well-being and a true uplift of their standard of living.

2. — The composition of the peasant family has been changing gradually but steadily during the years of the People's Power and has brought about the emancipation of the woman step by step.

The large patriarchal family which prior to liberation was something quite natural in the villages and where the family was made up of many couples and generations, where a strict sense of inner hierarchy was dominant and the position of women was minimal, has been disintegrating at an accelerated rate since the collectivization. In the first years of collectivization, the separation of big families was done with the aim of giving each new family 3 dynyms (1 dynym is equivalent to 1,000 square meters) of land. But even when the personal plot of land was reduced to 1 dynym the same

thing went on. The disintegration of large families into smaller ones is still common even though they are only given one dynym to divide among themselves.

As a result of these separations, the diminishing of the average number of family members in comparison with the past is striking. Today the average number of family members is 5,4 in each family¹⁾, whereas that throughout the Republic is 6,1²⁾. The great majority is made up of 4 to 7 member families, representing 68,1 per cent of families and 71 per cent of the population. Families of less than 4 persons make up 17,4 per cent of the whole number of families and 10,7 per cent of the population, whereas those of more than 7 persons make up 13,9 per cent of the families and 19,3 per cent of the total population. In this village the biggest families are two, each having 12 persons.³⁾

As far as the family make-up is concerned, meaningful changes can be noticed. Old people say that before liberation not only did all the brothers live together in a single family, but also their married children, who did not leave the family as long as the old folk were alive. There were even cases when the children could not separate from the family until after the death of the elder brothers.

But nowadays the number of families where two married bothers live together is very small. In the Kreshpanj sector of the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm

1) The average of every village taken separately is as follows: Pojan 5,1; Kreshpanj 5,4; Zvezda 5,6; Shëngjergj 5,3. The situation in the neighbouring villages: Terova 5, Rrëmbec 5,4.

2) Annual Statistics of the PR of Albania, Tirana, 1965, p. 73.

3) The registry office of the Pojan village.

there is only one such family out of 42 families of the village, whereas in the village of Terova there is now one out of 65 families. In this cooperative farm there are few families where the parents live together with a married son, and their own nephews and nieces, if they have any. In the village of Kreshpanj such families make up 16 per cent of the total number of families, in the village of Terova 29 per cent, whereas the overwhelming majority is made up of families where the parents live together with their unmarried children; in the village of Kreshpanj such families make up 72 per cent of the total number, and in the village of Terova 66 per cent¹⁾. Even in the families where the parents live together with their married son, the former authority of the old man of the house has been declining. In the majority of cases the head of the family is the elder son and not the old man. There is no doubt that this has a bearing upon the position of the young wife in the family.

This separation of the family and the changes in its make-up have been of great help to the emancipation of women in the countryside.

It should be noted that if a woman becomes a widow she is not compelled to stay with her husband's parents, or with her brother-in-law as they used to be before; now she might live together with her children and become the head of the family.

The woman, however young she might be, can substitute her husband (the head of the family) in everything concerning the family affairs. She may well re-

1) The data on the make-up of the families in the village of Kreshpanj are collected by the clerk Xhezmi Mero, and for the village of Terova by the cooperative member Ilo Shurdho.

present the family before the state and cooperative organs, and replaces her husband when he is away on some state errands for a relatively long time. Such cases have occurred especially when the head of the family is away pursuing a course or attending a school of specialization, takes part in some mass undertaking, goes to the mountain areas of the country for exchange of experience for a period of one to three years, and so on.

These transformations have strengthened the new cooperative family and the position of the woman in it.

3. — Hand in hand with the strengthening of the cooperative order in our economy, the educational level of the peasant families has risen to a higher level and their cultural needs have been greatly increased. These changes in the educational and cultural level of the cooperative peasantry have been helping women out of their ignorance, freeing them from the weight of the harmful prejudices and customs which were part and parcel of their life in the past.

During the years of the People's Power incessant efforts have been made to fully apply the obligatory 8-year school system for both boys and girls. Thus, in the 1967-1968 school-year, it was applied to the extent of 92 per cent. The number of girls who have not or who have frequented only the first class of the primary school makes up 5 per cent of their total number, whereas that of boys, 1 per cent (the majority of them are of the 1938-1944 birthday). Among the persons of completed primary school education, the girls make up 51 per cent, or 42 per cent of the total number of girls, whereas for the boys it is 49 per cent, or 40 per cent of their total number. Among the persons of completed seven-year school education the number of girls makes up 47 per cent, or 48 per cent of the total number of girls,

whereas that of the boys 57 per cent, or 51,7 per cent of their total number. Of the twenty teachers from the «Çlirimi» united cooperative farm who have been sent to and graduated from middle and high schools, 60 per cent are girls, who serve not only in the region of Korça but also in those of Librazhd and Gramsh. In the 8-year school of Pojan about 50 per cent of the teaching staff are natives of this village.

This situation marks a pronounced rise of the educational and cultural level of the peasantry in comparison with the past. But the efforts to further raise the cultural level of those who have graduated from the 8-year school are not sufficient because it is observed that, after they leave school, their level declines year after year. There are many readers who borrow books from the village library, but the number of girls is still small¹). In the majority of cases this results from the fact that women (especially mothers caring for their little ones) have their hands full with household chores, but this does not justify the girls. They are influenced by the traditions of the past and pass most of their time weaving, knitting and embroidering, and yet do not regard reading as necessary and useful. These wrong concepts on the value of books that impede their march forward should be done away with.

It should also not be neglected that the press and the radio help a great deal in raising their general political and cultural level. In 1967, the «Çlirimi» cooperative farm had 370 radio sets and 237 subscriptions to various newspapers and magazines²). Thus there is an

1) Of 189 readers registered at the Pojan library, only 36 were females.

2) The information is taken from the Pojan post office.

average of one radio set and one newspaper or magazine for every three families. In the other neighbouring villages such as Rrëmbec and Terova the situation is much better. The press and radio sets are of great help for the political education of the cooperative members, for they convey the voice of the Party to the peasant families.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the present cooperative girls bear no resemblance at all to the peasant girls of the pre-liberation period as far as their scope of knowledge is concerned. The present girls of the cooperative farm differ greatly from their sisters of the pre-liberation period who could not go beyond the confines of their houses, let alone their village. The former are well acquainted with the neighbouring villages of the Korça plain. Every fortnight or every week they make trips to the city of Korça. A number of them have already visited the capital and other cities of our country.¹⁾ An increasing number of girls from the cooperative farm take part in local and national mass undertakings leaving their families for a long period of time, a thing that could not even have been imagined by the girls before liberation. Only this year, more than 30 women and girls left their families and went to the Puka district for two months to help improve the way of life of those people, as well as to exchange their experience.

1) Questionnaire with the youth of Pojan, April 1968. Of 20 girls asked, 12 had visited Tirana and other cities.

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Summing up what has been said above, we can say that the situation of women in the family in the «Clirimi» cooperative farm during the years of the People's Power has made important steps forward. In comparison with many other areas of our country, they joined the cooperative order beginning from a more advanced social and economic basis, and this enabled them to march onward at a more rapid rate. The setting up of the united cooperative farms with villages of different living standards sped up the progress of women in the underdeveloped villages, whereas the division of the large families and changes in their make-up made it easier for the peasant woman to discard the traits of patriarchal life. Therefore, the victory of the cooperative order brought about a radical change not only in the economic relations of dependence but also revolutionized the relations among family members, thus ensuring the real emancipation of the peasant woman.

Still greater successes are being achieved in the social position of women. Women may be found on the assembly of the cooperative, or leading work teams in the fields; they have become fighters for the new and progressive in production, participants in various mass undertakings, in cultural and artistic activities, and so on.

The women of the other villages in the plain of Korça and of the area of Devoll live in similar conditions.

The study of the position of women in the family and society is of scientific interest in order to document and elaborate in a vivid manner the path through which the transformations for the socialist construction

of the country are taking place. It is also of practical importance for it may well help the state to adopt measures aiming at the complete and speedy eradication of the traces of backward social and cultural life in the countryside, which is necessary in order to narrow down the essential differences still existing between the town and the countryside; it is an indispensable condition for the complete construction of the socialist society.

ZIHNI SAKO

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Folklore**

WOMEN AND ALBANIAN SOCIETY YESTERDAY AND TODAY

...The Albanian women have been economically and socially dependent and exploited.»¹⁾ Being divested of every economic right, she could by no means have access to social activities. She could not have her say in family gatherings, nor could she interfere with the marriage of her sons and daughters. When a young bride, she did not have the right to call her husband by his first name, but had to speak of him as «he». In Mirdita, women, no matter how young, were addressed as «old woman» by their husbands. When travelling, the husband would ride while his wife had to follow behind on foot. All these customs were bound to give birth to a subculture among women during the period of the patriarchal family. They had developed their own «womanish» ways of singing and dancing. At weddings women sang and danced apart from men. Women's songs and dances were of

1) Enver Hoxha «On the Problem of Women».

a lyrical character not only because of their physiological conditions, but also of their conservative social background.

Religion made their situation even more unbearable. Women were assigned separate places apart from the menfolk, both in the church and mosque. Even at home they had their separate place in the waiting room, where, from latticed windows they were permitted to watch their husbands celebrating at weddings and other family celebrations. Even on mourning days men and women did not come together.

This savage treatment of women was explained with the sin men would allegedly commit if he saw a woman's face. Muslim women had their heads covered with a kerchief and, in the towns, they wrapped themselves in veils, or black cloaks. In the towns, Christian women, too, veiled their faces. In Gjirokastra women in mourning put on white veils. Catholic women in Northern Albania covered their face too, except for the eyes. Husbands watched their wives closely because they considered women as «perfiduous» creatures. In some regions whenever a woman was spoken ill of she was murdered or, after having her hair cut off she would then be mounted backward on an ass and paraded through the streets. Cutting of her hair was done to punish the woman for her bad moral conduct. The insulting attribute of «shorn hair», used to denote so-called unfaithful girls, clearly expresses the reactionary attitude towards women. Religion sanctioned «women's perfidy» with the legend of Eve. The volume «Folk Songs in the Northern Albanian Dialect» (1911), in its commentary of the folk dance «Two sweet lips coming downhill» Vincenc Prenushi, a priest, writes: «The point of this dance is that woman's loyalty and love

are unstable, that she is apt to change her mind at any moment.» The expression «womanish» itself, typical of reactionary coinage, was blended with mystical and religious elements by the clergy: «women's deeds are unholy.» Thus, according to the clergy it is just that all evil shall befall her, for she is considered the source of all mischief. The saying «where there is a woman there is discord» stems from this reactionary background.

It should be said here that in many cases even the artistic means employed to generalize an idea were drawn from the reactionary mentality of the exploiting classes, who have oppressed and excluded women from social life. For instance, the proverb, «A lazy woman sits sifting all day long», which aims at condemning laziness in general, makes use of the woman as a figure of speech in order to confirm the moral and political concept about women in a society divided into classes.

The «dashrope», from the bride's dowry, that parents had to give their daughters, would be carried along by them when fetching water, when going to the mountain for fire-wood, laboring in the fields and sending wheat to the mill. It was a symbol of Mediaeval backwardness, of feudal and bourgeois cruelty towards women.

* * *

The reactionary attitude towards women was bound to exert a negative influence on the consciousness of the masses of the people who unconsciously came to adopt such an attitude in one way or another. However, sporadically, this attitude still survives up to the present in the minds of the people and shows that the reactionaries always tried to mislead people in order to exploit them.

But if we go deep to the roots of the people's thinking, we find a treasure of correct judgement refuting the reactionary prejudices of the exploiting classes. The battle between progressive and reactionary thinking is the reflection of class struggle and an expression of the protracted struggle of the people for social justice. Our people, the bearers of a centuries-long rich experience, by means of their good sense have come to democratic and revolutionary generalizations that still remain a heritage profitable for class education under the conditions of socialist society.

The phrase «to buy a pig in a poke» was used by a young woman when forced to marry a stranger. The satirical songs «Old and young men went together» or «The girls urged her yesterday: come, marry the old man!» denounce marriages of couples with great age differences. The lyrical poem «The beautiful Begzade Of Ymer, the lover» is a typical expression of the stand towards forced marriage. The poem tells the story of two young lovers who put an end to their love affair in a peculiarly romantic 18-19th century atmosphere which cannot help but arouse one's hatred against the severity of the canon. This poem proves the correctness of Engels' opinion that love should be understood as a pure feeling of free choice, that it should flourish under certain conditions created in common work. In this case, «the separation of lovers is a great mishap; those who nourish the flames of such love are ready to perish and sacrifice even their lives to prevent being parted from one another»¹). Under the pressure of backward, reactionary customs, the lovers of the poem put an end to

1) F. Engels, «The Origin of the Family, Private Property and State».

their lives. This suicide is a powerful protest against barbarous customs of the patriarchal, feudal and capitalist society.

The folk song:

*My father had me married in Vlora,
And I'm young, oh! So very young!
I was given to a 40 year old man.
And I'm young, oh! so very young!*

is a generalized expression of a grave social injustice against women. This song has inspired the hatred of the people against such customs and has heightened their consciousness in the uninterrupted struggle against subjugation.

It is clearly understood that under such conditions of subjugation young women did not even have the right to make a decision for themselves according to their feelings. That is why the poet so often tells of clandestine love, for if their love affair was discovered, the lovers would be in great danger of punishment and would incur social disgrace. In a folk song from Upper Llukja, a region of Gjakova, the risks connected with love are expressed in the following lines:

*«...If my kin of it should hear
They would beat me and kill you, my dear...»*

In many lyrical songs, the folk poet sings of the woman who works at home, he sings to her relations with her husband, to the affection of the maid for her lover, to sincerity in love, to the lovers' common obligations, to the family and everlasting loyalty.

Even though women passed their lives in a stifling atmosphere, many songs praise the feelings of pure and sincere love, unlike the decadent poetry encouraged by the exploiting classes which is written with erotic descriptions to arouse lust, a reflection of the degeneration prevailing among these classes. These love songs are expressions of spiritual beauty and lofty moral virtues. There is no trace of pessimism in them. People sing of free choice love as the source of modesty and loyalty:

*All year round we toiled on what
Was to become a thatched hut
Where we would live all our life...*

The people's correct understanding of love by free choice is generalized in some wedding songs:

*I loved a man
I married my man!
Or, «The bird shut up in a cage» set out to find:
«the young man of her heart».*

The folk songs, by means of carefully selected images, by skilfully handling humour and satire, attacked the marriages of men and women of great age differences, especially attacked marriages between young women and old men. The physical description of the old man «with his head like a cabbage» and «his arms like rotten sticks», with «his belly like a round ball» gives vent to the indignation against the patriarchal rule over the most intimate feelings of young people, especially of young women.

Such unrestrained human love is described in the

ballad «Bardhoka wails under the shade of the weeping willow»:

*«The stone can break and the tree may fall
But the memory of our love lives on for all...»*

Such lines reflect our people's attitude towards chaste and pure love.

These ideas are conveyed through different artistic means to describe physical beauty. «Beauty» is a category of art, it corresponds with artistic reality which constitutes the ideology of artistic folk creations. People do not make any essential differentiation between son and daughter when saying «all fingers hurt equally when cut». It is their answer when asked who they are most sorry for, whether for their son or daughter. And it is precisely here that people are right and not when saying that «a daughter is a burden to the family».

The history of our people provides such examples as Queen Teuta who conducted a 10 year long war against the Roman legions, Mamica, Scanderbeg's sister, the one hundred girls from Kruja who threw themselves from the Rock of the Lass down into the torrent of the Dro rather than fall into the hands of the Ottomans, the women of Sopot who fought valiantly against the Ottoman invaders at Kaligjata led by Gjergj Golemi (Gjergj Arianit Komnen Thopia), and so on.

Even in the early legendary songs, one comes upon brilliant examples of heroic deeds, such as the sacrifice of Argjiro, who threw herself from the walls of Gjirokastra castle rather than be dishonoured. In the

rhapsody «Young Omer» the poet sympathizes with the brave deeds of a maiden who fought against a Venetian tyrant. The ballad of Ymer Ago deals with his wife's loyalty and love for her husband. In the folk tales about Nemo Nemučka one reads of women's intelligence and bravery. All these examples help show that in spite of the influence of the reactionary morality of the exploiting classes, the people have opposed backward prejudices with their sound judgement.

In our folk songs one comes upon passages of rare artistic beauty through which our people, in open opposition to existing prejudices, emphasize the important role played by women in society. They speak in affectionate terms and with great pathos and sometimes grieve deeply over the young bride who, according to the legend, was buried under the walls of the castle of Shkodra (Rozafa). Though a young mother, she sacrificed her life for the common welfare of the community.

In the songs dedicated to soldiers, women still occupy an important place. They revolted against the foreign invasion that destroyed her family and brought all kinds of evil to bear upon her. The husband's love for his wife is powerfully presented in these folk songs. The wonderful ballad «I can't be back home, comrades, I can't be back home» which tells the tale of a soldier killed at the bridge of Qabba (in Mecca, Arabia), is a vivid picture of love and sincere feelings. The Albanian soldier, who went to die on the sands of Arabia, giving his last thought to his family and wife, far away, begged his mother to sell the ox and give the money to his wife, for she would remain a widow; to sell his horse, for his son had to be married, and to sell the mule to marry his daughter.

A soldier was the ruin of the family, therefore, when

a young man had to be enrolled in the army, it was regarded as an evil against which the peasants of our country rose up, arms in hand. In these uprisings mothers and daughters rose to avenge their husbands and sons who were killed in strange lands. The sadness of these songs also has a tinge of deep protest:

*Vulak, woe be upon you, Vulak!¹⁾
May flames consume you
For you have left our beds without spirit.*

These songs reflect the reality of the life of the working masses. The Albanian women did not remain passive only, but joined the men arms in hand to oppose the mobilisation laws.

In the wars fought against the Tanzimat²⁾ women fought side by side with their menfolk.

*Kurvelesh a rugged rock
Men and women a valiant stock,*

sang the bards during 1847. Shemo from Gjirokastra and his wife led the life of outlaws in the mountains, and she fought side by side with her father against the Ottoman hordes; and there is also the example of Halil's sister who helps her brother loading his rifle:

Sister loads and Halil fires.

The songs written during the National-liberation War are inspired by the new principles of Marxist-Leninist esthetics. Our folk songs represent women in different aspects of life: joining the liberation fighters or

1) An old quarter of Cairo.

2) Turkish taxation laws.

engaging in different pursuits. They are outstanding workers, fighters, they lead the brigade or carry out their managerial work, no longer are they the beasts of burden carrying sacks of corn on their backs to the flour mill, or hauling fire-wood to their home; today the bard does not sing of their qualities as house-keepers busy with cooking or washing, but as workers, innovators, fighters for the new, physicians, engineers, geologists, and so on. The new elements that emerged during the National-liberation War were inspired by the ideology of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor of Albania); they were introduced not only into the new songs of socialist construction but also into the love and wedding songs. In a folk song of the Mirdita region the bard rejoices at the fact that the mother did not veil her daughter at the wedding:

*Don't you marry with veiled face
For your face is not disfigured,
You are not blind, nor ugly
To veil your face with that thick veil!*

Here we notice an infringement of the old customs that is no longer regarded as a disgrace. Now, unlike the past, love is not a disgrace and the girl in love is not considered as a 'flirt' and her love does not make her feel ashamed.

The new folk songs deal with various subjects such as the development of our country, its industrialization, collectivisation, electric reticulation, its defence and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism; they also tackle such social problems as the emancipation of women. Today, too, the bard sings of erotic moments in people's life, but now they bear no resemblance what-

soever to the decadent eroticism or sentimentalism of the past, but they are an expression of the reality which is marching ahead towards solving this great human problem, a solution which will be achieved by the young of both sexes in the best possible Marxist-Leninist manner.

The rights women enjoy in the so-called «advanced» countries cannot be mentioned in the same breath as the rights of women in Albania.

Albanian women have manifested their intellectual capacity in the fine songs and dances they have created. «In spite of the social oppression,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «and the ignorance they were left in amidst the background of general ignorance our people were left in by foreign invaders and local landowners and the bourgeoisie, the Albanian women have played an important role in strengthening the Albanian family and nation and in preserving the traditions and equalities of the Albanian people.»¹⁾

She has always been the best companion of her husband. Thus in the past, if a man was in a feud and happened to come upon his foe in the presence of a woman, he could not take revenge if that woman would take her husband's hand. In pacifying blood feuds the woman has played a major role. If a woman with a cradle on her back happened to come into a place where a judgement was being decided over a blood feud the men had to make a reconciliation. In all folk songs and dances, the people have endeavoured to give the woman her rightful place in the society. In their creations, the oppressed people have expressed their alliance with women against the common oppressors.

1) Enver Hoxha. «On the problem of women».

The Albanian woman, bearer of the great traditions of the people, sings to her child while rocking the cradle. She sings to him about her husband who has left her and gone to serve as a soldier for Turkey in far-off countries, and she tells him of the people's struggles against oppression. The woman has thus created numerous elements of the superstructure pertaining to family and social relations. She has capably handled the household economy and organised family life according to its best traditions.

Our people today sing of the social activity of women in numerous songs, which in their ideological content, differ greatly from the songs of the past. The descriptions of spiritual beauty and moral qualities have now replaced descriptions of physical beauty. These songs are permeated with optimism about the present and future, by class resoluteness to serve the cause of the Party and Fatherland. They sing to the Party:

The star of new life,

The eagle-eyed party.

The party always thinks of the people, the latter being always ready «to burn and blaze» anyone daring to violate the rights of women.

The source of this new spirit of our folk songs are the happy days of socialism that put an end once and for all to the gloomy, barbarous past, and the heroic deeds of the legendary partisan women who made every sacrifice and shed their blood for their country fighting side by side with their partisan comrades. With the Party at the head they succeeded in liberating our country and emancipating themselves.

In the new songs of socialist construction they are

again in the van. Their work is not despised, it is no longer considered as slave's work; it is a source of joy and indomitable power for the increase of the economic and political development of our country strengthening the defence potential of our socialist Fatherland:

If blood dare touch our frontiers;

Blood will flow in streams;

We are courageous fighters and good workers

This is what we are!

Without the vital participation of women one can neither consider the victories of the National-liberation War nor of the achievements of socialism. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have taught that the victory of a revolution belongs to those who win the large masses of women to their side.

Our people have sung of women's beauty with great love and pathos, of their sufferings and efforts, of their sorrows and joys, they have sung of women as their friends, their comrade-in-arms, as their work-mates and of their qualities as mothers. The people have described their lofty moral qualities through these new songs:

At work-site and school

In times of war and peace

The imprints of women's hands are seen everywhere.

Amidst those major achievements in the National-liberation War and in the socialist construction, the song of her children, be they sons or daughters, goes beyond individual feelings, it is permeated by a broader sense

of national unity. Yesterday, in the war, she mourned her fallen heroes:

*Men don't despair
For your mothers have got more sons to spare.
Mother, you have brought up your son
Who has fallen for the homeland
In the prime of youth
For a new world.*

Today, the Albanian mother sings her merry lullabys and expresses the people's desire:

May you become the right hand of the Party!

These new ideological elements bring about qualitative changes which give the folk songs a new and richer content. The Albanian woman will continue to be represented there in such vivid colors as her role in the socialist construction entitles her to.

JORGO PANAJOTI

**Scientific worker of the
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POPULAR OPINION ON WOMEN BRINGING UP THE YOUNGER GENERATION

«In spite of their social oppression,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «and of the ignorance they were left in (within the framework of the state of general ignorance our people were left in by the foreign invaders and our country's landlords and bourgeoisie), the Albanian women have played an important role in strengthening the Albanian family and our nation as well as in preserving the traditions and virtues of the Albanian people.» Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The question of women as half of the population, is the question of the decisive half in production work, is the question of mothers, of bringing up and educating the younger generations that renew and strengthen the Fatherland, socialism and communism.»^{1/}

1) Enver Hoxha «On the problem of women.»

This is convincingly confirmed by folk poetic creations. It is true that owing to the social oppression and her low cultural level in the past, the woman appears in these creations as the bearer of prejudices or harmful customs and norms, but what strikes one most is the people's deference towards the woman as the preserver of their finest traditions and virtues and as the intermediary between them and the younger generation. Here lies the reason why the bard addresses the freedom fighter, the valiant partisan and the advanced worker in the following lines: «Blessed be your mother's womb,» «you have done as your mother wished,» «you did not disgrace your mother.» etc. or, «Who were born of such mothers' wombs? Valiant fighters lion-like, Budging not when foes strike!»; people depict the portrait of the mother vested with such authority that rests upon the confidence in the weight and correctness of her word, upon the heedful respect of the mother's word by characters of folklore, even if they were rough fighting giants.

The poetic creations not only approve of and bring out the role of mothers in educating the younger generation, but also point out that under certain conditions their role is of special importance. These are closely connected with our country's economic social and cultural conditions in the past, with some objective peculiarities in the process of moulding the child's character as well as of the mothers character herself. Under the conditions of a total lack of schooling, when the father of her children was absent from the family having gone to work in foreign lands or having been conscripted for military service, as the state power and the society of those times showed little or no concern at all for the education of the younger generation, more than anybody else it was up to the women to bring up and take

care of the children, their health and moral qualities. Mothers are always nearer to children when the latter are not easily affected by the influence of school and society. More than anybody else they are apt to find the most appropriate time and way of implanting this or that moral principle into their children's mind. Even nowadays, when the role of the school and the concern of the PLA, of the People's Power, and of our socialist society is growing, the particular educational role of mothers has not ended. Comrade Enver Hoxha says. «...up to a certain time, until their personality has been moulded, youths have to pass through their mother's or sister's hands and less through their father's.»^{1/}

The above quotation explains our people's conviction that under the conditions of the past, «a motherless child is like a night,» that the premature death of the mother is an irreparable, almost fatal loss for the child, because not only «does the child need its mother's care... need her milk and there is none,» but also because «there is no one to speak to it sweetly, and give it good advice.»²⁾

It is also a significant fact that in all the folk poetry creations connected with family relations the image of the mother occupies the main place. Over the whole process of people's ethical and esthetic moulding the mother appears as the nearest person to the child. The mother, by means of intimate talks and poetical addresses such as lullabys to her child in the cradle, tries to instil into the child's mind, together with her milk, sound moral and esthetic principles; she follows its life

1) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*

2) The archive of the Folklore Institute. A. Mustaqil, tape recording, reel 429/26.

closely, teaches it the first habits of work teaches it how to tell good from bad, the ugly from the beautiful; it is the mother who blesses the outlaws and hands the arms to them, the freedom fighters or the partisans. On the other hand the mother is confided one's most secret confessions, one's intimate pains and grievances, she is asked for help, advice and protection; at crucial moments of life she is the object of one's thoughts and very often one confides his last dearest wish to her.

In this prevalence of the mother's image one should not see a mere echo or a lyrical reference to the life of simple social formations but the close and deep ties existing between mother and child, her moral power over it, her guidance and special concern to see it grow up healthy.

The social status of women in the past — the most oppressed among the oppressed — and their nature condition, their more progressive frame of mind than that of men, their educational work, for, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says «...the woman is endowed with deeper feelings than the man, her conscience is more delicate; she has suffered more in life, she is never overbearing as men often are.»¹ / «...and the more one has suffered and been oppressed the more revolutionary and progressive one becomes.»²)

Among poetic folk creations there are examples of women opposing, of course, within the limits of their position in society and family, those traditions that did not respond to sound ethical and esthetic requirements, that constrained the sense of freedom and the best sentiments and the personality of the child or of the youth.

1) Enver Hoxha, «On the problem of women».

2) Ibid.

In a mother's mournful wailing for her daughter, in the accusation pouring from her soul, in the passionate curse that gives vent to her protest against conservatism, against the hateful act of her husband who by blindly applying the law of the mountains and inhuman and patriarchal customs, scourged the life and dreams of her daughter, she breaks out with a malediction:

«May the light of the sun become a black veil,/may stones fall from the sky,/may the snow in the mountains become black ice, may the flowers in the fields become withered,/That he shot her dead with a single bullet/ Lost his honour,»¹)

People acknowledge woman's particular merits and capabilities in bringing up the younger generation. According to them, she has acquired a rich experience in this respect, she is dexterous and has a special way of dealing with children. Through her love and patience, her sensible and compassionate spirit she is able to draw close her son and daughter, to become their friend, to communicate with them, to be heedful of them, to take into account the peculiarities of their temperament and age; through her prudent advice and tender and sweet praise, her good wishes and example, she stimulates the growth of the child's or youth's personality, arouses their interests, imbues in them what is generally regarded as beautiful and kind. Generally, she is against any brutality, arrogance, severe measures, the repugnant sense of pride and the compulsion for blind obedience. In a fairy tale, the woman quickly intervenes when her husband takes up the sword to solve a misunderstanding with his daughter. But when morality and

1) Folk lyrical songs, Tirana 1965. p. 252.

goodness are at stake she does not yield ground. In such cases she knows how to scold, curse and condemn the culprit. Thus, in folk creations we come across such expressions as, «Well done! my lad, you have not disgraced me!», «blessed be your mother's breast! blessed be your mother's care!» side by side such expressions as «Cursed be your mother's breast!» «May I have my hair cut off for what you have done.»

From the poetic folk creations, in connection with the question under discussion, one can easily discern that the norms the Albanian woman applies to educate the younger generation are of a dialectical and class character, depend on concrete conditions, on the moral and esthetic demands and needs of the time, which on their part, condition the extent of consciousness of the woman herself.

Women, people admit, have always and traditionally striven to equip their children and prepare them to face life and its hardships, to make them think and work by themselves, to march ahead and be able to tell good from bad.

An Albanian mother's greatest desire is to implant in her child a boundless love of the Fatherland and of freedom. And people say that, «When a mother gives birth to her child, this is what she tells him:/ — My child you should love your country and defend it like the apple of your eye.»¹⁾ For there is nothing more precious than one's Fatherland and freedom — the Albanian women teach — and the greatest disgrace is to be a slave in one's own country²⁾

1) AFI, A. Fico, Vol. I, p. 138;

2) Lyrical Folk Songs, p. 253-254.

With the same persistence the mother has exerted her efforts to arouse in her children, hatred towards the enemy of the Fatherland, of freedom, and towards the class enemy. She has taught the young men and women to differentiate between friends and foes, to understand the schemes and intentions of the enemy and to have it clear in their minds that an enemy can never be made a friend. Thus, she has imparted to them the rudiments of a class education. According to the mothers, both foreign invaders and local oppressors should be regarded as enemies, therefore one should not «mingle with kings»¹⁾ nor should one trust in the Pashas and their running dogs.²⁾

The mothers have pointed out that the sole way to defend the country and honor, the sole correct stand towards the foe is never-ending struggle. Therefore, they have not only always approved of the struggle of the outcasts, of the insurgents and freedom fighters in general, but when the Fatherland was threatened, they have rung the bells of war: «Let the brave come to the skirmish,/ Let him die, who is to die,/ And the ones who survive, let them live a honored life,/ and all the country rejoice at it.»³⁾

Inspired by the desire to bring up worthy patriots, the Albanian women have systematically tried to transmit to the younger generations our people's militant traditions, to make them able and ready to boldly overcome any hardships and obstacles, and if need be, to sacrifice their life. For, according to mothers «it is better to die an honest death, than to live in disgrace.» In the poetic folk creations of the past she is always

1) Lyrical Folk Songs, p. 253-254.

2) AFI/FP/II p. 514.

3) Historical Folk Songs, p. 120.

advising her son, «tell your eye to spy the foe,/ tell your finger to pull the trigger,/ tell your heart to shed the foe's blood,»¹⁾ or encouraging the brave at crucial moments of their lives and rather seeing her son die a worthy death than escape ignominiously.²⁾ And when she gets the news of her son's or daughter's brave death she does not mourn, but takes pride in having brought up such a fighter. «Blessed be your mother's breast,/ for you died a glorious death,/ shed your blood for your land!»³⁾ — thus spoke a mother.

The endeavours of the Albanian mothers to bring up patriots and gallant fighters are confirmed by the fallen heroes, whose last words sounded like they were giving account to their mothers. Arif Sinani, an outlaw from Kosova, in his last wish addresses his mother by means of his comrades, «Mother dear, for me don't moan, / for I have done as you were prone.»⁴⁾

Likewise, the Albanian mother wants her son and daughter to become honest workers, loyal to their friends and comrades, amiable and gentle, generous and hospitable, modest and reasonable. Thus, in the poetic folk creations she appears wishing her child to become a «good host and a man of arms», or to be mentioned as a «wise man, and capable at work»⁵⁾; somewhere else she advises her son «to be gentle in everything», or teaches him that unity means strength, or tells him to do honest work, but to maintain a ruthless attitude to-

wards evil and disloyalty.⁴⁾ The mother of Deli Pjetri (one of the seven men of Shala, who wrought havoc among the sarays of the Vizir of Shkodra) when she sees him coming back without his comrades, thinking that he might have left them in the lurch and fled for his life, heaps her curses upon him, «What did you come for, where are your comrades?! I'm disgraced forever now!»²⁾

But the circumstances in which women lived as well as the mentality of the times, restricted her ideological horizon and conditioned some deficiencies in her educational work. Thus, in the traditional folklore of our people, narrow individual and family interests, the mentality of private ownership, the sense of subjugation to patriarchal and feudal customs, and of accepting one's destiny and of pinning one's hopes on «Gracious God» sometimes crop up. There are instances when the mother requires that her son «find a job and make money,»³⁾ when she hopes that he would become the shepherd «of a large flock»⁴⁾, when she advises her daughter to be obedient to her husband's despotism and her father or mother-in-law's patriarchalism.⁵⁾

In the new poetic creations it can be observed that the mother's educational work has been improving. This is closely connected with the new conditions created during the National-liberation War and after liberation. The new conditions brought about new moral requirements and assigned new educational tasks to women.

- 1) Archive of the Institute of Folklore. reel 415/6.
- 2) HFS, p. 115.
- 3) Archives of the Institute of Folklore. Tirana, 1962, p. 20.
- 4) «To the Party, the Mountain Eagle», Tirana, 1962, p. 20.
- 5) Lyrical Folk Songs. p. 158.

1) Lyrical Folk Songs, p. 248.

2) Archive of the Institute of Folklore. A Haxhihasani, reel 255/10.

3) Historical Folk Songs, p. 303.

4) Ibid, p. 189.

5) LFS p. 9,

On the other hand, these conditions, and especially the concern of our Party to bring women to the fore, to grant them their deserved place in our society, to raise their cultural and ideological level, formed a new consciousness in women, gave them new possibilities and made them able to successfully fulfill their tasks. As a result, the educational work of mothers is being permeated by the Party spirit, by the spirit of a revolutionary class education. In the new folk creations that reflect the educational work of mothers, there is no trace of the former spirit of selfishness, of personal interest or fatalism. On the contrary, up to the present, previously unknown moral principles and norms such as love for our Party, socialist solidarity, proletarian internationalism and others have emerged. At the same time, sound popular principles and traditions undergo perceptible qualitative transformations. The love of one's country that mothers try to instill into the mind of the younger generation is not a narrow patriotism, but the love of our socialist Fatherland, it is inseparable from the cause of socialism and communism.

Speaking of the mother's educational role during the National-liberation War, our people point out their brilliant contribution in preparing the gallant fighters against internal and external enemies, the fighters for the new world. Comrade Enver Haxha says: «The heroic Albanian woman became the instigating and encouraging force of the young men and women who joined the war with surprising courage and sacrificed everything for the freedom of their Fatherland.»¹⁾

1) Enver Hoxha. «On the problem of women». p. 26-27.

This contribution is evident in the powerful calls of mothers to the youth, «Go and join the Party!»¹⁾; or «The country today calls on us, /here my son, take up arms!»²⁾

The mother of a partisan, understanding the aim of our National-liberation War, demands that her son or daughter be ready to make any sacrifices even the supreme one if need be. The mother of Fuat Mati, a partisan from Kurvelesh, when hearing of her son's valiant fight and death, speaks to her comrades proudly as the custom is in Albania, saying, «For Fuat proudly should not mourn, /do not come to console me,/ Albania cannot be liberated without blood-shed,/ for liberty is never donated.»³⁾

The poetic folk creations of the socialist construction period bear witness to the new socialist spirit of our family. This spirit is illuminating the best traditions of our people, extinguishing everything alien to our communist morality and tempering and strengthening our sound principles. From all these elements one can appreciate that a mother's aim is to educate and train worthy soldiers of our Party, of our Fatherland and of socialist revolution, to bring up a younger generation sound in every aspect, able with their strong hands to carry the torch of revolution onward.

The mother first of all tries to educate the younger generation with a profound, boundless, love for our socialist Fatherland, for our Party and Comrade

1) The Party, the Mountain Eagle. p. 42.

2) Archives of the Institute of Folklore, A. M. reel 331/3.

3) Folk songs of the National-liberation War and reconstruction, Tirana, 1951, p. 140.

Enver Hoxha, with unswerving loyalty to them and deep hatred against the class enemy. She is determined to make her child «an aid and support to the Party,/ and be always led by it.»¹/ she continues, instructing that «it is up to the young men,/ to defend their Fatherland.»²) and that «everyone should be vigilant in case of danger,/ and hurl himself upon the enemy.»³)

The mother says that the best expression of one's love for the country and the Party is the struggle for socialist construction and defence of the country, Party and people, defying all obstacles and hardships, making any sacrifices. She solemnly assigns her son the task to «be always ready my son,/ plough in one hand, rifle in the other,/ fire on the enemy who tries to invade us,/ make your homeland flourish.»⁴) And when he carries out her advice, even by making the supreme sacrifice, then she has the courage to say in the revolutionary optimistic tones of an ardent patriot: «Blessed is my milk, o my son,/ who died so noble a death,/ For the people and the Party,/ die the bravest sons of Albania.»⁵)

Nowadays, the mother educates the younger generation also in such norms of communist morality as the love of ones' comrades, solidarity, the spirit of collectivism, of placing the general interest above the interests of the individual, and so on. She advises her children, «to work for Albania», for «one cannot live isolated from the society»; she zealously follows the road pointed out by the Party for the collectivization of agriculture,

1) The Party of Labor of Albania, the Mountain Eagle, p. 15.

2) Folk songs for the Army, Tirana, 1967, p. 35.

3) Ibid., p. 72.

4) AFI, AM., reel 331/13.

5) AFI, Ndue Tusha, reel 629/13.

expressing her joy that, «Today, the time has come for us, the whole village has gone cooperative»¹); by making skilful use of the contrast between the past and the present, she draws the attention of the younger generation to the wonderful results achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party, urges her son or daughter to join the collective work, to enjoy the new life; «Unfortunate was our past life,/ we did not dare go to the fields,/ we had to fight against the landowner.»²)

In order to attain her goal in educating the younger generation, the mother tries to rear them according to the best examples of patriotism and of the self-sacrificing spirit of our revolutionary masses. She finds them in the heroic past, but mainly she makes use of the examples set by the partisan or the advanced worker, by the communist and the revolutionary youth. Thus, she sings to her son still in his swaddling clothes, «Sleep tight and become renowned,/ like Enver Hoxha and his partisans,/... Just like Jaha with his young valiants,/ grow into a fine boy for Albania.»³)

The new poetic creations of the people also show that the present position of the woman as an educator differs greatly from that of the pre-liberation period. In the past, she was not only almost left to fend for herself, without sufficient support and assistance, but she was also subject to the pressure of religious, feudal, patriarchal and bourgeois institutions. Whereas today,

1) The Party of Labor, the Mountain Eagle; p. 79.

2) Ibid., p. 88-89.

3) AFI, reel 440/20.

first of all, it is our Party, our socialist society, our school and our new family that educates and tempers the new man. That is why the poet addresses the partisan, the heroic worker, the border guard in such words: «Glory to the mother who brought you up./glory to the Party which enlightened your mind!»¹⁾

Finally it should be mentioned that the poetic folk creations dealt with in this paper, besides their artistic value, also possess an educational and informative significance. They have served to strengthen the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of our people. They supply good evidence of the major role played by women in bringing up the younger generation. By summing up these elements we come to the conclusion that:

1) Our people have exerted all their efforts to rise above the backward and negative viewpoints of the ruling classes on women, and have objectively pointed out their valuable contribution, vitality, talent and great influence in such an important field as the education of the younger generation.

2) Under the conditions of the past, when the role of the school and the concern of the society for the education of the younger generation was extremely limited, not to say negative, women have rendered a major contribution to the preservation of the spirit of patriotism, of a profound love for freedom, and of the best traditions and qualities of our people through the centuries.

3) Under the conditions created during the National-liberation War, and especially, after liberation, the educational work of women has been constantly increasing and become one of the most important factors in

1) Archives of the Institute of Folklore, reel 445/20.

educating the younger generation with a revolutionary class spirit.

4) The influence of the mother upon her children is evident; therefore, the more respected her position in the society, the higher her consciousness and culture, the more positive is her contribution to the education of the younger generation.

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**THE LEGAL SITUATION OF WOMEN AND THE
REALITY OF SOCIAL RELATIONS OF WORK IN THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA**

The provisions about the status of women in the field of work relations are, like all juridical and other social norms, defined by the character of the respective social order, they reflect the laws of its development and change hand in hand with the changes in the economic structure of the society, always playing an active role in this field. Consequently, these provisions, too, are the results of the social development and a concentrated expression of the world outlook, of the principles and political objectives of the ruling classes.

The distinguishing feature of legislation in any bourgeois country has been and remains, in different forms, the inequality between women and men, women's juridical inferiority and discrimination even in the field of work relations. The civil code of the Albanian Kingdom, that came into force in 1929, followed the same

road and it is evident that it was designed after the models of bourgeois civil codes of that time. Thus, Article 191 of this code limited effectively the juridical capability of women in the field of relations of work providing: 'In order to follow a trade or a profession women are to have their husbands' consent.' On the other hand, all the laws about the election of the representative organs, approved in Albania following the proclamation of the independence up to the establishment of the People's Power, did not grant to women the right of electing and of being elected to these organs, and consequently of exercising managerial function in the government of the country. But, parallel with the content of the laws, under the conditions of the feudal and bourgeois system, traditions, religion, family education and other means of psychological and social pressure had convinced the Albanian women of their own total inferiority.

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania marked the turning point in the process of the real liberation of the Albanian women from the social, economic and cultural yoke. Under the guidance and special care of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian women were armed politically and ideologically, were taught to break the shackles of fanaticism and centuries-old obscurantism; they became staunch fighters in the stormy years of the National-liberation War and later on, turned out to be an important factor in the political economic and social life of the country.

Thus, with the establishment of the People's Power, an entirely new life began for the Albanian women. The new People's Democratic State, from the outset of its activity, abolished all provisions of law which sanctioned the inequality and inferiority of women and passed

the first acts of legislation that helped to open the way to a major, many-sided and complex process during which the work of women would become a powerful source of the forces of production in Albania, one of the decisive factors for their emancipation and true independence.

Some months after the declaration of «Civil Rights» — the first act of legislation in the history of our people which granted the Albanian women equal right with men in the political and social life — the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council, in July 9, 1945 approved the law Nr. 82 «On the work time and the right of service». This law sanctioned the complete equality of the Albanian women with men in the field of the remuneration of work, by expressing in Article 16 the principle of «equal pay for equal work without discrimination of sex.» The time when this law came into power is the surest proof showing that the People's Democratic Power in Albania has been among the first states in the world that juridically sanctioned this equality. Suffice it to mention that, according to the official acts of the UNESCO, the Gallup Institute only in 1947 made an inquiry in the different continents to find out whether world public opinion would approve of the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. Many nations, one being the USA have not yet ratified the convention Nr. 100 of the International Labor Organization «On equal pay for equal work for men and women.»

On March 11, 1946 the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania sanctioned in its provisions the equality of men and women in all fields of work relations. Our Constitution became the basis and the starting point for further deepening the legislative process towards regulating the principal directions of women's

participation in production work and in the other social and economic fields, of completing and concretizing the entire juridical status of women as equal subjects in the socialist relations of work.

Viewed from its entire historic development up to the present day, this legislative organizational and educational process has always been daring and revolutionary, creative and dynamic, because, being worked out by the Party of Labor of Albania, relying on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which are the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principles under the conditions of the People's Republic of Albania, it always adapted itself to the demands of the successive stages of development to assist the tendencies of the further advance of the socialist construction of the country, to serve as a powerful revolutionary weapon in action.

The provisions of our socialist legislation on the position and the role of women in the field of work relations as well as in the whole process of evolution of the Albanian women themselves were not inspired or influenced by the ideas of reformism or by the sentiments of the bourgeois feminist movement. The above mentioned provisions of our legislation are not a copy of the legislation of some other country, as some lawyers and sociologists pretend, who have placed their mind and work, their scientific and human conscience at the service of capitalism and modern revisionism.

By sanctioning the principle of equality between men and women in all fields of work relations, our legislation has at the same time found the correct solution to many key economic, cultural, demographic and other social problems that condition the attraction of the masses of women to fully participate in social production

work and to better fulfil their lofty missions as mothers, and educators.

In our legislation and objective reality, the principle of equality between men and women in all sectors of work is in harmony with women's physiological constitution and provides for the protection of mother and child. Our women are entitled to occupy any position, to turn their hand to every trade and speciality, with the exceptions dictated by the above mentioned interests. Thus, in essence, these are not limitations of the principles of equality, but constitute a series of measures and guarantees for the safety of women at work. Thus, according to Article 46 of the Labor Code, women cannot work in the mines or in other strenuous and dangerous jobs that could harm their health; these jobs are listed in the work regulations of technical and health safety at work.

The law prohibits pregnant women and mothers with babies still suckling from working at night and beyond the normal working time. Likewise, there is a certain administrative obligation on the part of every work center to move a pregnant woman to lighter jobs, compensating for the difference of payment according to the conditions laid down by Article Nr. 9 of the law «On social insurance», when the woman has the necessary medical certificate.

In the broad system of measures for the protection of working mothers and employees an important place is occupied by the paid leave for pregnant women and mothers still breast-feeding their babies, that may extend from 12 to 15 weeks, according to any difficulties in child birth and the kind of the work the mother does. However, we consider that, under the present conditions of the many-sided development of our country the mate-

rial possibilities exist for the fulfilment of the objective demands of the social policy of our Party to allow the peasant women to receive facilities from the state social insurance during the period of pregnancy and child-birth, according to the provisions of the law. Of course, the necessary fund shall not be raised by the state by means of grants and donations alone, but also by quotas paid by the cooperative farms to the amount assigned by the Council of Ministers.

Following child-birth leave, the working mother or employee works at reduced hours, with the breaks needed to breast-feed the child up to 9 months being included in the working time. Likewise, following child-birth leave, our legislation entitles her to the right of taking another three month's leave without pay, with her post at work being preserved in the meantime at the same enterprise, institution or organization without losing her seniority at work.

In the field of old-age pensions and of social insurance, in general, our legislation provides favorable conditions for working mothers and employees. Thus, for instance, in each of the three categories defined by the law, women are entitled to old-age pensions five years before men, as regards both age and seniority. It is also envisaged in special sub-section provisions to facilitate the conditions for raising the educational level and professional qualifications of women workers and employees, by reducing the hours of a week's work norm, allowing extraordinary paid leave in order to pursue courses, to take exams at the night schools and correspondence courses of every category.

The right of women to work as well as their equal position in the field of work relations that were sanctioned and regulated in the standard Acts of the People's

Republic of Albania have never remained formal juridical norms, solemn proclamations framed within juridical formulae or dead letter of the law. The Party of Labor of Albania, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist principled theses at every stage of the socialist construction of the country, has regarded the extension and the improvement of the participation of woman in production work, the more complete realization of her equality in this field as one of the most vital political problems closely linked with the further development of socialist revolution. Figures are a clear indication of the development of our social reality and they are described in the other reports from which we ascertain that today the women and girls make up 42 per cent of the labor force in our country.

But, nevertheless, the structure of the participation of women in production needs a series of improvements. Even today, if a detailed comparative analysis is made of the state of women's participation in production work and in the social and cultural life of various countries, one will easily come to the conclusion that, as far as this field of social life is concerned, in the People's Republic of Albania there are no traces of the antagonistic contradictions and of the wavering observed in the countries ruled by the revisionists, as well as in developed capitalist countries.

It is clear that the work of women has already become as indispensability in capitalist social production, for it is a major labor force and one of the rich sources of supplementary profits for the capitalists. Therefore, the juridical incapability of women to act, according to the theory of «imbecillitas sexus» that passed from Roman Law to the Law of the Mountains and then to the bourgeois classical code, under the em-

bellished forms, was shattered by the development of the production forces. At present, only the ultra conservatives support the old dogma that the woman's place is the home and abide by the theses of Chancellor Bismarck, according to which the sole function of women is to be exercised in «the rearing of children, in kitchen and church». Thus, under the new conditions of capitalist development following the Second World War, the so-called *functional theory* was created, which was quickly adopted by the democratic, liberal and social bourgeois parties and now serves as the ideological basis for transformations in the labor legislation of some capitalist countries.

As some of the most realistic representatives of the bourgeois juridical and sociological sciences observe, this theory only formally proclaims the juridical equality of both sexes, because as its basis it admits that the capacities of men in the economic and political field are many-sided, whereas those of women are one-sided. The reality of women's participation in social production in the capitalist countries, as is described in official documents of the specialized organizations of the UNO, is a vivid reflection of this inequality.

Maurice Duverger, professor of political sciences at the University of Paris, in his studies made at the request of UNESCO and published by the same organization, writes that in the capitalist world «every time the menace of unemployment appears in a professional branch where up to then both sexes were allegedly placed on an equal footing, women are the first to be affected; pay differentials are imposed upon them and their right to work is simply ignored».

The International Labor Organization, which is manipulated by the USA, in one of its recent reports,

analysing the increase of unemployment during the year 1967 in the majority of the industrialized countries, explicitly admits that, over this period, too, unemployment has most of all affected the masses of women and children.

Jena Chaton, the French representative to the UN Commission of Inquiry into the Situation of Women, admits in a recent article that, in the industrialized capitalist countries, the participation of women from 16 to 22 years of age at work is higher than from 23 to 35 (i.e. during the natural period of giving birth to and bringing up children); from 36 to 55 it starts mounting again but at pitifully lower proportions as compared with the first period.

Even in the political climate created by the revisionist leaders in the countries where they are in power, the rights granted to women by the labor legislation of these countries are trampled upon ever more brutally, especially through restrictions on their participation in social production. In some of these countries, particularly in Yugoslavia and Hungary, it can easily be observed that the rights they are entitled to according to the work legislation have only become propaganda slogans, they are a typical example of a merely formal jurisdiction that, even as it is, is often interpreted to the benefit of the new ruling class.

The growth of economic difficulties due to the so-called «reforms or reorganizations in the method of management and development of the economy» have brought about the increase of surplus labour power in numerous branches of industry, agriculture and public services. One of the most used means of getting out of this dilemma and curbing unemployment is to reduce the work time of women. This is sanctioned through

special law provisions whereby work-hours are reduced parallel with wages. Of course, all these new provisions are hailed as measures favouring the participation of women in production work as well as facilitating their tasks as mothers and spouses, hushing up the fact that they are a violation of the economic independence and emancipation of women, because they turn their work into a mere appendage of social production and family income. In the capitalist countries and in some countries where the revisionists are in power, a number of working mothers, despite the great economic difficulties they are in, have been compelled to leave their working posts or to enter working relations at reduced hours, for the measures taken by the state for the education of their children are utterly insufficient. In these countries, as is admitted in many official documents, the rate of crime and hooliganism on the part of the youth has been constantly rising. In our country, this acute social problem has been solved not only by means of the enlarged network of educational institutions for children (creches, kindergartens, hostels, pioneer resting homes, and so on), but also through a broad educational and ideological activity with children and young people.

For all these reasons, despite the incessant growth of the Albanian woman's participation in social production work, despite the great natural growth of our population, which has doubled in less than thirty years, crime among the young in the People's Republic of Albania hardly exists.

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PENAL LEGISLATION OF THE PEOPLES'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA IN DEFENCE OF SOCIALIST MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS

The socialist matrimonial and family relations have been created with the victory of the people's revolution, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist relations of production in our country. These relations differ radically from the bourgeois family relations based on private property. They are developed and strengthened in continuous class struggle against «the taints» of the old feudal and bourgeois society.

The revolutionary situation created after the 5th Congress of the PLA has dealt and is dealing strong and all-round blows to conservative concepts and attitudes irreconcilable with the norms of proletarian morality and the socialist juridical norms towards women.

Life itself proves that the law of the identity and struggle of the opposites as a universal and permanent law, acts in our socialist society too, and the matrimonial and family relations as well.

Besides the measures of a political, ideological, economic, cultural and organizational character, a certain supporting but active role is played by the norms of the penal law in the process of the revolutionarization of our country's life, of our people, of their conscience and world outlook led by our Party to uproot the remnants from the past in the attitudes towards women.

The penal legislation, expressing the viewpoints and interests of the working class, the policy of our Party, in compliance with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and with the principles of proletarian morality, in a series of provisions protects the life of women, their health, honor, dignity, personal integrity, freedom and equality with their husbands. In a separate chapter, entitled «*Crime against marriage and the family*» the Penal Code deals with those crimes which affect the system of matrimonial and family relations in our socialist society, based upon social property and especially protected by the State Power against such practices as: infant betrothal, purchase marriage, marriage under compulsion, prohibited cohabitation, cutting of provisions for children, parents, etc. Some social and juridical aspects of this chapter will be dealt with presently. These acts are maintained as crimes owing to the social danger they represent, a danger which is defined by the character and importance of the social relations violated or endangered by them.

The Penal Code provides against such ugly and dangerous manifestations to our society, as the past remnants in matrimonial and family relations that are directed against the principle of freedom and equality between wife and husband, sanctioned by our constitution. Our penal norms take under special protection women, without whom, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said,

«... a completely free Albania cannot exist, socialism cannot be constructed and the happy life of our people cannot be assured at the speed and impetus our Party requires.»¹⁾

The crimes against marriage and the family are historic and social phenomena that have nothing in common with our socialist order, but draw their origin from conservative concepts, from backward customs and remnants from the past.

The reactionary ruling classes and foreign invaders had created customs and norms to regulate matrimonial and family relations. These were defined by patriarchal and feudal relations in production and expressed their reactionary viewpoint towards woman, considering them as «husband's property», «an inferior creature», and «servant» to be completely ordered about by their husbands. These customs that for many centuries remained unwritten and which later on were partially collected in the canons, have played a deeply reactionary part in subduing, oppressing and humiliating women, in sanctioning their political, economic, and social inequality. The foreign invaders' ideology and legislation, especially that of the Ottoman invaders', the religious dogma: the Quran Sharia, canonical Law, and so on, inspired by idealistic, reactionary and religious concepts which humiliated and degraded women's dignity, exerted a powerful effect on the customs and norms of the canons.

Father Gjergj Fishta, one of the ideologists of the reactionary catholic clergy, in an article on the system of marriage, openly defended the patriarchal conservative viewpoints, wherein he expressed the idea that «the most perfect and ideal system of marriage is the Chris-

tian one, based, among other things, on the principle of indissoluble marriage (the prohibition of divorce) and on the principle that man is the head of the family, openly admitting that 'woman should not be her husband's equal, for this would bar the way to communism»¹⁾.

The customs and norms of the canonical right that have regulated the matrimonial and family relations were born and developed under certain economic and social conditions. They have been enforced for centuries in our country. It is clear that the remnants of these backward customs are preserved for a long time in the people's consciousness and find expression in their behaviour towards woman, even after the establishment of the socialist order in Albania, because the change in the forms of social thinking occurs later than the changes in the economic relations. Of course the remnants of backward customs do not act anywhere near as much as they did before liberation. The political and economic revolution and the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution under the direction of the Party destroyed the social basis of these remnants. But, as long as there exists in our society the concept that a woman is her husband's «property» and woman meekly accept this bourgeois anti-socialist concept, as long as the remnants of canons and regressive customs are active, the remnants from the past remain alive in the people's thinking, the inducement to crimes against marriage and family will always exist. These crimes, like all criminal acts in our society, are expressions of class struggle, of antagonisms between sexes, which as Engels pointed out is the first expression of class struggle in the his-

1) See: «Zëri i Popullit», March 9, 1967.

1) State historical archives, section, Nr. 35.

tory of mankind.¹⁾ This antagonism is a feature of family relations of the society with opposed classes and, in our country's conditions, is a remnant of the old society, of its ideology, morality, psychology, customs and traditions.

In the countryside and in the northern Highlands where the inherited centuries-old backwardness has left especially deep traces, where the norms of the canon had been more active, it is there that the crimes against marriage and family are more widespread. According to records for 1961-1967 it turns out that the number of crimes committed against marriage and the family is greater in the countryside than in the town.

From these evidences we cannot jump to the conclusion that the fight against backward customs is only a problem concerning the countryside. It should be considered as a complex fight in the town and the countryside until their complete liquidation.

The conservative concepts in the attitude towards women, the power of customs and traditions of the old society that incite people to commit crimes against marriage and the family, are mainly observed in the bulk of people of lower ideological, political, educational and cultural level and amongst the ones advanced in age. Thus, of the total number of those sentenced for the period 1961-1967, the overwhelming majority are either illiterate or that have just finished or have not completed the elementary schooling. From the viewpoint of age it results that people over 30 and especially over 50 years of age make up the highest percentage of those sentenced.

1) F. Engels, «The origin of the family, private property and the State.» Tirana, 1949.

From the viewpoint of sexes, the majority of those sentenced from 1961-1967 are men, — bearers of bourgeois, feudal and patriarchal remnants.

The correct interpretation of data concerning criminality against marriage and the family, as well as of social data concerning those sentenced, can only be made when these are studied together with other social and economic data connected with marriage and the family. If we consider the problem as it is and not as it should be, we can draw correct conclusions for the present and for the future. The main conclusion is that the sources of these crimes have been limited as a result of the persistent principled struggle against these remnants from the past which our Party has been waging since its founding up until the present. But, to achieve better results in the struggle against these crimes our society has to carry out important tasks for perfecting socialist relations of production, establishing proletarian standards in the life of our new society and family that is being consolidated, for the deepening of our ideological and socialist revolution.

The number of crimes committed against marriage are not something fixed once and for all, but as a historic and social phenomenon they undergo changes. Nowadays, among the crimes of a most significant social danger are the following: infant betrothal, of people under 16 years of age, purchase marriage, and prohibited cohabitation.

According to patriarchal and feudal customs the father had unlimited rights over his child, hence his right to contract a betrothal at any age or even before the birth of the child. This custom had a marked political character, because the patriarchal family and clan relations between patriarchal families were strengthened

the political power of the exploiting classes was perpetuated through such marriages and betrothals.

The betrothals and marriages struck by parents served as a means of economic profit.

The family created according to the parent's will on the basis of the wife's complete subjugation to her husband and on the basis of inequality, has nothing in common with the moral and juridical norms of our society.

Answering the call of Comrade Enver Hoxha in his historic speech of February 6, 1967, up to the end of 1967 many infant betrothals contracted by parents according to patriarchal customs were dissolved. Meanwhile the courts of justice are wielding the power of the penal code against anti-social elements, against those persons who infringe the existing laws. Such a measure is indispensable because infant betrothals have grave consequences, especially for the women, throughout their married and family life. Owing to these betrothals, the girls do not take part in political and social life. Many a time they give up prematurely their school, thus, becoming disposed to be subdued by their future husbands.

In the majority of cases, child betrothals are contracted by means of a go-between, because, according to the old law of Lek Dukagjini's Canon, «there's no bride without a go-between»¹⁾. This bad custom is also reflected nowadays, therefore, against these people that often degenerate into dangerous speculators, besides condemnation by the opinion of the masses, there is room for the application of severe measures according to the penal legislation.

1) See Lekë Dukagjini, Shkodra, 1933, p. 13.

From the juridical viewpoint child betrothal is regarded as a committed crime regardless of the fact that the child might have given consent or not, because its general education and level is insufficient to make it fully aware of the importance and social consequences of the act of a betrothal contracted.

The experience of the courts has shown that often betrothal and marriage arranged by parents have had a mercenary character or were followed by payment in kind. This barbarous and inhuman custom, characteristic of a society ruled by the laws of private property and by the reactionary exploiting classes who consider woman as a market commodity and regard the family as a source of profit, is the cause of the crime of purchase marriage even in our socialist society. A profoundly reactionary role in protecting this custom of humiliating women was played by the clergy. The case brought against «baba» Kamber of Ballaban proved that the price of selling and buying girls was fixed by him. In this way he had been able to accumulate 3.000 ewes and goats and 600 oxen.

The payment for marriage should, first of all, be viewed from the ideological aspect, then from the economic one. Those persons giving or receiving payment for arranging marriages, nourish the concept that the girl or wife can be sold as easily as any other commodity, without taking into account her personal freedom and dignity, and the fact that she is enslaved in this way.

In the payment for the marriage we do not include the gift made to the bride, provided that this act does not conceal a payment in cash or in kind to be given to the bride's parents. Crime is committed no matter whether the payment is given or received fully or partially.

It is enough for even a small portion to have been given or accepted for a marriage contracted without the bride's free will and the act is considered a crime.

One of the other crimes that originate from the patriarchal customs also inspired by the Islamic religion and consecrated by the Shariat, is the cohabitation of the husband with two or more wives, treating them as lawful spouses. This custom comes into opposition with the principle of the monogamous family, which according to Engels will be fully realized in the classless society, with marriage relations defined by law, therefore it constitutes a crime according to the penal code. If the man is allowed to keep another woman besides his lawful spouse, then wide scope would be given to patriarchal reactionary concepts for the ruling of the wife by husbands. From the general spirit of the powers of the penal code concerning the crimes against marriage it is understood that they are spearheaded against manifestations of patriarchalism comprising a social danger and against their bearers. For this reason, our penal law and court practice have accepted the principle that only the husband is to be held penally responsible for the practice of unlawful cohabitation. Certainly, this does not imply that our society approves of the behaviour of those women, who contrary to the norms of proletarian morality, consent to cohabit with husbands who have another lawful wife. On the contrary these attitudes are morally condemned. In fact, such acts do not favour the complete emancipation of women from the remnants from the patriarchal relations.

The practice of illegal cohabitation is regarded as performed act from the moment the husband, side by side with the lawful wife, provides economically for both of them, by treating as a legal wife another woman

in spite of the fact whether he keeps her under the same roof or under another. The chief criterion is not the dwelling, but the common economy. This criterion was accepted by court practice, the Hight Court included, constituting a blow to erroneous concepts, according to which the husband could be held responsible if he kept his second wife under the same «roof» as his legal wife, thus divesting the term «roof» of its economic connotation.

Under certain conditions these crimes are in concurrence with other crimes, such as rape, housebreaking, restriction of personal freedom, etc.

In solving the antagonistic contradiction between our Marxist-Leninist ideology and the backward customs in the attitude towards women, the educational work is given priority, in order to spread and instill in the people's mind and in their conscience the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is the decisive link to bar the way to crimes against marriage and the family. The forms of the work, beginning with mass undertakings, the popularization of the laws, and so on, are fitted to suit the time, the place and concrete conditions of every region.

It is understood that while there is resistance due to the backward customs, conservative and reactionary concepts and the norms of the past canons, it is necessary to resort to the proletarian dictatorship so as to break this resistance by means of applying the penal legislation against crimes in the field of matrimonial and family relations.

LIRI TASHKO

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONIST TENDENCIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

With the birth and development of capitalism, especially by the middle of the 19th century, the movement for the emancipation of women appeared side by side with other social movements in the arena of history.

Women have always been oppressed, but the question of women as a major social problem was raised only under capitalism. It forced women to step out of their houses and, as there is nothing sacred under capitalism, it made a market commodity of women who became an object of bloody exploitation. Women, being twice oppressed, under capitalism became doubly exploited too. Under these circumstances the problem of women could not but emerge as one of the most pressing problems of the time.

Objectively, capitalism creates and gives rise to its own grave-digger — the proletariat — the only revolutionary power in the history of mankind, the only class

that, by liberating itself, sets free all the oppressed and abolishes any kind of exploitation. The problem of the emancipation of women was closely linked with the general problem of social emancipation and was placed on an entirely sound basis. Thus the movement for the complete emancipation of women became part and parcel of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The birth of genuine revolutionary movement is always accompanied by the appearance of bourgeois lackeys of every hue who cling to the movement to falsify and put it on the wrong path. The same has happened with feminism. All sorts of women's movements have come into being, in the past and today, some of a feminist character, others of pacifist or illuminist character, and their aim has been to divert the masses of women away from the main objective: their complete emancipation, complete equality of their rights in all fields of social life.

Following the example of the proletariat who have not sought their liberty within the narrow national framework but have been linked with their class brothers of all countries, the revolutionary women's movement has traversed the borders of separate nations and has taken on an international character since the end of the last century. This movement assumed an organized form at the beginning of this century.

The 1st Women's Conference of a socialist position, held in Stuttgart in 1907, marked the founding of the international women's socialist movement.

This movement suffered heavy losses with the breaking up of the 2nd International. It was reorganized under the new conditions created after the Great October Revolution and the founding of the 3rd International on the basis of Lenin's orientations to Clara Zet-

kin, then, head of women's section at the 3rd International, to stir up «a powerful international women's movement, based on a clear and precise theoretical basis, wherein to attract the masses of women and mothers of the world to fight against imperialism for peace and socialism».

As a result, the communist parties in various countries set up separate sections for the work with women; in many countries such as in Germany, Norway, Canada, Holland, etc., separate organizations of communist and non-party women members were set up.

With World War II the women's international revolutionary movement was raised to a new level; their participation in the fight against fascism being massive. The great solidarity that sprang forth between the anti-fascist women of the world made them aware of the necessity of their organization to coordinate their actions in the fight against fascism, to defend the freedom of the peoples and the future of their children. Under these circumstances on December 1, 1945, the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) which was based on the best traditions of the international movements of revolutionary women was set up.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the Albanian women made their contribution not only to the liberation of our country, but also to the enlargement of the revolutionary traditions of the women's movement both in Albania and in the world.

During the 23 years of its existence the WIDF has passed through the following stages of development.

1. During the 1945-1953 period WIDF played an important role as a staunch fighter for the defence of peace, freedom and for the rights of women and children.

The program of the WIDF at its founding was based on an entirely militant position. The Constitution said that the WIDF had the task to try to unite the anti-fascist democratic organizations of women in its ranks without discrimination of race, nationality, faith or political party, in order to attain its ends, namely, the fight for the complete annihilation of fascism, the fight against imperialism for the defence of peace, for the rights of women and children.

The Union of the Anti-fascist Women of Albania attending the 1st Constitutional Congress of the WIDF approved its Constitution and program.

The activity and great political actions undertaken by the WIDF during this period were a great contribution to the correct solution of international problems and to the liberation and emancipation of women the world over.

Because of its militant anti-fascist and anti-imperialist character, the Federation since the very first days of its existence was made the target of attack by the pro-imperialist and bourgeois organizations of women and by reactionary forces in general. In 1951, the French government expelled it from Paris where its headquarters were situated, and in 1954 the UNO, under the dictate of the USA expelled it from the Economic and Social Council as a non-governmental organization with the consultative statute «B».

But all these hostile endeavours did not lower the prestige of the WIDF, on the contrary they consolidated

it. Its influence mounted in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 1955 it had almost 200,000,000 members, from 80,000,000 it had at its founding.

The Albanian women, educated by the Party in the spirit of international solidarity have rendered their contribution to the application of the fundamental program of the WIDF while in its ranks. They have answered its call for the defence of peace by mustering all their powers for the reconstruction of the country and later on for the construction of the basis of socialism, as well as for the strengthening of the solidarity and friendship with all progressive women of the world.

On March 8, 1945 they celebrated the International Women's Day for the first time. In March 8, 1950, the Albanian Women's Union organized the movement among women «Why I love and defend peace».

2. The 1953-1961 period is one of transition, a period of wavering in the sound political line of the WIDF.

The revisionists pursued a plan prepared long before, in order to divide the WIDF, the first signs of wavering in its political line being apparent since the 3rd Congress of the WIDF (held in 1953). This Congress brought the problem of the rights of women into the fore, by alluding that these rights could be won through the parliamentary road; the aim being to weaken the powerful blow of women against imperialism. The Soviet delegate, Nina Popova, in her speech said that close contacts should be established and that they should cooperate with all organizations of women, not only with the democratic ones, and that all disagreements should be set aside because the chief aim is to defend peace even

by making concessions to reactionary imperialist forces.

In the documents of the Bureau of WIDF (1954) it was noted that «the spirit of negotiations prevailed over the methods of violence.» The Mother's World Congress (1955) instead of clearly naming imperialism as the source of war and suffering for their children, held its proceedings under the vague watch-words: «For the protection of children against war, for disarmament, and for friendship between peoples», «The differences that separate us are smaller than the cause that unites us.»

The opportunistic and pacifist viewpoints that began to appear in the WIDF became clearer at the proceedings of the 20th Congress of the CPSU; they were expressions of Khrushchovite revisionism infiltrating into this organization. This is explained by the fact that the leadership of the WIDF was mostly in the hands of leaders of women's organizations guided by or under the influence of the Communist parties and when many of these parties blindly followed the traitorous revisionist line of Khrushchov, these organizations followed suit.

The report delivered at the meeting of the WIDF's Council in Peking (1956) says, «The proceedings of the Council should draw up a new orientation for the activity of the WIDF concerning the great currents of human good understanding circulating in the world.» The revisionist elements wanted to produce an echo of the endeavours of the imperialist and revisionist agreement on world division. The Council annulled its 1949 decision to expel the Anti-fascist Front of Yugoslav Women from the WIDF.

At the Council of Helsinki (1957) the WIDF diverted from its main purpose, the fight against imperialism, and brought to the fore the so-called fight «against

oppression and misery.» It deviated from the principle of uniting the democratic organizations of women by inserting into the Constitution that «any organization, federation of organizations, international or local female societies, any groups in accord with the aims of the WIDF or supporting this or that article of its statute could become a member of the WIDF.» The women's delegation of the Soviet Union, Italy, France, Sweden, and so on, exerted their efforts to back up the proposal of the meeting of its bureau in Rome in 1956 requiring the change of its nomination from the Women's International Democratic Federation to the World Federation of Women under the pretext that the word «democratic» keeps women away from the Federation.

In spite of this, the firm stand of the sound revolutionary forces made a strong resistance to the revisionist leaders at the meetings of the WIDF during these years and did not allow them to completely carry out their plans. Thus, for example, at the meetings in Peking, Helsinki, Vienna, Copenhagen, Warsaw, etc., the masses of women insisted that the WIDF should not be divested of its political character, that it should maintain a certain stand towards international events, that it should support the national liberation struggles, and so on.

The Albanian Women's Union, inspired by the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA, has always maintained a clear-cut stand towards the pacifist, bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints in the Federation through its delegations in the meetings of the WIDF and through its correspondence with the Federation. Besides the oral remarks and proposals, in May 3, 1957, the Head of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union addressed a letter to the WIDF, where among other things it said that the Federation should retain its former title

because it was known by this name all over the world, that the new draft-Constitution should clearly indicate the necessity of the fight against fascism and reaction. In April 1959, the Head of the Albanian Women's Union once more wrote to the WIDF and to the Committee of the Soviet Women, stressing the necessity of making clear in the programs of the Federation the idea of defending peace with the joint forces of the peoples, not through agreements with imperialism, but through revolutionary, national liberation resistance of the peoples. This resistance should be considered as the major problem helping to solve the other problems undertaken by the WIDF both for ensuring the rights of women and for the defence of the life of their children.

On the 5th anniversary of the WIDF, the Head of the Albanian Women's Union, in its letter to the Federation stressed that the women of Albania are against those holding that the fight against US imperialism is not the main task of the Federation, that it is concerned chiefly with the fight for the rights of women and children.

3. The 1961-1965 period is when the two opposed lines came into the open within the ranks of the WIDF.

Following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the divergencies between the two opposing lines in the WIDF came to the surface just like those in the international communist movement; on the one hand, the line of determined struggle against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, and on the other, the opportunistic line of reconciliation to imperialism — the latter being

an expression of revisionism. These two lines were clearly seen in the positions maintained by the revisionist leadership of the WIDF towards major world issues.

a) Using the pretext of «Modern world» the revisionist leaders of the WIDF have rejected the theses on imperialism as the source of wars and divert the attention of women away from the principal danger of war: U.S. imperialism.

At the meeting of the Council of the W.I.D.F. (held in Berlin in 1962) they pretended that women «do not know what imperialism is», that it is «an abstract notion», that the fight against imperialism «kept women away from the W.I.D.F.» Nina Popova, from the Soviet Union, said at this meeting, «We should use such language that could attract women into the W.I.D.F. and not frighten them away.»

In the documents of the Federation during these years they speak of creating from the present time a world without arms, without armies, without wars, they speak against any struggle and preach about peace, nourishing all kinds of pacifist illusions about imperialism. At the Moscow Congress (1963) it was implied that imperialism has changed its nature, that it has adopted «a peaceful strategy», from the fact that Khrushchov, Kennedy and Pope John XIII speak the same language, and so on.

The revisionist leaders of the W.I.D.F. spread the revisionist viewpoints as to the road to be pursued for the defence of peace and the social forms for carrying it out. According to them, the way of avoiding war is by general and complete disarmament, they spread the illusion that the imperialists will voluntarily lay down their arms. Under the guise of disarmament they try to liquidate the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed

people can, with the aim of subduing the masses of women to the policy of aggression and war (Report of the Council of the W.I.D.F. in Budapest).

b) The revisionist leaders of the W.I.D.F. have become extinguishers of the National-liberation Struggle of women in various countries. In words they support the fight of women that have stood up arms in hand for the liberation of their country, but in deeds they are on the side of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist invaders. They have adopted the revisionist viewpoints that «even a small spark may cause a great conflagration» and that the resulting world war will by all means be a thermo-nuclear one that would lead to the extinction of mankind. Thus they counterpose the National-liberation war to the struggle for peace and do not distinguish between just and unjust wars. Like the Khrushchovite revisionists they try to spread the false notion that colonialism could be liquidated by means of the UNO, that allegedly the colonial rule has now entered its final stage, therefore the tasks of women in the newly liberated countries are mainly of an economic character.

The AWU, together with the women of China and other sound forces have firmly defended the correct principles that should be followed by the Federation even today so as to accomplish its tasks.

In its letter to the Federation in 1962, the Presidency of the AWU comes out with its platform which complies with the revolutionary and anti-imperialist principles of the Federation in the period of its founding, concerning the question of war, the struggle for peace, for the political and economic independence of women, as well as concerning the question of their rights as mothers, workers and citizens.

The Presidency also opposed the proposal of the Bureau of the W.I.D.F. to call its 5th Congress a «World Congress of Women».

4. 1965-1968 is the period when the W.I.D.F. endeavours to find various forms to mask its transformation into a tool of the revisionist policy of Soviet — U.S. collaboration for world domination.

Just as the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is trying to use demagogy and various masks to continue Khrushchovism without Khrushchev and to extricate itself from the quagmire of its disintegration, likewise the WIDF is endeavouring to regain the ground it has lost. It is doing its best to create among its members the illusion that the activities it carries out allegedly conform with the basis of the constitution adopted at its founding.

a) While in words the Federation has now launched a frenzied demagogical campaign against the threat of US imperialism in Vietnam, in deeds it still follows the same pro-imperialist and capitulationist line. If some years ago it took great pains to ignore the fact that US imperialism is the real cause of the Vietnam war, now following at every step the US imperialists, the Soviet revisionists call for so-called «peace talks» with Johnson, while allegedly condemning the US aggressors.

b) The Federation presented itself as the promoter of the Arab cause and expressed its sham readiness to back up the struggle of the Arab people and women. In fact, it acted the same as the Khrushchevite revisionists. After much wavering, it finally declared that it would go on fighting for the implementation of the UNO decisions concerning the talks for the independence, integrity, and sovereignty of all the countries in this area. Such a

stand does not distinguish the aggressor from the victim of aggression, it is, thus, a hostile and deeply anti-Arab stand.

c) The Federation instructs the women's organizations to support all initiatives on a national and regional scale connected with «European security», by singling out neo-nazism as the chief danger, without mentioning US imperialism where German revanchism gets its inspiration and help from.

All these are pretexts the Federation has resorted to in order to avoid the blows dealt at it by the masses of women, in an attempt to enhance its declining prestige.

In spite of all these efforts, the picture of its process of degeneration becomes clearer and more complete with each passing day, the more so if we consider the following facts:

a) In 1967 it received the long-desired remuneration for its pro-imperialist and pro-revisionist line: the Federation was re-admitted into the Economic and Social Council of the UNO and UNESCO as a non-governmental organization under the consultative category «B». It regards this as a great success, for now it has gained easy access to pacifist and bourgeois organizations, as expressed in the 1968 documents of the Bureau. It has declared that it will give the UNO all its support. The revisionist leaders of the WIDF have sent their emissaries to the specialized services and missions of the UNESCO, FAO, ILO, and so on, which are in the hands of the imperialists. Their emissaries are dispatched to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in order to keep the women's movements within the framework of the laws of the oppressing and exploiting regi-

mes, without harming the interests of the policy of the imperialists and colonialists.

b) By carrying out the orientations of the Soviet revisionists, the leaders of the WIDF have made it their aim to fight the organizations standing on sound anti-imperialist positions such as those of Albania, China and of other countries.

Under the slogans «peaceful co-existence», «enlarged community», «love for our children», «leave aside what divides us and unite around what unites us», the revisionist leaders in the Federation spearhead their fight against the democratic organizations, they fight for their destruction and transformation from militant organizations for the rights of women, into organizations at the service of those who mercilessly oppress and exploit women. This is why many organizations with revisionist leadership are being transformed into women's associations to carry out «charitable deeds». These associations treat the problems of women in the spirit of bourgeois pacifism with stressed demagoguery. They publish magazines where they extol extravagant fashion, cosmetics and advertisements.

Such a position is a typical expression of the modern revisionists' line, beginning with the Titoites, ending with the Khrushchovites and Togliattists, to cover up and deny the deep contradictions of the present epoch, to wipe out any distinctions between the oppressed and exploited and the oppressors and exploiters, between the enslaved peoples and the imperialist enslavers. This attitude is also the reflection of the imperialist and revisionist line for the «unification» of the world under the domination of the two super-powers.

c) When peace in Europe was violated by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union with the military

invasion of Czechoslovakia, the leadership of the W.I.D.F. turned a deaf ear and remained indifferent on purpose. On the one hand it did not wish to confront the wrath and indignation of its members and of women in general, and on the other hand it expressed its loyalty to the Soviet revisionists.

In these circumstances of aggravating crises, the W.I.D.F. is making preparations for the World Congress of Women, due to be held in November this year in Helsinki, but postponed for the 14-17 of June 1969, not because of the weather and economic difficulties, but because the Khrushchevite revisionists have recently suffered a series of defeats. Now, more than ever, with their barbarous aggression against the SR of Czechoslovakia, under these circumstances any international meeting, even one of this organization, could have brought new troubles to them. The Federation regards this congress as a congress for women all over the world where its main proceedings will be dominated by the consideration of the rights of women, separating it from the political struggle, thus making the Federation a «feminist» association and integrating it with the pro-imperialist movement.

Like all the anti-imperialist revolutionary women, the women of Albania will never agree with the viewpoints of the revisionist leaders of the WIDF who have now totally betrayed the interests of the masses of women in the world. They follow with admiration and unreservedly support the just struggle of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the new emerging revolutionary movement of women under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups.

The Albanian Women's Union is in contact with and exchanges materials with the women's organizations

and groups as well as with progressive and revolutionary women of 72 countries throughout the world. Various delegations have paid friendly visits to our country and we have sent delegations abroad. Through these ties the AWU makes its contribution to introduce women and honest people of the world to the Marxist-Leninist line and firm stand of the PLA under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha against US imperialism and Khrushchevite revisionism, to acquaint them with the present revolutionary reality of our women, with their achievements in all fields of life as well as to carrying out its internationalist task of supporting the new anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement of women that is mounting in bold struggle and undertakings for the interests of the masses of women. The AWU fights for the development and strengthening of the unity within this movement.

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