

# Albania today

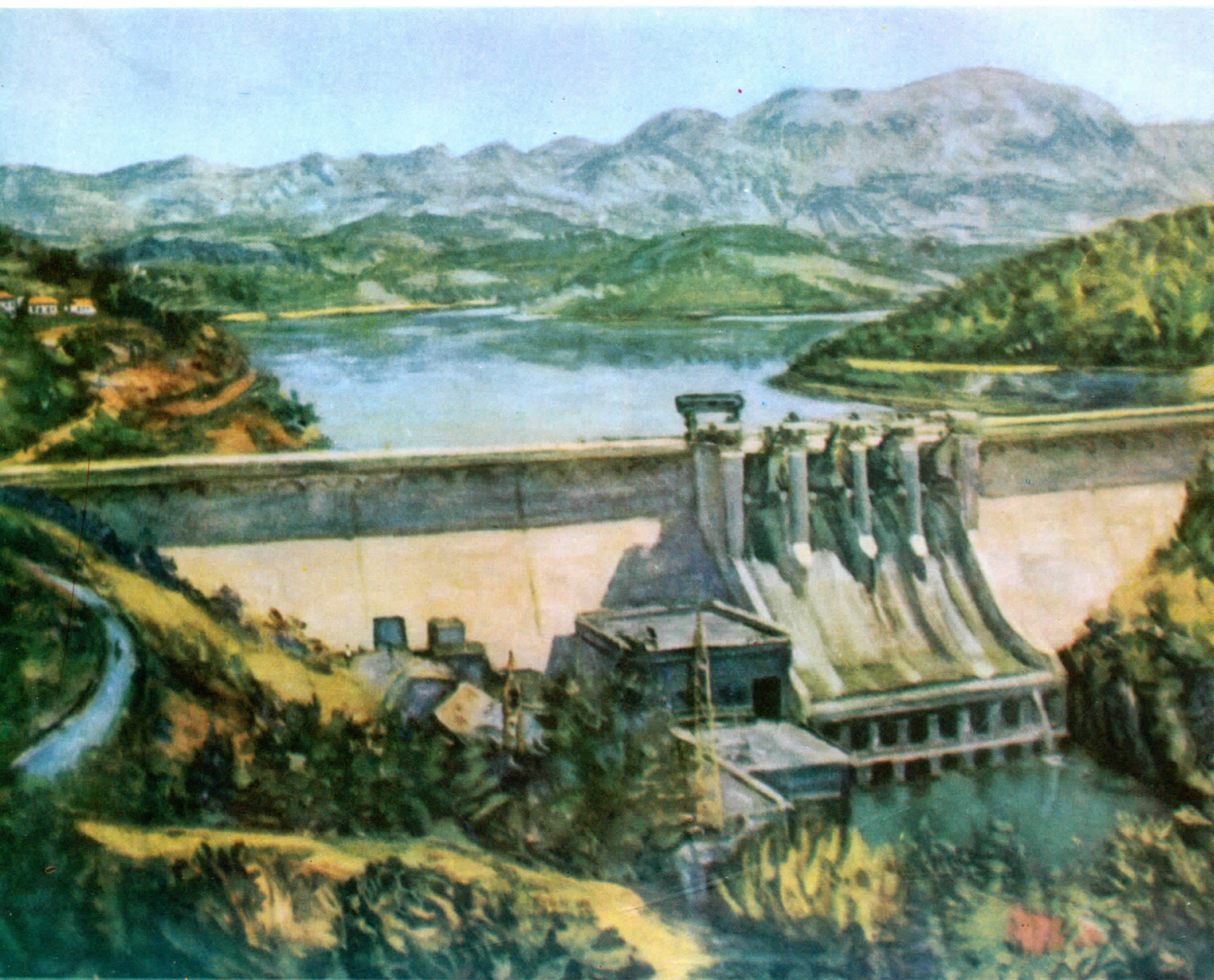
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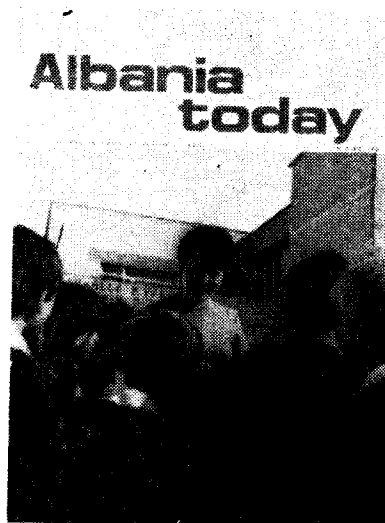




◀ September 1, the first day of the new school year. This day turned into a beautiful festival of our people's education, with 730 thousand pupils and students, more than one fourth of the population, sitting on the benches of classrooms and auditoriums. In the photo: .the first day of the new school year.



Sadik Kaceli: «THE HYDRO-POWER STATION», oil.



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# COMMEMORATION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE ON THE 40<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE FRONT

## **OPENING BY COMRADE I**

Dear comrades,

We have gathered today to commemorate and celebrate a great historic event — the Conference of Peza and the creation of the National Liberation Front, which is called the Democratic Front today. This is an important jubilee. The forty years that have elapsed are full of successes and victories.

The Conference of Peza was one of the many political, organizational and military acts of our Communist Party and one of the cleverest. We were living through very dangerous moments. The Albanian people were at the crossroads: they could be wiped out or they could live. As always, they chose the road of life. And it was precisely our Party that had made the synthesis of the heroic struggles of the Albanian people through the centuries for freedom, independence and democracy against many occupiers. The people had shed their blood but had not triumphed. The Party had reached the conclusion that this would not happen again.

On April 7, 1939, when Mussolini's fascist Italy invaded our country, the Albanian people started their resistance. Our heroic Communist Party was formed. It found the most appropriate moment to summon the Conference of Peza which pursued two aims: first, to rally all the Albanian people, regardless of what views they held, in the National Liberation Front and organize them for the armed struggle; second, to open to the people the prospect of what was to be done later.

Here lies the wisdom and foresight of the Party which rallied the whole people, all the patriots, around itself. It called on all to take part in the armed struggle, because freedom could not be won otherwise. This was the experience of the people. The Party did a great thing: it did not allow the feudal-bourgeois and clerical trends to confuse this sacred struggle through their intrigues. It was going to lead the Front itself, because it represented the ardent desires of the Albanian people. The people understood, the enemies did not understand. We crushed the enemies, together with the Italian and German occupiers.

At Peza the National Liberation Front was set up for the purpose I mentioned above



# TIVE MEETING OUNCIL OF THE DFA Y OF THE DEMOCRATIC ONT

## **SPEECH NVER HOXHA**

and the foundations of the people's power were laid. Our National Liberation War and our revolution had the seizure of state power as their main aim. The fate of Albania depended on who would seize state power. We were convinced that the people would seize power under the leadership of the Party and nobody else. We triumphed by fighting alone within the country, with external allies, but with great vigilance that they should not set foot here, in Albania. And this was one of the reasons for our great victory.

That is why we must thoroughly understand the importance of this great deed of our Party, which was not accidental, but well thought out. The Party had taken into account all the difficulties that would be raised on its road by the enemies and those who posed as friends, but were enemies. I shall not dwell on this question, because Comrade Ramiz Alia, one of my outstanding comrades-in-arms, who has led large units of the National Liberation Army for the liberation of Albania and the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, is going to speak.

On this occasion, I want to greet the heroic Albanian people, to commemorate the heroes of Albania, the girls and boys, the men and women who fell in the war for the liberation of the Homeland; to greet the veterans of the National Liberation War, to greet our girls and boys who performed miracles in the war and have now grown into mature women and men, who have taken the reins of the Homeland in their hands and have ensured its continuity. They have become an inspiration for the new generations which are led by the guiding star — the Party of Labour of Albania, which throws light on Albania, which has created and will multiply the prosperity and happiness of the Homeland and the people, which has turned Albania into an impregnable bastion against any eventual threat. The internal and external enemies who dare to touch our country will break their heads and destroy themselves.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, so dear, so beloved to the Albanian people, which is inspired by the interests of the people and the Marxist-Leninist ideology!

# ***SPEECH BY COMRADE H***



Dear comrades,

Our General Council devotes this special meeting to the commemoration of one of the most outstanding events in the history of our people—September 16, 1942 — the day of the founding of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front of Albania. It is forty years since that, on the initiative of the Communist Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the representatives of the anti-fascist and patriotic forces of the whole country assembled in insurgent Peza to set up the organization which was to unite the Albanian people in the mighty struggle against

the occupiers and the traitors, which was to work for the creation of a free, independent and democratic Albania.

The creation of the National Liberation Front at that time was an urgent need, an historical imperative.

For the Albanian people, for their salvation and liberation, there was no other alternative apart from rising in a total, life-and-death struggle against the occupiers. Any other road would have left them in slavery and faced with the threat of their disap-



# AMIZ ALIA

pearance as a nation and a people. The situation called for the union of all the vital forces of the people around a clear and correct political platform, and their organizing in a militant organization.

Today, after a lapse of four decades, the magnificent work of the Communist Party of Albania and of Comrade Enver Hoxha who knew how to correctly analyse the internal and external situations of that difficult time and to take the historic decision for the creation of the National Liberation Front, can be even better understood.

On this fundamental question of decisive importance the Party utilized with wisdom and in a creative manner, both the national tradition of our people's union and organization in struggle against the foreign occupiers and the Marxist-Leninist teachings and the directive of the Comintern on the setting up of anti-fascist popular fronts.

The political platform of the Front was an expression of the program of the Party for the National Liberation War. The liberation of the country from the occupiers and the local traitors constituted the main aim of the Front, of its struggle and activity. The forms of organization, mobilization and education of the masses would be subordinate to this aim. In the political platform of the Front as well as in the program of the Party, the problem of national liberation was regarded as indivisible from the problem of the destruction of the old reactionary state power and the creation of the new people's state power.

The Conference of Peza recognized the national liberation councils not only as organs of the union and mobilization of the people in the war, but also as organs of the new state power.

The political and organization line of the Front became the basis of the union of all the progressive forces of the nation without distinction of class, political opinion, religion or region. The National Liberation Front was not created as a coalition of parties or as a union of politicians, as occurred in several other countries, but as a broad organization of the masses led by the Communist Party.

The Party preserved its complete ideological, political and organizational independence in the Front. Its correct line, the courage, honesty and

vanguard example of the communist made the masses recognize the Party as the sole lawful leader in the Front.

The occupier and the different reactionary forces at its service mobilized themselves and did everything possible to sabotage the unity of the people in the Front. They resorted to mass terror, repression, punitive operations, murders and persecutions. The occupier aroused the Balli Kombëtar the aim of which was to divide the people, to isolate the Communist Party, to weaken and liquidate the National Liberation War. But neither violence, demagoguery, the different political manoeuvres, nor the attempts at sapping the Front from within, as was the case with Abaz Kupi and the other Anglo-American agents, could prevent the union of the people and their struggle. The attempts of the enemies failed because the Communist Party with its correct, principled and consistent line, stood at the head of the Front, because the unity of the people in the Front had deep-going roots and sound bases.

The National Liberation Front was born and strengthened as a revolutionary organization. It never lowered the banner of the armed struggle for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, it allowed no concession to and no compromise with the occupiers and the local traitors. In the National Liberation Front the revolutionary spirit of the masses was tempered, their political awareness and acuteness developed, the great freedom-loving, patriotic and democratic traditions of our people raised to a higher degree, and the idea of the struggle and sacrifices to save the Homeland from servitude affirmed.

In conformity with the teachings of the Party, the National Liberation Front worked so that the struggle of our people was closely linked with that of other peoples who were combating fascism. Nationalism and chauvinism were alien to the Front. It fought to establish friendship and cooperation with the anti fascist national liberation movements of the neighbouring peoples and spared nothing to make its maximum contribution to the general struggle of the peoples against fascism.

For all these reasons, the Conference of Peza which gave birth to the Anti-fascist National Libe-

ration Front, ranks amidst the most outstanding events of the National Liberation War of our people.

«For the great services it rendered,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the Conference of Peza has great importance, therefore every anniversary of it must be celebrated generation after generation, its experience must be studied with great attention by old and young, and not only in general lines, but also in its particular questions, down to the smallest detail.»

In the new period which began with the liberation of the country and the triumph of the revolution a broad field of action was opened to the Front, and new duties of outstanding historic importance were set to it.

As it had united and aroused the people in war for driving out the occupiers and establishing the people's state power, now the Front would unite, mobilize and educate the masses for the defence and consolidation of the victories achieved, for the construction and strengthening of the new socialist Albania. The Party required that the Front should raise the revolutionary qualities it had gained during the National Liberation War to a higher level and develop them further, that it should always remain a broad political organization of the masses in order to link them with the Party and temper their unity, that it should remain a tribune from which the voice of the masses could be heard and their will expressed.

The great ideal of the consolidation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of the construction of the new Albania and its progress inspired the Front in the struggle for the reconstruction of the country and the carrying out of the socialist transformations of our society.

The strengthening of the people's power and the defence of the Homeland, the development of industry, agriculture, education, culture, etc could not be done without mobilizing and arousing the whole people, without a sound organization and leadership of all the vital forces of the country.

The Democratic Front accomplished its new mission in this new historical phase with honour. Its valuable contribution lies at the foundation of all the achievements of new socialist Albania.

In the new battles, which have been not less heroic than those of the time of the National Liberation War, the political role of the Front has been

further enhanced and its social base further extended. With the communists in the centre it rallied the broad masses of the people — workers, peasants, the youth, women, honest patriots and progressive intellectuals, all the more conscious forces of our people. The Front worked for the education of these masses with a new sense of work, with the spirit of collectivism, and inculcated in them the feeling that the working men now have become the real masters of their own country. It worked to ensure that the proletarian world outlook and socialist ideals are deeply implanted in everyone, that the victories of the popular revolution are defended with determination and always carried ahead.

In this celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Conference of Peza and the founding of the National Liberation Front we draw the balance of the achievements of our people and are proud of the battles won and the successes scored.

Today Albania is an economically developed country, advanced from the cultural and educational point of view, powerful in its defence and security. Now it has a developed multi-branched industry which grows at rapid rates on the basis of advanced techniques. The great advance made by our industry is evident from the very important and significant fact that it is on a whole in a position to secure, relying on its own forces, the main needs of the people, of the economy and of defence, from the fact that it is the main source of the income from exports, that it makes the development of the whole of our economy in an independent manner a reality. We have no need to stretch our hand to anyone for credit or anything else. The all-development of the heavy and light industry, relying on local resources and primary materials, is one of the magnificent achievements of our Party and one of the greatest victories of our people.

Magnificent progress has been made in the field of agriculture, too. The road of collectivization, which the Party pursued by implementing the teachings of the great Lenin in a creative manner, was the road of salvation for the peasantry and for the whole of the country. Ours is now an advanced agriculture which applies the latest achievements of technique and sciences ever better, it is becoming an intensive agriculture of high yields. On the basis of these achievements in production and with all-round state aid, our countryside has been completely transformed. We all are witnessing the new life



which has been created in our countryside, the colossal transformations which have been made in the way of life of our peasantry, in its level of culture and education. Our villages are becoming ever more similar to the city, ever more beautiful and ever better built.

A deep-going revolution has been carried out in the field of education and culture and the training of cadres. The younger generations are acquiring better education and culture, growing more enlightened politically and ideologically, and trained technically and professionally. For the first time in its history Albania has an intelligentsia large in numbers and equipped with contemporary knowledge, an intelligentsia which has emerged from the people and is closely linked with them. Our workers and specialists are in a position to undertake large-scale projects in all the sectors of the economy and culture, to draft and build themselves hydro-power stations and industrial plants, railroads and socio-cultural projects, etc. A broad artistic and scientific activity is more and more enriching the spiritual and intellectual world of our people.

All these victories, all these successes, transformations and progress are vivid evidence of the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has always implemented for the socialist construction of the country. Only a scientific line based on Marxism-Leninism, which keeps account of the objective conditions of the country and opens up clear perspectives, which responds to the loftiest interests of the people and the Homeland can win the masses, can mobilize them for the defence and implementation of this line. This has been the basis on which the unity of the people and their union around the Party has been built and continuously strengthened.

The successful construction of socialism in Albania is indivisible from the line which our Party and state have implemented in regard to the problems of foreign policy and international relations. Irreconcilability through to the end with imperialism and its enslaving policy, and unflinching opposition to ceaseless interference, pressure and intrigues, have been the salvation of our country, have defended our freedom and national independence and sovereignty, the existence of our people's power and enabled our confident advance along the road opened by our revolution.

Led by their Party of Labour, the Albanian

people have successfully faced up to and smashed the plots, intrigues, pressure and interference of the Yugoslav, Soviet, and Chinese revisionists who have striven to divert us from the Marxist-Leninist course, to subjugate us and impose their dictate on us. This struggle constitutes another brilliant page in the history of our Party and people, of their titanic efforts to defend Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the new socialist life built with so much effort and sacrifice, our communist future.

Our Party together with the people has waged an irreconcilable and heroic struggle against the internal enemies, too, who have linked themselves and have collaborated with the external enemies, the imperialists and revisionists. They wanted and tried to put in another line opposed to that of the Party, a bourgeois and revisionist line in the field of the economy, culture and art, defence and foreign policy. The internal enemies, like the external enemies, have tried to liquidate our socialist order, to wrest from the people the gains of the revolution and together with them their freedom and independence, so that the Russian or the Serb, the American or the Italian could make the law here. Therefore, without liquidating the internal enemies not only the road would not have been opened for the major historic victories and successes we have achieved, but we would have turned backwards, the country would have become a vassal and the people slaves to the foreigners.

In the struggle to smash the plans and plots of the external and internal enemies, open or disguised, the decisive thing has been and remains the complete reliance on and support of the working masses, the steel unity of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, the youth and women, around the Party, the unbound love and unshakeable faith of our people in the Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The unity of the people around the Party is a guarantee for the present and the future. The continuous tempering of this fighting unity, which is reflected in thoughts and actions, a unity which is reflected in the common work and concern for advancing the cause of the socialist construction of the country, increasing production and developing culture, strengthening the defence of the Homeland, is a permanent task, the basic task with which the Party has charged the Democratic Front.

As the Party teaches us and practice has confirmed, the unity of the people is tempered and steeled in the course of the class struggle against the enemies of socialism and their ideology. This struggle, which affects all fields, must be waged constantly and consistently on the correct road with the active participation of the masses themselves.

The unity of our people is unbreakable, because at its basis lies Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant science of the revolution and of the construction of socialism. Assimilation and application of this science, the defence of its purity from the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the distortions of the revisionists, is absolutely indispensable for the successful construction of socialism, for guaranteeing our freedom, independence and sovereignty. Our Party and people, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, are at the same time making a valuable contribution to the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, to the compactness of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

The unity of the people has the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and the stratum of the people's intelligentsia at its foundation. These classes and strata have common fundamental interests, relations among them are characterized by the spirit of collaboration and mutual confidence. Socio-economic distinctions among them tend to disappear. The consolidation and strengthening of these objective developments and tendencies which stem from the advance of our society on the road of socialism, the continuous perfecting of its socio-economic relations and the conscious activity of the Party, constitute the decisive factor of the uninterrupted strengthening and tempering of unity.

The unity of the people is not only a unity on a general national scale, but also an effective unity in every organism and cell of our society, working collectives, state and social institutions, agricultural cooperatives, the schools and the family, too. This unity is the basis of the general unity. Therefore, the organizations of the Front work tirelessly to ensure that a healthy spirit of solidarity, friendship and understanding, of mutual cooperation and assistance prevails everywhere. They work patiently, tactfully and wisely in order to avoid quarrels and misunderstandings arising from different causes, as well as to solve people's problems in their everyday personal and social life.

A great role in strengthening the unity of the people is played by the struggle the Party and the Front wage for the emancipation of the Albanian

woman, so that she enjoys equal rights with man at work, in the family and in society, by the struggle against alien manifestations, against the moral norms of the old society and bourgeois-revisionist influences. This struggle frees the consciousness of people of leftovers from the past and closes all paths to their revival, opens the road for the implementation of the new norms and principles of communist morality, draws people together, strengthens their compactness and cohesion.

Comrades,

The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Front finds our people in the tide of a revolutionary enthusiasm and great drive at work for the fulfilment of the magnificent program laid down by the 8th Congress of the Party. Despite the difficulties which the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the impact of the world economic crisis create for us, the planned tasks for every sector are being carried out with success, indeed better than ever before. Commendable work has been done by the working people of industry and mines, who have achieved high results in all technical and economic indices of production. Our cooperativist peasantry has coped in a lofty patriotic spirit with the exceptional drought of this year and given the Homeland more agricultural and livestock products. The results achieved by many agricultural economies in the production of wheat, vegetables, milk, etc are really inspiring. Important achievements have also been made in the field of education and culture.

Our achievements in all fields assume an even greater importance if we bear in mind that they are being realized at a time when the capitalist-revisionist world is in the grip of a major economic crisis, the catastrophic consequences of which are weighing more and more heavily on the working people. Not only are such inhibiting and destructive phenomena completely alien to our country, but on the contrary, our economy is advancing and this growing development enabled a reduction of prices for a series of mass consumer commodities and public services. This, which occurs only in Albania, proves in an incontestable manner the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, the vitality of the teachings of triumphant Marxism-Leninism.

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists continue to make their calculations and juggle with figures on the incomes per capita in this or that country in whatever way they like. We say to them:



in our country there is no unemployment, in our country there are no taxes or exploitation, in our country the health service and education are free of charge, in our country two working days are sufficient to pay the rent, our state is in debt to no one, not only in the terms of millions or billions of dollars, but not even a single dollar or ruble, in our country there is no drug addiction or banditism, but only healthy and prosperous development of society, harmonious and stable economic development, we have a completely sovereign state, free and independent. These are our incomes per capita! The people have guaranteed these successes with their own struggle, toil and efforts, faithfully adhering to the course illuminated by the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The development of the economy, its growth and advance constitute the main front of the activity of the Party, the state, the mass organizations and all the working people. A strong economy constitutes the fundamental base for the freedom and independence of the country, the raising of the people's well-being and the progress of the entire society. The tasks facing us in this field are great and complex, and we all must be aware, politically and ideologically, of their complexity. We must always take account of the fact that the socialist construction of the country is based on our forces alone, that our economy has set out on a broad front, on the road of its intensive development, that the situations abroad, complicated and fraught with dangers as they are, compel us to be prepared and strong at all times.

The first thing that is required now is to raise people's consciousness to a new, higher level, so that they work with strict scientific discipline, high productivity, quality and effectivity.

Our economy is one and indivisible, it is all placed in the service of society and people. Every plant and factory that is built, every farm that is created, every school that is opened, is the fruit of the work of the entire people, the contribution of every citizen. Of course, they bring about the progress of the place where they are set up, but they also serve the development of the whole country, the well-being of all people. In our country all categories of wages are unified for the entire Republic, just as prices for commodities, which are unified for the entire country regardless of the place of production.

The development of the forces of production, education and culture, the setting up of a broad network of communications and various services is done in a harmonious manner. This development is more or less even and balanced among the different zones and regions of the country. The spirit of collectivism and solidarity among people, the feeling that one serves the advance of the Homeland everywhere — in town, in countryside, in the mountains, in the plains, that any kind of job, wherever it is, is honoured and socially useful, are developed on this basis. The criterium to gauge and estimate the work of each, to determine the place and the amount of contribution of each to the development and advance of the Homeland are the struggle and efforts of the worker and the cadre in his post of militant duty, at any level and in any field, for the successful implementation of the tasks set by the Party.

The involvement and mobilization for the carrying out of the program of the Party and the tasks of the state plan reflect and strengthen the socialist consciousness, patriotism and revolutionary spirit, the confidence in the line of the Party and the unity of the people around it.

The demanding tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, the perspectives of the development of the country require a high creative and innovative spirit at work everywhere, so that the new achievements of science and knowledge are assimilated and applied, and broad prospects are opened to the advanced experience and example, and the technical-scientific revolution is deepened and carried forward in every sector.

In order to improve quality or to lower costs in conformity with the demands of the present, in order to take high yields of wheat or maize, vegetables, milk, etc we must have scientific knowledge, have a better organization of work and production, apply modern agrotechnique and technology, place cooperation and specialization on well-studied bases.

The vigorous and all-round development of the country cannot be imagined without combating conservative concepts and artisan practices, bureaucratic routine and outdated forms of management and organization of production. The Democratic Front must constantly focus its attention on the important task Comrade Enver Hoxha laid down at the 8th Congress of the Party, namely, of creating in

every one a correct understanding of the need our society has for people with learning, with a broad cultural horizon and a high professional, technical and scientific level, of educating the working people to be exacting towards themselves, of implanting among the working people the sense of the progressive new, the innovative spirit, the eagerness and will to study and learn continuously.

The banner of the Front has always been a banner of lofty patriotism, of devotion to the Homeland, of the defence of the freedom and independence of the country. The Albanian people have, throughout their centuries-long history, distinguished themselves for their patriotic, freedom-loving and progressive spirit. They have shed torrents of blood, sacrificed themselves and consumed their energies to see their own country free, sovereign and prosperous. The best men of this country have also been the best of the patriots. These outstanding traditions and virtues the Party has raised higher, given them a new content, illuminated them with the Marxist-Leninist science, made them an indivisible part of the political and ideological consciousness of our people. Implementing the teachings of the Party, the Front has carried out a great work for the preservation and cultivation of the patriotic traditions of the people, for the education of the masses with feelings of respect for the Albanian history and culture, with love for this country and people, for everything which is created and done in socialist Albania under the leadership of the Party.

In our concepts, socialist patriotism is indivisible from proletarian internationalism, from the spirit of support for and solidarity with the workers and peoples who are fighting for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism. To support this just struggle of the peoples, to condemn the violation of the sovereign rights of nations and states by the imperialist and chauvinist powers, is an obligation devolving on every people and genuine revolutionary party which appreciate their own and other peoples' freedom and independence and which hate every kind of oppression, exploitation and injustice.

Today an entire campaign is being carried out world-wide by the American and Soviet imperialists, by the big bourgeoisie and the different opportunists to negate the national feelings of the peoples, proclaiming them as anachronistic, to disseminate the spirit of cosmopolitanism and subjugation

to foreigners. Their aim is to suppress the resistance to the expansionist and hegemonic policy of imperialism. At the same time they have intensified their efforts to ignore the class criterion in judgements of and stands towards the processes which are occurring in the world today and the different social and political forces which are operating on the international scene. In this way they aim at disseminating the capitulationist ideology of class conciliation, to perpetuate the capitalist enslavement. We must expose this campaign of efforts by the enemies of the peoples and socialism with unremitting severity.

This task becomes still more imperative because the situation in the world has become particularly acute and is fraught with new dangers and threats caused by the intensification of the aggressive policy of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers. As result of the world economic crisis, too, the inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalry, the fight among the big powers for markets and spheres of influence, for strategic positions and domination over other peoples, have become still more acute.

With the aim of preparing the terrain for the extension of their domination, apart from the cases of direct participation, as was the aggression of the Soviet Union against Afghanistan and the American intervention in the Middle East where the United States operates through Israel, the superpowers are openly inciting squabbles and conflicts between the peoples, and fann up as much as they can all those conflicts which erupt for different reasons, as is the case of Indochina, the Horn of Africa or the Iraq-Iran conflict. The reactionary regimes find their backing-up and support to suppress the struggles of the peoples for national and social liberation in the superpowers which provide them with arms and financial means.

The latest example of this policy of the imperialist powers is the barbarous aggression of Israel and its American patrons against Lebanon. Honest individuals and progressive opinion in the world have been deeply angered and indignant at this fresh criminal act of the Zionist aggressors, the support which the American imperialists give them and the conspiratorial and subversive stand of the Soviet social-imperialists. In complete solidarity with the Palestinian and other Arab peoples we express the conviction that, regardless of

the grave situation created, in the final account, their cause will triumph.

The recent Israel-American aggression has fanned the flames of war in the Middle East to new furies and has created a direct threat not only to the peoples of that zone but also to those of a broader area, such as the Mediterranean, North Africa, the Indian Ocean, etc. In this the superpowers have found an excuse to extend their intervention, to hatch up new plots and create new rivalries between them, to the detriment of the freedom and independence of the peoples and their sovereign interests.

All these situations, which by no means develop far from us, oblige us to sharpen our vigilance even more and work tirelessly for the all-round strengthening of the defence of the Homeland, its freedom and independence. The carrying out with conviction and a high sense of duty of the tasks the Party sets for the strengthening of the unity of the people, for the education of the masses in the spirit of patriotism, for the development of the economy and culture, for the physical tempering and the military training of the whole people, serve not only the further advance of the country and the raising of the well-being of the masses, but also the further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland, increase the guarantee that no enemy will ever be able to shake our socialist fortress.

The foreign policy of our Party and state which has always been a principled and consistent policy has always served the preservation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the defence of its lofty interests. Socialist Albania has always been and remains a staunch opponent of the policy of aggression of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has always powerfully condemned their criminal activity, their intervention and blackmail against the sovereign peoples and states.

The stand of our Party and state towards the superpowers has always been and remains clear-cut, without the slightest vacillation and always consistent. We have not, nor will we ever have any relations of whatever kind or nature with them. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have always been and remain the greatest enemies of our freedom and independence, they have al-

ways worked to liquidate socialism in our country and to place us under their yoke, to enslave us.

Therefore, both today, as in the future, the irreconcilable struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the opposition and exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy is a struggle for the defence of our freedom, independence and sovereignty, the most cherished victories of our National Liberation War and the people's revolution.

Our country has always supported the struggle the oppressed and exploited peoples have been waging for their national and social liberation, and all those who fight for democracy against fascism, for equality and justice in international relations. We do this as internationalists and as people who appreciate the right which all peoples have to be free and sovereign in their own country. We are conscious of the fact that every victory the peoples achieve in their struggle against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation serves the common cause of the whole of progressive mankind, the emancipation of the world and the strengthening of international peace and security.

With the exception of the imperialist superpowers and those states which are ruled by recognized fascist and racist regimes, our country has always been in favour of normal relations on the basis of equality, non-interference and mutual respect. In particular, it has directed its efforts to establishing relations of good neighbourliness with states around it and to developing cooperation with them in different fields of mutual interest. Normal relations with the neighbouring countries on the basis of friendship and rigorous respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference and equality, serve not only the interests of each country of the zone of the Balkans and the Adriatic, but also general peace and security.

We proceeded from these principles and desires when we rejected the anti-Albanian campaign mounted against Albania recently by the leaders of Belgrade, and when we condemned their chauvinist policy against our Albanian brothers of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia.

Just as the Democratic Front powerfully supports the foreign policy of our Party and state, it also fully supports their wise and principled stand towards the events in Kosova for the de-

fence of the undeniable rights of the Albanians living on their own territories in Yugoslavia.

The treatment the Yugoslav leadership makes the Albanians of Kosova is permeated by a savagely chauvinist spirit, which is becoming more extremist as time goes by. They are being deprived even of those few rights which the status of the autonomous province granted them. They are promulgating a series of laws, ordinances, decisions, etc to transform this province into an ordinary region of Serbia, in fact. Now the Belgrade chauvinists are doing their utmost to negate the history of the Albanians, to modify and distort their ethnic origin, to alter the colours and the symbols of the Albanian national flag, to denigrate the historic personalities of the Albanian nation, and even Skanderbeg. The Albanian language, culture and education have become the principal targets of the attacks of Great-Serb chauvinism and of reactionary Macedonian nationalism. The mass court trials which are being held in Kosova and the severe sentences which are passed are designed to break the popular resistance and, in particular, to terrorize the intelligentsia and intimidate the valiant and glorious youth of Kosova.

But the problems of Kosova cannot be solved by means of violence and terror. With the policy it implements and the acts it carries out in Kosova the Yugoslav leadership reveals that it is continuing to advance along a blind alley, which is extremely dangerous, gravely violating not only the rights and interests of the Albanians of Kosova, but of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. Slave of an anti-Albanian policy it continues to go against the reality and logic.

In the analysis of the events in Kosova which Comrade Enver Hoxha made at the 8th Congress of our Party, the correct evaluation and stand of our Party and country towards them was laid down in unequivocal terms. There the roads which could lead to a correct solution of the problems which have arisen in Kosova as a result of the chauvinist policy of the Great-Serbs, have been wisely and openly discussed.

The demand of the Albanian population for this province to be raised to the status of a Republic within the framework of the Federation, the unhindered development of national education and culture, the development of an economy which would liquidate the great inequality which divides

Kosova from the other Republics and regions, are totally correct and reasonable.

Comrades,

The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Front is commemorated in a festive atmosphere, on the eve of an important political event in the life of our country. The elections for deputies to the People's Assembly, the direct representatives of the people to the highest organ of our state power, will be held on the 14th of November this year.

The elections to the organs of state power have always been a vivid and concrete expression of socialist democracy, of the broad participation of the working masses in the running of the country, of the implementation of the constitutional principle that state power emanates from the working people and belongs to them.

Throughout its whole history the Democratic Front has struggled and worked for the establishment, strengthening and defence of the people's state power with which are linked the attainment of the freedom and independence, the great socio-economic transformations, the all-round progress of the Homeland, the new and happy life we are enjoying.

During the great action of elections, the organizations of the Democratic Front, under the leadership of the Party, in close collaboration with the other mass organizations, will step up their ideological activity with the working people and make their valuable contribution to the further strengthening and democratization of the people's power. Their tasks in this field are many and of great responsibility. They must better organize the rendering of account on the part of the state organs and the people elected or appointed to them, draw extensively the opinion of the masses about their activity so that our state power and its organisms be always revolutionary, fight with determination and in time anything that infringes, no matter how little, on the popular character of our state power, any manifestation of bureaucracy and liberalism which weakens it, any violation and formalism in the correct application of state laws regulating the relations of citizens and harmonizing their interests.

During the election campaign the organizations of the Front must devote special care to raising the political activity of the masses, so that they express their opinions openly and courageously. This will assist in enhancing the sense of responsi-



bility of the state organs further as well as in keeping the moral and political figure of the workers of the people's state power always pure.

Particular care and attention is required in choosing the candidates of the Democratic Front for deputies to the People's Assembly. As representatives of the people in the highest organ of the people's state power, they must be the best people and the most loyal to the cause of socialism, dedicated people who enjoy the trust and love of the masses, tireless advanced workers, people with a broad horizon and capable of carrying out the functions of the deputy with a high sense of responsibility, and of honourably justifying the great trust the people have placed in them.

The new elections will be a powerful manifestation of the unity of the people around the Party, of their political maturity, of their mobilization to implement the historic decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party and the tasks of the state plan. Our people will celebrate the elections for deputies to the People's Assembly, as they have done on every other marked event, with new successes and victories.

The objectives to be achieved through this major political action have been laid down in the Call addressed to the whole Albanian people and which will be adopted at this meeting.

The General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania is fully confident that our people united, as always, as one man around the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, this time, too, will all take part in elections and give all votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front. By voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front,



*The commemorative meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Front of Albania, was held in Tirana on September 15.*

*The meeting was attended by guests, veteran patriots, chairmen and secretaries of the councils of the Democratic Front in the districts, leading cadres of central mass organizations, various institutions and departments, etc.*

*The entrance into the hall of the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other Party and state leaders was greeted with stormy applause and ovation by those present.*

*Besides the members of the Presidency of the General Council of the Democratic Front, Comrades Haxhi Lleshi, Myslim Peza and Nexhmije Hoxha — participants in the Conference of Peza, also sat on the presidium of the meeting.*

they will vote for their present free and happy life and for their even more brilliant socialist future.

Dear comrades,

The road traversed by our people, under the leadership of the Party, from the Conference of Peza to date, is a road full of battles and efforts, successes and victories. But new battles await us and we must score new and ever greater, ever more glorious victories. Albania, with the Party at the head, is advancing confidently on the road which the Communist Party opened with its founding, on the road for which the Democratic Front fought and is fighting. Let these glorious traditions, the colossal experience gained over these forty years, become a powerful inspiration in the noble work of the Democratic Front for the tempering of the unity of the people and strengthening of their links with the Party, for the mobilization of the masses in the construction of the new life, for the education of the people in the spirit of patriotism and devotion to the socialist Homeland so as to make our beloved Albania a happy and prosperous country for its people and a good example in the world.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee and the dear and beloved leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the Democratic Front of Albania!

Long live the 40th anniversary of the historic Conference of Peza!

*Amid the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, declared the meeting open.*

*Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the floor to Comrade Ramiz Alia, vice-chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.*

*His speech was listened to attentively and often punctuated by enthusiastic ovation for our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.*

*After the General Council adopted unanimously the Call to the Albanian people on the occasion of the campaign of elections for deputies to the People's Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared the commemorative meeting closed.*

*In this atmosphere of jubilation Comrade Enver Hoxha had a cordial meeting with members of the General Council of the DFA and other participants of the meeting.*

# THE 8<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS OF THE OF AL

The 8th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania held its proceedings on October 4-6, 1982 in the Capital of the PSRA.

Stormy applause and cheers burst out from among the young men and women when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami and Prokop Murra mounted the tribune. There were moments of unforgettable joy. Cheers came from the hearts of those present for minutes on end: «Party, Enver — we shall always be ready!, «Party, our mother, your word — our deed!» Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted them with the clenched fist salute.

The heads of the foreign delegations that had come to attend the Congress on the invitation of the Central Committee of the LYUA, took their places on the tribune.

The secretary of the Youth Committee of the Patos-Marinëza Oil Region, engineer Pëllumb Hazizi, declared the Congress open.

The Congress was attended by 2,000 delegates elected from among the members of the Youth Union who have distinguished themselves as brave fighters in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Attending the Congress were also youth delegations from various countries of the world: Vietnam, Denmark, Ecuador, Germany, Canada, Spain, Portugal, Tanzania, Colombia, Peru, Britain, Togo, the Dominican Republic, France, Upper Volta, Sweden and Dahomey.

The Congress worked on this agenda:

1. — Report of the Central Committee of the LYUA «Let us further strengthen socialist convictions to increase the active participation of the youth in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.»

2. — Report of the Central Audit Commission

3. — Discussions

4. — Approval of the decisions and resolution of the Congress

5. — Elections to the central organs of the Labour Youth Union of Albania

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Lumturi Rexha, delivered the report «Let us further strengthen socialist convictions to increase the active participation of the youth in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland».

The report was attentively listened to and frequently punctuated by enthusiastic applause.

Comrade Simon Stefani, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, greeted the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

The message of greeting was received with loud cheers which often turned into ovations for our glorious Party of Labour and the beloved leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

A group of young pioneers and tenderfoots greeting the Congress added to the general enthusiasm. They entered the hall singing the song «Youth-youth» and wishing from the depth of their hearts as pure as the snows of Albania's mountains, «May your work turn out a success!»

Amid all this rejoicing and elation, some young pioneers went up to the tribune and tied their red tie around Comrade Enver Hoxha's neck. Then little Enkeleda Tole, a pupil of the first form of the «Martyrs of the Nation» 8-year school, presented him with a bunch of flowers.

Then began the discussion on the Report of the Central Committee of the LYUA, delivered by Comrade Lumturi Rexha.

One hundred and seventeen comrades contributed to the discussion in the plenary sessions.

Afterwards the delegates endorsed the decisions and the resolution of the Congress.

Later they passed on to the last point of the agenda: elections to the central organs of the LYUA. The new Central Committee of the LYUA, made up of 141 members and 30 candidate members, was unanimously elected. The new Central Audit Commission made up of 11 members was also elected.

Mehmet Elezi was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA.

Then were proclaimed the winners of the socialist competition.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Mehmet Elezi, delivered the closing speech.

The hall of the Congress resounded to the enthusiastic cheers, «Party-Enver — we are always ready!» The Congress is closed with the singing of the International.



# THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION OF ALBANIA

*Comrade ENVER HOXHA with the delegates of the Congress*



# GREETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY DELIVERED BY COMRADE

Dear comrades of the youth,

Your 8th Congress is an outstanding event not only for our heroic youth, but also for the Party and the entire people who are proud of the new generation of Socialist Albania which is growing healthy, courageous, revolutionary and progressive. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and of the beloved leader of our Party and people, the great teacher of the youth, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, I bring you, the delegates to the Congress, all the marvellous youth of our country, their ardent greetings and congratulations on everything heroic and noble the younger generation has done and is doing for the progress and prosperity of our Homeland.

In the chests of the young people of our country pure hearts beat for a great ideal — the ideal of socialism and communism. You are proudly marching in the footsteps of those glorious sons and daughters of that generation of the youth who on the call of the Party threw themselves with unexampled courage and bravery into the great Liberation struggle, performing unheard of feats of heroism and writing brilliant pages of our history.

The Labour Youth Union of Albania, the direct continuer of the organization of the Communist Youth, under the leadership of the Party, has honourably and with devotion fulfilled all the tasks it has been charged with and always stood in the forefront of the battle for the construction of socialism in the country. The lofty ideals of the Party and the people are the steel threads which have made the gigantic work of the youth of all generations one and indivisible.

The Party highly appreciates the great strength and outstanding contribution of the younger generation. In every sector the youth work and struggle we feel their pulse and dynamism, their creative

*SIMON STEFANI — member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party*

and innovative spirit. Great and inspiring works of great importance for the whole people, have been produced by their hands and minds. Their mass actions have embellished and strengthened the Homeland, they have built roads and railways, factories and plants, have cut hill slopes into terraces and made our fields even more fertile. In all its activities the Party has always had your youth organization as its right hand, as its loyal assistant and as the sound nursery for the replenishment of its ranks.

Our Party and people attentively follow your progress, your successes, they see with admiration and confidence the great steps you have taken in all fields. They rejoice at having such a fiery-hearted, work-loving youth endowed with revolutionary thinking and a broad culture, with pure feelings of patriotism, with a fighting and unshakeable spirit to go on the road of socialism. The Party and the people desire to have always such an Albanian youth.

Our youth will always respond with great deeds to every call of the Party. The young generation will always march with determination on its road.

Dear comrades,

The youth are a very valuable asset for the people and the Party. They are their own life and blood. A people which implants lofty virtues in its youth, which brings them up politically pure, ideologically healthy, physically strong, and well-trained, has an assured future, develops non-stop and goes always forward. Therefore, our Party, state and society will spare no efforts, toil or material means to raise the education of the youth with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the vivid revolutionary experience of the Party, with the freedom-loving and patriotic spirit of our people, to a higher level, to give them education and culture.

The Party has entrusted your organization — the Labour Youth Union of Albania, with the educa-



# RAL COMMITTEE

# E SIMON STEFANI



tion of the younger generation as its fundamental task, and this task it has accomplished with honour and a high sense of responsibility. It has worked and is tirelessly working to engrave the ideals of the Party in the minds and hearts of the young people, so that they live always with the socialist reality, defend the gains of the revolution, and carry them forward, ceaselessly strengthen the people's power, the whole socialist order which has ensured our peo-

ple and youth their free and democratic, happy and joyful life, and which opens great prospects of all-round development and advance to them.

Against this order have at all times been directed the attacks of all the enemies of socialist Albania, internal and external, open and disguised. They have tried to hit the Party and its correct line, to wrest from the people the gains they have achieved with so much struggle and so many sacrifices, to turn them back to the dark past, to put

the country under the rule of the foreigners. However, the plans and plots of the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, or the Yugoslav Titoites and their agents within the country, have always been and will be reduced to dust and ashes because Albania is led by an eagle-eyed Party which puts nothing above the interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism, because here a whole people works and vigilates with the pick and the rifle in the hands, united like one body around the Party, because our country has such a youth that are ready to rise and throw themselves, as one man, into fire at the first call of the Party.

Now, after the historic 8th Congress of the Party, you young men and women, together with the working class and all the other people, have thrown yourselves with fresh vigour into the struggle for the realization of the majestic tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan. Your achievements hitherto are inspiring, but the tasks that lie ahead of you are great. Our people, especially the youth who constitute the most active force of the people, are called on today to further develop the brilliant tradition of mass actions, to work with a high sense of responsibility, strong discipline, perfect organization and revolutionary drive. Let the creative and inexhaustible energies of the youth burst out everywhere to give the Homeland more steel, more oil, more minerals, more broad consumer goods, more agricultural and livestock products. The stronger our economy the more powerful our Homeland, the more the independence of the country is strengthened, the more the well-being of the people is raised and the better the demands and interests of the youth are fulfilled.

The socialist construction of the country today lays down ever increasing tasks and demands, dictates the needs for the further raising of the educational and cultural level, of the professional-technical and scientific training of our people. If this is a demand of the time for all the people, this is the more urgent for the youth, because the new generations will live and work in a period more advanced than ours, a period which will distinguish itself for its higher and more complex development of the productive forces, for a richer material and spiritual culture, for a greater technical and scientific progress.

The Party is fully confident that our youth,

who are building their happy future with their own hands, will always struggle for their own political and cultural advance, will eagerly learn at school and from life and will courageously climb the heights of science and technology. As up till this day from the ranks of the youth will emerge ever more gifted workers and distinguished cooperativists, capable cadres and specialists, dedicated scientists, merited writers and artists, who will carry the deed of socialism and the glory of the Homeland still higher.

Great are the possibilities which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has created for the youth to acquire a broad and all-sided culture. The youth have at their disposal various types of schools, literature and art, publishing houses and cultural and sports institutions, the press, the radio-television, cinematography, etc. Raising the quality of work in all these activities will ever better comply with the desire of the youth for a richer spiritual life and more cultured recreation and rest.

Socialist Albania advances and rises relying on the energies of its own people and the wealth of its own land without debts and credits from abroad. While the whole capitalist-revisionist world is caught in the death grip of a great and all-round crisis, for the youth and our entire people the present is certain and the future is brilliant.

Comrades,

You have come to this Congress full of enthusiasm and vitality, determined to carry the work of your organizations further ahead in all directions. With your clear thinking, with your wise word, you will inspire the whole youth and raise the work of its organization to a higher level.

Let the voice of the 8th Congress of the Youth resound throughout Albania. Let the revolutionary drive, mobilization, and action of the youth to make our beloved Homeland stronger, richer and more advanced, burst out everywhere.

Long live our heroic youth and their militant organization — the Labour Youth Union of Albania!

Long live our Party of Labour, the educator and teacher of the younger generation!

May the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, live as long as our high mountains!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

# REPORT DELIVERED BY COMRADE LUMTURI REXHA

*(Summary)*

Dear comrades,

Our younger generation and its militant half-million strong organization of the LYUA come to their 8th Congress in unbreakable unity with the Party and the people, proud of the victories they have achieved and determined to undertake new tasks. From the depth of their young hearts, they express their deepest love and boundless gratitude for the happy life they are leading now and their unbreakable confidence in their even more brilliant future to our dear mother — the glorious Party of Labour, and to our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party has always opened up broad prospects for us and aroused our ever new enthusiasm. Its 8th historic Congress, however, made us look further ahead, to the guaranteed beautiful future, it made us even stronger and increased our energies, enlightened our minds and aroused our hearts for harder work and greater deeds for the good of the people and the Homeland. The report which Comrade Enver Hoxha held at the Congress is a great program of work for the LYUA, too, a program in which the younger generation sees its aspirations and brilliant prospects.

The youth of our country come to their Congress proud of the revolutionary readiness they have displayed on all fronts of work and struggle the Party has called them to. The contribution of the youth is seen throughout the Homeland — in power projects, in irrigation and land improvement schemes, in metallurgy, in building construction and mining, in agriculture and livestock breeding. They have displayed their alertness, revolutionary drive and fighting spirit wherever they have worked. The Albanian

youth are happy because they live in the most advanced society in the world. They are brought up with lofty ideals and unshakeable confidence in their own forces, endowed with pure moral-political features, and a broad cultural horizon and scientific knowledge, and with internationalist feelings which make them unflinching fighters for the cause of the revolution.

United like a man around the Party and under its leadership, our younger generation has further tempered itself in the struggle against the wall of the vigilance of our Marxist-Leninist Party, against the steel fortress of the Party-people unity.

Comrades,

Led by the teachings of the Party, the Labour Youth Union of Albania has carried out all-round and active work for the education of the younger generation with communist ideals to prepare it as its militant reserve.

This education assumes still greater significance in the present conditions. We are faced with the major tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan, the fulfilment of which calls for greater mobilization at work, for higher rates of progress, for more capable and better educated people, and above all, better tempered politically and ideologically, more aware of their role in socialist society. Our country is building and defending socialism in conditions of encirclement and blockade, in fierce struggle with the internal and external imperialist and revisionist enemies. The bourgeoisie and revisionist ideologists today have launched a furious campaign against socialism to confuse people, to paralyze the revolutionary forces and to sow the seeds of doubt and insecurity about the socialist future of mankind.

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LUMTURI REXHA — *First Secretary of the CC of the LYUA*

In these circumstances, the ceaseless intensification and improvement of the educative work with the youth becomes even more necessary. The basic tasks of the LYUA in training the youth to find their bearings in any situation, to unhesitatingly overcome any difficulty and obstacle, to always keep the revolutionary vigilance against all enemies, at a high level, to face up to the ideological pressure from abroad and to courageously march forward on the road of socialism, call for uplifting the political and ideological consciousness of the younger generation, increasing its moral resistance and strengthening its convictions about the indisputable superiority of the socialist order.

With its 40-year long experience, the LYUA has all the possibilities to carry out an ever more fruitful educational work. All our young people have gone through school and have a broad cultural horizon. They have consciously embraced the line of the Party, Marxism-Leninism, which is our ruling ideology, they live and are educated in the vivid reality of our socialist society, where the people and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with which they are linked like flesh to bone, are in power.

The youth see with their own eyes that socialism is the order which liberates people from oppression and exploitation, which gives power to the people and creates genuine well-being and democracy for them, which liberates them spiritually and develops their personality and their sentiments of human dignity. Our socialist order guarantees the youth all rights and ensures the material conditions for them to enjoy them in practice, guarantees them employment and education, active participation in all fields of life and unlimited possibilities of creativeness. It does not know what hunger and poverty are, it has never felt the weight of political and economic dependence on imperialism or any foreign country, the heavy burden of illiteracy and ignorance, unemployment and uncertainty for the future, it knows none of these grave ulcers from which the broad masses of the youth in the world, even those of the more developed capitalist and revisionist countries, are suffering.

That is why our youth are closely linked with the Party and the people's power, with Marxism-Leninism, that is why they are deeply convinced of the superiority of socialism over any other order, that is why they have shed their blood and sweat for socialism, have devoted their lives and hearts to it and are unflinching fighters for the great cause of the revolution.

Underlying the foundations of the socialist convictions is Marxism-Leninism which has always illuminated the road of the historic victories of the Party of the working class, which is the revolutionary banner that our Party of Labour has always kept aloft unsullied, the unerring compass leading our country on the road of the most advanced society — socialism and communism, for which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought so hard.

The fundamental tasks facing the organization of the LYUA is that it should work to raise the ideo-political level of the youth, because this is a primary condition for their education with deep rooted socialist convictions. The youth have at their disposal a wealth of political literature: the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of our Party, the series of Works, Reports and Speeches, and Memoirs of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the materials of the 8th Congress of the Party. They study them not as an aim in itself but in order to master them, to link them closely with life, to use them in their confrontation with and struggle against our ideological opponents, anti-communist theories and viewpoints; they study these works in organized forms at schools, individually, or in other forms. The participation of all young men and women in the study of Marxism-Leninism has become a characteristic feature of our youth.

The great work which has been done for the education of youth and the all-round care shown for them have resulted in the youth of our country becoming an active great force amongst the working masses. They fight to affirm everything new and socialist, to inculcate in people sound concepts about work and social property, behaviour in society and in the family, to develop correct concepts on friendship, love and marriage. On the other hand, the youth actively oppose the bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure and step up their struggle against the liberal and conservative manifestations combating everything alien which is opposed to the proletarian ideology and morality, which harms our unity and serves the aims of the enemies who do not give up their attempts to bring about the degeneration of the youth of our country, as they have done in the revisionist countries.

«The water may sleep, the enemy does not,» is a saying of our people. Therefore, this is a continuous struggle which calls on us to increase more than ever our revolutionary vigilance and courage, to strengthen sound pu-



blic opinion everywhere, and to be irreconcilable to anything which is not in the interest of the Party and the people.

**The work for the construction of socialism** has been and remains the greatest school for the education and revolutionary tempering of the youth. The LYUA has always adhered to this directive on communist education because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the formation of the new man is inconceivable outside work. Actively taking part in work, inspired by revolutionary motives and furthering the interests of the advance of the country, the youth are shedding their sweat on all fronts of production, being in the forefront of the major sectors of industry and agriculture, in the construction of the big projects of the five-year plan, in the nation-wide mass actions and wherever work is going on.

The 8th Congress of the Party laid down the task that there should be a broader and more active participation of the large masses of the people and the youth in the socialist construction for the achievement of all the targets of the 7th Five-year Plan. This is the first five-year plan which is carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. It has higher rates of growth and greater tasks and targets than any other previous plan. The volume of social production and investments is larger than that realized over the first four five-year plans taken together, and the volume of exports is even larger. About 750 important economic, social and cultural projects will be built during this period, the continuous raising of the well-being of the people will be guaranteed and carried further ahead, their purchasing power and real income will increase, housing conditions will be improved and all the new active forces will be employed.

The youth organizations should clearly explain to the young men and women the main features of this majestic plan and the qualitative demands of our development and the economic laws of socialism. It is especially important for the youth to understand that their tasks do not consist only in fulfilling norms and working days, but, first of all, in raising the level of advanced technique and technology applied in our economy, in achieving high productivity rates and higher quality, with the greatest profitability and effectivity possible in all work processes. It is in the fulfilment of these tasks that the youth also see the realization of their aspirations for a better life, for

their cultural development and their all-round formation as revolutionaries.

The role of the youth in the fulfilment of the plan is great not only because they make up 40 per cent of the working class and 50 per cent of the cooperativist peasantry, but also because among them there are inexhaustible reserves, creative energies and the capacities of the country. The worker youth should raise their sense of responsibility in production and, as always, be in the forefront to embrace and apply the progressive new so that their revolutionary spirit, the spirit of the class, is communicated to all the youth and all our organization.

**The voluntary mass actions** are a vivid reflection of the active participation of the younger generation in the socialist construction of the country. The beautiful tradition of mass actions has been enriched in these last five years with the construction of two new railways — the Prrrenjas-Guri i Kuq and Laç-Shkodra railways, with the extension of terraces which have embellished our coast further, and with the many local actions which have been carried out in the districts. In this way, the youth build major economic projects, but what is more important, they are educated with correct concepts on work, in the spirit of collectivism and in struggle against difficulties. Expressing the readiness and ardent spirit of the younger generation, from the rostrum of this Congress we promise the Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, that we will successfully complete the construction of the Fier-Vlora and Shkodra-Han i Hotit railways, that we will continue our work for terracing the hills of Lukova and Ksamil and that we will keep the spirit of mass actions, revolutionary actions and communist work aflame in the hearts of the youth and in the entire activity of their organization.

Broad prospects have been opened in our country for **the development of science and technology** and great progress has been made in this direction. This is an important sphere for the creative activity of the youth who have their competent say on various important problems and make a valuable contribution to this development as those mainly involved in the technical-scientific revolution. The creative thought and practical activity of the youth are present in the designing and construction of the complex projects of five-year plans, in the introduction



and application of modern technique and technology, in the all-round development of our socialist economy.

However, the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields lays down other major and concrete tasks for the worker and cooperativist youth as well as for the young specialists. The 8th Congress of the Party instructed that this revolution must bring about improvements and transformations on a large scale, must result in radical transformations to the benefit of production both in technique and technology. The tasks for achieving high productivity at work, for the construction of complex machinery, for the building of new factories and production lines, for making inventions and innovations, must be seen in relation to the prospects opened up by the technical-scientific progress and be firmly based on the vigour and creative thought of the youth.

Science must be introduced everywhere, because its laws apply everywhere, too. The youth must become aware of the advantages of science and apply it, become masters of their professions in every sector of production and close-

ly link their mass participation in the technical-scientific revolution with the raising of the level of their professional qualification. The youth organizations should pay more attention to this task and explain to the youth that the advance of our country, in the present stage of development of the economy and with new requirements of the socialist construction, calls for more knowledge and culture. All the material possibilities and the educational and cultural conditions exist for the youth to master science thoroughly, to develop it further, to cultivate among themselves the passion for it, persistently raising the level of their technical qualification, ever better mastering their profession and the technical means and knowhow that has been entrusted to them.

**Socialism has created all the possibilities for the youth to acquire education and culture free of charge,** to develop their talents in all fields, to be formed ideologically and professionally, and guarantees their employment after graduation. Quite the opposite is the case with the bourgeois-revisionist countries where millions of young

people hopelessly roam the streets and where university graduates either increase the numbers of the big army of the unemployed or are assigned to unqualified jobs. The school in these countries is a weapon in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie.

In our country, the young acquire education and culture in order to put all their energies in the service of the interests of socialism, of the strengthening of the economy, the development of science and technology and the enhancement of the defence potential of the country. It is precisely these motives that prompt our young intelligentsia upon graduation to go, out of their own will, to the remotest regions of the country and take knowledge, socialist art and culture there, too.

The present great requirements for further raising the scientific level, for a higher quality of teaching and educative work and for orientating the school towards major tasks of socialist construction, are another reflection of the great attention the Party pays to the education and endowment of the younger generation with modern knowledge and culture. It is up to our organization to carry out greater work to explain things to the youth and mobilize them to get acquainted with and fulfil their tasks better, so that they are completely clear about the great aim of learning which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, enriches the personality of man and provides him with a powerful weapon to be properly used for the benefit of the people and the Homeland.

The vigorous development of socialist literature, art and culture in our country exerts great influence on the communist education of the younger generation. The interest of the youth in them has greatly increased; they are inspired by them for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

The younger generation today has greater demands for a high level of the works which deal with the theme of socialist construction, for beautiful poems and music devoted to our new life, for the critical opinion which will help it better understand the works of art and advance unerringly on the beautiful road of artistic creativeness, for gay and healthy humour, for a higher quality and variety of TV broadcasts, for more publications for children, for more translations from the works of the great progressive writers of world literature and art. Our militant writers and artists, who have created and are creating outstanding works, will undoubtedly assess and meet properly the desires of the younger generation, by reflecting the magni-

ficent deed of socialism, the life of the people and our youth more completely.

The young men and women and the young pioneers constitute an active force in the uninterrupted development and progress of art and culture. Hundreds of talents who contribute to them with their worthy works, adding freshness and vividness to our literature and painting, our music, theatre and film, have been trained and have emerged from their ranks. The concern for the ideological and political education and professional training of the young talents is linked with the future of our literature and art of socialist realism; therefore, it requires the special attention of the youth organizations and the League of the Writers and Artists of Albania.

**Physical culture and sports activities** of the youth have made their life richer and more interesting. They have always served not only the education and physical training of the younger generations and their thorough-going preparation for work and the defence of the Homeland, but have also met the demands and desires proper for their age. The Party has created possibilities and conditions for the younger generations to go in for sports and attain high results.

The cultural, artistic, sports and other activities serve the youth to spend their free time in an active manner, to be educated and find recreation, to revive their energies in order to put them again in the service of work and life. The committees and organizations of the youth should pay greater attention to the free time so that the youth correctly understand its advantages and know how to use it collectively and individually. In cooperation with the respective institutions, the committees and organizations the youth should constantly organize various interesting activities after work and school and draw as many young people as possible.

The Labour Youth Union of Albania has carried out an all-round work for the education of the younger generation in the spirit of socialist patriotism. This education becomes more indispensable at the present time when a whole aggressive and chauvinist ideology aims to wipe out nations, propagates cosmopolitanism and negation of the Homeland, underrates and ignores national traditions, language, customs and cultural values of the peoples. Our youth do not reconcile themselves with, repudiate and consistently combat this hostile ideology, they preserve as something dear and develop the patriotic traditions and

the national values of the past and those created in socialism.

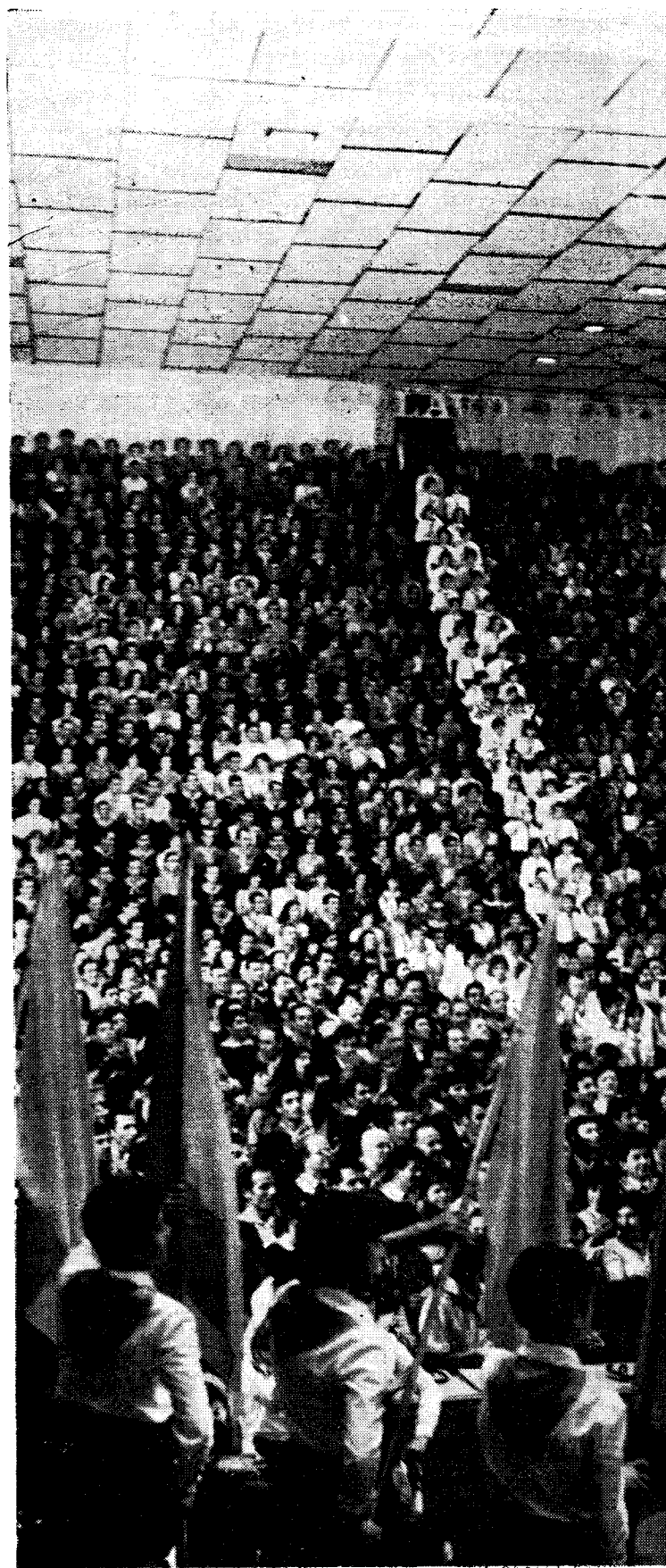
Educated with the teachings of the Party, the youth of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and their organization keep the spirit of proletarian internationalism high and sympathize with the struggle which the revolutionary and progressive youth the world over is waging against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and all the reactionary forces, for national freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress.

The LYUA highly appreciates the backing up and active support of the Marxist-Leninist organizations and revolutionary and progressive forces of the youth of numerous countries of the world for our country with which it has friendly relations. Their solidarity with Albania, with the struggle and work of our people and youth, has been and remains an encouragement and inspiration for us in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The youth powerfully support the open and principled Marxist-Leninist foreign policy of our Party and state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, once again expressed as clearly as the light of the sun by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party. This policy is characterized by a lofty revolutionary and internationalist spirit and serves both the construction of socialism and the defence of the freedom and independence of our country, and the cause of the revolution, the peoples' liberation and world peace. Our youth firmly oppose the aggressive policy of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, which threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and security in the world.

With profound anger and indignation we condemn the criminal aggression of the Israeli zionists against Lebanon and the Palestinian population. This is another horrible and revolting tragedy perpetrated not only against Lebanon and the Palestinians, but also against all the Arab peoples, a tragedy which shows that the zionists want to liquidate the Palestinian people, to defeat their just cause and to force the Arab peoples to their knees, at all costs and through fascist-like methods.

The recent atrocities perpetrated in West Beirut have aroused world-wide indignation and hatred against the Israeli aggressors. Behind this monstrous act of genocide is the hand of the American imperialists on whose in-







citement, aid and permission all the Israeli aggressions against the Arab peoples have been initiated and carried out. The intrigues and plots hatched up by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Arab reactionary forces make the grave situation in the Middle East still more tragic.

The youth of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania unreservedly support the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples and express their conviction that their just cause will triumph. The indignation of the fraternal Arab peoples, the heroic martyred Palestinian people, will surely explode and their vengeance will severely condemn the enemies some day.

The LYUA is in complete solidarity with the analysis of the events in Kosova which Comrade Enver Hoxha made at the 8th Congress. It explains with objective clarity the real causes of the tragic situation which was created in Kosova and shows the right road for the solution of the problems the Great-Serb chauvinists have created.

We, the youth of socialist Albania, are extremely indignant and revolted at the savage violence, the barbarous persecutions carried out against our brothers and sisters in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. In order to make them shut their mouths and force them to renounce their just and legitimate demands, the Serb police, army and administration are imprisoning thousands of young men and women, sentencing them at special trials and resorting to mass terror against them.

We indignantly condemn the grave offence of the national feelings of the Albanian youth in Yugoslavia, the numerous obstacles raised to prevent them from attending school in their mother tongue and cultivating Albanian art and culture freely. We raise the voice of protest against the persecution of the outstanding people of the Albanian intelligentsia, the teachers and professors, writers and scientists, the journalists and renowned artists, against all those who come out in defence of the national and democratic rights of the Kosova people.

The youth of our country are well aware of the great suppression and suffering to which our brothers and sisters of Kosova have been put today, because they have experienced them themselves at the time of fascism. However, the Albanian youth did not submit to violence and terror, they fought with bravery and self-denial and came out victorious over the enemies.

We are fully confident that there is no force to curb

the brave youth of Kosova, there is no force to quell their lofty patriotic spirit.

The world today is characterized by turbulent situations fraught with local and general wars, the deep and all-round economic and political crisis, by the unprecedented aggressiveness and unrestrained armaments race between the two superpowers and their military blocs. Aware of these situations and the numerous dangers they present to our country as the only socialist country, the youth, like our entire people, intensively prepare themselves for the defence of the Homeland so that we are never caught by surprise. As the main force in the structure of defence, side by side with the entire armed people, they will increase their efforts to thoroughly understand and better implement the directive of the Party, «The defence of the Homeland is a duty above all duties,» and to integrate, in a more natural manner, the problems of physical and military training with its entire life and activity.

The intrepid youth, incorporated in the armed forces, are vigilant day and night in defence of the sacred borders of our socialist Homeland, in trenches and firing posts, ready to counter any eventual attempt on the part of our enemies.

In the period between the two congresses the LYUA has gained more experience of struggle and work, has become more powerful and greater in numbers and growing dearer to the younger generation. From its 7th Congress our organization has increased its ranks with 130 thousand young men and women. Today 500 thousand Youth Union members militate in 19 thousand basic organizations, a fact which clearly speaks of its greater possibilities to organize, mobilize and educate the broad mass of the youth.

In the ranks of the youth organization are tempered, educated and moulded young men and women with communist features and qualities, who fill the ranks of the Party with their young and pure blood. Thousands of boys and girls who have distinguished themselves on the most important fronts of production, have justified through their work and toil the great evaluation and the confidence placed in them to militate as revolutionaries in the ranks of our glorious Party. We report to the Congress with satisfaction that about 60 per cent of those admitted to the ranks of the Party in these last five years come from the ranks of the youth organization.

Addressing the youth organization at the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha recommended: «The tasks confronting the younger generation make it necessary to strengthen and enliven the youth organization, so that its activity to educate, organize and mobilize is raised to a higher level, manifestations of liberalism, sectarianism and formalism are combated, and it employs in its work the most varied and interesting forms which respond to the level of the growing demands of the young men and women...» Viewing the work in the light of these tasks and relying on the best experience, we should fight to overcome those weaknesses and shortcomings which are observed in the life of some organizations, such as uniformity, schematism, officialdom, narrow conception of the work with the youth, etc. The basic organizations should understand and properly assess the ever growing spiritual and mental development of the young and completely link their activity with the desires and interests of each age-

group and category. This important current task should attract the attention of the Central Committee, the committees and organizations of the youth in districts and at the base.

The Party has entrusted us with the beautiful responsible task to lead **the young pioneers' organization** and the education of its members. They constitute the future army of the youth organization for the tempering of which we should think and work seriously.

The activity of the LYUA has been and will be a revolutionary activity, because it is inspired, orientated and led by the line, the ideology and policy of the Party, by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Aware of the decisive importance of the leadership of the Party for the fates of the people, for the present and the future, the youth and their organization will increase their efforts to master the line and ideology of the Party profoundly, to defend them loyally and implement them resolutely.

# WE SHOULD CEASELESSLY THE PARTY AND, WITH IT CARRY OUT ALL THE TASKS FOR THE FURTHER FLOURISHING OF OUR SOCIALIST HOME

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

*(Conversation of Comrade ENVER HOXHA with  
important Party and state cadres of the Korça*

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, had, at Drilon of Pogradec, a cordial conversation with some important cadres of the party, state and economic organs of the Korça and Pogradec districts.

After they took their places in one of the recesses of this very beautiful tourist resort of our country, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed himself to the comrades present by expressing his pleasure at meeting them. «I was looking forward,» he told them, «to an exchange of opinions about the state of affairs in the Korça and Pogradec districts, about their perspectives of development.

«Today we all are the guests of the comrades of Pogradec, though I am here on holidays for some weeks now. After the great work we had to do before and after the 8th Congress of the Party, the comrades advised me to take a period of rest. For this I chose the town of Pogradec as one of the healthiest and most beautiful places of our country. I am taking my rest happy and, at the same time, sure that the comrades of the Party and state, both at the centre and in the districts, are competently carrying out their tasks and, together with the working masses of the country, doing good work for the successful fulfilment of the plans. Drilon, as you see, is a very pleasant place just as the whole area surrounding the town of Pogradec. And it will become even more beautiful in the future.»

«Comrade Enver,» said Comrade Stili Kaskaviqi, first secretary of the Party Committee for the Pogradec district, «we are working to put into practice your instructions about extending our tourist resorts and embellishing them,

especially the part of the shore where the beach lies, as well as the whole of our town. Particular attention is being paid to the planting of flowers. Our town will become ever more beautiful, as you say.

«...Thousands of workers, employees, cadres and citizens from other districts, as well as young pioneers from all over the country, come to the rest homes here to spend their holidays, to regenerate their forces and gain fresh energies for work. Pogradec and its beautiful surroundings, as one of the comrades attending this conversation said, has become a favourite place with those who come here for their honey-moon.»

...As the conversation gets well under way, the sky, slightly clouded, grows darker and a fresh wind begins to blow through the leaves and branches of the weeping willows. An occasional drop of rain splatters here and there. The comrades are worried lest these few drops turn into a real rain and they are obliged to continue their conversation with Comrade Enver Hoxha inside.

«If it would rain!» Comrade Enver Hoxha says. «Let the rain come, because, as our people say, in these days of drought, a drop of rain is worth its weight in gold. It seems you have brought the rain along with you.

«The drought in some neighbouring countries has become a great calamity with heavy, if not altogether catastrophic, consequences for their agriculture and livestock. This drought has affected our country, too, but we do not suffer its negative effects and consequences in the same degree as the others do. On the contrary, we are entitled to say that we have successfully coped with this exceptional drought. The different districts one after the



# Y STRENGTHEN AT THE HEAD, KS RISHING LAND

*some  
and Pogradec districts)*

other, are informing the Party that they are successfully accomplishing the tasks, fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets planned for the yield of wheat and other products of the season and that the other crops promise to be good.

«How did this happen?

«This happened because the Party provided on time against such occurrences. It took measures for the building of big and small reservoirs all over the country, made colossal investments for the setting up of a broad irrigation network for the systematization of the land, etc without which the drought would have wrought havoc in our country, too, as it did in the past.

«Of course, in the future, too,» Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, «we must think about increasing the irrigation capacity of all the districts of our country and work to achieve this. The Party has set the relative organs well-defined tasks for channelling and harnessing all the big and small streams of the country and putting them in the service of the economy for two purposes: to produce still more electric power and to further increase the irrigation capacity of the country, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas.» In this matter Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the need for fighting against some obsolete opinions which are still encountered among some people who say, 'there is no need to collect all the waters', and excuse themselves by saying, 'we'd have to make investments in digging canals and buying irrigation pipes,' and other such things. «Of course, great investments will be needed, and pipes and other things, too, but the profitability of all this work must be reckoned with. In the first

place, the plentiful waters of our streams and rivers, which are a gift of the mountainous nature of our country, must not be allowed to flow into the sea without making full use of them as a source of energy and a life-giving nutrition for plants. This question must be studied in regard to the present and perspective needs of the country and solved according to a plan.

«I don't know what you think,» Comrade Enver Hoxha addresses himself to the comrades present, «but it seems to me that in your districts many such possibilities lie unexploited. Could you comrades from Korça tell me something about your opinion on the possibilities exploiting the waters of the Gjanç reservoir and the other projects for the generation of electric power as well?»

The first secretary of the Party Committee for the Korça district, Enver Halili, said that such possibilities exist and that studies had also been made for the utilization of the waters of the Gjanç reservoir to set in motion an electric turbine of a capacity of 2,500 kW. Elaborating this idea, he said that the waters of the Gjanç reservoir that are used for the irrigation of the Korça plain, have a head level of about 120 metres at the Uji i Bardhë village. There a small hydro-power station could be set up which, in the period of extreme drought, could be used to set in motion the irrigation installations in the Korça plain, at a cost lower than the present.»

«We in our district, too, have places like Gjanç,» said the first secretary of the Party Committee for the Pogradec district. «Such is a place called Çezma where the natural flow of water could be used for both irrigation and the production of electric power.»

«What we have done and are doing for the utilization of our water resources,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is extremely important and useful. The enemies denigrate our people's power and try to minimize our very great achievements, but they are forced to admit that Albania has correctly assessed the importance of its water resources and utilized them well. Albania is full of hydro-power stations, they say, and this, comrades, is a great reality. So, let us go further ahead, bearing in mind the saying of our people, 'Stone upon stone makes a wall.' We must engage ourselves extensively not only in the construction of big hydro-power stations, but also of smaller ones. Of course, everything must be done after concrete scientific studies and according to plan. Take the Prespa Lake, for instance, the hydro-technical reserves of which we must assess.»

«In the winter period,» Comrade Enver Halili says, «we turn some dozens of millions of cubic metres of water of the Devoll River into the Small Prespa and, in the summer period, we utilize about 50 million cubic metres of these waters for irrigation through the Ventrök canal. These waters can be used for generating electricity, too.»

Comrade Dhimitër Petro, chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district, breaks into the conversation and stresses that the suggested Gjanç hydro-power station will have a capacity of 2,500 kW, which is sufficient to set in motion irrigation devices in the form of rain for 7,000 hectares of land. Later, however, by increasing the amount of water flowing into the reservoir a turbine of 4,000 kW may be set in motion. He elaborates on the profitability of using irrigation installations running on electricity as against those on oil, which has been experimented in the Maliq state farm. Comrade Dhimitër Petro also spoke about the possibility of increasing the water collecting capacity of the Gjanç reservoir by another 3 million cubic metres of water which would increase the frequency of irrigations from two to three, as well as about the possibility of using the water power flowing in steep grounds to set in motion irrigation devices in the form of rain dispensing with moto power. As an example for this he mentioned the two canals of the Gjanç waters, one running to Drenova and the other to Polena. «This area,» says he, «will be irrigated by irrigation devices in the form of rain running on the power produced through the fall of water.»

Speaking about the need for irrigation, Comrade Dhimitër Petro said that the irrigation of wheat had become absolutely necessary, because very high yields from new strains of wheat were inconceivable without irrigation. Then he added that this year in the Korça district attention had been paid to the irrigation of the land in the mountainous area, because the drought had been severe there, too.

...As the conversation gets animated, the participants in it express their opinions not only about matters of the

day and time preoccupying them, but also about the studies that have been made, and the perspective of development of the different branches of the economy in their districts. The talk turns into a very useful working meeting.

«I've seen on television and read in the newspapers,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «praiseworthy things about your districts, your results and achievements. All this is good news, we are glad to hear them and I thank you and through you all the steel-willed heroic working people of your districts. Today, however, I would like to know a little more and in greater detail than that. For example, I heard that a brigade of the Maliq state farm has taken in 117 quintals of wheat per hectare. This astonished me and I was afraid I didn't get it right. So I followed the next television program on it and found I was not mistaken. I saw the wheat plants reaching as high as the hips and the combine cutting its way through them with difficulty. This is a wonder of the magnificent work of our people. This achievement is truly praiseworthy and it should be generalized. So, can you tell me something more about how is it that your state farm takes in so high yields? As well as that I would like the chairman of the higher-type cooperative of Plasa to tell me something about their achievements this year and about the question of spreading their advanced experience. Is this experience being applied in the other cooperatives of your district and of the whole country?»

Replying to Comrade Enver Hoxha's question with concrete figures and data, the director of the Maliq state farm, Comrade Ligor Visi, stressed the great leading role of the party organization, the rational way it activates the various specialists of agriculture and animal husbandry, and the presence of the communists in the forefront of all work and mass actions, etc. He also spoke about the great usefulness of the two agricultural schools attached to the state farm, about its high yields of wheat, potatoes, sugar-beet and about the good management of livestock.

«You, Comrade Ligor, are right about the great role of the party organization,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «The fact that we have such a strong Party closely linked with the masses proves its correct Marxist-Leninist line, a line which is worked out by the congresses of the Party and by its Central Committee. In this line, which has ensured us the victories we are talking about today, is mapped out the road of development of our country, including both industry and agriculture. Precisely for this the enemies have tried and are still trying to wreck us, to distort this line, but they have never succeeded in their attempts, nor will they succeed in the future, because this line, as you yourself stressed, has always been and is an expression of the very aspirations of our people, of the working class and masses which, with the communists

at the head, have thrown and are throwing themselves into revolutionary actions with a high sense of duty in order to carry out the tasks of the plan in these and all other fields. Therefore, in our country all plans, without mentioning those of industry which have constantly been implemented and have not worried us too much, but also those of agriculture, despite the severe drought or irregular rainfall, are being realized satisfactorily. All this is the result of the correct line of the Party, of its teachings and of the concrete work of the party organizations, as well as of the party and non-party cadres and the various specialists, and of the working masses themselves.»

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha asked for more detailed information about the state of reamelioration of the Maliq plain, about the problem of the digest and the useful content of sugar-beet, as well as about the studies that are carried out in these fields, about raising cattle for meat and other problems. Comrades Dhimitër Petro and Ligor Visi gave him the information he wanted.

The chairman of the higher-type cooperative of Plasa, Comrade Mihallaq Qiriako, gave Comrade Enver Hoxha some facts and figures about the high yields and other outstanding achievements of this economy. «Now,» he said, «we have higher yields from one year to another and are well under way in fulfilling the task we have set ourselves for the entire cooperative to achieve the yields of the best sector, and each sector to achieve the yields of the best brigade. As a result, we have succeeded in taking in 62 quintals of wheat in 320 hectares and all the sectors have achieved yields of about 60 quintals per hectare.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «What have you, Comrade Mihallaq, done for this?»

«The basis of our work,» the chairman of the cooperative replies, «is the change of the structure of wheat every two or three years and the use of new and stronger elite seeds which are better adapted to our concrete conditions. Thus, for example, from the 'Dajti' seed we have taken in 67 quintals per hectare in 342 hectares, and about 85 quintals per hectare in special plots. We have also raised a strain of our own, a cross breed from which we have taken in an average of 65 quintals per hectare in 200 hectares, and this despite the strong wind that bent the wheat and lowered its yields by about 5 quintals per hectare.»

«In our district, however, the delaying of the sowing of wheat until December 15 is caused by the problem of taking the sugar-beet away from the fields.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «What should and can be done with the sugar-beet so as not to delay the sowing of wheat?»

Comrade Mihallaq: «The picking of the sugar-beet must be mechanized and the facilities for its transport improved.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «With the development of all the economy and the agricultural production transport assumes special importance, therefore we will take up this problem for a special analysis at one of the coming plenums of the Central Committee.»

Comrade Mihallaq: «However, to cope with these difficulties we in our cooperative have created a new strain of wheat which can be sown late and which ensures the production, although its yields are 10-15 quintals lower than those of other varieties.»

«Good yields will be taken in also from the sugar-beet — about 500 quintals per hectare, from potatoes — about 290-300 quintals per hectare. In the field of animal husbandry, too, we have taken measures to take 2,800-3,000 litres of milk from the 1,200 cows of the cooperative, including those individually owned by its members, in the year 1984-1985.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «What do you think about the regeneration of the animal stock, and especially about discarding low-yield cows?»

Comrade Mihallaq: «In our plans we envisaged to have done with this problem within the year 1984 or 1985 by increasing the number of heifers.»

The director of the Maliq state farm, Ligor Visi, also spoke about this problem. «Our state farm,» said he, «intends to set up a complex of 2,000 heifers for this purpose, from which 1,000 head will be supplied each year for the improvement of the structure of cows in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms.»

The chairman of the Executive Committee, Comrade Dhimitër Petro, added that the state organs of the district had also thought about the mountainous areas. There this problem is more difficult and another breed of cow, not the Friesland breed, but what is called the Valbona breed, is more suitable. «We intend to set up a new breeding station at Miras,» he said, «although the problem has not been studied in detail as yet.»

«With whom have you raised this matter,» Comrade Enver Hoxha asked, «and what has been the reply?»

«For the time being,» Comrade Dhimitër Petro said, «we have kept it for ourselves, we are threshing it out with our specialists and as soon as the draft-plans are sent we will...»

«Well, Comrade Dhimitër,» Comrade Enver Hoxha breaks in with a smile, «thresh it out but take care not to crumble it to dust (everybody laughs). I mean that you must speed up these studies and send them above, to the related departments, which will look into them and take the necessary measures.»

«Well said,» Comrade Enver, «we must speed these things up.»

«The same problems, in agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as in the exploitation of waters for irrigation and production of electric energy, exist for our district,» says the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Pogradec district, Comrade Spiro Bici. «We are also paying particular attention to the creation of fruit-tree plots.»

...The conversation flows natural, with questions and answers, and additions to make one another's thoughts clearer. Thus, for example, an exchange of opinions took place about the meat and milk productivity of cattle. Then the conversation again came round to the question of the dissemination of the advanced experience of the cooperative of Plasa, and Comrade Enver Hoxha insisted on knowing whether this experience was also applied in the other cooperatives within and outside the district.

«For the time being,» says Comrade Mihallaq Qiriako, «the work for the dissemination of this experience is not complete. It is properly appreciated, but for its application some changes in the farming structures are also needed, hence a certain hesitation. I think,» he adds, «that the cooperatives of the districts of Lushnja, Fier and partly of Durrës can also take in yields of 40-45 quintals of wheat per hectare.»

«Have you, Comrade Mihallaq, gone to these districts and what have you seen there?» asks Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«Yes, Comrade Enver, I have gone and seen that studies have been carried out, that they do exist, but things are not in order with discipline, that is, with their application. This is what happens in some cooperatives I have visited.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «So, there are many valuable studies, but routine, it seems, prevents them from being quickly applied.»

«In my opinion,» Mihallaq goes on, «the comrades of the Ministry of Agriculture do not carry on properly with this job, either.»

The director of the Maliq state farm, Ligor Visi, breaks in and, mentioning a concrete study, one about turning some mountain cooperatives to an exclusive cattle-breeding destination, says that, in his opinion, the specialists of this ministry show a certain hesitation concerning some studies that have been carried out at the base. They do not organize exchanges of opinions with the specialists of the base about these studies.

«In the question of the dissemination of the experience of the cooperative of Plasa,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «we have lost valuable time. So we must work to make up for it. I personally and Comrade Hysni intended to have the experience of Plasa applied all over

the country, beginning with the other higher-type cooperatives, without neglecting the district as a whole. Therefore, we must introduce new methods of work, because no progress is possible with the old practices, and we must undertake a change in farming structures, of course, weighing things up appropriately, and I am convinced that the change in the structures will bring about an abundance greater than that we are enjoying today (all the comrades present say that they agree with this conclusion and are convinced of the results of its application). Perhaps abundance cannot be achieved in all the cooperatives within one year, but they will compensate one another, one, for example, by producing wheat, the other — meat and so on (again the comrades present say that this is true and that the specialists of the base think in the same way, although there is a certain hesitation).

«I think,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «that we must start applying this experience especially in the agricultural zones of high intensification. Of course, this gives rise to many problems, organizational, financial, material, psychological, etc, etc because the question is about large-scale production, but we must shoulder this job, because we have an advanced agriculture today.»

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted to know something more about the problems of the supply of the working masses with food-stuffs, clothing and footwear, industrial commodities, etc. «The city of Korça,» said he addressing himself to the head of the trade sector in the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district, Comrade Andrea Trebicka, «is a large city, with a high standard of living and culture, therefore, here as everywhere else, those engaged in trade must be well-acquainted with the needs, tastes, demands, and traditions of the people, take account of them and do everything to meet them.» In particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha asked about how things stood in the trade network, about the sale of goods and, especially, refrigerators, and about the measures which had been and must be taken in this direction, etc. Comrade Andrea, after speaking about the care shown in this direction and the improvements made in this field, dwelt on some particular problems such as, for example, the need for a better periodization of the production of some vegetables, in order to cover the periods of their shortage, such as the months of May and June, about the expansion of the conservation capacity of vegetables and fruit, especially of apples, the production of which is increasing with each passing year. He also dealt with the measures taken for the industrialization of some sorts of vegetables for the winter season, taking account also of the tradition existing in the Korça families.

Comrade Enver Halili added that if the decision on setting up a chicken-raising complex, which would pro-

duce 5-10 million eggs and, later, even more, were to be applied, this would increase the amount of chicken meat available for sale. He also raised the problem of the transport on time of some agricultural products and especially apples, so that the production and the cooperatives are not damaged, as well as the problem of the revision of some existing regulations which hamper the rapid and regular flow of agricultural products from the producer to the market without necessarily going through the buying and selling warehouses. «This,» said he, «will enable agriculture to devote more attention to the problems of raising yields in agricultural production.» The first secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district suggested in particular that the relative ministries, such as those of the internal trade, the light and food-processing industry and communications should co-ordinate their work better in this field.

«In our district, too, Comrade Enver, measures have been taken to remove all obstacles to the supply of the people,» said the first secretary of the Party Committee of the Pogradec district. «In this direction, especially, in the summer period, we also have the help of the other districts in which agricultural products ripen earlier.»

«This problem,» said the chairman of the Executive Committee of this district, «becomes more acute for the city, especially in the months of July and August, when thousands of people with particular demands and interests come here to spend their holidays in the best way possible.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha listened very attentively to what they said about their problems and told them to work persistently to meet the demands of the people, not only of the towns, but also of the villages, especially of the mountainous areas, in order that the standard of living goes up everywhere. «Your districts,» said he, «should make an even greater advance not only in agriculture, but also in industry, culture and all other fields.» He availed himself of his opportunity to speak about the cultural and artistic life of the city of Korça. «I have followed with keen interest the performance of your artistic groups,» he said, «which recommend themselves; I know you have a symphony orchestra, but taking account of the rich traditions of Korça in these fields and of the many talents that emerged from your city in the past, as a sympathizer of your city, I do not think I am seeing in this field the great vigour which is seen in other fields, there are not as many new talents, writers, composers, etc emerging as I expect.»

«You are right and I agree with your observation, Comrade Enver,» said the first secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district, «but the problem is that very often (and he smiles) Tirana keeps for itself those who distinguish themselves.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha: «The criticism is right, we will take it into account, but I do not think you are displeased at seeing the boys and girls of your district making their debut on the national stage and in other fields of scientific and artistic creativeness of the country.»

...Time is close to one hour p.m., but the conversation, the exchange of opinions and suggestions goes on very lively and it seems as if Drilon, with its calm beauty and cool shades, has decided not to dismiss his guests, among whom today is the beloved leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Finally, after expressing his satisfaction at this cordial and open conversation, Comrade Enver Hoxha tells those present: «Our Party is on the right road, so we must constantly strengthen it and, with it at the head, fulfil all the tasks for the further flourishing of our socialist Homeland, making it more prosperous and powerful than ever. At the same time we must raise our vigilance and strengthen the moral and political unity of the people.»

«Once again, comrades, I thank you for the very useful conversation we had together. From the questions you raise important problems emerge for your and the other districts, as well as for the central organs which should think about them and take the necessary measures.»

Comrades Enver Halili and Stili Kaskaviqi thanked Comrade Enver Hoxha for his many and very valuable recommendations and advice, and on behalf of the other comrades promised that they would put them into practice without fail.

Then the comrades rise from their seats and after taking a picture as a souvenir of wonderful Drilon, take a stroll along some alleys of the park. While walking Comrade Ligor Visi takes Comrade Enver Hoxha by the arm and tells him that the workers and the other working people of the state farm have charged him to convey their best wishes to him and their great desire to receive Comrade Enver Hoxha amid the collective of the enterprise.

«Thank you very much,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Tell your working people that I long to see Korça, that I will consider their desire and when I come to Korça will visit your state farm, as well as the cooperative of Plasa, and other economies and industrial centres to meet the workers and working people of Korça, to get acquainted with their ever greater achievements, to congratulate them and wish them well. Please, convey my best wishes to all of them,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Again he embraced them and, while taking his leave, wished them successes at work and happiness in life.

All the comrades greet Comrade Enver Hoxha with great warmth and wish him a long life.



# THE NEW FAMILY CODE OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

*by* **KSANTHIPI BEGEJA**

*The family legislation of the PSRA is aimed at influencing the creation of the soundest family possible and the defence and ceaseless strengthening of family relations in the spirit of the norms of communist morality. Its duty is to ensure complete equality between consorts, broadening and deepening of democracy in the family and to combat manifestations of the alien ideology in family relations*

**IN JUNE THIS YEAR THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE NEW FAMILY CODE OF THE PSRA WHICH CAME INTO FORCE ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1982. THE APPROVAL OF THIS IMPORTANT DOCUMENT OF A POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND JURIDICAL CHARACTER CONTRIBUTES TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE ALBANIAN FAMILY AND OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. THE FAMILY CODE WAS DRAFTED IN KEEPING WITH THE CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT-DAY DEVELOPMENT AND THE REQUIREMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF 1976 AND CONSTITUTES ANOTHER VICTORY IN THE FIELD OF ALBANIAN SOCIALIST LAW.**

Before its approval, this new Code, like any other fundamental document, was submitted to a broad popular discussion. The broad working masses in city and country took an active part in the discussion of the draft-code and expressed very valuable opinions which served to improve it and make it more complete. At the same time, they fully endorsed the contents of this document.

The radical changes that have taken place in Albania in the political, economic, cultural and social fields brought about a real revolution in the Albanian family as well.

Profound inequality between husband and wife and the submissiveness of woman in the family were characteristic of the Albanian family before Liberation. The patriarchal family, which was the dominant family pat-

tern, had the relations of oppression and exploitation of the wife by the husband and of the children by the parents and the rule of the husband as the head of the family, at its basis.

The transitional period from capitalism to socialism is also characterized by the all-round development of matrimonial and family relations. The Albanian family is transformed from a patriarchal family into a family with socialist features, and the process still continues. Many factors, such as the construction of the economic base of socialism, the elimination of the exploiting classes, the decomposition of the patriarchal family in the countryside, the participation of woman in social production, the raising of the educational level of the family members and of the woman in particular, etc had an influence in this direction.

Our socialist legislation, which immediately after Liberation sanctioned by law the new socialist principles of the family, has also played an important auxiliary role in the creation of the socialist family in the PSRA.

The new family legislation of the PSRA, just as the family legislation in force hitherto, is aimed at influencing the creation of the soundest family possible and the defence and ceaseless strengthening of family relations in the spirit of the norms of communist morality. Its duty is to ensure complete equality between consorts, broadening and deepening of democracy in the family and to combat manifestations of the alien ideology in family relations.

In PSRA the family has always been seen as an important cell of society, and its problems are considered as questions of major political and social importance. The Marxist concept that the new socialist society cannot be built without establishing socialist relations in the family predominates in our socialist country. In the conditions of present-day development, the Albanian family in general distinguishes itself for its sound moral-political situation and a high and ever rising cultural and educational level, for equal rights between consorts and bet-

ween them and the other family members, for mutual love, assistance and respect among the members of the family. The revolution that has taken place in the family is the fruit of the correct policy the Party of Labour of Albania has carried out in this field of social relations as well.

The new family legislation reaffirms the principle of the Constitution that «Marriage and family are under the care and protection of the State and society.» Under the new Family Code the state organs and social organizations are charged with the duty of helping the creation of correct concepts about marriage as the premise for the formation of a sound family, of concerning themselves about the strengthening of the socialist family and the education of its members with the Marxist-Leninist outlook and in struggle against alien manifestations.

The new Family Code reaffirms the principle that the only lawful form of marriage recognized in our country is monogamous marriage. It is against any violation of this principle and against any manifestation of the submission of the woman.

The Family Code like the previous legislation recognizes and supports only the marriage concluded before the competent state organ, which is the people's council. The views about «free cohabitation without family obligations» are alien to our socialist order and our proletarian morality.

In our society marriage as the lawful basis for the creation of the family is characterized by the principle of the freedom of the person to choose his or her life companion. Article 13 of the new Family Code reads, «Marriage is concluded by the will of the future consorts on the basis of acquaintance and love.» This requirement is of particular importance, because only such a marriage created the conditions for a sound family.

The new Code also lays down some conditions for the conclusion of marriage, which are intended to protect both the interests of those who are linked in marriage and the children, as well as society as a whole. Thus, the age foreseen by the previous legislation: 16 years for the wife and 18 years for the husband, is maintained as the minimal marriagable age limit.

One of the fundamental principles that goes through all the new Family Code is that of complete equality between husband and wife. «Family

members have equal rights and duties in the family. The woman, liberated of political oppression and economic exploitation, as a great force of the revolution, enjoys equal rights with man in the family,» says Article 6 of the Code.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania a constant struggle has been going on to ensure that equality of women with men is not confined to its proclamation and sanctioning by law, but that it is carried out in practice. To realize this aim, the Albanian state and society create all the conditions and possibilities for the Albanian woman to take an active part in the production of material goods, in the management of economic and state affairs, in education and culture, in the whole political and social life of the country. At the same time, the state and society have taken a number of concrete measures to ease the burden of housework on women, which means the real application of this equality. The broadening of the trade and communal services network, the increasing number of crèches and kindergartens both in city and country, the setting up of messes at working centres, the sale of many confectioins and electrodomestic appliances, etc have positively influenced the achievement of this objective.

Broad educational work is also carried out to ensure effective equality between the woman and the other members of the family by creating correct concepts about the need for all the members of the family to join in housework, considering it part of their task. As a result, our socialist family has opened all the road for the woman to enjoy equality not only in the political and economic life of the country, but in family life as well.

At the 8th Congress of the PLA, the leader of the Albanian people said that «The Party has fought and will go on fighting consistently for the implementation of its program for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman, without whom socialism cannot be conceived or its construction be carried forward.»

In the implementation of this program, the family legislation is permeated through and through by the principle of the equal rights and duties of consorts in family life, without which there can be no agreeable life in the family. Therefore, Article 24 on

the new Code says expressively, «Consorts have the same rights and duties. They should love and respect each other, be faithful to each other in marriage and help each other in the fulfilment of all family and social obligations and contribute jointly in meeting the material and cultural needs of the family.» «Consorts decide in common about any question which has to do with the relations deriving from marriage,» says Article 25 of the Family Code. Thus, for example, in regard to the name consorts will keep after the conclusion of marriage, the new Code recognizes to them the right to choose as a common family name one of their surnames or to keep each his or her surname. Children take the common family name of their parents. If parents have different family names, children keep the name parents will agree on. Only if no agreement is reached, children are given the surname of the father. Likewise, the problem of the residence of the consorts is resolved proceeding from the principle of equal rights and mutual understanding and interest. In the same manner is regulated the management of the common economy of the family. Both consorts contribute to the maintenance of the family.

In regulating the personal relations between the two consorts and their property relations, our socialist legislation always bases itself on the principle of their complete equality. The property relations of consorts are regulated by the new Civil Code which came into force on January 1, 1982. Under the new Civil Code marriage brings about no change in the property owned by each consort before the conclusion of marriage. This remains property of the consort who owned it previously and he or she has the right to administer it. On the other hand, objects, savings deposits and anything acquired by the consorts after marriage is their common property. The objects of personal use of consorts are not considered common property (Article 86 of the Civil Code of the PSRA).

The part of common property appertaining to each consort is determined on the basis of equality of contribution. However, the part of each of them may increase or decrease according to the income from the work of each consort, the degree of participation in housework, as well as any other work in the management, mainte-

nance and increase of objects of common property.

Other legal provisions regulating the relations of consorts with third parties are another evidence of equal rights between consorts, without distinction between husband and wife. Thus, Article 87 of the Civil Code says that all juridical actions undertaken by either consort in connection with their common property are valid even when carried out without the approval of the other consort. However, alienation of common fixed property is permissible upon common consent of both consorts.

The new family of our socialist order is a sound family, because it is created and built on a new basis. The economic basis of our family is the social ownership of means of production, by which exploitation and enslavement are abolished, equality of rights between husband and wife is established, arbitrariness towards woman and children which was characteristic of the old patriarchal family of the pre-Liberation period is eliminated.

Nevertheless, in our reality there are still cases in which, because of manifestations of conservatism which impedes the introduction of the new in the family, or liberalism which brings about degeneration in the way of life of the family and weakens its educational role, or because of the conclusion of marriage without sufficient mutual acquaintance, relations between consorts may be shaken and their life in common become impossible. In these cases our legislation allows divorce in order to eliminate the grave situation that may be created in the family. This does not represent in the least a departure from the principle of protection of marriage and the family by the state. Our socialist state is interested in protecting sound marriages, those that genuinely fulfil their mission. However, when, in given circumstances, marriage has lost its social mission, divorce is unavoidable and, in certain cases, beneficial.

Our society tries to avoid unjustified divorces, condemns light-minded stands towards the family, because everybody knows that it is children, in the first place, who suffer the consequences of such divorces. Only when marriage loses all meaning and cohabitation becomes unbearable, our le-

gislation allows the dissolution of marriage. Marriage is dissolved always by decision of court and on the demand of one of consorts.

The right of divorce does not in the least infringe on the rights of the Albanian woman. Experience has shown that in all social formations with antagonistic classes divorce has been and remains a means in the service of man alone, has been a means of coercion on the woman. It is true that divorce today is recognized in almost all the countries of the world, but in the class society, although the law recognizes this right to the woman, too, it remains a dead letter. The woman cannot exercise this right as long as she is economically dependent on man.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the state organs and the mass organizations which ensure the leading role of the Party in city quarters, villages, work centres, carry out large-scale educational work to do away with backward customs in family relations and to build these relations on new bases acceptable by the new socialist morality and sanctioned by the existing legislation.

In protection of the rights of woman and child, the new Code of Procedure, which came into force on January 1, 1982, gives the court the right to decide on the suspension of action for divorce upon request of the pregnant woman. This suspension remains in force until the child is one year of age and is intended to spare the pregnant woman such commotions as would harm herself and her child. This provision is adopted on account of the fact that suspension of action for divorce until the child is one year of age may serve, in certain cases, as a means for the reconciliation of consorts.

The principle of equality between father and mother in their parental rights is another expression of the equality of rights between man and woman.

According to the new Family Code, parental right, that is the rights and duties of the parents to take care of the rearing and education of their under-aged children, as well as to protect their children's rights and interests, belongs to both parents. This right is exercised only in the interest of under-aged children and upon agreement of both parents. Article 7 of

the Code says, «The parents are responsible for the rearing and communist education of their children with revolutionary feelings and lofty virtues to serve the socialist Homeland everywhere and always. Children are duty bound to respect their parents and to take care of them, especially when the latter are disabled and without sufficient means of livelihood.»

In defining the obligations of the members of the family to assist each other and to take part, according to their abilities and possibilities, in improving the material well-being and raising the cultural level of the family, the new Code marks a step forward compared with the previous one. It stipulates that parents should provide for the living of their children until the latter reach the age of 25 years, when they attend the middle or higher school. In the previous law this obligation was enforced until the child was 18 years of age. This change is intended to enable the children to finish medium and higher education when their parents have all the conditions to meet this obligation.

Besides, in the new Family Code the brothers and sisters of age who are incapable of work and have no sufficient means of livelihood are included in the category of persons entitled to means of livelihood from the members of their family. The previous Code in force ensured these rights only to brothers and sisters under age.

A new provision of a pronounced humanitarian character is that which recognizes to grandfathers and grandmothers the right to maintain personal relations with their grandchildren, even when their parents or another person caring for them prohibits them from doing so.

The new Code reaffirms and further develops the constitutional principle that «mother and child enjoy special protection.» In our socialist society a series of socio-economic conditions have been created in order to ensure as complete harmonization as possible of the function of the woman as mother and her function as participant in socially useful production work.

The special care of our state and society shown for children is another feature of the new family legislation which stands out in all the provisions of this Code.

This care and protection is extended to children born both in and out of wedlock. The latter have the same rights and duties as the children born in wedlock. Our legislation enables these children to have their father. The new Code defines the way of the voluntary recognition of the paternity of these children. If the parent does not do so voluntarily, the mother and child, when the latter comes of age, are given the legal means to demand the recognition of paternity. With their recognition of paternity in the voluntary or legal way those children enjoy all the rights in the family of their father the same as the other children of the latter, if any. Besides, these children enjoy the right to be sheltered in infant's or children's homes when the mother does not want to keep the child herself. The children that are under the care of these institutions may be adopted by other persons only upon their parents' consent.

Socialist humanism, which permeates the new Family Code, is also expressed in the regulation of relations between parents and children deriving from adoption. Unlike the former Family Code which allowed the adoption of a full-aged person when it was proved that he had been maintained by the adoptor during a long time of his minority, the new Code permits only the adoption of children under 18. Like-

wise, the new Code allows in no case and for no reason whatsoever the cessation of adoption, as adoption is intended to create relations similar to those existing between parents and children. The rights and duties that emerge through adoption between the adoptor and his relatives, on the one hand, and the adopted child and his eventual children, on the other hand, are the same as those existing between relatives of the same blood. The new Albanian legislation now recognizes only complete adoption.

The new Code brings important changes in the state and social care for under-aged children who, for various reasons, have remained without parents or without parental care because the latter are dead or unknown, or have been deprived of the capacity of acting as such or have lost their parental rights. Article 11 of the new Family Code stipulates, «The children that have remained without parents or support are reared and educated by the state. The state creates suitable conditions for their living, education, instruction and all-round development by appointing the relative tutors and sending them, according to the case, to special institutions for children — boarding schools, health or other institutions.»

The new Family Code charges the protection of these children to the

councils of tutors that operate at every district executive committee. These councils are comprised of a people's council member, the heads of the education and health sections, a judge of the district court of justice as well as representatives of social organizations (the Labour Youth Union of Albania, Women's Union of Albania and the Democratic Front). These councils are assisted in their activity by the state organs and social organizations.

The great successes achieved in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the strengthening of the family and the emancipation of the woman are not accidental. They have been prepared by the whole historical development of our Homeland under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, by the ceaseless and systematic work carried out in this direction over the four decades of the existence of the people's power. They are the result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line implemented by the Party in this important field of social relations.

The rights guaranteed to the Albanian woman in marriage and family relations are realizable, not only because they are built on sound political and economic bases, but also because they are sanctioned by law and accompanied with the relative material conditions which constitute a distinctive feature of the social order established in the PSRA.

# THE DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE MATERIAL-TECH BASE IS CLOSELY CONN THE PERFECTING OF THE IN TOWN AND COUNTRYS

*Socialist Albania has wiped out all those ills of capitalism which lead to the decline of productive capacities, such as unemployment, spontaneity, anarchy and*

**FOR ALBANIA, WHICH EMERGED FROM EXTREME SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS AND WENT OVER DIRECTLY TO THE STAGE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, RELYING ON ITS OWN FORCES, IN THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST BLOCKADE, COMPLEX SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATIONS TAKE PLACE IN A HISTORIC PERIOD AND INVOLVE A NUMBER OF COMPLICATED PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PERFECTING OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, THE SOCIAL-CLASS STRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.**

The five-year periods of the development of the people's economy and culture are important stages in this whole process of transformation, which enabled us to put our labour resources in the service of the economy, to exploit our natural assets, to use our material and financial values, to develop our productive forces for the construction of the material-technical base and to perfect the economic relations in town and countryside.

The years of the people's state power witnessed a great increase of the social production and the national income, and of the degree of the intensification and effectiveness of the economy. In 1980, compared with the period before Liberation, total social production increased over 20 fold, total industrial production over 125 fold, and total agricultural production over 5

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fold, at a time when the population grew only 2.6 fold. In the three decades from 1951 to 1980 the national income has increased at an average annual rate of 7-8 per cent, which is three times more rapidly than the annual average rate of population growth.

The 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the directives of which were approved by the 8th Congress of the PLA, opens up new and great perspectives to the socio-economic development of the country on the road to socialism. In 1985, as against 1980, total social production is envisaged to increase 34-36 per cent, at an annual average rate of 6.4 per cent, as against 4.6 per cent increase in the 6th Five-year Plan (1975-1980). The volume of total social production in this five-year plan will be larger than the volume of production realized during the first four five-year plans taken together, and the volume of exports will be even greater. The national income will continue to increase at still more rapid rates.

The fundamental economic task of the 7th Five-year Plan, which was approved by the 8th Congress of the PLA, is: «The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»<sup>1</sup>

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The productive forces will develop further, in conformity with the fundamental economic task of the 7th Five-year Plan. Correct proportions of the extended socialist reproduction have been established and a more complete co-ordination of the development of the forces of production with the simultaneous improvement of the entire system of the socialist relations of production has been ensured.

Unlike capitalism, in socialism the productive forces develop according to



# STRENGTHENING TECHNICAL EQUIPPED WITH ECONOMIC RELATIONS SIDE

by **HASAN BANJA**

*...incomplete utilization  
...and competition, inflation and economic crises*

plan, in a proportional manner and at rapid rates, and not in a spontaneous and anarchic manner, in zigzags, with frequent breaks caused by economic crises of overproduction. They develop according to the growing needs of the economy, the people and defence, and not according to the law of values and for ensuring maximum profit, as in capitalism.

The 7th Five-year Plan marks a new important step forward in the development of the productive forces in industry, agriculture and the other branches of material production. The most essential feature of this development is that the 7th Five-year Plan is the first five-year plan which has been drafted and will be carried out relying completely on our own forces, without any credits or economic «aid» from abroad.

The rapid development of the productive forces rests on the deepening of the process of socialist industrialization, the all-round intensification of agriculture, the large-scale introduction of the natural assets of the country into economic circulation, the development of the technical and scientific revolution, and the raising of the economic efficiency through the increase of the productivity of labour and the investing power of the socialist state for the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The material-technical base of socialism is characterized by the predominance of large-scale machine production in all the branches of the economy, and the extensive and planned utilization of the achievements of advanced technique, technology and science. In socialism the introduction of machinery into the process of production is free from the antagonistic contradictions characteristic of capitalism and is not aimed at the exploitation of workers for the increase of capitalist profits, on the contrary, it is aimed at increasing production, raising the productivity of social labour, making work lighter, and ever better meeting the needs of the economy, the working people and the defence of the country.

In socialism the material-technical base develops in an all-round manner and at rapid rates, based on self-reliance and on the development of the technical-scientific revolution. This way of development is an objective condition for the PSR of Albania, the more so as it builds socialism in the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. The construction of the material-technical base of socialism at rapid rates strengthens the economic independence and defence of the socialist Homeland, ensures the production of the means of production needed for the perspective development of the economy and

creates a powerful support base for the future development.

The material-technical base of socialism is characterized by the most complete and efficient economic utilization of the implements and objects of labour, and of the ever increasing productive capacities at the disposal of the socialist economy. Socialist Albania has wiped out all those ills of capitalism which lead to incomplete utilization of productive capacities, such as unemployment, spontaneity, anarchy and competition, inflation and economic crises.

The development of the productive forces and the construction of the material-technical base of socialism are always accompanied by the utilization of the productive capacities. Socialist society is interested not only in increasing the volume of fundamental investments and constructions for the building of the material-technical base of socialism, but also in ensuring that these investments have the highest returns possible, that the new projects are commissioned within the shortest possible term and exploited in the most complete manner. This has been and remains an unalterable demand of the economic policy of the PLA. And this demand assumes special significance in the present conditions.

The 7th Five-year Plan envisages that 86 per cent of the increase of total

industrial production is to be ensured from a more effective exploitation of the existing productive capacities, from the reconstruction and modernization of the existing productive capacities, and only 14 per cent from the new projects which will be set up and commissioned in the period 1981-1985.

The material-technical base of socialism is distributed all over the territory of the country. This is another important aspect of the economic policy of the PLA, which aims at ensuring the presence of the working class, as the backbone of the people's state power and the social base of the state, in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry, everywhere. This enables a large-scale utilization of the natural wealth of the country, the raising of the productivity of social labour, with industry developing in all regions of the country and the new labour force, which is created as a result of the rapid demographic development of our country being utilized as fully as possible. This distribution brings productive activities closer to the source of primary materials and fuels and the consumers of finished products, saving social labour and cutting on irrational, long distance transport. The policy of the PLA in the territorial distribution of the productive forces also aims at extending and strengthening the links between industry and agriculture, gradually eliminating essential distinctions between town and countryside, and strengthening the defence capacity of the socialist Homeland.

The material-technical base of socialism is characterized by a structure in ceaseless improvement. The main place in this structure is occupied by industry and agriculture, as the key branches of material production. The leading role of industry in the multi-branched structure of the material-technical base is determined by the fact that industry produces the means of production needed for the extended socialist reproduction of all the branches of the economy.

Therefore, socialist industrialization has occupied first place in the high-rate development of the productive forces and the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. In the report delivered at the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

«The creation and the strengthening of our multi-branched industry, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own sources and assets and with clear prospects of development, is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.»<sup>2</sup>

The economic policy of the PLA for the socialist industrialization of the country stands out for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, the priority development of the heavy, extracting and processing industry, without ever neglecting the light industry, and the high-rate development of industry in those directions which ensure the implementation of the principle of self-reliance in the construction of socialism.

This is the direction in which socialist industrialization is carried out in Albania. The peculiarity of our socialist industrialization is that it is carried out not at the expense of agriculture or by slowing down the rates of its development, but on the basis of the simultaneous high-rate development of all the branches of material production. Under the 7th Five-year Plan industry will develop on a broad front, consolidating its multi-branched character and giving priority to the development of the heavy, processing and extracting industry, further improving the positive balance of energy sources with special stress on the oil industry, developing both the industry which produces means of production and the industry which produces consumer goods, and putting industry more and more in the service of the intensification of agriculture.

Agriculture, which constitutes the base of our economy and on which depends to a large extent the development of the other branches of the economy, the supply of the light and food industry with primary materials, and the food supply of the people and the increase of exports, with also make great progress. It is a great success that since 1976 the agricultural workers succeeded in making the country self-sufficient in bread grains for immediate consumption and for building up reserves. The role of agriculture grows continuously along with the ever growing

population, and the rising level of its well-being, with the development of the light and food industry, with the increasing export of agricultural products and the ceaseless strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. Therefore, the increase of agricultural production, with the priority increase of the production of bread grain and without neglecting the production of industrial crops, livestock and fruit-growing, as well as the raising of the efficiency of agricultural production, are the main objectives for the 7th Five-year Plan in the field of agriculture.

For this to be achieved, the 7th Five-year Plan envisages to further extend and strengthen the material-technical base of agriculture. In 1985 industry will supply agriculture with machinery and equipment, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides, at a comprehensive value of about 55 per cent larger than in 1980. Compared with the 6th Five-year Plan, investments in agriculture will increase 42 per cent. Bigger, that is, 60 per cent more investments will be made especially on land improvement projects. Agriculture, in turn, will be able to supply industry with larger quantities of farm products. In 1985, against 1980, it will supply industry with about 50 per cent more primary materials.

All this shows that in the 7th Five-year Plan the intensive character of agricultural development will be developed further. It is envisaged that 90 per cent of the increase of production will be ensured from higher yields of agricultural crops and increased productivity of the livestock. Besides raising the productivity of labour, increasing the care for the land, ensuring more feed for the livestock and improving its management, extending chemization and applying agrotechnical rules more completely, developing the hilly and mountainous regions, promoting technical and scientific progress and raising the economic efficiency of material expenditure, in the 7th Five-year Plan important measures will be taken for the intensification of an extensive area in the plains with the direct financial and material-technical participation of the socialist state. In these conditions, the intensive development of the economy, agriculture especially, assumes first-rate importance. «The fulfil-

ment of the targets envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan for agriculture will be achieved, more than ever before, through intensification,»<sup>3</sup> said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress.

Intensification of production, with priority being given to the development of the more fertile plains of the country, over a 10-year period, will affect, as a first stage, more than 100,000 hectares of land in the plains of the coastal area. The objective will be to develop agricultural and livestock production in those zones where work and investments have higher returns and conditions are mature for the gradual transition from the property of the group to the property of the whole people.

For the rapid development of the productive forces and the material-technical base, the volume of fundamental investments and constructions will greatly increase in the 7th Five-year Plan. The main place will be occupied by industry and agriculture, to which will go more than 74 per cent of the total investments, with an increase of about 37 per cent as against the last five-year plan.

## 2.

In all its activity for the construction of socialist society the PLA has always maintained a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. The productive forces and the relations of production are seen as two aspects of the mode of production closely connected with and conditioning each other, but standing apart from each other in their functions and their fields of operation and problems. This is due to the fact that the relations of production play an active role in the development of the productive forces, and are not merely social forms of their manifestation. Therefore, the achievement of the objectives which are mapped out in the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy cannot be imagined without further strengthening and perfecting the socialist relations of production. «...The problems of the development of the productive forces must always be considered in close connection with their social aspects, with all the components which make up our socialist life. This has to do with the

practical, well-planned and well-organized application of that reciprocal interaction between the productive forces and the economic relations and the relations of the superstructure, which we talk about, but which, in practice, we sometimes forget or skate over lightly.»<sup>4</sup>

A distinguishing feature of the productive forces is that their irresistible development over the entire period of the construction of socialism does not represent one-sided quantitative growth or a process which has to do only with the increase of the production of material goods, or with the construction of the material-technical base, the improvement of the structure of social production, the technical-scientific progress, etc. On the contrary, it is an all-round and deep-going qualitative process, which involves the social aspect, too, the perfecting of the socialist relations of production. The latter, being relations of collaboration, reciprocal assistance and, socialist solidarity among the working people of our society, not only do not run counter to the social character of the productive forces, but on the contrary, always open broad and unlimited roads to their development.

The role and importance of the socialist relations of production in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has grown constantly, parallel with the development of the country on the road to socialism. They are an important factor both for the rapid development of the productive forces and the increase of production and its economic efficiency, as well as for the education of the working people.

Under the 7th Five-year Plan important measures are envisaged for bringing about a further enhancement of the historically active role of the relations of production, for developing the productive forces of the country at rapid rates, for safeguarding and defending the purity of their socialist content, for closing all paths to the capitalist degeneration of the economy, for carrying forward the all-round development of the economy on the socialist road. All this is intended for a further improvement of the entire system of socialist relations of production, establishing and operating in the economy of the country, for the develop-

ment and strengthening of the two forms of socialist property, for bringing closer together the cooperativist property and the property of the entire people, and eventually gradually transforming the cooperativist property into property of the entire people, for improving the forms of organization and management of work and production, and the forms of distribution, for gradually eliminating the essential distinctions between mental work and physical work, between town and countryside, between skilled and unskilled work, as well as all other distinctions between social groups and classes.

In order to raise the stability and increase the capability of development of the economy, in the years of the 7th Five-year Plan the simultaneous development of the two forms of socialist property must be further harmonized on the basis of the rapid development of the main branches of material production — industry, agriculture, construction, etc. The 7th Five-year Plan envisages important measures for increasing the objects of property and gradually creating the conditions for bringing together and eventually merging the property of the group in the countryside with the socialist property of the entire people. Through the intensification of agriculture the relations of property will be further improved by raising the agricultural cooperatives to the level of the higher-type cooperatives, with some of the later being transformed into state farms.

The development of the productive forces and of the economy, as a whole, the perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside inevitably affects the cooperativists' personal plots, as a special form of the personal property in socialism. The increase of agricultural and livestock production in a big way in the 7th Five-year Plan, the formation of collective flocks with personally-owned sheep and goats all over the country and of collective herds of cattle in 13 districts of the plains, are important steps towards increasing the possibilities of the cooperativist economy and the society for the fulfilment of the needs of the countryside for agricultural and livestock products, for a better management of the cooperativists' personally-owned livestock, for incre-

ased participation in the work in the cooperative and increased income from the cooperativist economy. Experience up to now shows that formation of collective herds with the cooperativists' personally-owned livestock helps increase the care for the cooperativist property and the economy as a whole, puts a check on and combats the psychology and feeling of small private property and prepares the economic-social conditions for the gradual liquidation and complete extinction of the cooperativists' personal plot in the future.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, the perfecting of the economic relations directly in the process of production, there where social work is carried out and materialized, where the product and income are created, where the productive workers work and create, assumes special importance.

Important measures will be taken for improving the relations of exchange between industry and agriculture, between town and countryside. The economic relations between town and countryside will be perfected in two directions: through direct state assistance for the development of agriculture, by means of investments for land improvement and irrigation schemes, for the mechanization of agriculture, etc as well as through the relations of trade, the procurement of agricultural and livestock production by the state at conditions favourable for the countryside.

In this context, the planned management of the economy, the system of material-technical supplies, competences in the management of the different sectors of the economy, will be

further perfected with the aim of raising the scientific level of management and organization of the economy, improving the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the socialist state, by firmly applying the principle of democratic centralism and ceaselessly deepening the line of the masses.

Of special importance for the perfecting of the relations of production in the 7th Five-year Plan is the improvement of the distribution of the social product, and in this context, of the distribution of the product for oneself. In this important question, the PLA has faithfully and creatively followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings in the concrete conditions of Albania. In the distribution of the social product it gives priority to the high-rate increase of the national income as compared with the increase of the population, to the high-rate increase of the product for society as compared with the increase of the product for oneself, to the continuous narrowing of the sphere of operation of the «bourgeois right» in order to avoid the creation of big differentials in the remuneration of work and consumption, without ever falling into the positions of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism. In compliance with the economic policy of the PLA, in the years of the 7th Five-year Plan the funds of consumption will increase 22 per cent, ie more rapidly than the growth of the population. For their part, the fund of individual consumption will increase 21 per cent and the fund of social consumption will increase 28 per cent.

Beginning from 1981, the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan, economic

measures have been introduced for improving the forms of remuneration of work, which ensure a more rational application of the requirements of the economic law of distribution according to work done. These measures imply a better connection of remuneration not only with the amount and quality of work done but also with the production costs (expenditure of living and materialized labour). Meanwhile, in the cooperatives of the plains, in which agriculture will be intensified, present remuneration according to norms and workdays will be perfected further until it gradually reaches the stage in which the requirements of the law of distribution according to work which is applied to the state sector of the economy, are applied there, too.

The perfecting of the entire system of socialist relations of production in this five-year plan will be an important step ahead not only for the realization of the great economic tasks which have been set, but also for the consolidation of the socio-economic development of Albania on the road of the complete construction of socialism, and for opening up new perspectives for its further development on this road.

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1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 14, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 18, Eng. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 35, Eng. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 59, Eng. ed.

# ACHIEVEMENTS IN LAND RECLAMATION AND IRRIGATION

*by* **FAREDIN NURI**

*Right from the beginning of its activity  
the Party of Labour of Albania considered land reclamation  
and irrigation an urgent economic imperative*

**THE PLA HAS PAID GREAT ATTENTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. IT HAS WORKED OUT AND IMPLEMENTED A MARXIST-LENINIST AGRARIAN POLICY. BOTH THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAD TO BE CARRIED OUT IN THE CONDITIONS OF AN EXTREMELY BACKWARD COUNTRY. IN THE GENERAL CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE, AGRICULTURE HAD TO DEVELOP AT RAPID RATES, TO GATHER STRENGTH AND GO TOWARDS ITS INTENSIFICATION IN ORDER TO EVER BETTER MEET THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE FOR FOOD-STUFFS AND OF THE INDUSTRY FOR RAW MATERIALS, THEREBY MAKING ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENERAL ADVANCE OF THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY.**

Among the many measures the PLA and the Albanian state have taken for the vigorous development of agriculture, land reclamation and irrigation occupy a prominent place.

In Albania the climate of the zones comprising most of the arable land is characterized by abundant precipitation, mainly rain, of great duration and density and an annual average of 1,430 mm over the whole territory. Rainfall of the cold period of the year (October-March) accounts for about 70 per cent of the annual precipitation. November and April, with their abundant rainfall, frequently hamper and delay autumn and spring sowing. Summer, on the other hand, is predomi-

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nantly and typically Mediterranean, a dry season with different periods of duration.

The physiographic and hydrographic conditions create serious irrigation problems for our agriculture. The plains, if we consider as such the lands with angle of inclination under 5 per cent, extend over only about 15 per cent of the total area of the country. The rest is made up of hills and mountains. The high, steep and rugged mountain and hill chains, with their many rugosities and complicated orography, make the mountainous character even more pronounced. The relief and the weather and soil conditions make hydraulic land reclamation, in its broadest sense, absolutely necessary. Apart from the plains, land reclamation in

the mountains, that is the complex hydro-agricultural measures to preserve and protect the slanting land, where there is about 41 per cent of the arable acreage, becomes an imperative. The importance of land reclamation in the mountains becomes even more clear considering the regime and character of precipitations, the relative scarcity of farming land and the fact that protection of the plains depends a great deal on the protection of the hilly and mountainous areas, and the upsetting of the land-water-vegetation balance there sooner or later results in damage to the plains and hydrological disorders. Thus, integral land reclamation constitutes one of the essential conditions for an intensive agriculture and the protection of land.

Right from the beginning of its activity the Party of Labour of Albania considered land reclamation and irrigation an urgent economic imperative. In the first years of its existence, although with insufficient material and technical means, the people's state power, relying on the initiative of the peasantry, set about a land reclamation and irrigation work which was to gradually assume ever broader proportions. Work began according to preliminarily defined criteria, some of which were: the completion of projects must



be arranged in order of their difficulty, volume of work and economic profitability; major projects must be dealt with piecemeal or in two phases, while never losing sight of the perspective or accepting relatively minor deviations from their definitive solution; the initiatives of the peasantry and youth to dig drainage canals and build irrigation projects, especially in the mountain areas where the peasantry has a good experience of these things, must be encouraged and given all possible technical and material assistance.

With these criteria, with simplified but by no means superficial designs, with the voluntary mass participation of the peasantry, the youth and the city population (there were 5 thousand volunteers in the reclamation of the Maliq swamp), in the years 1946-1956 a number of important projects were built, like the irrigation canals Penkova-Llakatund with an irrigation capacity of 1,500 hectares, the canal Berat-Kukës Bridge, the «Naum Panxhi» irrigation canal, that in the Korça Plain, the Qafë-Dardha canal, each with an irrigation capacity of 2,500 hectares, the irrigation canals of Peqin-Kavaja, Myzeqe and Zadrime, each with an irrigation capacity of 7,000 hectares and, finally, the Vjosa-Levan-Fier canal with an irrigation capacity of 1,500 hectares. In the field of land reclamation worth mentioning is the reclamation of the plain of Kavaja (4,000 hectares of improved land), the improvement and drainage of the Maliq swamp (4,000 hectares of new land and 4,000 hectares of improved land), the free flow reclamation of the Hoxhara Plain (4,000 hectares of improved land), and many minor projects. The gain through the completion of the main projects of the above period (1946-1956) amounts to 5,500 hectares of new land, 52,500 hectares of improved land and 64,000 hectares of irrigable land.

The beginning of the 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960) found us relatively well prepared, with better means and greater capacities to cope with any problem of land reclamation and irrigation. By this time studies were more complete, hydraulic reclamation was accompanied with agricultural reclamation and, to a certain extent, mountain reclamation (mainly partial and gradual regulation of hill and mountain flows). The 2nd Five-year Plan was

one more massive work for the draining of swamps and marshes. In this time 30 million cubic metres of earth is shifted, a record figure equal to about 27 per cent of what has been done up to now. This period witnesses a high degree of mechanization in earth shifting work (at that time it rose to 85 per cent and later to 94 per cent) and the introduction of pre-gabrigated units for the works of art.

The period comprising the years 1961-1970 is characterized by an increase of the irrigation capacity by an additional 148,000 hectares, about 40 per cent of the present irrigation capacity, as well as high rates in the construction of water conservancy projects in hilly and mountainous areas.

The building of artificial lakes in the hills and especially in the mountains continues at even more rapid rates, although in more difficult geological and construction conditions. During the 4th five-year period (1966-1970) irrigation schemes were drafted for the 26 districts, which created a clearer vision of the perspective development of irrigation in our country. The end of the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) marks the beginning of the application of drainage by means of covered pipes, as part of agricultural reclamation. Up to now the drained acreage extends to about 43,000 thousand hectares. In the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) it is foreseen to drain, by permanent buried-pipes drainage, an average of 10,000 hectares every year, about 50,000 hectares all told, reaching a figure of about 93,000 hectares in 1985. Almost the same rates are envisaged for irrigation, which in the same period will be increased for most of the intensified areas of about 100,000 hectares, through the construction of compensation reservoirs, new reservoirs, lining of canals, etc and the extension of the acreage covered by shower irrigation. During this five-year period the irrigation capacity will increase by another 50-51 thousand hectares.

To have a more complete idea of what has been done in the field of land reclamation and irrigation, suffice it to mention some peculiarities and factors which make the projects more complex, more voluminous and add to their cost. One of these factors are the frequently recurring squalls

with record intensity by European standards, as well as the large tracts of reclaimed land and the hydrographic hill basins that delimit the plains which result in high flow modules, hence in relatively higher costs per unit of reclaimed land. Let us mention, as an example, the Myzeqe canal which drains a hydrographic basin of 38,340 square kilometres. It has been calculated to withstand floods equal to a flow of 2,000 cubic metres per second, which recur every twenty years. This canal, which is 17 kilometres long and for which 4.1 million cubic metres of land was removed, may well be considered a real river. The density of the drainage net work of the land plot, the damming of rivers and the protection of banks against erosion also add to the cost per unit of land.

In the irrigation of our hilly and mountainous areas, especially the latter, the factors adding to the relative costs per unit of irrigated land are: difficult geological and construction conditions, the uneven terrain with many depressions and flows, irregular distribution of blocs and pools, as well as the relatively high volumes of dykes. The ratio of the volume of water to the volume of the dam oscillates from 3 to 6 in the mountainous areas, as against 10-25 in the plains and hilly zones. The irrigation of the mountainous areas is considered of major economic and political importance and is given priority in investments.

The thirty-year period 1951-1981 witnessed high construction rates, about 11,300 hectares were put under water and 8,000 others reclaimed each year. Such rates are very seldom met with in the related world literature. The extension of land reclamation or irrigation to about 90 per cent of the arable acreage in the plains is a great achievement. In this five-year period (1981-1985) there will be a gradual increase of the water available which will allow, especially in the zone of further intensification of agriculture, the growing of two crops each year.

The great work done during the years of the people's state power in the field of land reclamation and irrigation is represented by the following figures: about 341 thousand hectares of land put under irrigation, 50 thousand hectares of new land gained from the draining of swamps and marshes and

about 193 thousand hectares of improved land. About 500 reservoirs with a capacity of from 50 thousand to over 50 million cubic metres of water have been built. A total volume of 110-120 million cubic metres of earth has been removed. An acreage of about 80,000 thousand hectares is irrigated through the utilization of about 600 pumping stations with a lifting capacity of from 10 to 800 metres and an installed power of about 50,000 thousand kW. The acreage of land irrigated through mechanical water-lifting devices amounts to 70 thousand hectares. The general water-displacing capacity of electric pumps installed in water-scooping machines is reckoned at 240 cubic metres per second, which is equal to 1.2 times the average flow of the Vjosa River and 2.4 times the average flow of the Seman River, two important rivers of our country, with hydrographic basins of 6,706 and 5,650 square kilometres respectively. Until last year, 51.8 per cent of the arable land was irrigable, the highest figure in Europe and one of the highest in the world. For the needs of agriculture, without reckoning livestock-raising, we spent more than 600 cubic metres of water per inhabitant, thereby occupying second place in Europe.

In the reclaimed and irrigated fields grain and maize yields have risen 2.5-3.5 times, according to the zones, the degree of morphological systematization of each plot, the technique of irrigation, etc. In advanced economies

or on limited plots, achievements are even greater. The same can more or less be said of other crops. With the further intensification of agriculture, another important increase in yields is expected. These yields also prove the high quality of reclamation and irrigation projects, because, although agricultural production is dependent on many other factors, in the final analysis drainage and irrigation are decisive.

Over the 37 years of the people's state power, agricultural production in socialist Albania has grown twice as quickly as the population growth, the real per capita incomes of the peasantry have risen 10-20 per cent from one five-year period to the other, agricultural production has risen 1.7 times per unit of arable land and 1.6 times per agriculture worker, as against 1960.

What is done in the field of land reclamation and irrigation is also an indication of capacities in our organization, direction and in the technical-scientific work. Our specialists have successfully tackled the problems of water for agriculture. The area of land studied, which extends to some tens of thousands of hectares, such as Myzeqe with a hydrographic basin of 58,200 hectares, of which 2,090 hectares of hilly country, the designing and construction of a great number of large-sized projects in difficult geological conditions, such as the many dams with a height of 20 to 47 metres, the ferro-concrete dykes with lock-gates

for supplying several irrigation canals, many mountain canals running through rugged rocky terrain, the large canals with a flow of from 7 to 15 cubic metres per second, the big pumping stations, tunnels and the many reservoirs in carstic areas — all this is proof of the practical abilities and the high technical-scientific level of our specialists.

Great importance is also paid to the maintenance of land reclaiming and irrigation projects. Apart from the network of the third category and a small part of the network of the second category, which are kept in good repair by the agricultural enterprises and agricultural cooperatives themselves, all work for the maintenance of irrigation and land-reclaiming projects is done by specialized state enterprises with state expenditure.

The successes in the field of land reclamation and irrigation are imposing. The 8th Congress of the Party, which was convened in November last year, stressed, «In the future, too, investments and care for the land must constitute the main direction of the work for the intensification and increase of agricultural production». Irrigation and land-reclaiming are the main measures in this direction.

The usefulness and beauty of this work, which bear on the transformation of the environment and the improvement of the living conditions of people, grows even more if seen with the eyes of an ecologist.

# THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE ALBANIAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

by **ALEKS BUDA**

*A straight line goes through periods of an ever growing economic and social, political and cultural content; it brought the Albanian ethnos, the Albanian nationality, to a formation of the highest historical-social level — the level of the present-day socialist Albanian nationality, which is one and indivisible in its language, culture, and territory and everything good it has inherited from history*

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND CULTURE DWELT ON AN IMPORTANT AND COMPLEX SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM, ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WITH WHICH ALBANOLOGY — BOTH AS A SCIENCE ORIGINALLY TREATING PROBLEMS OF THE ALBANIAN NATION AND AS A SCIENCE TREATING PROBLEMS OF A WIDER INTERNATIONAL RANGE, HAS DEALT FROM THE BEGINNING OF ITS EXISTENCE.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAVE LONG SINCE POINTED OUT THE PHENOMENON OF THE FIRM RESISTANCE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, WHO, THROUGH THE CENTURIES, HAVE FACED UP TO MOST DIFFICULT SITUATIONS WHICH JEOPARDIZED THEIR VERY EXISTENCE, THEIR ETHNIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY. THEY SET OUR ALBANOLOGICAL SCIENCES THE TASK OF THROWING LIGHT THROUGH SYSTEMATIC, INTER-DISCIPLINARY STUDIES ON THIS PHENOMENON, WHICH IS NEITHER A «MIRACLE» NOR AN ACCIDENT, BUT THE RESULT OF THE OPERATION OF THE VARIOUS OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE FACTORS THAT UNDERLIED THE HISTORIC PROCESSES WHICH DETERMINE THE ANCIENT CHARACTER OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND SHOW THEIR CONTINUITY AND UNITY OF THEM.

In their attempts to achieve a synthesis of the results of an activity carried out over many years, the scholars of the PSR of Albania are happy to come forward before the scientific opinion of their own and other nations with results which fully coincide with those achieved by our colleagues and brothers in Kosova (The University of Prishtina), Macedonia and Montenegro. Many of these results have attracted the attention of the Albanological students abroad, who are taking greater interest in them.

It is our opinion that the wide range of problems taken up by our Conference constitutes a key problem for the Balkan studies, too, since the problem of the formation of the Albanian people, their continuity and autochthony, the formation of their historical terri-

*Prof. ALEKS BUDA — President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania*

tory, their language and culture, is connected, by many threads, with analogous problems of the neighbouring Balkan peoples, with whom the Albanians, as one of the most ancient peoples of this peninsula, live in centuries-long and constant relations of exchange — economic, cultural, linguistic and political. These inter-Balkan relationships strikes the eyes not only of the discerning specialist. This relationship is apparent in the individualness, already formed in the centuries, of the ethnocultural and ethnopsychological physiognomy of these peoples. In their study of these both common and individual phenomena, the Albanian scientists do not raise problems concerning ethnic and cultural priorities or superiority, or even less «biological-racial» factors, nor do they approach the problem from the positions of a romantic nationalism in order to affirm that theirs is the only element of high va-

# ANALYSIS OF AN ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND ITS HISTORY

lue. By taking up for study the problems connected with the history of the formation of the Albanian people, their language and culture, we are reminded, amongst other things, of the saying of the famous Croat Albanologist and Balkanologist, Milan Sufflay, that the history, language and culture of the ancient Albanian people better than anything else reflect the historic stratification of the entire Balkan microcosmos from the most ancient times. Seen in this aspect, the Albanian ethnos with its history, like a giant oak with its circles, shows the historical growth of this ancient world of the Balkans.

In the political jargon, not less so in the scientific jargon, today we come up against a suspicion, bordering on an *à priori* negation of the scientific term ethnos on the part of a number of Balkan archaeologists, historians and anthropologists, amongst whom the Yugoslav ones are the most outspoken.

We regret that such well-known archaeologists and historians as M. Garasin, S. Cirković and others declare today that science should renounce the study of the problems connected with the formation of ancient ethnic groups, their territories and cultures, because, according to them, this is allegedly a field in which «biological-racial» concepts prevail, and that such formations as the ethnos and the ethnic territory in general are connected with the primitive society, hence are an anachronism in contemporary society. According to them, science has abandoned or must abandon the study of such problems as those connected with ethnogenesis.

They try to back this up by alleging that the constituent factor of ethnos

is mainly biological and racial; at most they give the term ethnos the significance of a mere cultural-linguistic community the existence of which rules out the need for a relationship, of exchange free from any degree of prejudice, amongst peoples, or for a common basic territory for them to develop. Obviously, such a definition divests the concept of ethnos of its objective, concrete historic content, generally accepted by modern science — a social community formed historically on the basis of coexistence, of intercourse in a common or cognate language, of identical or similar material and spiritual culture, of relations of production and exchange, all this on the basis of a definite territory, without which these factors could not exist and operate. Hence, the ethnos is an historical product which is not given *à priori* and is not unchangeable, cannot exist without connection with the social formations which, in the last analysis, determine it. So, the ethnos exists as an embryo in specific forms, both in the tribal and slave-owning societies, both in the people and in the nation as forms of organization of the feudal society, as well as in the nation of the capitalist society and in socialism. Nevertheless, the content is always new, corresponding to the relative socio-economic formation. The ethnos in all these social formations invariably consists of those components, which are always present regardless of the fact that in the primitive society, for instance, the territorial and especially the economic factors develop in weak rudimentary forms, whereas in the more developed social forma-

tions the above-mentioned factors carry greater weight although not at the expense of the other factors such as language, which is one of the most important criterium in the formation and definition of the ethnos.

According to us, progressive opinion in modern science has every reason to attach ever greater importance to the investigation and study of the formation of ethnic communities and their cultures, as well as their national territories seen as a result of a socio-historical formation. Carried out on an objective scientific basis, these studies constitute a powerful theoretical argument in the hands of the peoples, nationalities and nations, either oppressed or on the road to their liberation, for the affirmation, on legitimate historical bases, of their political and national identity, of their aspirations to a democratic progressive culture compatible with their ethnical-historical physiognomy and demands for social progress, with their struggle for freedom and independence against any form of exploitation; these are important tasks and problems which have been put forward for solution and to which the science must find an answer.

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The initial Illyrian ethnos, with its very vast territorial extension from the Sava River down to Epirus, had a very loose unity. Depending on the circumstances, it split, regrouped or mingled with other ethnoses or was even assimilated by them. However, one group of this ethnos, the South Illyrians, began

to grow apart, due to the particularly favourable situation of their territory, as an individual ethno-cultural community with many features in common. In contemporary sources they are designated as «the Illyrians proper» (**Illyri proprie dicti**). The coexistence of a people speaking the same or a cognate language, having the same or similar culture, living close to the coast within the radius of the civilization of a number of cities on the great routes of communication, in a habitat which favoured their economic development, their inclusion for a long period in the most important political formation of the eastern coast of the Adriatic — the Illyrian Kingdom, all these factors helped the South Illyrians crystallize in this territory as an individual ethnic community consisting of a group of tribes with the Albans of present-day Central Albania, at the head, where Claudius Ptolemy places them in the 2nd century of our era. These circumstances, taken in their concurrence, account for the capacity of this ethnic community to survive antiquity, even though it suffered the language-cultural impact of the Roman and Byzantine Empires which left their imprint, and to go through the relations with its Slav neighbours later. With its ancient roots but with a new social content, this ethnos continued with the Arbër people of the Middle Ages, who are mentioned in the same territory from the 11th century on.

This and other similar examples show that none of the factors alone with concur in the formation of these communities would have been sufficient to explain the formation of an ethnos.

Hence, it follows that none of the historical-cultural sciences alone is in a position to have the final say on the analysis of ethnogenetic processes. On this issue it is important that the results of linguistics should coincide with those of ethnology and archaeology, and all of them together with those of history. These sciences can and must be brought to assist one another; only when their results coincide can it be said that the conclusions thus drawn are sound; but none of these sciences has the right to disregard the results achieved by the other or to impose its own opinion in a unilateral manner.

Unfortunately, the student is some-

times compelled to operate with insufficient arguments, from one field only, because of lack of documents over long periods. However, a blank period as far as written materials are concerned, as is the case with several centuries of our mediaeval history, cannot and must not lead the scholar to simplistic solutions, or absolve him from the obligation of seeking other auxiliary arguments. Absolutization of similar circumstances has led, in a number of cases, to theses which create an extremely distorted picture of the historic reality, especially when extra-scientific factors interfere, as is frequently the case.

We refer here to the thesis that in the period between the late antiquity and the Middle Ages there is a complete blank in historic documents regarding the Balkans on account of the major political, social and ethno-cultural transformations which characterize the period from the 5th to the 10th century. According to this opinion, the more or less complete Romanization of the Illyrians has been followed by the just-as-complete Slavization of the already Romanized Illyrians. This negation of the Illyrian continuity cannot explain the presence of the Albanians on their mediaeval territories except by means of later invasions coming from different directions — from Thrace in the Eastern Balkans or even further away beyond the Danube, or from the erstwhile Illyrian territories in the Central-Western Balkans south of the Danube, and, ridiculous thought it may seem, even from today's Scotland! In this case the timing has to be rearranged, making the Albanians come to their present territories on an immigration wave of which not a shred of evidence exists in the historical sources, pushed by the Slavs, or together with them, or even after them, according to the circumstances, from the 5th century to the 11th century of our era.

This fundamentally wrong thesis gave rise to two additional theses just as erroneous; on the one hand, the thesis of the subsequent violent Albanization of the original territories by the incoming Albanians, and on the other hand, that of the very low level of socio-economic development of the Albanians in the Middle Ages, explaining these as movements of nomadic shepherds

appearing from some secret mountain recesses, from the most isolated and backward areas of a territory in which these dispersed fragments of an ancient semi-assimilated population had managed to some extent, to escape their complete Romanization thanks to their conditions of marginal primitivity. All this is a structure built laboriously on specious arguments, on a series of theses which are supposed to be taken at their face value, despite all their internal and external contradictions. We cannot help thinking that in a number of cases these arguments reveal not only weaknesses of method and methodology, but also more or less camouflaged political ambitions. It is not accidental that the most outspoken champions of these theses come, with few exceptions, from the ranks of the Slavists with pronounced concepts from the old Pan-Slavism (A.M. Selishcev, I. Popović, I. Zaimov, and others).

Affirmation of this should by no means be taken as negation of the scientific merits of a number of students of various nationalities, who, even when the conditions had not matured, tried with sound judgment to carry forward their studies and to blaze new trails. The new Albanian science mentions their names with respect; let us remember the unforgettable Norbert Jokl, one among the many, the zealous student of the Albanian language, the friend of the Albanian people and of their culture, the victim of hateful and barbarous fascism.

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We can say that the studies of the problems that interest us entered a new higher stage with the emergence of the new Albanian science, when it was able to have its say about them. It bases itself on a richer linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic material, which, on account of the scientific methodology it uses, enables it to have a clearer and more complete view of a number of problems and argue with sounder judgment, without ever pretending to have the final say. Our Conference, with its papers, made known some of the results achieved in this work.

Over a long period of time the linguistic approach to the problems under



discussion had precedence. This was conditioned not only by the creation of a strong tradition but also by the fact that most of the materials available were of a linguistic character. With archaeological-ethnographic research lying relatively behind, the need was felt for developing it at more rapid rates by placing the study of the culture of the **autochthonous** inhabitants at the centre of attention and departing from the traditional orientation which recognized only the culture of the upper circles, the «imperial» culture of the Illyrian territories. It had been precisely this mistaken approach which had led to the idea of the complete Romanization of the Illyrians. The Albanian students worked along these new lines, achieving such results as allow us to raise the question of the ethnical-cultural continuity and autochthony of the Albanians in their historical territories from an earlier starting-point than that of a score of years before.

The linguists approached the problem from the aspect of the affiliation, the continuation of the Albanian language from an ancient language, probably Balkan-Illyrian or Thracian. No doubt, this is an important question. However, as the progress of the studies showed, it could not be solved apart from the other questions. In our opinion, the manner in which this question was posed amounted to trying to explain the secondary before the primary, trying to resolve the problem of the origin of the Albanian language **independently from and prior to** the problem of the location of the ethnical-historical territory in which the phenomena of the continuity of this language should be sought. Apparently, the territorial factor has always played the main role in this issue.

This manner of posing the problem resulted in a game of «tug of war» between «Illyrist» and «Thracist» linguists, Albanian language and the Albanians. Depending on the circumstances, basing themselves on this or that Albanian-Illyrian or Albanian-Thracian isogloss, the solution of the question passed now on the one side, now on the other side of the contesting parties. Obviously this was a long and arduous road which could be overcome by means of a more thorough knowledge of the internal laws governing the structure of the Al-

banian and of the laws of its phonetics — a knowledge that did not exist. We can say that thanks to a long comparative work initiated by G. Meyer, N. Jokl and others, which they carried on to our days, the linguists succeeded in providing new convincing arguments about the connections of the Albanian with the Illyrian, which has been explicitly formulated by the linguist R. Katičić who concluded that no convincing linguistic argument exists to reject the Illyrian origin of the Albanian and the Albanians.

But the history of the Albanian as the final reflection of a comprehensive ethnic-cultural development of the people who speak it, required, apart from the inclusion of the language factor, the inclusion of the just as important territory factor, the territory in which the Albanian ethnos, with its ancient roots, was formed.

This was a path on which Tunman, Hahn, Jokl and others had already pioneered. They and recently Katičić saw an additional proof in favour of the thesis of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the autochthony of the Albanians in these territories, in the fact that the present-day Albanians live precisely in the territory of the ancient Illyrians. Even some of the supporters of the Thracian thesis such as Weygand, Skok, and Barić, eventually adhered to this viewpoint and were compelled to recognize the autochthony of the Albanians in these regions prior to the coming of the Slavs.

Eqrem Çabej dedicated his many years-long activity to the central problem of the autochthony of the Albanians. With a series of studies in the history of the Albanian language and the historical place-names of the Albanian territories, E. Çabej laid the foundations for a scientific approach to the great problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the autochthony of Albanians on their historical territories. He had no doubt that the Illyrian-Albanian coincidences in fact proved the generic links between the Albanian and the Illyrian, but these coincidences in themselves were insufficient. Only the location of the **place** in which the transition from the ancient Balkan language to the mediaeval Albanian took place could be a decisive argument to resolve this question. For this

a comparative linguistic analysis of the historical place-names of the ancient territories of the western and central Balkans was required. On the road opened up by Jokl, but utilizing new material and a more precise and improved methodology, Çabej located the territory of South Illyria, a territory which approximatively coincides with the present-day area of the spoken Albanian, as the centre of the formation of the Albanian and as the historical area of the formation of the Albanian people. The period in which the first phases of this important ethnogenetic process took place were the first centuries of our era, a time when the formation of the Albanian within the Illyrian as a unit which was already in a position to respond in a unified manner to the influences of the Latin and later the Slavonian was taking place. Along with a series of place-names which had gone through a foreign language of a Slavonian character — the result of ethnic changes that came about in the course of the millenium all over the Balkans, a great number of place-names in South Illyria, mainly names of rivers, mountains and cities, have undergone the phonetic evolution which is characteristic of the Albanian language proper, which shows that they have constantly been used by the same Albanian-speaking population and from this population gone over to the language of the neighbouring Slavs in a number of cases. The names of Ulqin, Shkodra, Drin and Buna, Sharr Mountain, Nish, Shkup, and Shtip, Mat and Pult, Drišt and Ishëm, Durrës, Shkumbin, Vlora, Ohër, and Çamëria outlined the bounds of a territory which in the pre-Slav period had been inhabited by an ancient Illyrian population, which through a complex ethnic-cultural process produced the Arbëreshi, the Albanians of the Middle Ages. Thus, the territory of the formation of the Albanian and of the later Albanians was no longer a vague area in the Western Balkans, but, more precisely, the territory which coincided with the South Illyria, where archaeological excavations and finds produce clear testimony of the presence of a mediaeval material culture formed on the basis of an autochthonous culture, along with pre-Roman Illyrian elements, which

developed under the influence of the Roman-Byzantine culture of the late antiquity.

The positioning of the territory of the formation of the Albanian language and of the Albanians in this manner explains the ancient interconnections and factors which have concurred in the formation of the Albanian ethnos and the Albanian language. The easternmost ramifications of the Albanian-speaking territory in the Middle Ages contacted somewhere the westernmost ramifications of the Rumanian-speaking territory. In this manner, the ancient Dardania inhabited by the Illyrians was no longer the westernmost outpost of the Thracians, but a constituent part of a language and cultural territory extending from the Adriatic and Ionian coasts. The ancient Greek and Latin loan-words undisputably connect this centre of ethnogenetic formation with the coast, and in particular, the Latin loan-words of the Albanian with their archaic character, with their central position between the eastern Romanity of Dacia, the northern Romanity of Dalmatia and the western Romanity, show that this language area had a particular place, both as regards its ethnic-cultural location, and the time sequence of its formation. The Latin loan-words, with their archaic and literary character in comparison with the Late Low Latin, show that the Albanian has begun to be formed at a relatively ancient stage, in the centuries of late antiquity, which is the first phase of the transition from the Illyrian to the ancient Albanian. In this manner it was possible to fix the time within which the ethnogenetic processes took place in the beginnings of the first millenium.

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These conclusions, as we said above, are corroborated by archaeological finds. The fact that in the 6th century the Latin, and to a smaller extent the Greek, had a limited use as languages of inscriptions, especially for the higher strata, does not imply any ethnical change, but shows only the process of acculturation of a section of the high strata of society in South Illyria, which had been

Romanized. The resistance of the exploited masses to the imperial power was a powerful factor which contributed to the preservation and even strengthening of the Illyrian ethnos in the conditions of Roman and, later, Byzantine domination. This was specially expressed in the preservation of the language and culture of the lower strata of the population, with elements, features and tendencies inherited from the pre-Roman period, which developed further under the influence of the culture of the high strata and with the changes caused by the invasions of the new populations, which were bound to affect also the territories of South Illyria. In these conditions, there is no interruption of continuity in the language and the material and spiritual culture and even less of territorial unity of the ancient inhabitants of these lands.

The mediaeval Arbëreshi culture, with a series of common features and with its regional variants, is proof of the opposite, indicating that, in the conditions of the decline of the slave-owning order and the disintegration of the Roman Empire of the West and of the East, the local ethnical element went through a phase of revival, not only of its material culture, but also of the other forms of its culture. The ethnical elements of the culture and language of the autochthonous population survived beyond the 6th-8th century as important components of its ethnic-cultural community.

The silence of the Greek-Latin sources about the successors of the ancient Illyrian formations, despite their accurate record of the various phases of the tumult and great ethnical changes beginning from the middle of the millenium, do not invalidate what is said above. The very logic of the historical situation explains why the Roman-Byzantine imperial historiography records with particular detail all the invasions, devastations and changes, all the events of a political and military character which posed a threat to the state, while maintaining absolute silence about the ancient local population, which in these conditions could not constitute a threat, and therefore, a reason for it to be mentioned and singled out from among the

mass of the population going under the general political denomination of the subjects of the empire.

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As was said above, some historians have made their own stereotyped thesis that the characteristic features of the Albanian society from the ancient times to the Late Middle Ages are those of a society of nomad herdsmen who lived outside the sphere of operation of the laws of normal socio-economic development, unconnected with a given territory. From alleging that this population has not come to know higher forms of civic and state life, some authors have gone over to disregarding, for instance, a very important argument in favour of the continuity of the ethnic name *Albani* which Ptolemy mentioned as early as the 2nd century of our era. According to them this passage of Ptolemy is allegedly a later interpolation, and this, always according to them, because the Illyrian-Albans could allegedly not have had their own cities. But they forget that a number of sources and place-names of the late antiquity show authentic endemic forms of the root **arb-** and **alb-** in the western zone of the Balkan coast and on the territories of South Illyria.

The analysis of the ancient heritage of the Albanian lexic and of its elements borrowed from the Latin, together with important information from mediaeval archaeology and paleography, indicates that in the case of the mediaeval Albanians we have to do with a population which lives **ab antiquo** in an urban environment, leads a sedentary life of a certain development, and is engaged in artisan and agricultural-livestock pursuits. Testimony to this are the frequent archaeological finds not only in the plains and hilly zones, but also in the mountainous zones of the hinterland. They are convincing proof of the fact that the process of formation of the Albanian people did not take place in the conditions of socio-economic stagnation or regression, but in the conditions of a relative development, despite the grave destructions which the great invasions

brought in their wake. All the data speak about the extension of the land under cultivation, about the old inhabited centres being preserved and new ones being set up about which not the slightest doubt can be raised as to the urban character of their economy or to the Albanian ethnic character of their population. Sufficient illustration of this point is the case of Kruja whose Albanian name is mentioned since the 9th century, being a metastasis of a city of the late antiquity, probably Albanopolis. A number of cities and inhabited centres, monuments of culture, and necropolises are testimony to the continuity of the ethnic features of the ancient population, of its original names, its topographical position, its fortifications, etc.

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The period from the 8th to the 12th century constitutes a new and higher stage in the history of the Albanian people, in their socio-economic and political development. It is also a new and higher stage in the development of ethno-genetic processes, in the crystallization of the mediaeval Albanian-Arbëreshi ethnos as the continuation, with a new content, of the ancient ethnic community and of its constituent factors. Along with the linguistic entity, the cultural community was also consolidated and developed, first of all, as a culture of the autochthonous masses, enriched with new elements from their contacts and relations with the contemporary neighbouring cultures of the Balkan-Adriatic basin. The characteristics which we know to be the fundamental elements of our present-day national ethnic culture became already crystallized in the material culture as well as in the spiritual-artistic culture, in the dresses, ornaments, dances and music, in the institutions of the popular canon law, etc. Amongst all these there stand out the components deriving from the old patrimony, differentiated and completed with a new content.

Manifestations of conservation and renewal are to be found also in the «higher» culture, ie the culture of the ruling classes, in the monuments of military, civil and religious culture. Here we see no complete break with

the past which could, in any way, be connected with the changes caused by the invasions of the second half of the millenium. Here, too, the characteristic features which testify to an autonomous development of the provincial culture, become more conspicuous. Like in the time of the late antiquity, here, too, though uniform in appearance, a distinct culture of the autochthonous strata of the people, as an important factor which imparts its own specific features to this provincial culture, begins to emerge.

The convergent factors which stand out in the course of the entire development of the Albanian society — the common ethnic patrimony, the as yet restricted economic relations, the territorial community, all of them operate in the development of the Albanian language as a whole. The differentiation between tribes and their dialects, the creation of larger territorial units, etc find their reflection in the formation of several groups of territorial dialectical units. Despite a number of specific features, these dialects have common fundamental features — the same structure of language, phonetics, vocabulary, etc. This is a new higher stage in which the Albanian language is crystallized in the Middle Ages.

The territorial component of the Albanian ethnos, though in rough outlines remained compact and unitary, could not fail to reflect the consequences of the invasion waves, especially those of the Slavs, in the Balkans. In these conditions, the phenomenon that took place was not one of expansion, as is claimed, but one of restriction of the territories formerly inhabited by the ancient Illyrian-Albanian population, especially in their eastern part, in which the organized states of the Bulgarians and the Serbs established themselves.

But the fact observed by the linguists (E. Petrović, N. Van Wijen) that the Albanian has had very extensive contacts, since the end of the millenium, with a population which spoke a Bulgarian-type language, and, on the other hand, with another which spoke a Serbian-type language, fully confirms the opinion that initially, at a very early period, the Albanian territories must have spread over a very extensive area

which formed a wedge between the Serb and Bulgarian territories.

Ethnogenetic process cannot develop in an undifferentiated social environment. The development and consolidation of feudal relations create the conditions for the further development of the unitary tendencies of the Albanian ethnos.

Feudal tenures, now based on larger territories, the expropriation and the continued process of alienation of the peasants from their communities, led to the disruption of traditional links and the further fusion of the local population. This process was also aided by the continuous migration of the inhabitants of the highlands towards the lowlands and the hilly zones, and, on the other hand, by the seasonal migrations of the herdsmen to summer pastures.

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These were changes of a profound and all-round character which distinguish the period from the 7th to the 12th century as a new, higher stage in the ethnic-cultural development which takes place in the process of consolidation and crystallization of the Albanian ethnos. Compared with the false brilliance of the slave-owning society whose lease of life now had expired, the new situation, in fact, marked a period of barbarity, which affected our country, too. But, nevertheless, this was a situation pregnant with the new, in its «birth labours», a situation which would produce a society which, as Engels puts it, was emerging from the ruins of the old world, from new beginnings and transformations. It was also characterized by a stage of new formations in the ethnic organization. From the ethnic communities based on tribes and tribal federations, or from the amorphous ethnic-territorial units of the slave-owning society, from the «ruins of the decomposed Roman world» there were emerging the **peoples** of mediaeval Europe as new, higher ethnic units, with their developed class organization and a new social content. These **peoples** are still based on the characteristic features of their common language, culture and territory in which continual exchanges begin to develop, although these are

limited within the shell of the feudal economy. It was precisely these ethnic characteristics which constitute the ethnic-cultural unity of the people as the embryo of the «nation», the highest product of the ethnic-cultural development of the feudal society.

Living together and merging with one another in the midst of the same people in their own territory now there are elements of different origin, elements from the fundamental autochthonous population but also from remnants of other ethnic groups which had settled in these zones as a result of the various upheavals and invasions in the course of the first millenium. Social and political factors play an important role in the process of unification at this stage. This, on the one hand, is connected with the existence over the entire territory of the dependent and exploited peasantry as a class with the same social features, which, in fact, comprised the bulk of the population, and on the other hand, the ruling class, the Albanian feudal class which already extends over an ethnically homogenous territory and which is connected with this territory through its class interests. Divided, and at the same time, united by the class struggle which goes on between them, these two classes, which exist in the same ethnic territory, constitute a dialectical unity which, in fact, carries forward the process of ethno-genetic unification. They form a unity not only on the basis of their common language, territory, material culture and customs, regardless of class differences in the content of their culture, but also on the basis of the community of their political interests, which in particular historical stages and circumstances unite these two classes against the threat of foreign domination, as is the case of our country's resistance to the Byzantine domination and the invasions from the neighbouring regions, from the Bulgarian and the Serb states, invasions which were to the detriment, not only of the fundamental interests of the upper strata of the local society, but also to those of the peasant masses. To the masses of the peasants these states constituted the main exploiting enemy, whereas to the new ruling class, which was growing stronger in the midst of the Albanian society, they were an

impediment to the free development of its political power, to the exploitation of the peasant masses of the country to its own advantage. These contradictions, which continued for centuries, made the external factor an important element contributing actively to the consolidation of the formation «people». The latter now sought to avail themselves of the objective tendencies to a political separation of the Albanian territories in the framework of a state of their own on the basis of their ethnic peculiarities. «Once the language groups were determined,» and along with them the ethnic-territorial differences, says Engels, «it was natural that they would serve as a basis for the formation of the states.»

The process of formation and consolidation of a people with its own language and culture develops generally in more favourable conditions in the framework of a state politically independent with an ethnically homogeneous population. In these conditions, the socio-economic and political differentiation develops at more rapid rates and permits the local exploiting class to carry out its external function, defence of the country from foreign aggression and its internal function more effectively, to extend and strengthen its domination over a broader territory, including in it more and more regions inhabited by the same population.

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The ethnic union and consolidation of the Albanian as one «people», as an historical-cultural phenomenon connected with the development of feudalism, found its expression also in the extension and the general use of the ethnico name «Arbën» by all the inhabitants of this broad territory. This phenomenon had nothing to do with the foreign invasions, but with the creation of a general socio-cultural and ethnic-cultural community consisting of the historical territories of the Albanians. The fact that the same ethnic name «Arbën» is used in the same manner both in the early Mediaeval Greek-Byzantine sources (from the 11th century), in the Eastern Serb and Bulgarian sources (the 12th-13th century) and in the Western sources of the same

period, regardless whether it is referred to the inhabitants of the Albanian territories further south, further north and further east, already speaks of the highest stage of consolidation of this ethnic community into a «nationality», a process which is reflected precisely in this common denomination.

In his studies of the Early Middle Ages Engels clearly revealed the manner in which the objective factors which turn a people into a nationality, as the highest expression of its consolidation, operated in Mediaeval ethnic-cultural formations. It is clear that amongst these factors, the territorial factor continued to occupy an important place, as an essential condition for the development of regular economic relations, and as an expression and result of these relations.

In the conditions of normal development, the nationality, with the relations which characterize it, becomes one of the active bases for the formation of centralized states or monarchies, which represent the embryos of the future national states of Europe in the Middle Ages. In this process, nationalities represent the precursors of the modern nation. The historical conditions of our country were an impediment to the development of the Albanian nationality and its normal growth into a national state. These circumstances had an inhibiting effect, in as much as it is known that the states are powerful factors of unified ethnic-cultural integration and consolidation. In this aspect, the Albanian nationality showed that, even in difficult conditions, it was in a position to preserve and develop the state of unification achieved, although from ancient times it had to submit to the political and cultural interference of the big empires and the universal cultures which they represented. Moreover, this nationality was, for centuries on end, included in the territories of different states at the same time. This circumstance represented a still greater threat since in a number of cases it brought about the introduction of ethnically foreign elements amid the autochthonous population, as happened in some zones of Albania (in the southeast, under the rule of the great Bulgarian state, in the north and northeast in the condi-

tions of the expansion of the Serb state into Kosova, etc.). This ruling class, which was ethnically alien to the main body of the population, with its military, administrative and church apparatus, became a factor which inhibited or slowed down the formation of a local ruling class in these regions. An analogous negative situation was also created in the conditions when the foreign ruling class and its apparatus had religion in their service and used their language as the language of the church and of official and cultural relations. It is known that the church in the Albanian territories was neither administratively independent nor did it use the national language; this factor had negative consequences also for the reason that in the Albanian territory we come across three hostile religions which were conductors of opposite political and ideological tendencies. If in these processes the old local population succeeded in resisting the threat of assimilation, the explanation for this should be sought not only in the opposition of the social factors, but also in the reliance of the autochthonous population on a developed ancient ethnic-cultural basis. «It was the conquered that assimilated the conquerors; the ancient peasants and citizens that assimilated their masters,» says Engels, and continues, «the modern nationalities are also the result of the oppressed classes».

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The history of the Albanian people in the Middle Ages has a number of constant factors which characterize and determine its legitimate course. These deep-going objective processes left their imprint in the Albanians' awareness of their unity, a unity which distinguished them from the other neighbouring nationalities, a nationality derived from «the same stock», having the same history, the same customs, living on the same territory and having

the same interests. All this is an accurate subjective expression of the process of formation of the Albanian nationality, as formulated by the Albanian humanist Marin Barleti in the 15th Century.

Undoubtedly, in all this we must see the expression of the experience of the great, almost a century-long struggle waged by the Albanian population in all its territories and regions against the Osman Turk invaders. The irreconcilable class contradictions between the popular masses and the invaders, which operated in this case, too, assisted the strengthening of the political and military cohesion of this nationality and effectively served the popular war which the ruling class of the country, with Skanderbeg at the head, was leading.

The frontal clash of the popular masses with the «foreigner» also explains a seemingly strange phenomenon: it is precisely after this period of war that took place the process of the gradual replacement of the ancient ethnic name «Arbën» by the just as ancient name «Shqiptar» by which the Albanians distinguished themselves as a nationality, with its own «shqip» (understandable) language, from foreigners.

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The new situations which were created in the Albanian territories under the many centuries of Osman rule could not change the essence of the fundamental ethnic-cultural structure of the already crystallized Albanian nationality, nor could they interrupt the course of the unified political and cultural development, the bearers of which were the popular masses in their frontal opposition to the Osman ruling and exploiting class. In these new circumstances, the Albanians were forced to go over the same road they had traversed since the Early Middle Ages (but now at a higher stage) in

order to gain their political and cultural emancipation, to consolidate themselves as an ethnic community against the assimilating tendencies of the universal Osman monarchy and its theocratic ideology which knew no nationality bounds.

The example of development of the Albanian nationality is additional proof that no outside force is in a position to undo what the centuries have conceived and consolidated, to turn back or nail down the development of the socio-economic and cultural forces.

This long historical road was not only a road of conservation, but also of all-round development and rejuvenation. It is the best testimony to the all-round creative capacity and potential of this people, who, even in the most difficult conditions of its history, succeeded in developing and strengthening its own internal cohesion, formed on the basis of objective laws.

A straight line goes through periods of an ever growing economic and social, political and cultural content; it brought the Albanian ethnos, the Albanian nationality, to a formation of the highest historical-social level — the level of the present-day socialist Albanian nationality, which is one and indivisible in its language, culture, and territory, and everything good it has inherited from history. Resisting storms of many-centuries, this giant oak, which has its roots deep in its own historical territory, is living through a new revival everywhere. With the working class and with the party which emerged from its bosom, which is its very flesh and blood, at the head, those great processes of unification, development and progress, which constitute the thousand-year old history of our people, have found their realization and acquired a new, higher content. The strength of this cohesion, tempered in the centuries, challenged the centuries. Ancient and ever young, this nation knew how to resist the centuries over and over again.

# *press review*

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## **THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ENERGETICALLY SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**

*From the speech of the Albanian representative at the 7th extraordinary urgent session of the UN General Assembly*

In these days the 7th extraordinary urgent session of the UN General Assembly held its proceedings in New York over the question of Palestine, at which the representative of the PSR of Albania Abdi Babela also intervened. Among other things he said:

«With the recent barbarous attack on Lebanon the imperialist-zionist aggression in the Middle East assumed a new criminal escalation and very dangerous proportions. The crimes and massacres, the terror and real genocide which the military machine of the zionists is perpetrating against the Lebanese and the Palestinian people have deeply angered the peoples and progressive opinion.

«The Albanian people and the PSR of Albania condemn these new crimes of Israel and American imperialism against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples with the most profound indignation.

«The bloody events in Lebanon once more prove that the Israeli zionists and the American imperialists do not hesitate to set in motion huge military forces and use large amounts of modern and lethal weapons to destroy a small country like Lebanon, to drown a whole people in blood, to kill thousands of people within a few hours in order to

realize their expansionist ambitions and aims.

«The aggression of the Israeli zionists against Lebanon is a component part of the general plan the United States and the other imperialists have long since been trying to carry out in the Middle East in order to put this region under control. By encouraging zionist expansion, they use Israel as a striking force to carry out their aims. As confirmed by the facts, the aggression against Lebanon is, at the same time, a consequence of the ceaseless fierce rivalry and bargaining over the Middle East between the United States and the Soviet Union. This aggression is another link that is being added to the chain of the destructive consequences of the various plots hatched up by the imperialist superpowers jointly or separately against the Palestinian and the other Arab peoples to prevent the finding of a just and permanent settlement of the problem of Palestine and the Middle East in general. It is clear that the aggression against Lebanon is planned and implemented in the series of efforts to complete that process that began with the notorious Camp David agreement. The Israeli zionists unleashed their attack

after they were supplied with great amounts of American armaments of all kinds, after they had worked out down to the smallest detail the military campaign and the political, diplomatic and propaganda game they would play, together with the United States.

«Whereas the zionist aggressors were throwing any amount of American-made bombs on the women, old men and children of Beyrouth and other Lebanese cities, the emissary of American imperialism in the Middle East employed every intrigue and wile to serve the interests of Israel and the United States to the detriment of their victims.

«The unleashing of the Israeli zionist aggression against Lebanon is encouraged by the anti-Arab activities and intrigues of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East. In words the Soviet Union has expressed its support of Lebanon and the Palestinians, but this cannot hide the fact that in the present case the Soviet Union is only stabbing the victims of the zionist aggression in the back. The stand of the Soviet Union, like that of the United States in the Middle East, is dictated by its expansionist and hegemony-seeking interests. The So-



viet social-imperialists have openly declared that the Middle East is situated near the southern borders of the Soviet Union and any development in this region affects Soviet interests.

«The zionist aggressors and their imperialist bosses intend to suppress the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and liquidate their just cause. They want to extend the area of Arab lands under zionist occupation so as to force the Arab peoples into renouncing their rights on the lands that already are under Israeli occupation for some years now and oblige them to abandon the cause of the Palestinian people, and definiti-

vely submit to the dictate of zionism and imperialism.»

The Albanian representative pointed out, among other things, that the zionists, imperialists and the other enemies of the Arab peoples will not succeed in achieving their aims. The cause of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples and their struggle is a just cause. The experience of the people's struggles throughout history teaches us that when people fight for their rights, for self-determination, and national freedom, there is no force that can subdue them.

The Albanian people energetically support the just struggle of the fraternal Palesti-

nian people to return to their Homeland, to take back their hearths and to fully restore all their national rights. They have always admired and continue to admire the superhuman efforts of the Palestinian people to maintain their national identity, regardless of all the sacrifices they have had to make and the suffering they have endured.

The Albanian people support the just struggle of the Lebanese people against zionist aggression which must cease immediately with the restoration and respect of Lebanese sovereignty.

*Taken from the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» of August 22, 1982.*

## ENDLESS MARATHON OF HUMBUG

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

The news agencies are reporting again about the Geneva talks that are being conducted between the American and Soviet representatives on the so-called reduction of strategic nuclear armaments in the wake of the endless bargainings of their secret diplomacy. This is a continuation of their old game of mutual accusations and counter-accusations, with each superpower trying to ensure its superiority over the rival in «disarmament» plans and, at the same time, posing as the champion of peace. In an ar-

ticle published in the newspaper «Pravda», the Soviet Minister of Defence Ustinov accused the United States «of not taking enough constructive steps in the Geneva talks in reply to the Soviet initiatives». The American newspaper «New York Time», quoting American high officials, wrote that Soviet proposals at the Geneva talks are unacceptable, because «they do not respond to president Reagan's proposal for a reduction of long-range missiles.»

While the imperialist-revi-

sionist propaganda makes a great noise about the reduction of nuclear armaments, the armaments race goes on. The United States spends on war preparations more than all the other NATO countries and Japan taken together. The American president has declared more than once that «the American government intends to negotiate from positions of strength.» For this purpose Washington has worked out a five-year plan of rearmament which envisages the expenditure of more than 1,600 billion dollars.

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Over 180 billion dollars of this sum are allocated to the production of armaments only, including the production of 100 new strategic bombers B-1, of nuclear-powered submarines equipped with Trident missiles, 100 MX intercontinental missiles and thousands of «Cruise» missiles. The American propaganda tries by all manner of means to give validity to the «need» for this aggressive rearmament plan of the Pentagon. «Many Pentagon experts,» writes the American magazine «US News and World Report», «are of the opinion that if the Reagan administration does not succeed in its five-year armament plan of 1,600 billion dollars, it will be difficult for the United States to neutralize Soviet overall superiority.»

The Soviet Minister of Defence Ustinov, for his part, called for the further streng-

thening of the Soviet armed forces.

Fourteen per cent of the annual national product of the Soviet Union is channelled for war aims. A great part of the budget destined to the development of science, technology and outer space research goes to war preparations. The aggressive militarist course of Moscow has resulted in the military expenditure over these two-three years growing 1.3 times against the growth rate of the total national product. If the present rate of military expenditure is maintained, the various exports of institutes of strategic studies calculate that the rate of expenditure for military purposes will be three times as high at the turn of the decade.

The facts show in an incontrovertible manner that despite all talks, neither Mos-

cow nor Washington bother about the maintenance of peace in Europe and in the world, but only about the protection of their imperialist interests, for which they would not hesitate to throw Europe and the whole world into the flames of war. The news agencies' reports that the United States is producing neutron bombs with a very powerful radiation, destined to be used in Europe, clearly show that Reagan's statements one year ago about «the possibility of a nuclear war in Europe without superpower involvement» were based on the plans of the Pentagon which envisage the sacrificing of the peoples of Europe. The everyday reality is convincing the peoples that neither the talks of the superpowers nor their disarmament conferences can bring them peace and true security.

**DEEPENING SPLITS**

«BASHKIMI» — *Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

All the show of euphoria about the «unity» of the Atlantic Alliance, which was noisily trumpeted about after the Bonn and Versailles meetings in June, soon cooled down. The reality which this show covered up broke out in the open. What dominates now in the Atlantic Alliance is not unity but quarrels, contradictions and divisions between

the United States and Western Europe. The American administration is showing a marked inclination to dictate as a means for the solution of all differences. The European partners are seeing their hopes that the United States will be more considerate of their economic and political interests, that it will be more generous and show greater

understanding in their mutual relations, vanish into thin air.

The West-Europeans complain about their markets being swamped with American agricultural products. The situation becomes worse as they are unable, because of American pressure, to raise a customs barrier against commodities coming from the USA. As a result now the

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Common Market deficit has reached 4 billion dollars. A sore question is that of steel. The United States blocks at will the export of steel from Europe. It declared a new considerable reduction of these exports recently. And all this is occurring at a time when the crisis-ridden European metallurgy works at 70 per cent of its capacity. On the other hand, high interest rates charged by the American credit banks have given rise to deep dissatisfaction.

However, amongst the present contradictions the construction of the Siberian gas pipeline, in which many economic and political interests come into play, is the more explosive issue. The decision of the United States to extend the embargo on equipment for the gas pipeline to European firms working on American licences was a heavy blow to the West-Europeans in several aspects. First, because they expected to make billions of dollars of profit from this project, and the American decision means a great loss. Second, by means of this project the Europeans sought to gain another advantage: to strengthen their economic relations with the East, as an important basis for the extension of the «détente» which they want to achieve. Now this political advantage is in jeopardy. Third, the differences of West Europe with the United States of America over this problem once again revealed in what opinion the United States holds its European allies. They also clearly

showed how the United States makes its calculations when it comes to protect its own interests. Washington rejected the project of the gas pipeline forthwith. The strengthening of the economic relations of its allies with the Soviet Union is not to its liking. The United States wants to have the monopoly of these relations and as a consequence it can tolerate the economic strengthening of its allies only to a certain point. It is afraid that the strengthening of détente might soften its allies in their attitude towards the Soviet Union. So, the American opposition which began with gentle advice, and attempts at persuasion, turned into stern pressure and open threats, and recently, into the brutal decision to extend the embargo.

The time chosen for it made the American blow all the more severe. It is a time when «United Europe», more than ever, is trying to affirm its personality in the international arena, wants to make its until now meek voice more heard at superpower level. For all these reasons taken together, the West-European reaction came out strong and fierce. This is one of the rare cases when the «community» found what it has been lacking so much: unity. Even the «Trojan horse» inside the «community», Britain, the main spokesman for the American interests in Europe, joined the chorus of the ten.

But the voice of this chorus fell on deaf ears. Reagan

declared: «The Siberian gas pipeline increases Europe's dependence on the East for energy. I see no reason to reverse my decision.» Reagan seems to forget that, while he prevents his allies from trading with the East under the pretext of the «danger» posed by this trade, he recently took the decision of renewing for another year the contract under which the United States will sell the Soviet Union millions of tons of grain.

In these conditions «United Europe» made another attempt. First, the Italian Foreign Minister Colombo and, after him the West-German Chancellor Schmidt, went to America on semi-official visits with the aim of making the «big ally» change his mind. No matter how much they hoped for a placation of the situation, the Europeans based their tactics on a large dosis of severity of their reactions to the arrogance of the Americans. Before leaving for Washington, Schmidt said: «Europe cannot in any way accept a new extension of American domination over the companies of the Community». Speaking before American businessmen in Houston he went further in his denunciation of the American decision as one which had been taken without prior consultation, and described it as something very grave. Many analogous declarations came from Europe in support of Schmidt's stand. Prominent among them were those made by the French Foreign Minister Chaison who

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said that «there is a deepening rift between Europe and Washington,» and that «Europe will be harsh towards the United States if it does not change its stand.»

But what was the result of these efforts of the West-Europeans to show their clutches, too? It is naive to place any hope in the half promises of the American Secretary of State Schultz that the demands of the Europeans will be taken into consideration, or in the «common sense» and «maturity» of this man. With some nuances, Schultz is only

an instrument to apply the line laid down by American big capital. Moreover, only a few days before he declared that he completely agreed with the president's embargo. And the president, for his part, repeated that he is adamant in pressing for the implementation of his decision. Thus, everything came to naught. What is more, «the surprise» different American officials expressed over the harsh reaction of the Europeans is in itself a sort of answer which may be formulated like this: «You should not revolt. Is

our will not a law for you?» This cynicism and arrogance stem from assurance that, in spite of the occasional kicking, «United Europe» is not in a position to fend for itself without the American umbrella. Nevertheless, times have changed, and are not like those of the Marshall Plan. The Europeans can no longer tolerate to see their interests and sovereignty disregarded. Their reaction is expected to become still fiercer. The splits in the midst of the Atlantic Alliance are bound to grow deeper.

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## RACISM AND CHAUVINISM

### «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

When he entered upon office, Reagan, amongst other things, made a number of declarations, demagogical, of course, about putting an end to racial discrimination which has been raised to a system in the United States of America. «We are a united people,» he said and solemnly declared that he recognizes no racial or ethnic divisions. Continuing on this line, he promised «equal opportunities for all Americans,» etc. Later the American president repeated the same statements, as in the case of a conference recently organized by a negro association, where he declared that «the administration will eliminate all cases of discrimination of minorities by the government.»

However, promises are one thing and the reality is another thing. Promises are made in profusion by all the presidents of the USA without exception, whether of the democratic or the republican party. The reality, however, has remained unchanged, indeed has become even gloomier. In the USA of our days even after the «anti-racial» declarations of Reagan the supremacy and domination of the whites over the black population, the existence of the tragic black ghettos are a flagrant reality. In a number of states of this country the blacks are prevented from attending white schools. Through various decisions and measures the Reagan administration has justified and supported

this state of things. Even under Reagan the blacks are prohibited from utilizing the same urban transport facilities as the whites. The blacks are less paid for equal work than the whites. Unemployment among the black population is the highest in the country. The American bourgeois press itself admits now that the time has come «to make Reagan personally responsible for the racial policy of his administration.»

Certainly, the racial policy of Reagan is not the personal doing of the president, nor can it be charged to his administration alone. Being the spokesman for capital in power, in this case one of the two big parties of capital — the Republican Party, the

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president, speaking of the American blacks, has publicly declared that «to try to win over the people who have closed the doors to us, means to misuse our own resources.» Such a declaration speaks of the deep unsurmountable gap between the black population of the USA and the power of capital, and shows that the policy of racial discrimination, and indeed racial terror, is an instrument in his hands to suppress «by force of law» about one fourth of the population of the country in order to exploit it even more ruthlessly and ensure higher rates of profit. Reagan's demagoguery is merely an effort at covering up this reality. Both the president and his administration, like all the preceding presidents and their administrations, are representatives and zealous servants of the interests of big capital, they practice the most savage racism and support Ku-Klux-Klan, the open or disguised offspring of a slave-owner domination, in its murders and secret physical liquidation of the blacks and their children. This is how things stand about the much advertised Reaganism, which

amongst other things is hailed as the official anti-racial doctrine in the USA.

Chauvinism, also raised to the level of official policy, is the other side of the medal. With Reagan's entering upon office, the myth of the «American superiority» has assumed new and threatening proportions. Reagan has raised it to a cult. He has made a fetish of the Americans' «energy and genius». According to him, the Americans represent «such a great nation that they cannot permit themselves to indulge in petty dreams,» because they have been born «to perform great deeds». America is the «blessed land», and its citizens are «heroes», says Reagan. There is no doubt about the similarity of these sermons with those of the Hitlerites about the «Nordic superman». There is no doubt, either, about the fact that behind such national-chauvinist clamour loom criminal objectives which have a striking similarity to the aspirations of the nazifascists in their time. Reagan himself has declared, «while we build here on our own land, we must see to it that our strength grows all

over the world,» or «the growing role of America lies in the fact that it has emerged to the position of a leader.» The Hitlerites also spoke about the «Nordic superman» and the «revival» of Germany, connecting this with what they proclaimed to be the special mission history had assigned to it to establish its domination over the entire world. Their motto «Deutschland über alles» is notorious.

The «greatness» of the America of the dollar rises on the sweat and blood of the millions of the oppressed and exploited who are ruthlessly robbed of everything both inside the USA and in all other countries of the world where American capital has dug its clutches, carrying out barbarous aggressions, creating hotbeds of tension, throwing the peoples into armed conflicts and fratricidal wars. It is an accepted fact today that the wealth the United States of America has created through the plunder of the former colonial peoples and dependent countries is calculated not by tens or hundreds of billions of dollars but by thousands of billions of dollars.

## GREAT-RUSSIAN POLICY OF DENATIONALIZATION

### «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Millions of Russians and other Slav people in the Soviet Union have been forced

to migrate from their homeland to republics and regions of non-Russian and, in gene-

ral, non-Slav population. At the same time, the ethnic population of these republics and

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regions is shifted to the Russian Federation or other regions of the Soviet Union. The Soviet official press says that now «7 million people live outside their national boundaries» in the Soviet Union.

Judging only from the proportions of this phenomenon it is quite clear that here the question is not about some spontaneous and natural movement of population, but about a policy raised to a system and carried out according to precise calculations and with definite national-chauvinist objectives. This can be inferred also from the declarations made by the Soviet revisionists in connection with this problem. They claim that «complex demographic processes require a profound study of the problem of national relations» and that «in the present conditions these processes should be seen from the standpoint of the development of the Soviet people», which, always according to them, means «a people without nationality». These objectives unequivocally imply the assimilation of the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union. As regards the Russians it is stressed that «the role played by the Russian nation in the development of the Soviet people is by no means an accident». In this manner the Russian nation is placed in a privileged position. It is the other nations that should lose their nationality and that, like so many fledglings, should end up under the wings of

Mother Russia. In short, they must be Russified.

In order to impose their savage national-chauvinist policy the Soviet revisionists have raised to a cult, among other things, the Great-Russian chauvinism, which offends the dignity of the non-Russian people. «Novoye Vremiya» writes that, «In the Soviet Union the Russians are the 'big' brothers of the other peoples,» and that «the historical circumstances have given them an important place in the community of the Soviet republics.» They are the «cement» of the state, etc, etc. In this manner the peoples are divided into «big» and «small». The «small» should submit to the hegemony of the «big», ie the Russians, accepting their role of civilizers that history has allegedly reserved for them, etc. These and other theories of this kind are spread by the propaganda and «scientific» literature of the Soviet Union in order to justify this reality. «Nauchnyj kommunizm» points out amongst other things that the national languages of the «small» peoples «cannot serve as a means for these peoples to accede to contemporary science and culture», which they can achieve only through the Russian, according to the Great-Russian ideologists. Continuing in this spirit, they stress that «the Russian language has opened the road to knowledge, science and technique, to the heights of the Russian world culture to the Kirghiz people, the Russian language has enabled the literatures of the nationa-

lities of the Soviet Union to enter the arena of world literature. It has opened the doors of the treasury of world civilization to all the peoples (of the Soviet Union).»

Obviously the question is not about learning the Russian and using it as a means of communication, as the most convenient and most widely used language in the multinational Soviet Union. On the contrary, the question is about a policy which, by various means, aims at bringing the Russian to supplant the national languages of the other peoples and using it as an instrument for the dissemination of the Russian culture among these peoples. At present 82 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union, as the Soviet press points out, speaks Russian currently. The aim is to have Russian used as a national language and to gradually liquidate any individual national feature of the non-Russian peoples and minorities. In fact, always according to Soviet statistics, the percentage of the non-Russians who give Russian as their national language, oscillates from 0.6 among the Tadjiks to 47.4 per cent among the Manses. Things have reached the point that as «Nauchnyj kommunizm» admits, «the native language is taught as a 'special language' because, from the elementary school on, lessons are given in the Russian language.» The Soviet revisionists themselves admit that «today one fourth of all the non-Russian students take their lessons in Rus-



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sian.» If we «bear in mind that the Soviet revisionists themselves say that «national languages are means of development of national cultures,» then this course of the national policy in the Soviet Union is aimed, among other things, at obliterating the cultures of the non-Russian peoples, at subordinating them to the Russian culture, at weakening the national consciousness of these peoples. So, the ideologists of Great-Russian chauvinism are now more openly than ever demanding that specific national values, especially traditions and customs which they consider outdated, should be reconsidered. Obviously this demand is ad-

ressed to the non-Russian peoples. The Russians are presented as a chosen race with a special mission and merits. This is evident from all the above-mentioned theorizations

In this or that manner, the rights of the non-Russian nations and nationalities to complete and free national development in their own territories are violated, their traditions and customs, their spiritual and material culture negated, and last but not least, their national individuality, its preservation and strengthening, brushed aside. «In the conditions of socialism,» «Voprosi filozofii» continues its theorizations, «there are no different national ways of life,»

everything must contribute to the «creation of an international consciousness,» so that «the process of internationalization penetrates all fields — production, spiritual, political and social life, the everyday life, the family.» So, all this shows, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, that the bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship and the complete destruction of the former socialist base and superstructure has raised Great-Russian chauvinism in the Soviet Union to the position of the dominant ideology and made national oppression an inseparable part of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the clique in power in the Kremlin.

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## UNDERMINERS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the present conditions when almost all the countries of Latin America have been swept by the powerful movements of the working masses the counter-revolutionary activity of the revisionist parties is becoming more and more of a patent reality with each passing day. Following in the footsteps of the Soviet or Chinese revisionists or the Eurocommunists, the revisionist parties of this continent have become direct undermi-

ners and wreckers of the revolutionary movements of the working class and the other working masses. They preach reformism, «democratization» of the bourgeois state and army, and proclaim bourgeois parliamentarism as the main line for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The Dominican revisionists consider elections as «the only means for the country to come out of the crisis and to guarantee the establishment of

the state power of the poor.» For their part, the Ecuadorian revisionists, supporting the so-called «social pact» worked out by the ruling classes, suggest a truce between the exploited and the exploiters which, according to them, will create «a milieu of social peace favouring the development of the country».

The revisionist parties try to spread the illusion that socio-economic transformations are possible without recourse

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to radical changes, without destroying the old capitalist state, and in the framework of the bourgeois order. They call on the working masses of city and country to renounce the revolutionary struggle against the foreign monopolies and the regimes in power, to limit their struggle to petitions, meetings and «quiet» manifestations, renouncing riots.

The revisionist theoreticians try to put the social order of many Latin-American countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, etc) a popular dress, to embellish it. According to them, as long as the bourgeois institutions in modern society «collaborate with the population», there is no need for the overthrow of the state apparatus of the oligarchic ruling classes, there is no need for the revolution. From this premise, the revisionist parties of Latin America have built their tactics on pseudo-revolutionary theses of democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, etc. The Mexican revisionists replace the term dictatorship of the proletariat with the term «workers' democratic rule», rejecting Lenin's conclusions that only he is a communist who extends his acceptance of the class struggle to acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Colombian revisionists who propose the so-called «democratic convergence», emphasize in one of their documents that the struggle for democracy within the framework of the bourgeois order should «become the main

axis of the objectives of the revolutionary movement, the essence of people's unity and alliance, a common element of all struggles — both of an economic and political character.» For their part, the Brazilian revisionists, disregarding all class distinctions, point out that «it is a very good thing that the president of the republic is ready for a dialogue and that the opposition forces should accept the helping hand of the general.»

By preaching these theses they intend to perpetuate the rule of the fascist oligarchies and fascist dictatorships, to consolidate the positions of reaction which, aided and abetted by American imperialism, is ever more brutally and savagely clamping down on the struggle waged by the popular masses. There can be no talk about «democratization of life» (as the Brazilian, Chilean, Dominican and other revisionists advocate) in these countries as long as a number of fascist laws are still operating and the forces of the army and police kill the best sons and daughters of the people.

The Latin-American revisionists' betrayal of the cause of the revolution is also evident in their standpoint they adopt over the role of the armed forces in the process of democratization of the life of the country. According to them, the participation of the armed forces in this process is absolutely necessary as they have an «inter-class character», play a «progressive role». They have gone to such

lengths as to call the reactionary armies «part of the people», etc. «Our country,» says a document of the Peruvian revisionists, «cannot march forward towards a new society without oppression and exploitation if we exclude the armed forces and, even less, if we rise against them,» whereas according to the Brazilian revisionists, «the participation of the armed forces is absolutely necessary for the democratization of the life of the country.» With these stands the Latin-American revisionists try to cover up the regressive role the armed forces played in the coups in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, etc.

The facts clearly show that what the Latin-American revisionists want to do is to paralyze the militant spirit of the proletariat in their countries. They have turned into saboteurs of the struggle of the proletariat for freedom and social justice. However, the events on the Latin-American continent today are developing against their wishes. The present revolutionary movement of the Latin-American proletariat is scoring ever new successes. The proletariat is growing more and more estranged from the influence of the revisionists. An important role in this process is being played by the new Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in Latin America which have seized the banner of the revolution and socialism in their hands and are growing ever more into the leading political and revolutionary forces of the working class.

**press review FROM EUROCOUNTRISM TO EUROLEFTISM**

«BASHKIMI»

Tests for the production of a new commodity are being conducted in the laboratory of bourgeois ideological experiments. This new commodity is called Euroleftism (Eurosinistra). The reformist, revisionist and social-democratic propaganda makes much of this new credo of the Italian revisionists who, with their traditional reformist opportunism, have abandoned the Eurocommunist horse and are betting on a new horse called Euroleftism.

What is this Euroleftism which the Italian revisionists are labouring to present as an effective prescription for Europe at the present stage? Euroleftism is being given the same publicity as Eurocommunism in its initial stage. It is trumpeted about as the remedy for Europe. It is not fortuitous that the propaganda of Euroleftism is being stepped up after the gloomy «celebrations» the European bourgeoisie organized on the 25th anniversary of the so-called United Europe. On the ideological and organizational plane Euroleftism calls for a merger of the revisionist and socialist parties of Europe under one denomination. On the political plane the fundamental aim of Euroleftism, as Romano Leda, one of the leaders of this party wrote in the weekly «Rinascita» on April

9, 1982, is to speed up the process of political and economic integration of Europe. This means that the architects of this new party plan to give fresh impulse to the process started by the fathers of Europeism with the Treaty of Rome 25 years ago. This shows that Euroleftism has the blessing of European big capital, and this is but natural that, as any merger of the bourgeois political trends and forces, it cannot be accomplished without the consent of big capital which pulls the ropes behind all these political parties and forces.

The emergence of Euroleftism is not the result of the passion of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and politicians for theoretical innovations. It is an offspring of the ideological, political and organizational crisis of the entire capitalist system and the bourgeois political parties regardless of their theoretical platform and labels. The bourgeoisie had pinned many hopes on Eurocommunism. The reformist ideology of Eurocommunism, an instrument to mislead the proletariat and divert it from the revolution, was publicized as leading to the «promised land».

Eurocommunism, as a revisionist current, very soon revealed its true anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary content

and aims. In the report submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «In the Eurocommunist parties themselves the factions and splits increased, while between the different Eurocommunist parties the struggle for leadership began. The squabbles and division with the other revisionist parties became even greater.»

It is not difficult to see that Euroleftism is only a bluff and that it will be short-lived. First, it is the product of the ever growing ideological and political crisis of the bourgeoisie, and came to light precisely to rally and unite the bourgeois political forces against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. This is something which further exposes it in the eyes of the working masses. Second, talk about the alliance of the revisionist and socialist parties, and especially the parties of the Socialist International, on a European scale, has been going on prior to this event not only among the Eurocommunists, but also among the other revisionists — Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and others. Euroleftism is nothing but a renewed attempt after past defeats. Third, as the revisionist parties cannot find a common language among themselves or with socialist parties of their own coun-

**press review** tries, it is very improbable that they will achieve unity on a European scale.

There is nothing new about Euroleftism apart from its name. But a name alone is in-

sufficient to lend this new revisionist-social-democrat formula a lease of life. Eurocommunism was only too soon exposed and defeated. Still sooner will this happen with the

new experiments of the Euroleftist type. Thus, the transition from Eurocommunism to Euroleftism represents only the metamorphosis of a defeat.

*The Laç-Shkodra railway line, built with the voluntary action of the youth, was inaugurated not long ago. Recently the youth has embarked on another mass action entrusted to it by the Party — the building of the Fier-Vlora railway line.*



*Zef Shoshi: «A MASS ACTION PARTICIPANT», oil.*



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