

PORTRAIT
OF
ALBANIA

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Chapter one

IN FRONT OF THE MAP OF ALBANIA

Geographical position

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is one of the smallest states on the European continent. It is situated in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula and stretches between latitude 39°38' (Konispol) and 42°39' (Vermosh) North and longitude 19°16' (Sazan) and 21°4' (Vernik, Korça) East.

Borders

The present state borders of Albania were defined after the Balkan War, at the 1913 London Conference. Contrary to the struggle, the will and just aspirations of the Albanian people, the imperialist powers left many Albanian-inhabited territories outside Albania's borders.

Albania is bounded on the north and east by Yugoslavia, on the south-east and south by Greece. The total length of Albania's borders is 1,204 kilometres, of which 476 with Yugoslavia and 256 with Greece. The coastline extends over 472 kilometres.

Area

Albania has an area of 28,748 sq. km. It extends from north to south over a maximum length of 340 km. Its length

from west to east varies from 75 to 150 km with a mean of about 100 km.

Relief

Despite its small territory, Albania has a varied morphology of many contrasts. Its soil is geologically recent. The relief of the country is mainly mountainous.

The mean altitude of the country is about 700 m, that is, double the European mean. On about 1/3 (29.5 per cent) of the area it does not exceed 300 m, and on the rest (70.5 per cent) it varies from 300 to 2,700 m.

Albanian relief is particularly varied and, from this aspect, the country may be summarily divided into three geographical areas: the Alps (of Northern Albania), Central Albania and Coastal Albania.

The Alps extend over the northern part of the country, and their height varies from 2,000 to 2,700 m. They extend in length from west to east over about 50 km and in breadth from north to south over about 20 kilometres. Among the highest peaks of the Albanian Alps are Mt. Jezerca (2,694 m.), Mt. Maja e Hekurave with the Peak of Peace (2,600 m.), Mt. Radohima (2,570 m.) etc.

In the snow-capped Albanian Alps start the headstreams of torrents which cut through valleys of rare beauty.

Inner Albania, that is, Eastern Albania, is situated south of the Albanian Alps and east of Coastal Albania. It extends from the junction of the rivers White Drin and Black Drin to Mt. Ostrovica at Leskovik, near the Greek border. The mountains of this area differ from those of Northern Albania. The direction of the mountain chains of Inner Albania is the same as that of the Dinaric Alps, that is, from northeast to southeast, with one exception: the eastern mountains of Inner Albania have a north-east direction.

Inner Albania is a zone with its mountains cut by high passes, deep river beds and narrow valleys which give them the features of a group apart. The mountain slopes are covered with forests and pastures.

The highest peaks of Inner Albania are Mt. Korab (2,751 m.), the highest mountain of Albania, and the third highest of the Balkans, Gjallica e Lumës (2,484 m.) and Mali i Dejës (2,264 m.).

Coastal Albania lies southwest of the Albanian Alps and west of Inner Albania, from which it is separated by an oblique line running in north-eastern and south-eastern direction from Shkodra to Leskovik. Bounded on the north by Yugoslavia and on the southeast by Greece, Albania's coast faces mainly along the Adriatic and, in its southern part, the Ionian Sea.

Western Albania differs sensibly from the other areas, especially the mountainous ones. It is a generally flat country, with its mountainous part opening into large valleys. This area comprises the fertile plains of Mat, Thumana and Myzeqe, the largest plain of Albania.

The indented coast from Vlora to the proximity of Saranda has a beauty of its own. This is the renowned «Albanian Riviera», a picturesque region with a mild climate, washed by the Ionian Sea.

Along the highest mountains of Coastal Albania are Mt. Nemerçka (2,485 m.) and Mt. Tomorri, culminating with the Partizani Peak (2,417 m.).

In all its length, from north to south, the Albanian littoral of the Adriatic is dotted with splendid beaches with clean water, and fine sand with a high iodine content, while the Ionian Coast, with the beauty of the surrounding landscape, the rest homes, the hotels and restaurants that have been built there, is one of the zones highly appreciated by thousands of working people and tourists.

Internal waters

Albania is rich in streams, lakes and pools. They cover an area of about 64,000 hectares.

The territory of Albania is criss-crossed by a network of short water courses, which is due to the limited width and the relatively short distance of the mountains from the sea, on the north as well as on the east. The main rivers are the Drin (281 km), the Seman (252 km), the Shkumbin (146 km), the Vjosa (138 km), the Mat (104 km), the Erzen (91 km), the Ishëm (70 km).

The mountainous core of the country and the great difference of level from the upper reaches to the lower reaches accounts for the rapid course of the rivers. Almost all the rivers flow in east-western direction. None of them is navigable,

with the exception of the Buna which has its source in the Shkodra Lake and flows into the Adriatic.

The Albanian landscape is dotted with more than 150 lakes and pools of diverse origin. They may be classified into: 1) tectonic lakes, like those of Shkodra, Pogradec and Prespa; 2) clastic lakes, like those of Belsh; 3) lakes of glacial origin, like those of Lura, Allaman, etc.; 4) artificial lakes, like those of Ulza, Vau i Dejës, Fierza, etc. Most of them are small and situated at high altitudes, the largest of them being those of the border areas — the lakes of Shkodra, Pogradec and Prespa, which, within the Albanian territory, cover an area of 370, 367 and 285 sq km, respectively.

Climate

Albania is situated at an equal distance between the Equator and the North Pole. The geographical position of the country, combined with other factors, accounts for its mild climate. The proximity of the Adriatic and, more so, of the Ionian, the great diversity of relief and the trend of mountain ranges, the masses of warm air coming from the Atlantic as well as from Central Europe and the Balkans, create three different climatic zones: the Mediterranean-Atlantic zone along the littoral, with all the characteristics of Mediterranean climate; the eastern and southeastern zone, influenced by the continental air masses all the year round; the transitory zone, extending over the rest of Albania and situated between the two former zones, with the sea air predominating during the cold half of the year.

The mean annual temperature in the northeast of the country lies at 14° and in the southwest at 18° C. January is the coldest month of the year when, according to the regions, the mean temperature oscillates between 3° and 10° C, while July is the hottest month, with a mean temperature of 25°-26° C.

The temperature, by Balkan standards, is relatively high all the year round. The total of daily temperatures varies, the coast of Himara, in the south, being the warmest area.

Annual rainfall is in excess of 1000 mm, with a very unequal distribution of rainfall in the different seasons. Summer is particularly dry in the southern regions and on the

coast. Spells of drought may at times last more than one month. Autumn and winter are characterized by heavy rains.

Vegetation and animal life

Proportionally to their area, few countries of the world have so great a variety of plants, even species of them, of such different origin, as Albania. The diversity of the climate, the geological structure and relief and topography of Albania account for the great riches and variety of its vegetation and animal life. About 3,500 species of plants representative of most of the Balkans' vegetation, as well as plants of other, more distant regions, grow in Albania.

Four vegetation zones may be distinguished, the lowest being the typically Mediterranean bush and shrubs zone. The predominant fruit-trees grown here are the olive, the vine as well as the fig, orange, lemon, etc. Among the trees of this zone we may mention the heather, oak, genista, cypress, etc. Albania has excellent conditions for raising cereals and industrial plants, such as cotton and tobacco.

The second zone, that of the oak, is larger, with plants resistant to the relative drought of the Mediterranean zone. Fruit-trees such as the walnut, apple, pear, quince, prune, vine, etc. are also widespread in this zone.

The third, essentially, humid zone is that of forests. The beech is the characteristic tree of this zone; beech forests represent the extreme limit of afforestation, but pine forests can also be found there.

Alpine pastures comprise the fourth and the highest zone.

The Albanian flora comprises more than 300 medicinal plants and herbs. Such are, among others, the elder, rosemary, sage, camomile.

In the past, the rich Albanian flora was studied, although not systematically, mainly by foreign scientists. However, due to the neglect of the former regimes, there existed no collection, no matter how incomplete, of our flora. Aware of the both scientific and economic importance of the study of our flora, our people's state power has taken a number of measures to promote its collection and study. Today more than 90 per cent of the study in this field is done by the Albanian scientific workers.

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The mildness of the climate, the abundance of forests, the thick network of water-courses, combined with the mountainous character of the relief, are the factors which explain the remarkable wealth and variety of the Albanian fauna.

Animal life in Albania, the same as vegetation, is very similar to that of the Mediterranean and Central European countries. Apart from domestic animals, there are many species of wild animals — wolves, bears, foxes, as well as hares, deer, wild goats, etc.

Albania also possesses a great ornithological wealth. Besides all the species of domestic birds, there are many wild, rapacious and non-rapacious birds.

The most diverse fish swim in Albanian waters. There are about 110 families of all the species of fish of the Mediterranean, among which the mullet, the bass, the gurnard, etc. 112

Aware of the great wealth of the flora and fauna of Albania, the people's power has shown great care to ensure their preservation and rational utilization to the benefit of the entire people.

Mineral and other deposits

Despite its small area, Albania has important mineral resources. Geological research has established that it has more than 30 kinds of minerals (combustible, bituminous and metallic minerals), construction materials, etc.

Albania may be divided into two main geological zones: the southwest — rich in hydrocarbons and fuels, and the northeast — rich in metallic mineral deposits. Among the hydrocarbons, oil and natural bitumen come on top of the list. Coal is the more important among the fuels.

Albania possesses deposits of metallic minerals such as chrome, copper, iron-nickel, etc. In terms of chromium deposits it ranks among the first countries of the world.

Copper was known and worked in Albania since ancient times. It is found in basic eruptive rocks in the forms of columns and agglomerates.

Among the non-metallic minerals, sulphur, asbestos, arsenic, sands, plaster-stone, clay etc., may be mentioned.

There are many rocks that provide material for construction and ornament such as the white marble of Korab, the pink marble of Burgajet and the marble of Korça.

The sources of mineral waters have been utilized since very ancient times. At Elbasan the Romans had built a thermal station, the waters of which had great healing power. The more important of them are at Elbasan, Peshkopia, Selenica, Leskovik and Glina.

Under the regimes of the past the great wealth of the Albanian subsoil was exploited by foreign companies for their interests. The people's power put an end to this state of things by nationalizing all the companies and enterprises owned by foreign or local capital. Thus the possibility was created for the wealth below the ground to be employed for the development and the prosperity of the country.

THE POPULATION OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

Albania is among the countries of the world with the highest rate of natural growth of the population. While from 1923 to 1938 the average annual growth rate of the population was 1.7 per cent, from 1945 to 1980 it rose to 2.46 per cent.

The great population growth after Liberation followed as a natural result of the people's power care for the development of the economy, culture and public health services. In the course of its socialist development Albania became the first country in the world which has abrogated all taxes. The level of expenditure for social consumption is relatively high. To this should be added the significant fact that many services, such as medical care, etc. are free of charge. During the recent two decades, the fund of individual consumption has grown about 4 times.

The Albanian working people are sure that the value of their work will be returned to them. This assurance rests on the very nature of the socialist economy, which develops in a planned and proportional manner. The elimination of the contradictions between production and consumption and ensuring a constant surplus in the state budget has created all the conditions for the two terms determining the value of people's income — wages and prices, to change only in opposite directions — the former going up and the latter going down, thus bringing about an incessant increase of the real income of the population, accompanied with a constant increase of material and cultural blessings.

Natural growth is the main factor of the effective growth of the population, because emigration and immigration play

no role altogether today. With the Liberation of the country, the political and economic grounds for emigration were liquidated.

In 1980 Albania had more than 2,700,000 inhabitants, that is 2.5 times more than in 1938. However, the number of Albanians is far larger if account is taken of the Albanians living outside the present state borders.

From 1938 to 1978, the density of the population has gone up from 38 to 96 inhabitants per sq km, though it varies from one region to another. Generally, the mountainous regions have a sparse population, whereas the lowlands of the west and the southeast (the region of Korça) are more thickly populated.

The vigorous development of industry, the creation of new industrial and farming centres, the draining of swamps, the opening up of new land etc. have brought about major changes in demography. Before Liberation, only 15 per cent of the population lived in the towns, while this percentage has risen to 33.9 per cent today.

As a whole, men are more numerous than women — 51.5 per cent of the population. In 1978 people of the working age made up 54 per cent of the population.

Albania is among the countries of Europe with the lowest death rate, the highest birth rate and a long life expectancy. From a country with a very high death rate it was before Liberation (17 per thousand in 1938), Albania today ranks among the countries with a low death rate (7 per thousand in 1978). This rate is directly dependent on the material, cultural and health conditions of the population.

The care of the people's power for man, which it considers the most valuable capital, has resulted in the extension of the average life expectancy. From 38 years it was in 1938, it was 53 years in 1950 and more than 69 years today.

According to estimates, the PSR of Albania in 1990 will have 3.3 million inhabitants, and about 4 million by the year 2000.

The origin of the Albanian people

The process of formation of the Albanian people is lost in the mist of time. The problem of the origin of the Albanian people was first taken up by the humanists of the 15th cen-

tury, and more particularly by the Albanians Marin Barleti and Marin Beçikemi.

Proceeding from historical sources, they quite correctly considered the Albanians as the descendants of the ancient populations settled in Albania since ancient times, in other words, the Illyrians. This thesis was scientifically expounded by the historian I. G. Thunmann in 1774. Arguments of a mainly linguistic character were put forward in favour of this thesis by G. Meyer, P. Kretschmer, N. Jokl, W. Cimochowski and many others. They showed that a good number of names of places and people derived from the Illyrian and some isolated words found in inscriptions or the ancient authors, can be explained only with the help of the Albanian. Anthropological observations also confirm the thesis of the Albanians being the descendants of the Illyrians. The brachycephaly of the present-day Albanians corresponds to that of the most skulls found in the Illyrian necropolises.

Proceeding from the results of systematic excavations, carried out mainly after Liberation, the earliest traces of man's presence on Albanian soil date back to the Middle and Late Stone Age.

However, the Illyrians are not the first link in the process of formation of the present-day Albanian people. Archaeological and linguistic sciences are trying to go even deeper in time, in search of the ancestors of the Illyrians, or in other words, the earliest ancestors of the modern Albanians. Relying on many old vestiges extant in the Albanian language, as well as on the material culture of the Albanian people, some foreign scientists, among whom I. G. Hahn, G. Stier, L. Bülow, have as early as the past century come out with the thesis according to which the Albanian people are the direct descendants of the Pelasgians, who were considered as the most ancient inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean Basin. In our days, too, some scholars try to prove the existence of these linguistic and cultural vestiges in the present-day Albanian, which they hold to be the language of a very ancient people. This is also borne out by the results of the excavations carried out recently by the Albanian archaeologists. These excavations have shown that the former thesis, according to which the Illyrians had migrated to the regions of present-day Albania in the beginning of the Iron Age, that is, in the beginning of the first millennium before our era, can no longer be upheld. The Albanian archaeologists think

that the presence of the Illyrians and their culture in the regions of present-day Albania dates back to, at least, the Bronze Age, if not to an earlier epoch. As is seen, there is good reason to look for the ancestors of the Albanians in even more remote historical times.

Thus, the opinion according to which the Albanian people had moved very early to the regions they inhabit today, has gained further confirmation. Although in later periods the Illyrian population assimilated new ethnical and cultural elements, especially under Roman and Byzantine domination as well as during the Slav colonization, it has preserved its ethnic character as well as its language and culture, and availing itself of the new historical, social and economic conditions, formed the present-day Albanian nation.

The national name of the Albanians

Our people today call themselves «Shqiptarë» and their country «Shqipëri» but the foreigners call them Albanians, Albanais, Albaner, Albanese, and their country Albania, Albanie, Albanien. Of these two names, the second is more ancient and until the 17th and 18th centuries the only national name of this people.

Which is the historical origin of this name?

In the 2nd century of our era, the geographer Ptolemy, who lived in Alexandria of Egypt, notes on his map of the world a tribe with the name Albanoi and a city with the name Albanopolis in an area which corresponds to present-day Central Albania, between Durrës and Dibra. There are all reasons to believe that the city of Albanopolis was situated on the site of the village of Zgërdhesh (not far away from the city of Kruja, in the proximity of which the ruins of an ancient Illyrian city are still distinguishable). From the name of this tribe the Albanian people have inherited their former national name, by which they are denominated by the other peoples of the world. In the 11th century the Albanians are mentioned for the second time by the Byzantine chroniclers as Albanoi, Albanitai, and Albania as Albanon. These names are met with in all the following historical documents of the Middle Ages.

As is known, during the 14th century and especially the 15th century, following the Turkish invasion, thousands of

Albanians emigrated to Greece and Italy, where they founded Albanian settlements, stubbornly preserving their old mother tongue until this day. These settlers called themselves «Arbëresh» and their country «Arbër».

The names of «Shqiptar» and «Shqipëri» were totally unknown to them. Hence one can infer that these names were not yet in use at least until the 15th century. Even the old Albanian authors of the 16th and 18th centuries mention only the name of Arbër. This denomination survives to this day on the territory of Albania proper, especially in the region between Vlora and Delvina. Not far from Tirana, one finds today the village of Arbana the name of which, as can easily be seen, is but a different form of the name Arbër. Until the 18th century, the Albanians who emigrated to foreign countries would give this name to their newly founded settlements. So the former name of the Albanians and Albania is Arbër.

The forms in Alb- used by the foreigners are, according to the scientists who have occupied themselves with this problem, mostly alterations of Arb- into Alb-.

The new names of «Shqiptar», «Shqipëri», «Shqipni» began to appear over the last centuries. Gjon Buzuku (1555), the earliest known Albanian writer is the first to have used the word «shqip», but this he did to design the language, while he uses the name «Arbën» to denominate the country. Likewise, the other authors of the 18th century use the word «shqip» only for the language. Proceeding from this word which designed the language, the names «shqiptar» and «Shqipëri» subsequently emerged and gradually replaced the ancient names of «Arbër» and «Arbëria».

The etymology of the word «shqip» is explained in many different ways, but none of them can be considered satisfactory. The widespread opinion prevails that the name of «shqiptar» derives from the word «shqipe» (eagle), which the Albanians hold in special esteem.

Chapter three

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION AND THE MAIN CITIES

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is divided into 26 administrative units, or districts, which are directly dependent on the central state apparatus. Districts in turn are sub-divided into a number of localities. The locality is an administrative unit made up of a number of villages constituting a territorial unit. The regrouped village stands at the same level as the locality in the administrative order; it comprises several villages which, on their part, form a basic territorial and economic unit apart, on the basis of which the regrouped cooperatives are set up. The village is the basic unit of the administrative division in the countryside. On the map of today's Albania there are 62 cities and major inhabited centres, which administratively are considered the same as the cities. The basic unit of the administrative division for the bigger cities is the quarter.

The people's councils are the organs of the state power in the districts, localities, regrouped villages, villages, cities and city quarters.

The administrative division of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania serves to bring the state power as close to the people as possible, to give the working masses the possibility of actively participating in the government of the whole country and of contributing to the successful settlement of various problems of a state, economic, cultural and other character.

Antiquity of Albanian cities

According to the historical epochs in which they were founded, the Albanian cities belong to several categories: ancient Illyrian cities: Scodrinon (Shkodra), Epidamnos or Dyrrachium (Durrës), Antipatrea (Berat), Apollonia (today the village of Pojan in the Fier District), Buthroton (Butrint); cities founded in the epoch of Greek colonization: Lissus (Lezha), Nymphaion (Shëngjin), Orychon (in the vicinity of Pasha Liman, in the Vlora District), Phoinike (Finiqi, a village of Delvina), Aneximas (Saranda); cities founded in the epoch of the Illyrian states: Byllis (Gradishtë, a place uninhabited today), Olympe (the village of Margëlliç), etc.; cities founded in the epoch of Roman occupation: Aulon (Vlora), Hadrianopolis (in the proximity of Gjirokastra), Albanopolis (situated within the triangle Durrës-Elbasan-Kruja), Scampa (on the site of present-day Elbasan), Claudiana (Peqin), Epicaria (Puka); cities founded during the Byzantine empire: Kruja and Petrela; finally, cities founded during the Turkish occupation: Fier, Lushnja, Kavaja, Tirana, Pogradec, Korça, Voskopoja, Vithkuq, Leskovik, Përmet, Elbasan (on the ruins of ancient Scampa).

The main cities of Albania

The Capital of Albania, *Tirana* which has been awarded the Title of Hero City, is the principal economic, administrative and cultural centre of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is situated in the centre of the country, almost at an equal distance between its northern and southern, as well as eastern and western borders. The city is surrounded by hills on all sides.

Tirana is a relatively new city. It is not mentioned in historical documents prior to the 15th century, the epoch of the wars of Skanderbeg. Due to its favourable position, the city developed rapidly over the 18th century and, although it never became an administrative centre, since 1614 it played some role in the history of the country.

In 1920 Tirana became the Capital of Albania. Its population rose from 10,845 in 1923 to 25,079 on the eve of the

Second World War. In 1979 the city of Tirana had 192,000 inhabitants.

During the nazi-fascist occupation Tirana was the centre of the organization of the National Liberation War. The Communist Party of Albania, which led the people in the National Liberation War, was founded in Tirana on November 8, 1941. Hundreds of actions were carried out against the occupiers in Tirana.

The battle for the liberation of Tirana, which lasted three weeks (from October 29 to November 17, 1944) was among the fiercest and the most glorious battles of the National Liberation War. On November 28, 1944, the first democratic government, chaired by Comrade Enver Hoxha, made its entry into the Capital.¹

During the years after Liberation, the Capital of the PSR of Albania has completely changed its appearance. It has assumed the features of a modern city. Along with big industrial plants and many socio-cultural buildings, there are hundreds of shops, thousands of dwelling houses, parks and gardens, etc.

Tirana is the first city of the country in regard to industrial output. Compared with 1938, industrial production has increased more than 92 times, the pre-liberation volume of production of Tirana was realized in less than 3 days in 1979. The industrial enterprises of the Capital turn out motors, cranes, excavators, turbines, steel pipes and transformers, as well as textiles, clothing, footwear, foodstuffs, furniture and domestic appliances, glassware, kitchen utensils, medicaments and hundreds of other articles.

Tirana is the main educational and cultural centre of the country. The number of its schools and educational institutes has increased from year to year. In Tirana are the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, the University, the «V. I. Lenin» Higher Party school, several research institutes, the Higher Institute of Agronomy, the Higher School of Arts, several polytechnical and technical secondary schools, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the People's Theatre, the Puppet Theatre, the «New Albania» Film Studio, the museums of archaeology and ethnography, of natural sciences,

¹ At its 2nd Meeting held from 20 to 23 of October 1944 in liberated Berat, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee became the Democratic Government of Albania.

of the National Liberation War and the «Lenin and Stalin» Museum, the Museum House of the Party of Labour, the Arts Gallery, the Palace of Culture, the Palace of the Young Pioneers, as well as several stadiums and many sports grounds. In the Tirana District one inhabitant out of three goes to school.

There are more doctors in the health institutions of the Capital today than all the health personnel of Albania in 1938. The city of Tirana has 10 hospitals with about 3,000 beds, more than 100 outpatient and dental clinics in city quarters and work centres, and more than 800 doctors.

While for the entire city of Tirana in 1938 there was only one kindergarten with 45 children and 2 nurses, in 1979 there were more than one hundred kindergartens. In 1938 Tirana had not a single crèche, while it has 70 of them today.

The city of *Durrës*, one of the most ancient cities of Europe, founded in 627 before our era lies east of Tirana. Epidamnos or Dyrrachium, as it was called in ancient times, as an important city and port on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, played a very important role in the antiquity. The many monuments unearthed there testify to the high degree of civilization of the city. Frequently devastated by earthquakes and foreign invasions, *Durrës* was liberated on November 14, 1944 by the National Liberation Army. *Durrës*, the principal seaport of Albania, has more than 60,000 inhabitants. Mechanical engineering, food processing and light industries have great importance there. Besides a broad network of secondary schools, it has several affiliates of the University of Tirana specialized in training engineers, mechanics and economists, as well as a higher institute of agronomy and a teacher-training school.

The *Durrës* beach, which extends to the south of the city, is one of the largest and healthiest of the Adriatic. It is skirted with comfortable hotels, villas for the working people and tourists. Its fine sand has a high iodine content.

In the northeastern part of the country lies the ancient city of *Shkodra*, bounded by the lake of the same name and the Buna river and dominated by the citadel of Rozafa. *Shkodra* is mentioned ten centuries before our era as a city of the Illyrian tribe of the Labeates, later as the capital of the great Illyrian state of the Adrians, who became famous for their many wars of resistance against the Roman invasion. It has preserved its importance in the course of the centuries.

Shkodra was the last Albanian city to fall in the hands of the Ottoman invaders in 1479.

Shkodra was liberated by the National Liberation Army on November 29, 1944, which is celebrated as Day of the liberation of Albania. The aspect of this important city keeps changing every day, with an ever expanding industrial area which, among others, comprises a powerful hydro-electric plant, a copper wires plant, a cement factory, a modern brick kiln, a tobacco curing factory and a cigarettes manufacturing factory. The food processing occupies an important place in the economic activity of the *Shkodra* district. It boasts, among other things, a flour mill, a noodles factory, a large milk processing factory, etc.

In the *Shkodra* of old, religious division and strife was an acute phenomenon and women lived in almost total seclusion, whereas today it has become an important cultural centre, with a higher teachers' training institute, many secondary and eight-year schools, as well as about 150 cultural and artistic institutions. Dozens of women occupy posts of responsibility and exercise the most diverse professions.

The largest city of eastern Albania is *Korça*, one of the principal economic and cultural centres of the country. Liberated by the Albanian National Liberation Army on October 24, 1944, the city, which had a tradition in cottage industry, renowned especially for its artistic carpets, now boasts various modern industries. The *Korça* district accounts for an important part of the industrial and agricultural production of the country. The *Korça* district ranks among the first in terms of the area of arable land, in the production of bread grain, potatoes, oat, sugar-beet, and lucerne, as well as in the number of cattle, pigs, horses, etc.

The *Korça* district is also renowned for its fruit-tree plantations. Vast tracts of land planted with apple, pear, cherry, prune and other fruit trees have been transformed into plantations, especially in the formerly poor and abandoned territories of *Dvoran* and *Kamenica*.

Apart from Tirana, another two cities have been awarded the title of Hero City: *Kruja* and *Vlora*.

The foreign visitors have called *Kruja*, the ancient capital of Gjegj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, «the balcony on the Adriatic», and this not only because from the mountain-slope on which the city is situated one has a broad view of the Adriatic Sea but also because, in the time of Skanderbeg, *Kruja*

was the place towards which all the peoples of the Balkans and Europe had turned their eyes, seeing in it the unconquerable citadel, the centre of the invincible Albanians. After Skanderbeg's death the Ottoman expeditions rushed wave upon wave, wreaking destruction in the Albanian cities, ruining the finest works of architecture — the castles, the cathedrals, the palaces of the nobles and the public buildings. Valuable paintings and sculptures, together with an inestimable number of documents and manuscripts were lost or irreparably damaged. The citadel of Kruja is still standing stern and majestic on its rocky hilltop, about 600 metres above sea level, despite the destructions of the wars and the injuries of the time.

Kruja is the centre of the region of the same name. Today it has become an important industrial and agricultural area with a chemical fertilizers plant, a cement factory, a copper dressing plant, a wood-working mill, etc. The acreage of arable land has increased more than 4 fold as against 1938, mainly due to the great drainage schemes carried out after the liberation of the country and the breaking-in of new land.

The city of *Vlora*, likewise honoured with the title of Hero City, is situated in the southwestern part of the country. Ptolemy, the Alexandrine geographer of the 2nd century of our era, mentions it under the name of Aulon. It is in this city that on November 28, 1912 the national independence of Albania was proclaimed after centuries-long wars against the Ottoman rule, and an Albanian government presided by Ismail Qemali was set up. Vlora today is an important industrial and cultural centre. What Vlora produces in less than 12 days is equal to the total production of the country in 1938. Instead of the 13 small shops and manufacturing units it had in 1938, today this district has more than 60 enterprises, among which factories producing soda ash, polyvinyl chloride, electric bulbs, cement, canned food, etc. Vlora has more than 100 schools of all categories and about 120 cultural and artistic institutions.

The acreage of farm land has doubled as against the pre-war period. Vlora is built at the foot of soft-rolling hills planted with olives and citrus-trees.

Vlora was liberated by the forces of the National Liberation Army of Albania on October 25, 1944. If Vlora is given the title of Hero City this is not only because the independence of Albania was proclaimed on November 28,

1912 there, but also because it was in Vlora that the forces of the Italian invaders were thrown out into the sea by the Albanian patriots in 1920. Vlora is a port of great strategic importance, which the Khrushchevite revisionists tried in vain to turn into a military base for their plans of social-imperialist aggression in the Mediterranean. The firm stand of our Party and people on this question is well-known. The foreign reader will find a clear exposition of this stand in Volume 19 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, in Volume 3 of his Selected Works, or in his work «The Khrushchevites,» already translated in several languages.

The two museum-towns, Berat and Gjirokastra, are of particular architectonic interest.

Berat, or as it is still called, the City of a Thousand Windows, existed as an important centre as early as the 4th-3rd century before our era. In spite of the destructions and reconstructions carried out over the centuries, the city in the present condition preserves fine specimens of architecture belonging to the period between the middle of the 18th century and the end of the 19th century. The dwelling house of Berat is a great architectural attraction. The typical Berat house is a large stone-walled, two storied building with an inner gallery — a characteristic which predominated house-building in the 18th century. The ground floor is occupied by service rooms with a vaulted outer staircase leading to the first floor gallery which gives access to all the dwelling-rooms. This type of house, which is also found in some other cities of our country, represents an improvement on the peasant dwelling, as people from the countryside came to increase the population of the city in the course of its development.

The Berat houses are rich in woodwork ornaments. Worth of particular attention are especially the reception rooms where the Albanian master builders are in their height in the beautifully carved ceilings, cupboards and ornaments. Wood carvings of great beauty are found, among others, in the Berat cathedral.

Berat has large and picturesque blocks of buildings, such as that of the Mangalem quarter, which is a unique architectonic unit, with its massive character giving the impression of a giant single construction. Berat is built with remarkable architectural equilibrium, achieved through horizontal composition and skilful utilization of the environment. The harmonious ensembles created by the Albanian master

builders are a delight to the eye and convey an impression of serenity. The present-day construction of the city tends to harmonizing new buildings with the museum part of the city — the quarters of Kala, Mangalem and Gorica. A great deal of conservation and restauration work is being carried out in these three quarters.

Industry, also, has expanded in the Berat district, comprising, among others, the oil centre of the Stalin-City and the textile mills. The Berat district is also a very important agricultural centre producing cereals, cotton, tobacco, fruits, olives. A vast plantation of more than 200,000 fig-trees covers part of the hills surrounding the city.

Gjirokastra, situated in the south of the country, is a huge magnificent museum. The way the city is built is a rarity in the town-planning aspect, its original mediaeval architecture produces a strong impact. After visiting this museum-city, the French publicist G. Chantepierre said: «Gjirokastra astonishes me. It is unlike any other city I have seen, even in my dreams... In whatever direction I turn, I see a silvery city capriciously massed around its citadel... I look at it time and again and never feel tired...»

The original architecture of this stone city built on rock is delightful in its force, dynamic rhythm, elegance and organic coalescence with the environment. The mass of stone seems to spring up from the rock on which it rests. In its present state, the city preserves ensembles of buildings and whole quarters belonging to the period from the end of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century. The city stretches on the slope of Mali i Gjerë, on bare rocky terrain. The citadel, built on a hillock in the centre of the city and surrounded on all sides by dwelling houses, towers imposing and monumental over the city. The Gjirokastra dwelling-house, with its obvious defensive structure, is a typically Albanian creation. It developed to its ultimate form after a long process which extends over three centuries, constantly responding to the needs of the time.

The interior of the Gjirokastra house reflects the creative spirit and fine taste of the Albanian builders: wood-carved ceilings, doors, cupboards etc., plaster moulded fire-places with floreal motifs.

The city, which was liberated by the partisan forces in September 18, 1944, is rich in museums all of which have been created after Liberation. Worth mentioning are the

Museum of the National Liberation War, the Museum of the Albanian Renaissance in the house of the great patriots Çerçiz and Bajo Topulli, the Museum of Weapons arranged in the interior of the citadel, etc. There are several factories of the engineering, light and food processing industry. The region has a highly-developed agriculture, especially in the Drino valley.

Elbasan, Scampa of the antiquity, initially was an important relay centre which grew into a prosperous town, on the famed *Via Egnatia* which linked Rome with Constantinople. Destroyed by the Goths and rebuilt by the Byzantine emperors, the city owes its existence, as well as its successive destructions, to the *Via Egnatia*. In the 15th century Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror reconstructed the citadel and made it a base and starting point for his incursions and sieges of Kruja. It was he who gave it the name of Elbasan.

Before Liberation, Elbasan was a small mediaeval town of 15,000 inhabitants. Liberated on November 11, 1944 by the National Liberation Army, it has expanded and developed in all fields. Population has trebled and industry made great progress. The oil refinery in Cërrik, the «Nako Spiru» wood-working mill, the cement and food-processing factories, as well as the big metallurgical combine — the «Steel of the Party» Metallurgical Works, have been built there. Cereals, tobacco, fruits, olives, etc. are cultivated extensively in this region. Elbasan is also an important cultural centre. It has a filial of the University of Tirana, several middle schools, a professional theatre, a number of museums and a very active artistic life.

Chapter Four

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE WON THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE WITH THE BLOOD THEY HAVE SHED

Sword in hand through the path of history

June 29, 1969. The veterans of the 15th Shock Brigade are lined up to commemorate the day of the formation of their brigade. A young woman stands beside those who have fought the Italian and German fascists in stern battles. She has come to take the place of her father.

She was born in 1949, one month after her father, Captain Bektash, fell in battle, defending the borders of the Homeland. She represents the fourth successive generation of sons and daughters who have not known their fathers.

Her grand-grandfather Bektash Merko was killed in action against the Ottoman invaders in the beginning of the century...

... Panarit, a village in the mountains of the Korça district, was a refuge for the peasants who had revolted against the beys and foreign oppression. Freedom was for them the supreme aspiration. They possessed very little land and bread was often in short supply. Nevertheless, these highlanders were ready to exchange all the bread they had for a pistol, a symbol, in their eyes, of power and liberty.

In 1898, the Turks encircled Panarit, hoping to force the insurgents to surrender. Stern fighting went on from hill slope to hill slope, from house to house. The Turkish

artillery shelled the village to ruins, but the insurgents remained inflexible.

As the Turks withdrew towards Berat, the villagers of Panarit bid the last farewell to their sons fallen for the defence of the Homeland, and to Bektash Merko, the only male of his family, who was among them.

In these same days his wife was delivered of a son. He was called Bektash, to perpetuate the memory of his father. Little Bektash grew up very quickly... as if hastening to take the place of his father among the guerrillas. And the day came when, still a child, he took the rifle and went to take the place of his father. From 1911 to 1917 he fought in the same guerrilla unit against the Greek chauvinists who attacked Panarit and the surrounding areas. Few were the places in which he did not fight... Born in the heat of battle, he met his death in battle at Meleka.

Some days later, his wife was delivered of a son. The history was repeating itself... He, too, was called Bektash. When he grew up he began roaming about the country in search of work. Young Bektash, the third of this name, was a skilled mason.

When the partisan war broke out, Bektash changed his mason's paper cap with the red-starred cap of the partisan fighter. After Liberation he completed his studies at the Officers' School and was promoted captain.

On August 2, 1949, he fell on the battlefield at the head of his battalion while defending the Albanian border against the Greek chauvinist armies.

The third on the Bektash line did not succeed in seeing his offspring, either. A month after his death, a daughter, his first child, was born to the family.

She was born and has grown up in free Albania. She has only heard about the National Liberation War, but tomorrow, if the Homeland calls her, she will fight just as her father, her grandfather and her grand-grandfather did...

The heroic history of her family is not a special case. It is an image of the history of the Albanian people, who, generation after generation, have defended their freedom and their land.

Surrounded by rapacious big empires, which exercised military, economic and political pressure on them, the Albanians have constantly had to fight sword in hand to defend their existence as a nation, their language and their culture,

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With their extraordinary vitality and energy, they have foiled the attempts of the invaders to assimilate them, evict them from their fertile land, drive them away from the great routes of communication, from the coast, keep them under their domination, press-gang them into the Roman legions, the armies of the Byzantine emperors, the Turkish sultans or the Serbian kings.

On the hard road they had to traverse in order to occupy the place they deserve the Albanian people have developed and tempered the features which are their own, and the combativeness and persistence which have characterized them through the centuries.

The Albanian people are among the most ancient peoples of Europe. Archaeological finds and scientific research prove this conclusively.

In ancient times, the territory of present-day Albania, as we have already said, was inhabited by the Illyrians. They were among the largest populations of Europe. Recent discoveries by Albanian archaeologists prove that the Illyrians inhabited the Albanian territory at least as early as the beginning of the third millennium b.o.e.

In the first millennium b.o.e., the Illyrian society had already reached a high degree of development. Among other things, the Illyrians began to work iron, silver, bronze and produce utensils of baked earth. They were skilful farmers and cattle-raisers and skilful artisans who used the loom. They built powerful citadels and founded large towns, developed commerce and minted their own coins. They were good ship-builders and bold navigators. Later they set up states defended by strong armies. The more known Illyrian states were those of the Encheleans, the Taulantians and, above all, the Ardians.

The Illyrians had trade relations with the Greek states. In order to strengthen these relations, in the 7th century b.o.e. the Greeks founded their colonies on the Albanian coast; such as Durrës (Dyrrachium or Epidamnos — 627 b.o.e.), Pojan in the Fier region (Apollonia, 588 b.o.e.), Butrint and many others. These centres of a highly developed civilization came under the influence of the Illyrian civilization, be it only for the reason that they developed on the territory of the great Illyrian states which put them under their rule. Valuable monuments of culture have been unearthed at Butrint, Pojan, Durrës, etc. but unfortunately they

were systematically plundered by the foreigners up to the day of the liberation of the country.

The further development of this process, which would have led to the formation of the Illyrian nation, was halted by the Roman occupation which lasted from the 2nd century b.o.e. to the 4th century A.D. The ancestors of the Albanians had to defend their freedom and independence sword in hand against the foreign invaders. They put up stiff resistance to the Roman armies of occupation. It was only in 167 b.o.e., after three bloody protracted wars, that the Romans succeeded in occupying Illyria. The independent Illyrian states were liquidated. The Romans expelled whole Illyrian populations and transported them as captives or suspects to distant regions of their empire. They founded powerful Roman colonies in the territory of present-day Albania, while exercising all-round pressure through their more advanced culture and technology. These factors posed the threat of Romanization of the Illyrian population and of the creation of a Roman or neo-Latin nationality in place of an Illyrian nationality.

But the Illyrians resisted arms in hand to the invaders. In 135 b.o.e. the Ardians revolted. Their uprising assumed such extension that the Romans were forced to dispatch considerable forces against them, and eventually transplanted them to the inner regions of Herzegovina. But even after that the Illyrians continued to rise in revolt against Rome. The Roman historian Suetonius writes that the Illyrian uprising of the years 6-9 A.D. was the most formidable foreign war Rome had to wage next to the Punic Wars.

The later events brought out the astonishing vitality of the Illyrian population. After the division of the Roman Empire in 395 A.D., the territories of present-day Albania were placed under Byzantium, which for two centuries made no change in the former situation of these regions. The slave-owning institutions remained in force and Latin remained the official language, as well as the language of the Church and culture. During this period the Albanian territory was invaded by various barbarian tribes — the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Huns, Vandals. The Visigoths, who had settled for more than 150 years in Central Albania, stayed longest in our territory. Towards the 5th century, the mass migration of the Slav populations began, which, in the 7th century, settled for good in Illyrian territory and tried to get the

upper hand. The Illyrian cities or Romanized colonies, which were rapidly losing their importance to the point of complete disappearance, could not stem this devastating flood.

Like the Roman occupation, the Slav colonization threatened the Illyrians with the danger of assimilation. The Illyrians, who had resisted Romanization, entered a new stage of struggle for their ethnical existence, a struggle which unfortunately it is impossible to follow closely, as the historical documents on this dark period of the early Middle Ages are almost totally missing. The extremely rare documents from this epoch do not even mention the existence of an ancient Illyrian population. But the Illyrians, although driven into the interior of the territory of present-day Albania, continued to exist and even put up surprisingly energetic resistance to the Slav and Byzantine pressure. Not only that but they even began to regain little by little their lost positions, breaking out of their shell of tribal and peasant communities into which the foreign pressure had forced them to entrench themselves.

In this period, feudal relations flourished and became the main form of relations of production. This enabled the Albanian feudal lords to strengthen their positions perceptibly. In 1185, the Albanian feudal lords got rid of Byzantine control and formed their first state, the Principality of Arbëria. Kruja was its capital and its first chief was Progon (1190-1198).

However this state was short-lived. But although crushed by the superior forces of the neighbouring peoples, its influence made itself felt on the further evolution of Albanian history. The country woke up with renewed forces as if to make up for the lost time. The reborn cities developed and extended at an unprecedented rate; agriculture and animal husbandry prospered in the fertile plains. A number of feudal dynasties, like those of Thopia, Shpata, Balsha, Kastrioti, etc., were formed as feudal principalities, which were constantly warring amongst themselves for the extension of their respective possessions.

By this time the country was faced with a new threat. When the historical process of centralization, which would have eventually led to the formation of a single Albanian state, was well under way, the Ottoman Turks appeared at the gates of Albania.

Availing themselves of the feudal divisions and the

weakness of the Byzantine Empire, they made reiterated incursions into Albania, occupying the whole of the country with the exception of the mountain regions.

In this period, when the Ottoman hordes at the apogee of their power were pushing on irresistibly and threatening the entire European civilization with destruction, the Albanian people wrote with their blood some of the most brilliant pages of the history of the continent.

The glorious epic of the Albanian people under the leadership of Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg

No more than the preceding invaders — the Romans and Byzantines, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, the Huns and Slavs, did the Ottomans find in Albania a submissive population. In November 1443, under the leadership of Skanderbeg, a general insurrection broke out against the new occupiers. The insurgents liberated Kruja and on November 28 proclaimed the restoration of the free Principality of Albania, raising the Kastrioti flag, the black two-headed eagle on a red background over the white citadel of Kruja. In December 1443, all the Turkish garrisons were driven out of Central Albania.

The Ottomans would have coped easily with the insurgents were these not solidly united and well organized from the political and military standpoint. Losing no time, Skanderbeg set about the primary task — the formation of a united anti-Turkish front and of a well-organized Albanian army capable of halting the imminent offensive of the Ottoman forces. So in March 1444 he called all the Albanian princes to a general assembly which was held in the Albanian city of Lezha (at that time a Venitian possession) in which the decision was made to form a political and military alliance which is known under the name of the «Albanian League», or the «League of Lezha», the creation of an Albanian army and a common fund for this purpose. The assembly elected Skanderbeg chief of the League and supreme commander of the federated army.

History had assigned to the Albanian people a mission which the Balkan princes could not carry out and which the Western states, despite their greater wealth, military potential and better organization, were unwilling to assume. These

Germany for some steps toward Slavs

were the stormy years in which the Albanian people, with their limited human resources and insufficient economic means, relying only on their own capacities and experience of war, the spirit of sacrifice which characterized them under the leadership of Skanderbeg, who was not only a bold warrior but also a past master in military art, wrote the Albanian epic of the 15th century, which for ever will remain one of the most glorious chapters, not only of the history of Albania, but also of the whole continent. For a quarter of a century they foiled 22 major Turkish expeditions, always coming off victorious against the «invincible» arms of the Ottomans.

Three times in succession, Murad II and his son, Mehmet II, were forced to lift the siege of Kruja, the political and military centre of Albania, in utter disgrace. Heroic Kruja was a brilliant illustration to the whole world of the fact that against the gallant resistance of a freedom-loving people, all policy of intimidation, buttressed by the most modern lethal weapons, is doomed to shameful failure. The biggest cannon ever cast in the epoch, the cannon which intimidated even countries hundreds of kilometres away from Albania, failed in front of the walls of Kruja. In famous battles which go under the name of Torvioll, Drin, Uji i Bardhë, etc., Gjergj Kastrioti succeeded in masterfully combining the tactics of guerrilla warfare, consisting of surprise attacks, sudden retreats and ambushes, with that of pitched battle. With the military operations he carried out, he turned the valleys of the Drin i Zi and the Upper Shkumbin into the graveyard of the Turkish armies which were many times superior in number.

A great master of the military art, Skanderbeg kept the enemy forces in a state of constant tension, harassed them with surprise attacks, cut their lines of communication and supply in order to deal them eventually his lightning blows after having drawn them into an ambush. Applying the principle of «defence through attack,» Skanderbeg used attacks as his best defensive weapon.

The objective conditions for the long successful war against the Ottomans comprised the economic resources and the support of the popular masses, which had long-standing traditions of freedom and great experience of warfare.

The popular masses were the main driving force of the struggle for land, freedom and independence. In fact, the feudal lords were split. Only some of them showed their

readiness to defend the interests of the country arms in hand, while the others placed themselves in the service of the Turks.

The secret of Skanderbeg's victories, which astonish the historians even to this day, lies in the fact that he knew better than anybody else in his epoch to win the broad masses of the people over to his cause and give a popular character to his liberation war.

The Albanians were obliged to fight single-handed, without aid from abroad. In the just war they waged, self-reliance became a decisive condition for victory. This implied that the leaders had unshakeable confidence in the immense energies of the popular masses, confidence which was constantly tested and tempered until it became a powerful motive force in the Albanian epic.

Having succeeded in combining these two factors, Skanderbeg applied them to the Albanian terrain, and thus achieved his victories.

« I did not bring you the liberty, I found it amongst you... I did not bring you your arms, I found you in arms» — these memorable words, which the hero addressed the people of liberated Kruja, express in a nutshell his high evaluation of the popular forces as the principal motive force of the liberation struggle.

And Skanderbeg, right from the beginning of his military and state activity, relied on the popular masses. The popular masses saw in the war he waged the only way of salvation. His army drew its forces from them, and its fighters, whom the Turks themselves compared with «tigers of mountain warfare,» knew neither fear nor submission, and did not hesitate to turn their country into scorched earth for the enemy. In this manner Skanderbeg succeeded in countering the wavering attitudes and the separatist tendencies of the feudal chiefs.

The systematic incursions of the Ottoman hordes, the pillage and devastation they wrought ruined the once flourishing cities. In these conditions, the fundamental aim of the people's struggle waged by Skanderbeg for a quarter of a century, consisted in stemming this drain on the economic and human resources of the country, preventing the destruction of the developing production forces and defending the whole socio-political and cultural level of development attained in that epoch. By this policy he won the popular masses, which rallied

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round him and fought unreservedly beside him. There was a war to the end; it involved even old folk, women and children, who, when they were not the victims, represented an active force in the war.

This war awakened and developed a powerful feeling of patriotism amongst the masses of the people. It assumed the features of an essentially popular war. For 25 years on end, the Albanian popular masses, anonymous heroes, fought under the leadership of Skanderbeg to defend their soil, their freedom and independence, building the solid foundations of the edifice which the future generations were to complete: the union of the Albanian people in a national state. Skanderbeg's epoch is a brilliant illustration of the vital force and the highest virtues of the Albanian people.

Of course, the personal qualities of Gjergj Kastrioti stood much for his victories. The figure of Skanderbeg stood out in sharp contrast to those of the European princes. When he went to Rome in 1466, the masses of the people, that had turned up in the streets to hail him, expected to see the usual procession of personages in sumptuous robes, but they remained greatly surprised at seeing the Albanian hero of universal fame «dressed like a pauper». This simplicity of the Albanian national hero manifested itself in all his activities. In his relations with the people, with his co-fighters, in peace as well as in war, Skanderbeg was an example of modesty, courage and intelligence. By his virtues he won the hearts of his people who rallied around him to a man.

Skanderbeg's immortality rests in the fact that his work was not that of a single man, but of an entire people, not of a single century, but of whole centuries.

The epoch of Skanderbeg did not come to an end in 1468, with his death, because the ratio of social forces and the historic tasks remained the same for dozens of years after his death, as long as the struggle went on in an organized manner. The heroic defence of Kruja, which lasted for more than ten years, and the two sieges of Shkodra in 1474 and 1474-1479, after which the citadel was conquered not by the enemy, but by starvation, bear witness to this.

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The figure of Skanderbeg remains alive in the centuries

«Gjergj Kastrioti will conquer the centuries,» said one of his contemporaries, Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Time has confirmed his judgement.

The wars of the Albanian people, under the leadership of Skanderbeg, for the defence of their land against the Ottoman Empire had great repercussions beyond the bounds of Albania and assumed international proportions. The Albanians nailed down an important part of the Ottoman army, inflicted repeated losses on it, and wore out a good part of its fighting strength, thus easing the burden of the Hungarians and impeding the passage of the Turks to Italy.

«The invasion of Europe is certain,» John of Newport, an English knight who served as a volunteer in Skanderbeg's army, wrote in 1456, «because there is no force capable of resisting the Turks if the Albanian citadel falls.» And in fact hardly had the last Albanian fortress fallen in 1479 when Mehmed II, feeling himself more or less secure in his rear, went immediately over to attacking southern Italy, which he had dreamed of invading for a quarter of a century. A 10,000 strong Turkish army sailed from Vlora and landed in Italy, seizing the citadel of Otranto (1480). Taking advantage of the involvement of the Turks in Italy, an armed uprising broke out in Albania and in 1481, upon the call of the chiefs of the insurrection, Gjon Kastrioti, Skanderbeg's son, returned to his country with some hundreds of Albanian exiles. Caught between two fires, the Ottomans were forced to abandon Otranto and return to Albania, where they undertook large-scale punitive operations against the insurgents. It was only in 1482 that the insurrectional movement succumbed under the blows of the Turks, and Gjon Kastrioti again was forced to leave Albania.

Karl Marx made a high assessment of the Albanian epic of the 15th century, an epic which the Sons of the Eagle wrote with their blood. In the wars of the Albanians led by Skanderbeg he saw the wars of a people and a country to defend their own freedom, as well as a blow dealt at the only military power of the Middle Ages, which could oppose the historical development of emerging capitalism and universal

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progress. He considered Skanderbeg, first of all, a figure that helped accelerate the progress of mankind. His appraisal is a key to understanding the essence of the international role of Skanderbeg and his immortal feats.

What the enlightened minds of the Renaissance stood ardently for — freedom of man and the homeland, confidence in the creative power of the people and human reason, optimism and faith in the future, struggle for the awakening of the national consciousness, Skanderbeg not only propagated in words, but also defended with his sword and translated into deeds. He aroused the people to defend these great ideas, gave the European Renaissance a breathing space and saved it from the Ottoman invasion which threatened to strangle it in its cradle. Thus he became an Albanian titan of the Renaissance and although he left no Latin writing, he wrote with his blood a grandiose work full of life in which not only his century but also the subsequent centuries have sought and found a source of inspiration. Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg made the posterity speak of him.

When he was still alive, Gjergj Kastrioti, with his heroism, with the lofty ideals he defended, had already entered the oral literature, the legends and songs of the Albanian people and the other peoples of the Balkans. After his death, this popular literature and the works of historians, publicists and philosophers, the various assessments made of him in different epochs, inspired a whole literature which from the beginning of the 16th century flourished in several languages and in the most diverse genres: sonnets, poems, historical novels and stories, lays, libretti, etc. Will all their individual peculiarities and the artistic evolution of the approach to the figure of the hero in the course of the centuries, these works have the one fundamental element: in all of them Skanderbeg appears as a hero of great strength of character, valiant and generous: in short, as the spirit of the good who conquers the forces of the evil in all circumstances.

Few heroes of liberation struggles have been taken up as subjects of world literature as often as Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg has been five centuries since his hand let go for ever his unvanquished sword. The bibliography on our legendary hero published on the occasion of the 500th centenary of his death comprises more than 1,000 works in 21 languages.

Skanderbeg's epoch and feats were frequently evoked in

the clandestine press of the National Liberation War. After Liberation, many writers, composers, painters and sculptors have chosen Skanderbeg as the central figure of many of their works.

The PLA and the people's state power have organized various activities to honour the figure of the national hero of the Albanian people in a worthy manner. The central square of Tirana, a military school, a great agricultural enterprise, the Museum of Kruja, etc. bear the name of Skanderbeg. The «Order of Skanderbeg», one of the highest decorations for distinguished service, has been instituted by special law. Everywhere there are monuments erected to commemorate Skanderbeg's great victories in his struggle against the Ottomans. Equestrian statues by Albanian sculptors dominate the central places in Tirana and Kruja. And finally, in 1968, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the death of the hero, important activities were organized in Tirana, Kruja, Lezha and in other cities of the country.

The centuries-long struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence

The establishment of the Ottoman feudal military regime on Albanian territory had disastrous consequences for the normal course of the general development of the country. The Ottoman administration tried to implant its laws and customs in occupied Albania, going the whole length in their efforts to convert the population into Turks. But the efforts of the Ottoman invaders to hitch definitively the destiny of Albania to the chariot of Constantinople ended in failure. The Albanians put up an unexampled resistance to this new threat. The five centuries of Ottoman rule are full of ceaseless uprisings of the Albanian people to shake off the Turkish yoke.

The live memory of Gjergj Kastrioti, like all ideas which strike deep roots among the masses of the people, became a mobilizing element. His authority was so great that in the eighties and nineties of the 15th century, the masses that rose to regain their lost liberty, this time called on his son and grandson in exile in Italy to return and lead their struggle as they had done half a century before, when they went to

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Edrene to invite Gjergj Kastrioti to take the leadership of their war. The country again was liberated from Himara to the northern mountain ranges. The Sultans were obliged to organize new military expeditions to reoccupy the country. From the 16th to the 18th century, a number of violent uprisings broke out in the mountainous areas of the country. These upheavals, which were directed both against the foreign occupier and against the renegade feudal lords, strengthened the national feeling and enhanced the patriotism of the people.

The 18th century is marked by important changes in the economic and political fields: the passage from the system of feudal-military landownership to the system of cifligs*, the development of marked-towns, the development of production and exchange. The development of the forces of production of the country brought about the economic and political emancipation of the Albanian feudal lords and the formation of the great Albanian pashaliks of Shkodra and Janina, which waged incessant wars to escape the dependence on the Sulblime Porte.

In the middle of the past century, the popular movements against the savage Ottoman occupation became broader and more frequent. The battles in the Melesin Mountain (Leskovik) in 1831 and in Shkodra in 1835, in Dibra and Gjakova in 1844, were the forewarnings of the great peasant uprising of 1847 when the Albanians, as a folk song has it, fought «banner in hand for all Albania». These attempts to gain freedom, which were drowned in blood by the Turkish pashas, had important consequences. They were the prologue to all the events that followed from 1878 to 1912 in Albania. In this period, a whole pleiad of outstanding men of «the pen or the rifle» began to rise on the Albanian horizon, they put themselves at the head of the national movement for complete liberation and independence, organizing the struggle to break the chains of foreign bondage, and to establish national independence, to set up the Albanian state, a state which, however, would be no longer a feudal state, but a democratic one. This period, known in the history of the country as the Albanian National Renaissance, is another brilliant page of the history of our people.

The struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and

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independence entered a new phase in the years 1878-1881. Under the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878, many purely Albanian territories were to be annexed to Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro. The threat of the dismemberment of the Homeland became even more imminent after the Berlin Congress of 1878. The Albanian people rose to defend themselves, and in face of this new menace, they set up the League of Prizren which extended its activity over the whole of Albania. The League issued its program with claims ranging from autonomy to the complete liberation of Albania from the Ottoman yoke!

The League of Prizren gave a fresh impulse to the movement for national liberation. During this period, the struggle of the Albanian people against Turkey was characterized by a stronger national awareness. This struggle was also directed against the secret colonialist plans of the Great Powers which, under the Treaty of San Stefano and, moreover at the Berlin Congress, sought to amputate Albania to the advantage of the neighbouring countries as well as for their own sinister ends, attracted as they were by the strategic position of Albania on the Adriatic, which made it an important springboard towards the Mediterranean, as well as by its natural resources.

Precisely at this time the uprisings of the years 1883, 1885, 1892, 1898, etc. broke out in a series. The movement gathered strength and became better organized especially after 1900. In 1905, the first units of freedom fighters carried out isolated actions combined with large-scale actions engaging the Turkish garrisons. In the Northern Mountains these guerilla units comprised about 15,000 armed men in their ranks.

The extension of the liberation armed struggle, accompanied with the opening of Albanian schools and patriotic clubs, the publication of newspapers and magazines as well as books written in Albanian served to enhance the national awareness of the Albanian people.

The Young Turks, who came to power in 1908, saw that Albania was breaking away from Turkey's grip, therefore they sent their ablest general, Shefket Turgut Pasha, against the Albanian insurgents, in the hope that he would drown Albania in blood. But the Albanians took to arms in 1911 and rose to a man. In 1912 the Albanian insurrections against Turkey entered a new phase, that of the general armed uprising led by a regional insurrectional committee which had its centre

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in the region of Kosova. The Kosova patriots gave the first signal of the general uprising which spread over the whole of Albania and was crowned with the proclamation of the independence of the country in November 28, 1912, and the formation of an Albanian government chaired by the great patriot Ismail Qemali which had its seat in Vlora. «The flag raised in 1912,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «crowned the titanic struggles of the Albanian people, showed that with their armed struggle, their steel unity for a great aim — the defence of their Homeland, their honour, their customs, their language and noble traditions, the Albanian people had vanquished powerful, savage and perfidious enemies. The Albanian people showed their indomitable, intrepid, wise, unflinching and just spirit, thereby vanquishing their enemies, as they will vanquish in the future any other enemy, no matter how strong and great, attempting to encroach upon their sovereign rights.»

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In the years 1913-1939 the Albanian people strove and fought for the consolidation of their national independence and their existence as a state, for the defence of their territorial integrity against the attacks and intrigues of the predatory and chauvinist imperialist powers, for ensuring their social, economic and cultural progress as well as for the establishment of a democratic order.

The Great Powers did not recognize Albania's independence proclaimed in Vlora. They continued to hatch new monstrous plans in order to wipe Albania off the political map of the Balkans as an independent state and a distinct nation.

Nevertheless, the patriotic government presided by Ismail Qemali made great efforts to organize the Albanian state internally and to affirm its existence in the international arena. With its activities it gave the whole world to understand that the Albanian people were capable of governing themselves and living as a nation.

It was only on July 29, 1913, after long bargaining, that the Great Powers were forced to recognize the independence of Albania, but under their control and tutelage. On the other hand, the delimitation of the borders of the new Albanian state left about half of the Albanian territories outside the mother country. Contrary to the will of the Albanian people and without the approval of the national government of Vlora, which they forced to resign, the Great Powers imposed

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During the First World War, Albania was turned into a battlefield where the armies of the imperialist and chauvinist powers confronted one another. After seizing Vlora, which they planned to utilize as a bridge-head for their further penetration into Albania and the Balkans, at the end of the war the Italians stationed their troops, more than 50,000 strong, in a great part of the country. Their Yugoslav rivals who, on their part, had occupied the north-eastern regions, followed the example of the Italian imperialists. Korça and Gjirokastra were under the joint occupation of French and Italian forces.

After the war, the representatives of the imperialist Great Powers — the United States, Britain, France and Italy, most shamelessly tried to sort out their differences at the cost of the peoples. Thus, among other things, they worked out a project for the dismemberment of Albania. This continued in the tradition of their anti-Albanian policy, which found its expression in the infamous Treaty of London of April 1915, as well as in the despicable bargainings concluded at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. But the sons and daughters of Albania did not allow the fate of their Homeland to be decided by the imperialist Great Powers, which were busy working out the new map of the world. The publication and denunciation of the imperialist secret treaties at the end of 1917 by the Soviet Government led by Lenin, and among others, of the London Treaty of April 1915, stipulating the dismemberment of Albania, lent powerful support to the anti-imperialist national movement of the Albanian people and raised the vigilance of the mass of patriots.

In January 1920, the imperialist Great Powers were busy planning to give Northern Albania to Yugoslavia and Vlora and its hinterland to Italy, which was also to be given the mandate of the remaining Albanian territories. In January 1920, the Albanian patriots met at Lushnja in a congress which went down in history under the name of that town and said «no!» to the bargainings of the imperialist Great Powers. The Congress rejected the plans of the Paris Peace Conference for the partitioning of Albania and declared that the Albanians would not spare their blood to oppose all decisions which endangered the territorial integrity of their

country and their complete independence. The Congress elected a government chaired by Sulejman Delvina and a Supreme Council with the attributes of the state power.

The Congress of Lushnja was neither a purely formal political act, nor the product of political combinations of the foreign powers. It was the result of the political struggle of the masses of the people who had risen to defend the freedom and independence of their Homeland. With its clear-cut national and anti-imperialist character it represented an important event in the centuries-long history of our people.

The idea of the armed struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland, which was launched at the Congress of Lushnja, expressed the firm determination of the people. In June 1920 they wrote with their blood a new epic, the epic of those valiant fighters who, as a popular song has it, «fought with swords and daggers and old rifles» against the Italian divisions armed to the teeth, until they drove them into the sea, out of the Vlorë region which Rome considered the «Gibraltar of the Adriatic». With their just war the Albanians brought the Italian Government to negotiate with the Tirana Government and sign on August 2, 1920, a convention on the withdrawal of the Italian troops from the occupied areas and the recognition of the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

The victory achieved at Vlorë, apart from its national importance, had also an international significance, because it halted the Italian expansion towards the East. Had it maintained its positions in Vlorë, Italian imperialism would have endangered the other Balkan peoples, too. In this way the Albanian victory in Vlorë safeguarded the interests of the neighbouring peoples, too.

The events of 1920 confirmed a great lesson of the Albanian history, a truth drawn from the centuries-long battles of the Albanian people, that it is the people themselves, with their inexhaustible forces, who can discharge the missions set by history.

In the years 1920-1924 the expansion of the broad anti-feudal movement for the democratization of the country was crowned with the triumph of the democratic revolution of June 1924. It brought to power the first democratic government of a revolutionary character in the Balkans. This government, chaired by Fan Noli, had a democratic program including the application of a number of progressive reforms.

The enactment of this program came up against the fierce opposition of internal and external reaction. The Noli Government backed down in face of the resistance of the reactionary forces. It focussed mainly on the external problems, and tried to neutralize the hostile attitude of the imperialist Great Powers and the neighbouring countries by winning recognition abroad. This government established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

In the meantime, the imperialist states, and Great Britain in the first place, were busy liquidating the revolutionary hotbeds in the world. Imperialist agents in Albania, and the British minister Eyres among them, set everything in motion in order to organize the internal reaction and to overthrow the new government as quickly as possible. In December 1924, the reactionary gangs of the Albanian feudal lords came into Albania from Yugoslavia and Greece and, with the support of the Yugoslav troops and the White Guards launched a general assault against the revolution. On December 24, they captured Tirana. Thus, with the support of the imperialist Great Powers, the savage dictatorship of the local landowners and the bourgeoisie and a regime of white terror was established in Albania.

The defeat of the June revolution was a great loss for the Albanian people and the revolutionary movement in the Balkans. This fact was to be stressed some time later by one of the leaders of the international communist and workers' movement, George Dimitrov, who said that «the counter-revolutionary turn in Albania brought about by Ahmet Zog, with the assistance of Yugoslavia and its armed forces, extended the front of the Balkan reaction to the Adriatic.»

Initially Ahmet Zog acceded to power as president of the republic, but in 1928 he instituted the monarchy and proclaimed himself King of the Albanians. Whether a president or king, Zog was a cruel dictator, a despot of the oriental type, a «little Sultan», as he was ironically called in Albania. His regime had a reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-national character. Having suppressed all democratic freedom and civil rights, he intensified the oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people by the corrupt ruling classes.

But this state of things could not be accepted by the popular masses of the towns and villages, or by the progressive elements of the country. Despite the small number of

the working class, under the influence and leadership of the communists, a workers' movement (strikes, manifestations and other forms of resistance against the regime) developed in several Albanian towns in the thirties. There were revolts, the most important of which was that of Fier (August 1935), which was the work of a secret organization rallying diverse currents whose common aim was to overthrow the regime.

Zog's foreign policy was conditioned by the fact that he owed much of its success to his patrons that had brought him to power by force of bayonets. So he practised an open door policy with them. As early as 1925, the Italian monopolies gained a number of concessions for prospecting and exploiting the minerals as well as for controlling the banking, trading and farming sectors of the country. In 1926, a «pact of friendship and security» was signed in Rome, and a year later a «treaty of defensive alliance», under which Italy acquired the right to intervene militarily in Albania under the pretext of coping with an external or internal menace. The Italian loans put Albania under the economic tutelage of Rome. Italian military missions and fascist organizations stepped up their activity in the ranks of the Albanian army and administration, carrying out Italian peaceful penetration according to instructions from Rome, thus preparing the ground for the April 7, 1939 invasion, when 173 Italian warships and 600 planes attacked Albania and more than 50,000 men landed in the ports of the country to rob the sons of Albania of their liberty. Zog and his clique fled the country, abandoning it to its fate. The Albanian army, which the Italian military specialists and the pro-fascist officers had put out of action, disintegrated without resistance. Nevertheless, isolated groups of patriots fought heroically against the aggressors at Durrës, Saranda, Shëngjin, Shkodra and Vlora. The British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* wrote about the resistance of the Albanian people against the fascist invasion: «Albania has spoken in a language Europe is no longer used to hear.» But being far superior in forces, they crushed this opposition. In a matter of a few days, the fascists succeeded in occupying the whole country. Nevertheless, the Albanian people did not submit. They expressed their profound hatred for the Italian invaders and never put up with the regime of foreign occupation.

The occupation of Albania was the logical conclusion of

the aggressive policy of Italian fascism and of the anti-national and anti-popular capitulationist policy pursued by the Zog regime as well as of the «non-intervention» policy of the imperialist Western powers, which eventually recognized this occupation. Only the Soviet Union, consistent in its policy of defending the states menaced by fascism, raised its voice against this aggression.

A wave of indignation and protest against the Italian aggression rose in the Albanian colonies abroad. Progressive public opinion all over the world denounced this act of piracy.

The occupation of Albania by Italy marked the beginning of the dark period of fascist slavery for the Albanian people. When they retained the regime of the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie, the occupiers set about carrying out a vast plan of political, economic and administrative measures intended to legalize the regime of occupation and Italianize the country, to plunder its resources and turn it into a base for aggression against the other Balkan countries and the East. They aimed to implement the colonial policy of ancient Rome, with the ambition of turning the Adriatic into an Italian lake. This policy involved the Italianization of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, just as ancient Rome had tried to bring about the Romanization of the same area.

The efforts to instal a fascist dictatorship in Albania were marked by the hasty convention in Tirana of a «constituent assembly» which proclaimed the «personal union of Albania with Italy» and offered the crown of Albania to the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III. A puppet Albanian government chaired by the big landowner Shefqet Verlaci was set up. However, state power was concentrated in the hands of the Italian General Lieutenancy. With the suppression of the Albanian ministry of foreign affairs its attributes were taken over by its Italian counter-part. The other ministerial departments were practically led by Italian «advisers». The Albanian armed forces, incorporated into the Imperial Army, were under Italian command. The convention on the «equality of civil and political rights of Italian and Albanian citizens» was followed by dozens of thousands of Italian settlers thronging to Albania. The latter, together with the occupation troops, made up the task force of colonizing and fascizing the whole country. Abundantly flowing Italian capital became the all-powerful master of the economy of the country, transforming it into a mere source of raw materials

for Italy and a market reserved exclusively for its products.

The Albanian people were very quickly to see the consequences of the establishment of the fascist regime. They saw themselves totally deprived of their freedom and independence. Soon hundreds of patriots were sent to jail or deported to concentration camps in Italy. The fascists set up a network of police force to shadow «people suspect to the regime». The civil servants were forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Italian king under the penalty of being revoked. The fascist laws created all over the country an atmosphere of uncertainty and terror.

The epic of the National Liberation War

Where is the foe that ever saw
their back?

Lord Byron

The Albanian people were among the first victims of fascism and the first in Europe to take up arms against it. They did not stop fighting until they crushed the nazi-fascist occupiers and the local traitors, thus writing the most glorious epic of their history in their liberation war.

The Italian fascists invaded Albania, but never succeeded in reducing its indomitable spirit. Alone in front of a savage enemy armed to the teeth, they put up a valiant and bold resistance to the enemy that had trampled their hearths. After the bloody events of April 1939, many sons and daughters of Albania, with what weapons they could find, began the partisan war. Despite the terror and the demagogic manoeuvres of the enemy, who did everything to break the Albanian resistance, anti-fascist manifestations broke out in the towns. The first guerrilla units, led by the communists and enjoying the support of the population, carried out all sorts of actions, attacking enemy columns, blowing up military stores, carrying out surprise attacks on the enemy, killing spies and traitors. On the Greek front two battalions of Albanian soldiers, recruited by force, either deserted and took to the mountains or defected to the Greek side.

With the founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 the National Liberation War entered a new phase. Very soon it grew in scope and strength and turned into a true popular revolution. The Party worked a clear political program of the National Liberation War and made the people aware of the goals of this struggle.

The Communist Party rallied and organized the Albanian people in a united front for national liberation, the foundations of which were laid at the Conference of Peza which was held on September 16, 1942¹. Large-scale partisan warfare began in 1942 under its leadership.

The fundamental aim of the war of the Albanian people was the complete liberation of Albania from the foreign occupiers, the achievement of true national independence and the establishment of a regime of people's democracy. Partisan warfare was a form of struggle known and tested in the course of centuries both in Albania and other countries. The Albanian people had an ancient tradition of patriotic struggles, and guerilla wars against the invaders. Availing itself of these traditions, the Communist Party of Albania gave the partisan struggle against the fascist occupiers and the local traitors a profoundly popular and revolutionary content.

The National Liberation War of the Albanian people had a double character: it was an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist and at the same time an anti-feudal and democratic revolution. The motive forces of this struggle were: the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty- and middle bourgeoisie of the towns, the patriotic intellectuals. The working class was the leading force, the other forces being its allies.

The essential social contradictions existing at that time in Albania consisted of the contradiction between the fascist occupiers who had enslaved the people, on the one hand, and the Albanian people who wanted to live free and independent, on the other, and the contradiction between the feudal-bourgeois strata which supported the foreign occupation, and the broad masses of the people who called for the instauration of democratic freedoms. The Albanian reaction, represented by the

¹ Peza is a region near Tirana, where under the leadership of the Party, the anti-fascist movement and the National Liberation War, had set up strong bases.

big feudal landlords, the big bourgeoisie, etc. who had made common cause with the occupiers, was forced to respond to the national liberation movement, especially following the historic Conference of Peza. In these circumstances, under the sponsorship of the fascist occupier, the Balli Kombëtar (the National Front) was formed — a traitor organization which took upon itself to wreck the National Liberation War and to assist the foreign occupiers, even by organizing its own armed units and throwing them in action against the partisans.

The Party dispatched a number of its members, young communists and friends, experienced in urban guerilla warfare to the countryside to rally new fighters, mainly from among the peasantry for the creation of guerilla units. The countryside became the base and the principal source of supply of the partisan guerillas.

There was no class limitation as to the composition of the guerillas. All those who expressed their readiness to fight the occupier were admitted. Only elements of dubious record, criminals and gangsters who had been branded by the people as such were barred from joining. A partisan guerilla unit numbered 50 to 60 fighters. It was headed by a commander and a political commissar who jointly led its actions and were answerable for the military training and the political preparedness of the partisans. Along with their intensive military activity against the occupiers and traitors, the partisan guerillas did tireless political work to expose the occupiers and the local traitors, organized cultural and educational activities not only among the partisans but also among the population of the areas in which they operated. The guerrillas had their bases in the liberated regions in which they had destroyed the organs of the state power of the occupier and helped the people set up national liberation councils as organs of the National Liberation War. They assisted the peasants in farm work and served as guardians of law and order for the national liberation councils. Besides partisan guerillas, after the Conference of Peza, territorial guerilla units, one for every big village or for two or three small hamlets were also formed. They were self-defence units which took up arms to assist the partisan guerillas in important actions or to oppose enemy incursions in the liberated areas. The self-defence units served at the same time as a reserve force to complete and increase the regular partisan units.

After the Conference of Peza, the number of urban guerillas, partisan guerillas and self-defence guerillas rapidly increased. Towards the end of 1942, the partisan forces proper numbered about 2,000 men besides thousands of fighters incorporated into the urban and rural guerillas.

In an attempt to wipe out the partisan guerillas, the Italian occupiers launched a large-scale punitive operation from September to December 1942 in 27 regions of the country, and a campaign of terror in the towns, which always ended up in failure. In July 1943, the fascist occupiers proclaimed the whole of Albania a zone of war operations. The Italian commander-in-chief was forced to admit that «the Albanian people, in their great majority and without class distinctions, have risen against Italy and against the presence of our troops in their country.» He demanded reinforcements from Rome in order to be able to cope with the situation.

The repeated waves of terror, far from putting out the fire of the liberation struggle, fanned it out even more. The National Liberation War assumed more and more the form of a great people's uprising. Most of the Albanian territory (with the exception of the main towns) was controlled by the freedom fighters. In these conditions, in the beginning of July 1943, the National Liberation General Council was convened. It decided to set up a General Staff and to incorporate all the partisan guerillas and battalions into one National Liberation Army. After the creation of the General Staff, of which Enver Hoxha, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Albania, was the political commissar, the armed struggle entered a new phase characterized by a higher degree of organization and more vigorous extension — the phase of the general people's uprising. The General Staff proceeded with the organization of the National Liberation Army and concentrated in its hands the strategic and operational direction of the armed struggle against the occupiers and traitors, while at the same time working out the tactic of this struggle. At the moment when the General Staff was set up, the Albanian National Liberation Army numbered in its ranks about 10,000 fighters incorporated into permanent partisan detachments. Besides this, self-defence guerillas in the liberated villages and guerilla units in the occupied towns and regions comprised a number of fighters double that of the year before. In order to put the enemy under all-round fire, and bring the outbreak of the general uprising nearer, the General Staff

set about creating greater, better organized and equipped units, capable of engaging in large-scale fighting. As a result the 1st Shock Brigade was formed (15 August 1943), followed by others all over the country.

Another very important step taken by the General Staff was the organization of military power in the rear. Regional commands and local commands were set up as organs of this power. They carried out the functions of people's police in the liberated areas and served as support for the national liberation councils.

Even after the creation of the General Staff, the National Liberation Army continued its tactics of partisan warfare as the main form of activity against the enemy, and this because of the numerical superiority of the occupation forces, and above all, their superiority in armaments, ammunition, means of transport and communications, supply and equipment. In these conditions, to accept battle in open field would have spelt death for the people's armed uprising.

The partisan units and detachments carried out offensive operations, harassing the enemy at any unexpected moment, which they did with rapid manoeuvring and surprise attacks, with the initiative of the commanders of brigades, groups and battalions, and an intelligent utilization of the terrain.

The cadres who led the National Liberation Army, the commanders and commissars came from the ranks of the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals, from among the braver and more capable partisans, and were formed as such in the crucible of the war. The enemy, the army and depots of the occupiers, which remained until the end of the war the main source of supply for the partisans in arms and ammunition, were seized through hard-fought battles. Food and shelter were provided mainly by the urban and peasant population.

Great attention was attached to keeping the morale in the army high. With its work of political education the Communist Party raised an entire generation of fighters, ready to lay down their lives for the Homeland and the freedom of the people. This moral force had its roots in the high consciousness of the fighters, who knew what they were fighting for, were fully aware of the difficulties, the privations and the sacrifices their struggle called for, and were animated by an unshakeable faith in the triumph of their cause.

From the first day of its formation, the National Liberation Army was a profoundly democratic army of the revolution. The rank-and-file enjoyed equal rights with the commanders and commissars and complete freedom to participate in the political life of the country, the solution of the military, political and organizational problems of the army. Everything — including military operations of army units, political work, the activity of commands and the behaviour of the partisans and cadres, was subject to the judgement and criticism of the collective. The order of the command was the desire of the fighters and the people. To ensure that orders were executed to the letter, broad debate and exchange of opinions was organized.

Democracy in the Albanian National Liberation Army was an expression of its popular character and emanated from the principle that the masses play the decisive role as the makers of history.

This democracy did not weaken military discipline in the slightest, on the contrary, strengthened it, made it more conscious, not only did it not effect centralized leadership, but made its application easier.

In each unit, the party basic organizations were the animating spirit of all the activities of the partisan fighters.

After the capitulation of fascist Italy, on September 8, 1943, Albania came under German occupation. Fifteen thousand Italian soldiers and officers surrendered to the National Liberation Army and 1,500 of them joined the Albanian partisan units, mainly as part of the 1st Shock Brigade, in the battalion «Antonio Gramsci». The rest lived and worked with the peasants.

In the beginning the Hitlerites tried to deceive the Albanian people by pretending that they had come to liberate Albania from the Italian yoke. In collusion with the local traitors, they staged the «separation of Albania from Italy» and set up the organs of the «independent Albanian state», such as the «Executive Committee», the «Regency», the «Albanian Government», the «Albanian Army», the «Albanian Gendarmerie», etc. The Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, two traitor organizations, of which the latter sought to restore Zog's monarchic regime as the «legal» regime of the country, supported this demagogical campaign. These two organizations, as well as the other reactionary groupings aligned themselves openly with the German nazis and parti-

icipated arms in hand in the military operations carried out by the occupiers against the National Liberation Army and the Albanian people.

But the Albanian people were not to be taken in by this demagogy. Everywhere they waged fierce battles against the new occupiers. On the Struga-Librazhd road, at Drashovica near Vlora, at the Kardhiq Bridge near Gjirokastra, along the Elbasan-Tirana road, at Kruja, Konispol, Delvina and Saranda, at Bilisht, on the Korça-Leskovic road and in other places, the detachments of the National Liberation Army prevented them from occupying the whole Albanian territory. Most of the liberated regions and a number of towns remained free in the hands of the National Liberation Army. In autumn 1943, the units and detachments of the National Liberation Army went over to the offensive against the Hitlerite troops and the reactionary forces all over the country. On October 18, a battery of the Albanian National Liberation Army shelled the palace in which the quisling assembly was convened on the initiative of the German command.

The nazi occupation stepped up the process of differentiation of forces in the country. All the reactionary groupings and trends which had gone over to the armed struggle against the National Liberation Movement, rallied around the new occupiers.

Internal reaction and the traitors felt less and less capable of coping with the situation on their own. Therefore they sought the assistance and protection of the nazis and openly placed all their forces under the command of the latter.

The nazi invaders made desperate efforts to put down the national liberation movement. During the winter 1943-1944, the Germans, assisted by the local traitors, undertook a large-scale campaign with the objective of wiping out the National Liberation Army. Four Hitlerite divisions, assisted by many thousands of gendarmes, ballists and Zogits, about 45,000 men all told, took a direct part in this operation. By that time the National Liberation Army had about 20,000 fighters operating all over Albania.

Both in number and armaments the enemy was far superior than the partisans who were in great shortage of weapons, ammunition, supplies and equipment, and, moreover, were forced to fight in the conditions of the severe winter of our mountains.

The German occupiers backed up their large-scale offensive against the National Liberation Army with a wave of terror on a scale never seen in Albania until that time. Whole villages were plundered and burnt down. Thousands of men and women, young and old, even children, were shot, massacred, burnt alive, imprisoned or deported to extermination camps. At any moment of the day or night, the German nazis, the gendarmes and ballists broke into people's homes, plundered them, rounded up men and women, young and old, beat them or executed them on the spot without trial, and threw their corpses into the gutters. The bodies of partisans killed in battle, or murdered after their capture or even exhumated from their graves were often loaded on animals and paraded through streets or exhibited in town squares, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people. «Blood-letting is a radical remedy against infection. Blood must flow in torrents in the streets of Tirana if we want to re-establish peace. One day of terror ensures ten years of peace!» reads an editorial of the official press of the quisling government on February 4, 1944.

Nevertheless, the peace they wanted was not re-established. With all the efforts of the enemy, their winter operation proved a disaster for them. More than 1,000 partisans laid down their lives on the battlefield, but the ranks of the National Liberation Army did not shrink or weaken, on the contrary grew and strengthened with the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Brigades which were formed precisely at this time. The fighting, the difficulties and privations it had to go through, tempered the National Liberation Army morally and made it stronger than ever. The commanders, commissars and the rank-and-file fighters gained rich military and political experience. On the other hand, the partisan units and detachments improved their armament through capturing new German weapons in the course of fighting.

Although they had the advantage of the offensive, the occupier and the traitors suffered much heavier losses than the partisan forces. From the political aspect the partisans gained the greatest victory. By this time most of the reactionary forces began to understand the futility of the fight against the National Liberation Front and lost faith in victory.

The enemy did not succeed in destroying either the

national liberation councils or paralyzing their activity. These organisms continued to give the National Liberation Army considerable aid by procuring supplies, equipment, means of transport, and above all, increasing its ranks with new volunteers. They carried out a large-scale activity to keep the morale and the fighting spirit of the people high, to assist the victims of the war and to save the peasant masses from starvation.

In the spring 1944, the Albanian National Liberation Army had the initiative of the operations. In April the partisan units and detachments went over to the offensive all over the country. Almost all the regions south of the Shkumbin River were liberated, while in Central and Northern Albania operations by partisan forces were intensified. The occupation troops and the reactionary forces entrenched themselves in their barracks in the cities or in the fortified positions along the main routes and the coast.

The situation became even more favourable for the forces of the National Liberation Army following the series of the brilliant victories of the Red Army over the German armies.

In these circumstances the first Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress was held in the liberated town of Përmet. It elected the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council as a legislative and executive body and the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee with the attributes of a provisional government, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Besides creating the supreme organs of the people's power, the Congress of Përmet took the following decisions: to build a new people's democratic Albania according to the will of the people as it was solemnly expressed at the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council today»; to prohibit the return of the ex-King Zog to Albania; to deny recognition to any other government that might be formed in the country or in exile against the will of the Albanian people; to fight the German occupier and the local traitors until their total destruction and the establishment of the state of people's democracy all over the country.

At its first session the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council took a number of decisions of major importance which were adopted by the Congress and which constituted the first laws of the Albanian state of people's democracy. Of

particular importance was the revolutionary decision to annul all the political and economic agreements the Zog government had concluded with the foreign states as incompatible with the interests of the Albanian people, had a revolutionary character and particular importance. The Council set up a special state commission for detecting and identifying the war criminals and investigating the crimes committed by the invader and the traitors.

It was at this Congress that the unification of the High Command of the National Liberation Army and the introduction of military rank were decided on. Comrade Enver Hoxha was appointed commander-in-chief. The Congress issued the directive to form divisions and army corps. The General Command announced the formation of the 1st Shock Division.

The Congress reaffirmed its allegiance to the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance and the friendship of the Albanian people with all the peoples of the world anti-fascist coalition, while at the same time it warned the imperialist powers that the time when Albania could be used as a token for barter was gone for ever. From now on Albania would decide its own fate. The Congress publicly denounced the attempts of the Anglo-American allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of Albania.

The historic decisions of the Congress were received with great joy and immediately embraced by the broad people's masses.

Meanwhile the Hitlerite occupiers mounted the second large-scale operation against the partisan forces. For this offensive the enemy threw in four divisions and a half of the Wehrmacht, and more than 50,000 gendarmes, ballists and Zogites. This operation, too, which is known as the June operation ended in complete defeat for the nazis and the forces of reaction. It was another proof of the invincible strength of the National Liberation Army and the Albanian people. From this operation the people's army emerged stronger and more mature, the people were deeply resolved to continue the war till final victory.

The enemy operation was still going on in the South when on June 26, 1944 the forces of National Liberation Army launched a general offensive for the liberation of the territory of Northern Albania. The enemy was taken unawares, unable to face this sudden attack. The German garrisons

and the gangs of reactionaries, and their routes of communication were subject to daily destructive attacks by the Albanian National Liberation Army. Unable to counter the general offensive, the enemy evacuated regions and cities it had previously occupied, one after the other. By October 24, the Hitlerites were driven out of the whole southern part of the country to the north of the Shkumbin, where in June-July 1944, the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the Albanian Liberation Army had switched over to the offensive, the Germans continued to only hold the cities of Elbasan, Tirana, Durrës, Kukës and Shkodra.

One of the more important consequences of the general offensive of the National Liberation Army was the complete annihilation of internal reaction. The Balli Kombëtar, the Legaliteti, their armed gangs and the gendarm detachments were wiped out under the blows of the storm brigades and divisions of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Army, the Regency and the quisling government were completely paralysed.

The battle for the liberation of the Capital — Tirana, which went on for 19 days, from October 29 to November 17, 1944, was among the great battles the National Liberation Army fought in the final phase of the war. The battle of Tirana had the character of a pitched battle. The Hitlerites lost 5,000 men besides a considerable number of prisoners.

On November 28, 1944, the Democratic Government chaired by Comrade Enver Hoxha entered Tirana amidst the indescribable enthusiasm of the population.

On November 29, 1944, with the Liberation of Shkodra in the North, the forces of the National Liberation Army completed the liberation of Albania. The state of people's democracy was established all over the country.

The heroic struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania was crowned with complete victory. The fascist domination in Albania came to an end; at the same time, all dependence on the imperialist great powers was done away with, and all enslaving links with them were severed. The Albanian people achieved their full national independence, and the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie was overthrown. Albania broke away for ever from the world capitalist system. This was the greatest victory ever achieved by the Albanian people throughout their history.

The contribution of the Albanian people to the great victory over fascism

In fighting for more than five and a half years against the occupiers, the Albanian people paid a heavy tribute in blood and sacrifices to bring about the brilliant victory of the peoples against the nazi-fascist aggressors. By fighting for their own national and social liberation, they also fought and shed their blood for the common victory of the peoples against the fascist plague.

The partisan war waged by the Albanian people was, on a world scale, a war in the rear of the enemy. Although its objective was the liberation of the country, the National Liberation War of the Albanian people was a support for the anti-fascist war of the peoples. Right from the beginning, the Communist Party linked the war of the Albanian people against Italian fascism and German nazism with the great anti-fascist alliance. As a result of this correct policy, in the course of the Second World War, the Albanian people aligned themselves with the forces of the world anti-fascist coalition. They fought with unexampled heroism and won a place of honour in the war for the defeat of Italian fascism and German nazism.

The National Liberation War saw the participation of 70,000 fighters incorporated in three army corps, eight divisions and twenty-five brigades. Besides, a great number of people fought in the ranks of self-defence units operating almost in all the villages of Albania. In bloody battles the enemy suffered heavy losses, the Albanian soil became the grave for 26,000 nazi-fascist invaders, another 21,245 were wounded and 20,800 captured. In other words, the Albanian partisan forces put out of action nearly 70,000 men in active service of the common enemy.

The nazi-fascist occupiers suffered heavy material losses as well. The Albanian partisans destroyed 2,100 enemy tanks, armoured cars or military vehicles, captured or destroyed 4,000 cannon and mortars, blew up 216 military depots, destroyed telephone lines, repair shops and other installations of the enemy.

The Albanian people, relative to their numbers, carried a very heavy burden on their shoulders. During the Second

World war, their territory of a little more than 28,000 square kilometres was occupied by about 700,000 fascist soldiers who caused incredible damage and great devastation. With its population of 1,200,000 Albania ranked among the countries which suffered the heaviest losses during the Second World War. It gave the common cause 28,000 martyrs, that is 2.48 per cent of its population, coming up third among the nations of the anti-fascist bloc. Albania's percentage of killed in relation to its population is 3.1 times greater than that of Britain, and 17.59 times that of the United States. The percentage of the wounded is 11 per 1,000 inhabitants, that is five times more than the average of the wounded in the countries of the anti-fascist bloc, the Soviet Union excepted, and 34,500 people, or 3.96 per cent of the population, were imprisoned or deported.

The material destructions suffered by Albania were colossal: 36.14 per cent of dwelling-houses, 850 towns and villages out of 2,500 Albania had at that time, were partially or totally destroyed; entire regions such as Mallakstra, Kurvelesh, Peza and Skrapar were turned to ashes, many towns, such as Leskovik, Pogradec, Saranda, Përmet, were burnt down by the occupiers; all routes of communication, port facilities, mining equipment and electric installations were destroyed; grain stores and livestock were plundered, and the national economy was ruined. Total material damage is estimated at more than 1,603 million dollars, that is 1,410 dollars per head of population. But these figures fail to illustrate the sacrifices the brave partisan fighters and the whole Albanian people had to make. Ill-clad, barefooted, poorly armed, often going without bread, in the snow and storm, they gave the enemy no respite until they liberated the whole of the Albanian territory with their own forces.

Fighting side by side with the other peoples, the Albanian partisans discharged their internationalist duty honourably and to the end. When the Italian fascists attacked Greece, the Albanian people, through bold combat actions, gave the Greek people important assistance. In the regions of Durrës, Tirana, and Gjirokastra, the Albanian partisans attacked Italian columns heading for Greece. The fascist chiefs, as well as the Western press, were forced to admit this. In a letter addressed to Hitler on November 22, 1940, Mussolini wrote that the losses of the Italian army on the Italian-

Greek front were the result of the «treason of the Albanians».

General Badoglio, who replaced Mussolini in 1943 at the head of the Italian government, wrote in his memories: «The Greek troops are putting up stiff resistance on the Kalamas River of the Epirus, while the Albanian troops incorporated in our divisions have either betrayed by contacting the Greeks or have defected to their side.»

On December 22, 1940, the press agencies informed: «The Albanian soldiers press-ganged into the Italian army have mutinied yesterday in several sectors of the Italian rear, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy before being captured. Part of them managed to take to the mountains, where they are carrying on their resistance». On January 4, 1941 they informed that «in the military circles it is said that the Albanians are giving the Greeks important assistance in their war against the Italians.»

The Albanian people watched the development of the war and co-ordinated their actions against the enemy with those of the forces of the anti-fascist coalition. The victories of Stalin's Red Army in the environs of Moscow, in Stalingrad, Kursk and elsewhere enthused our partisans who threw themselves into battle without sparing their lives.

At the moment when the Anglo-American forces landed in France and opened the second front there, four picked nazi divisions were nailed down in the mountains of Albania, engaged in the bloody battles of their June operation against the Albanian National Liberation Army. With their war the Albanian partisans also did their duty towards the anti-fascist coalition.

On October 5, 1944, at the request of the High Command of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army two brigades (the 3rd and the 5th) of the National Liberation Army crossed the state border and carried their war against the nazis on to the region of Kosova. Moreover, immediately after the liberation of the country, two divisions (the 5th and the 6th) of the Albanian National Liberation Army continued the pursuit of the Hitlerite invaders into the Yugoslav territory. The Albanian and Yugoslav partisans, fighting side by side against the nazi hordes in December 1944 and in January-February 1945, liberated Montenegro, Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia. In the battles for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, hundreds of fighters of

the Albanian National Liberation Army laid down their lives.

The struggle of the Albanian people met with great response and was considered an active contribution to the great anti-fascist war. It created the first international premises for the restoration of Albania's independence. It frustrated the plans of the occupiers who tried to rally Albania to the fascist bloc, and aligned our country with the anti-fascist coalition. In December 1942, acknowledging the War of the Albanian people, Molotov, Eden and Hull, ministers of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States respectively, took their stand towards the Albanian question in official declarations.

Among others, Molotov affirmed: «The Soviet Union, which follows with great sympathy the valiant war of the Albanian patriots against the Italian occupiers for the liberation of their country, recognizes no claim of Italian imperialism on Albanian territory and wants to see Albania free from the yoke of fascist occupation and its independence restored.»

For his part, Eden declared: «The British Government wants Albania to be liberated from the Italian yoke and its independence restored. The form of the state and government that will be established in Albania is up to the Albanian people themselves to decide and this question will be resolved at the end of the war.»

These declarations could not fail to cause great satisfaction and a feeling of legitimate pride among the Albanian people. The official declarations of the three main powers of the anti-fascist coalition, which recognized the independence and the liberation war of the Albanian people, confirmed that from now on Albania was recognized not only *de jure* but also *de facto* as an active member of the coalition. The Albanian people had won this place with their own heroic struggle, showing the entire world that the true Albania was not the one which a handful of traitors had proclaimed — «the ally of the Axis», but the one which the insurgent people had proclaimed — the ally of the nations and countries members of the great anti-fascist coalition. These declarations also showed that the hopes of the Albanian communists and patriots to see their just struggle win the support of the anti-fascist forces of the whole world, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, had already become a reality.

The three main powers of the anti-fascist coalition — the

Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, sent military missions to the General Staff of the National Liberation Army.

Eminent Western personalities, who have never distinguished themselves for their sympathy for Albania, were forced to recognize the heroic struggle of the Albanian people. Winston Churchill, answering an interpellation in the House of Commons, declared on November 4, 1943: «Thousands of Albanians are fighting in their mountains for the freedom and independence of their country, and, from the reports of the British military mission in Albania, are carrying out brilliant actions.»

American Secretary of State Cordell Hull wrote on November 28, 1943: «The government and people of the United States are attentively following the struggle of the Albanians in defence of the integrity and independence of their country. We have witnessed with admiration their resistance against fascist Italy as well as their patriotic determination to preserve their national sovereignty. Today these valiant fighters are carrying on their struggle against the nazi enemy...» His successor Edward Stettinius, in a message addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha on May 22, 1945, wrote, «I am well informed of the relentless struggle the Albanian people have waged against aggression and I highly appreciate the sacrifices they have made to carry out the liberation of their country and contribute to the final victory over the common enemy...»

The commander-in-chief of the allied forces in the Mediterranean, Maitland Wilson, wrote in a letter addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha on October 12, 1944: «I have followed with admiration how your National Liberation Army has discharged itself of its tasks in its brilliant actions against the common enemy for the attainment of our common goal.»

Part two

THE SOCIAL
AND STATE SYSTEM
OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Chapter one

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

November 8, 1941, the day of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, marks a decisive turning-point in the centuries-long history of our people, as it laid the foundations on which the new, socialist Albania stands.

The forty years of revolutionary activity of the PLA are years of heroic struggles and battles at the head of the Albanian working class and people for the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the revolution, to pull Albania out of its poverty and backwardness and to build a new life, rich, just and happy, as the life the Albanian people are enjoying today. These years are a period of triumphant battles against many enemies, internal and external, the American-led imperialists and the modern revisionists — Yugoslav, Soviet, and Chinese; and reactionaries of all hues. These years are a period of battles in defence of the right of our people to live free and independent and march on the road of true socialism and communism.

In the report he delivered at the 8th Congress of the PLA in November 1981, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

«In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will march determined and unwavering on the brilliant road on which it has proceeded during the forty years of its existence. Linked like flesh to bone with its people, at the head of them and together with them, it will fight with devotion, sparing no sacrifice, in order to ensure new progress and victories for our people and our socialist Homeland...

«In all circumstances and in any situation our Party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania,

and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the peoples.»

The Communist Party of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, on the basis of the worker and communist movement. It arose as an absolute historical necessity to lead the struggle of the people for national liberation and social emancipation.

The PLA was formed by the amalgamation of the Albanian communist groups into a revolutionary working class party of the new type on the basis of the ideological organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. The amalgamation was achieved through the common struggle of the communists of various groups against the enemies of the people, against pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against alien viewpoints in the ranks of the groups themselves, by putting the general interest of the communist movement above the narrow interests of the groups. The amalgamation was cemented with the working out and acceptance of a single general line constructed on scientific Marxist-Leninist bases.

The PLA was formed in the conditions of a backward agrarian country. The creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Albanian working class was not hindered by the fact that this class was small in numbers, scattered, unformed as an industrial proletariat, and had not achieved a high level of organizational and political maturity. In these conditions, besides the worker movement, the movement of the school youth served as a powerful support for the formation of the Party.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been able to play its leading role in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country, because it has worked out and consistently applied a revolutionary general line. This line has always responded to the political, economic, social and cultural demands of the masses, the fundamental interests of the people and the country, the interests of socialism on both a national and international level.

In working out this line, the Party of Labour of Albania has relied on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific analysis of the internal and external conditions, of the ratio of class forces within the country and on the international level, and of the revolution-

ary experience of the international communist movement. On this basis it has been able to disclose and to evaluate correctly the fundamental contradictions in the various historical stages of the revolution and to define correctly its own programmatic aims and tasks.

In working out its political line, the Party of Labour of Albania always proceeded with cautious steps, has not been hasty, nor has it delayed in taking decisions, has not closed itself in the narrow shell of national particularism, nor has it mechanically copied or used foreign revolutionary experience.

The basic principle on which the Party is built has always been democratic centralism, which ensures the combination of centralized leadership with the development of the broadest possible initiative of the party members. These are essential conditions absolutely necessary for safeguarding unity in the party ranks. At all the major historic turning points, thanks to its steel discipline, its Marxist-Leninist program and tactics, the Party of Labour of Albania has always come out as a monolithic revolutionary force, and always avoided manifestation of factionalism and opportunism.

One of the most outstanding features of the PLA is that which stems from the very essence of democratic centralism — combination of centralized leadership with collective leadership.

The joint co-ordinated work of the delegates to the supreme organ of the Party — its congress, and in the interval between two congresses, of the members of the Central Committee of the Party, i.e., the plenum of the Central Committee, permits the Party to find the correct solutions to all the fundamental questions of socialist construction and the best ways of implementing the decisions adopted.

At party meetings and in the party press all the communists take an active part in studying these decisions, in discussing the program of action, in making suggestions and proposals, in working out and endorsing this program, and only after they are fully conscious of its correctness they act to put it into practice. Thus the decisions of the leading organs express the will of all the communists and become a guide to action for them.

The whole activity of the Party develops in an atmosphere of principled criticism and self-criticism. Being in the

lead of the most advanced class, the Party of Labour of Albania never tries to cover up or dissimulate its errors and shortcomings. Historical experience has shown that only the declining classes and their parties fear criticism and self-criticism. For its part, relying on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania courageously admits all mistakes at work and channels all the creative activity of its members towards their elimination.

Party-people unity

«The people do what the Party says and the Party does what the people want.» This motto reflects the unity of the working masses around the Party of Labour of Albania, which underlies all the activity of the Party and the people, their day-to-day struggle, their mutual relationship.

To the Party there is nothing dearer than the interests of the people. In all circumstances, its activity reflects the wishes and aspirations of the working masses. Thus the principles and ideas of this policy, when adopted by the masses, become a great material force which knows no obstacles.

The strength of the Party of Labour rests in its links with the masses, in its ability to win them over, to guide them, to sum up their experience as well as to learn from them.

Precisely from this stems the great trust of the people in the Party, the unity of the Party with the people, a trust and unity which lie at the foundation of the invincibility of the Party and the country it leads, which enable them to undertake ever greater and more arduous tasks and accomplish them in the best possible manner.

All citizens — workers, cooperativists, employees, people of art and culture — whether communists or non-party people, in all circumstances, over all problems, whenever they are in need of advice and assistance, address themselves to the party basic organization which represents for them the strength and wisdom of the Party. They solicit the aid of the Party wherever they come up against obstacles in their work or have problems in the family, because they trust the Party, its capability to lead and assist them.

While the Party surrounds everyone with its warm

solicitude, on their part the entire people, everyone of them, are boundlessly attached to it. Whenever the country has faced a critical situation, the Party has addressed itself to the people and has always found their active and conscious aid.

The general line of the Party has been carried out with success, first of all, because it has been embraced by the broad masses of the people, has become their line and the masses, together with the Party and under its leadership, have striven with all their might to put it into practice. The Party has won the masses by making them conscious of the correctness of its line, by making them conscious of the aims of the struggle, of the difficulties, the obstacles, the sacrifices, which are necessary to ensure victory.

The close links of the Party with the masses, the convincing of them in the correctness of the political line of the Party, the transformation of the line of the Party into the line of the masses, have become reality not only because this line responds to the demands and interests of the people and socialism, but also because the Party has always carried out a practical revolutionary activity for the application of this line.

To convince the masses of the people, to establish lasting bonds with them and to mobilize them in struggle and work, a reliable weapon in the hands of the Party has been the concrete, tangible, clear and militant agitation and propaganda, the wide-scale, differentiated political and ideological work for the communist and patriotic education of the masses.

Parallel with the work of agitation and propaganda, in its revolutionary policy the Party has always followed the principle that words must be matched with deeds. The educative work of the Party has always been associated with actions, with the personal example of the communists, with their stand in the front ranks in the struggle and at work.

About every decision it has taken and in every step of its activity the Party has consulted the masses, has encouraged the criticism of shortcomings, and the free expression of the opinions of the masses, has listened carefully to their demands and proposals, has always kept in the mind the lofty moral and political values of the people. It has constantly drawn lessons from the rich revolutionary experience of the masses and has taught them.

The links between the Party and the masses have been built on sound organizational bases. Only links with the orga-

nized masses are true and stable links. The Party of Labour of Albania has set up various political and economic organizations of the masses as links which connect the Party with the masses, as powerful levers to put into practice the political line of the Party. The programs and activities of these organizations have always been based on the political line of the Party.

A very important aspect of the revolutionary practice of the Party to maintain and to strengthen its connection with the masses and to preserve the Party itself from destruction under the attacks of the class enemies is its unyielding revolutionary stand in the face of the many difficulties it has encountered on its way. The Party has always prepared itself and the masses of the people to cope with the most difficult and complicated situations which arise inevitably in the course of the revolution. Consequently it has never been taken by surprise by the grave situations created by the enemy. In these situations the Party has not lost its bearings, has not been seized by panic or fallen into pessimism and inaction, has not lost its faith in its own forces and those of the people. At all critical moments, the Party has acted with wisdom, courage and maturity, has told the masses the truth of the situation, has addressed itself to them, has relied strongly on them and has always emerged triumphant.

In difficult situations, the Party has manoeuvred with great resiliency, but has never lost sight of its main objective and has not deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The stability of the connections between the Party and the people has been tested in difficult situations, in which these connections have been further tempered.

The best representatives of the working masses are admitted to the Party. To this they are not prompted by any personal interest, but by the desire to fight together with the great army of communists, for the triumph of socialism and communism. The number and quality of the members and candidate-members of the PLA has ceaselessly increased from one congress to the other.

Numerical increase of the candidate-members and members of the Party of Labour of Albania

November 8th	1941	200
November 8th	1948	45,382
March 31st	1952	44,418
May 25th	1956	48,644
February 13th	1961	53,679
November 1st	1966	66,327
January 1st	1971	75,673
November 1st	1976	115,000
January 1st	1981	
November 1st	1981	122,600

One of the most outstanding features of the Party of Labour of Albania is its monolithic organizational and ideological unity. It has hammered out this unity and has preserved it in irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, against factions and all internal enemies.

After the defeat of the liquidationist Trotskyite trend in the first months of its existence, the views and activity of the anti-party groups and elements at no time succeeded in crystallizing into anti-Marxist ideological trends in the ranks of Party. This was because they were discovered and combated in time, and because of the loyalty of the communists to Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party.

To preserve its unity and the correctness of its general line, the Party of Labour of Albania during the whole of its existence has fought on two fronts: against right opportunism and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

The irreplaceable pilot

All the successes achieved by the Albanian people in the construction and consolidation of their state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are connected with the leading

and organizing role of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. The program of the PLA defines the content, the character and orientation of the whole social and state life. The competent state organs decide all the major political, economic, socio-cultural or organizational questions and always take account of the directives issued by the leading organs of the Party.

In order to play its leading role in the life of the country the Party of Labour of Albania has set up its basic organizations (cells) everywhere.

The party basic organizations depend on the higher party organs and are guided in their activity by the decisions of the leading organs of the Party.

The Party carries out its leading role in all social and state activity, first of all, through its Central Committee and its district committees.

Among the decisions taken by the party organs, those of its highest level — the congress, are of particular importance. They are a very important basis on which the state organs rely in order to work out the measures expressed in juridical acts concerning the development of state and social activities.

The PLA not only leads the activity of the state organs but also of all the other mass organizations of Albania: the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union, the Women's Union of Albania, cooperatives, etc.

Under the leadership of the PLA the working masses are united in the Democratic Front — a powerful organization which links the broad working masses with the Party. Through the Democratic Front the PLA mobilizes the people in active struggle for the construction of socialism in Albania.

In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated, can the country be defended, the socialist economy developed, culture promoted, the new man educated, and the non-stop march towards communism ensured. It is no accident that all the enemies, internal and external, at all times spearheaded their struggle against the Party and its leading role in the first place.»

The leading role of the Party has been enhanced and strengthened from every point of view in every field and in all directions. This accounts for all the successes achieved thanks to the revolutionary drive of the masses. These have been endowing the state power with greater leading and executive competences, strengthening the social base of the economy and opening new perspectives for its rapid development, strengthening the faith of the masses in the possibility of realizing the tasks of the plan, raising the scientific level of the management of the economy along Marxist-Leninist lines, development and the correct revolutionary orientation of culture and education, of literature and the arts.

The strengthening of the leadership of the Party has also raised the defence potential of the country to a higher level, by improving from every point of view the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of arming and training the entire people for defence, of strengthening the popular character of the armed forces.

On the other hand, the leading role of the Party is reflected in the ideological and political class education of the masses for raising the level of their consciousness as closely as possible to its own consciousness in struggle for the implementation of tasks.

However, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that the leading role of the Party «is not ensured and affirmed automatically, simply from the fact that the Party is in power.» This role is enhanced and strengthened «through the persistent political, ideological and organizational struggle to apply its general line, its decisions and directives, its principles and norms.» It is strengthened through stern class struggle against any violation and distortion of the line and directives of the Party, against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the activities of the internal and external enemy and the enemy within its own ranks. «This role,» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «is strengthened and consolidated in the daily struggle of the Party at the head of the masses for the socialist construction of the country.»

The party basic organizations play a role of decisive importance in applying the Party leadership in practice. Through them this role is carried out in every cell of the life of the country. The basic organizations are fiery revolutionary hearths where the class thinking, the proletarian ideology and Marxist-Leninist courage prevail in the solution of all pro-

blems. The life of the basic organizations is characterized by debate and confrontation, people are called to report there on the work they have carried out, everybody criticizes without fear and reservation all those who commit mistakes, regardless of their posts in the leadership of the Party, the state, the army, etc. Every higher cadre, be he a minister or enterprise director, an army commander or party secretary, is duty bound to give detailed account of his activity as a communist and a cadre.

In the van of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism

In the working out of its political line and in all its activity, the PLA has always been guided by the principle that the class struggle is the main motive force for the victory of the revolution, for the construction of socialist society and the transition to communism. It has never dissociated the class struggle on the internal front from the class struggle on the international arena.

During the forty years of its existence, the PLA has defended with heroism the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people, spearheading its struggle against the two main enemies — imperialism headed by American imperialism, and revisionism headed by Khrushchevite revisionism. It has gained considerable experience in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. In the course of the National Liberation War and, especially, after the establishment of the people's power and the embarkment of Albania on the socialist road, it has fought with exceptional severity against them.

The PLA has always seen American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as the main enemies and the greatest danger to the socialist order in Albania, to the world socialist revolution, to the freedom and national independence of all the peoples, to peace in the world. For these reasons it has spearheaded the class struggle in the international arena against these enemies. The PLA has waged a fierce struggle against Chinese revisionism, while fighting at the same time against the other external enemies, collaborators or tools of the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, enemies not

only of socialist Albania but also of the other peoples and of socialism in general. The PLA has firmly denounced the policy of aggression and war in all the forms it is practiced by the imperialist forces, headed by American imperialism, and the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialist forces. The attempts of American imperialism to extend its domination over the whole world have been vigorously exposed by the PLA. It has unhesitatingly rejected the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and other such manoeuvrings by the government of the United States of America. It has waged a resolute struggle against the efforts of the imperialist forces to revive West-German militarism, to set up military blocs, as well as against the cold war policy.

The PLA has always maintained that for the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism to be victorious, it is necessary to constantly strengthen the unity of the revolutionary forces, to sharpen the vigilance of the peoples in the political, ideological and military field. In this direction, the PLA has always set the example and never spared its contribution. The PLA has never been intimidated by the menaces, pressures and aggressions of international imperialism and its stooges; it has never backed down in face of these enemy activities, but has forged ahead courageously and triumphantly on its revolutionary road. It has vigorously denounced the criminal activities of American imperialism against the PSR of Albania, against peace and the security of the peoples, its policy of aggression, of cold war and brinkmanship.

The PLA has fought with exceptional severity against modern revisionism, the offspring and agency of imperialism. Proceeding from the teachings of Lenin, to the effect that «the struggle against imperialism, if it is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism, is a word devoid of all meaning and a mystification,» the PLA has constantly stressed that «without combating revisionism one cannot successfully combat imperialism» and that «without exposing and combating revisionist demagoguery and betrayal one cannot hope to win in the struggle against imperialism and advance world revolution.»

The PLA has made a very important contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism through its uncompromising stands of principle towards Yugoslav revisionism in the political and ideological fields. The experience it has gained in this struggle has enabled it to fight with success

against Khrushchevite revisionism, which presents itself in even more complex forms and whose menace is even more grave.

Revisionism began to manifest itself in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin; the line of revisionist betrayal crystallized at the 20th Congress of this party at the time when Khrushchev and his group put forward a series of theses which were aimed at revising Marxism-Leninism on several key problems such as: the class struggle within the country and on an international scale, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the communist party, peace and war, the roads of carrying out the revolution and the construction of socialism, etc. Anti-Marxist theses on the relations between socialist countries and communist and workers' parties, on the relations with the imperialist powers and the support to be given to the struggle of the peoples were also put forward. At this congress, Stalin and his work were slurred, and this was done with the aim of opening the road for the attacks on Marxism-Leninism. This betrayal caused great prejudice to the socialist camp and the international communist movement and posed a serious threat to them. Even when the situation was not yet clear, the PLA did not adopt in essence the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor did it approve of the actions of Khrushchev. The PLA has always stood firm in defence of Marxism-Leninism and, in a communist spirit and in a comradely manner, made its suggestions to the Soviet leadership in order to help it rectify its attitude. While giving the enemy no occasion to profit from the existing differences, it courageously attacked all deviations from Marxist-Leninist positions. The PLA has courageously defended its general line and its correct positions and made no concessions to the Khrushchevite theses. It fought to put the Marxist line through the 1957 Moscow Conference, it denounced the counter-revolutionary role of modern revisionism in the events of Hungary. Stepping up its struggle against revisionism, in 1958 it launched the slogan «Uncompromising struggle for the denunciation and theoretical and political annihilation of modern revisionism», stressing that it considered this struggle one of its essential tasks.

Until 1960, when differences in the ranks of the communist movement had not yet come to light, a very complex process developed, in which the PLA had to test the nature

of Khrushchevite revisionism and to oppose some of its more flagrant manifestations in the Soviet-Albanian relations. During this period the PLA discovered that the Khrushchevite revisionists capitalized on the theses of «the creative development of Marxism-Leninism», «the application of Marxism-Leninism in the particular conditions of each country», as well as the slogan of the «struggle against the cult of the personality of Stalin.»

At the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960 the PLA adopted a firm stand in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist norms, rejected the methods of the Soviet revisionists and denounced their schemes. From that time on, the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in the world communist movement became even sharper. When Khrushchev and his group stepped up their splitting activity in order to force the parties which defended Marxism-Leninism to their knees, the PLA remained unflinching, and denounced the manoeuvres of the Khrushchevite traitors. The struggle waged by the PLA at the Preparatory Commission of the Moscow Conference of 1960 and, above all, Comrade Enver Hoxha's well-argued and principled denunciation of the anti-Marxist theory and practice of Khrushchevite modern revisionism, had great importance for the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. At the 22nd Congress, the Khrushchevite revisionists made the differences public and openly attacked all the Marxist-Leninists. At that time, the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism entered a new phase, that of its open condemnation by the world proletariat. On this occasion, on October 21, 1961 *Zëri i popullit* published a declaration of the CC of the PLA which was an immediate, firm and courageous reply to the vile anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attacks launched publicly against the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. It pointed out that, faced with the assault organized by Khrushchev, the PLA «had facts and documents in support of its theses, and that it would inform the whole communist and workers' movement and world public opinion of the truth of the relations between the PLA and the leadership of the CPSU, so that they would know which side was right; it would denounce the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian deals of Khrushchev and his group.»

As always, the PLA was in the forefront of this struggle. It launched the slogan «We should draw once and for all a line of demarcation with the revisionists in all fields,» and

continued this struggle uncompromisingly and ceaselessly. The PLA has never limited this struggle to questions concerning directly and solely the PSR of Albania, but has extended it to all major problems of the defence of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the revolution and the interests of the peoples of the world.

This policy has contributed to tearing the demagogic mask off the Khrushchevite diplomacy. The PLA has considered equally opportunist the attitude of those trying to find a middle line in the struggle against revisionism, the line of the «golden mean», because, as long historic experience has shown, this is a line of conciliation of irreconcilable opposites, of concepts which can in no way be reconciled, and all such positions are unstable and temporary.

The Soviet leadership extended the ideological differences with the PLA to the field of inter-state relations, going from pressure and blackmail over to the unilateral and unjustifiable breaking off of bilateral agreements in the economic, political, military, cultural and other fields; they went so far as to call for a counter-revolution in Albania from the tribune of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Worse still, together with the other Warsaw Treaty members on March 1961 it plotted to dismantle the naval base of Vlora and leave Albania defenceless in front of the 6th US Fleet. In collusion with that fleet and other enemies of our country it tried to carry out this dangerous plot against the freedom and independence of Albania.

Confronted with such a situation, the PLA had to cope with arduous problems to ensure the intangibility of the borders and the defence of the sovereignty of the country. But its tasks became more difficult due to the fact that Albania was the only country in Europe standing firmly on sound Marxist-Leninist positions which it defended with courage and abnegation, and following a truly internationalist policy. Only thanks to the wise and far-sighted policy followed by the PLA, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the plans of the Khrushchevite revisionists were turned to ashes.

Thus the PLA has defended the interests of the Albanian people, Marxism-Leninism, the world revolution and the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, and become a staunch fighter in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the counter-revolutionary collusion between their chiefs. This unflinching struggle enhanced even

more the authority of the PLA in the international communist movement and the prestige of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the eyes of the freedom and progress-loving peoples and countries in the world.

The PLA has never ceased its struggle against modern revisionism and especially against Soviet revisionism. The PLA continued to wage a consistent ideological struggle of principle against modern revisionism; it constantly exposed the sinister anti-Marxist, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists and their servants and the opportunists of all colours.

With their fallacious theses, according to which the epoch of the revolutions had «gone by», the process of détente had began, the theory of class struggle was no longer valid either in the Soviet Union or abroad; «peaceful competition and coexistence» was being applied in all fields; it had become possible to go over to socialism in a peaceful way, etc., the modern revisionists and, in the first place, the Khrushchevite revisionists not only caused great prejudice to the world communist movement but also gave international capital a pledge and assurance which only the traitors and sworn enemies of the revolution can give. At present, the Soviet Union which was once the cradle of the proletarian revolution and the hope of the oppressed peoples, has been turned into a country where capitalism is restored in all fields and an aggressive, neo-colonialist, war-mongering capitalist power. On their part, the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, which lagged along behind Khrushchev's bandwaggon ended up as mere vassals of the Kremlin. The revisionist parties of those countries have become parties of the national treason. On the other hand there is no longer anything communist about the pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia which have embraced revisionism. Their entire program has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands, which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from its profound upheavals and make it more applicable in the new situations.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «Imperialism and the Revolution» came out in December 1978. It makes a dialectical and profound analysis of the fundamental problems of our time, of the major questions concerning the revolutionary and liberation movements in the world. At the same time it is a clear expression of the Marxist-Leninist attitude of the PLA

towards all the problems facing the revolutionary and liberation movement today. This work enunciates with scientific arguments the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the revolution as opposed to the counter-revolutionary strategy of American and world imperialism, and Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism as well as the different trends of modern revisionism. Volume one of Comrade Enver Hoxha's major work «Reflections on China» came out in June 1979, followed in October of the same year by volume two, in Albanian and several foreign languages. Extracted from the Political Diary of Comrade Enver Hoxha, these reflections are a contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the exposure of modern revisionism in general and Chinese revisionism in particular.

On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of the great Marxist-Leninist Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin in December 1979, Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «With Stalin» (Memoirs) came out in Albanian and in several foreign languages. A work with a profound ideological and political content, this book deals with a number of major problems of the construction of socialist society, the revolutionary and communist movement and the struggle against imperialism, opportunism and modern revisionism, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Another work by Comrade Enver Hoxha — «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism» was published in Albanian and several foreign languages in May 1980. It is an extensive criticism of the anti-communist theses and concepts of the modern revisionist trend which its capitalist godfathers have called «Eurocommunism».

Another book in the series of memoirs of Comrade Enver Hoxha is «The Khrushchevites», published in Albanian and several foreign languages in October 1980. It is another evidence of the struggle of principle of the PLA against revisionism of all hues, in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

These and other works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, such as «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», are a clear confirmation of the principled and unshakeable stand of the PLA in defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and represent a valuable contribution of the PLA to the treasury of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In his report to the 8th Congress of the PLA (November 1981), Comrade Enver Hoxha dealt broadly with the struggle

against revisionism and with the revolutionary and liberation movement at the present stage.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that our Party has ceaselessly waged the struggle against modern revisionism of all trends. It has deepened its ideological and political criticism of Khrushchevite, Chinese, and Yugoslav revisionism and Eurocommunism, making a more comprehensive description of the historic and social-economic causes of the emergence and spread of these trends, and delving deeper into the process of degeneration of those communist parties which have set out on the road of revisionism, of their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics.

Yugoslav revisionism was the first current of revisionism in power which set itself the task of undermining socialism, whereas Soviet revisionism has been and remains the most dangerous trend of modern revisionism. Our Party of Labour has waged a major, open and principled struggle also against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. With the ever deepening of the inner contradictions of capitalism and imperialism and relentlessly mounting revolutionary wave, the revisionist current of Eurocommunism has more clearly revealed its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

In his report Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that the ideas of socialism have been and remain a great inspiring, mobilizing and organizational force of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. He says that for the Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary, that the new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves, enhancing their role and activity, and strengthening their links with and increasing their influence on the working class and the masses. In various countries and zones, new parties have been created. All the conditions exist to create true revolutionary parties of the working class even there where they are lacking.

The further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an absolute necessity in face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and the revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples.

Consistently adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always striven to make its contribution to the strengthening of the

unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and collaboration among the sister parties. The Albanian Party and people will fight in any circumstances and situation to honourably carry out their national and international duties, to successfully build socialism in Albania and defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Chapter two

THE ALBANIAN STATE — A STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The revival of the Albanian state

Albania emerged for the first time in the modern world as an independent and sovereign state on November 28, 1912. It was a great victory for the Albanian people, but their new state could not, in the conditions created, stand firmly on its own feet and develop. For three decades in succession, it was the victim of the rapacious policy of the great imperialist powers and the neighbouring countries. This situation continued until April 7, 1939, when it was militarily occupied by fascist Italy.

Faced with the loss of their independence and subject to the foreign yoke, the Albanian people once again took up arms as they had done several times in the course of their history, and fought to drive the invaders out of their country and build a free and independent state.

The first decisive steps for the creation of the new Albanian state were taken as early as the time of the National Liberation War. The 1st National Liberation Conference which was held at Peza on September 16, 1942 elected the National Liberation General Council and proclaimed that the national liberation councils were the sole organs of people's state power. That was the beginning of the organization of the state apparatus. The National Liberation General Council emerged as the sole representative of the sovereignty of the people, both in the liberated regions and in those not yet liberated. The decisions of the Conference of Peza created the

premises necessary for the recognition on the international plane of the war of the Albanian people in all its significance.

The national liberation councils had two attributes: on the one hand, they were set up as organs mobilizing the people for the armed uprising, and on the other hand, as organs of the new people's state power, replacing the overthrown fascist power and preventing the re-establishment of the former state power of the bourgeoisie and landowners. The national liberation councils were the basis of the new democratic state power until the necessary conditions for the creation of a Constituent Assembly were created after the liberation of the country.

The 2nd National Liberation Conference, which was held at Labinot from 4-9 September 1943, approved the Constitution and Regulations of the national liberation councils. The Constitution stipulated that these councils «represented the civil power of the country» in the liberated areas, that they were «the nuclei of the political power of the Albanian people» and that «the people themselves would choose the form of regime after the liberation of the country.»

The Regulations stressed that the councils were «democratic organs and the real people's power», that they were elected «democratically» and that all citizens above 18 years of age had the right to equal vote, «irrespective of their political and religious convictions, with the exception of spies and traitors to the country.»

The decisions taken at the 1st Anti-fascist Congress of Përmet, on May 24, 1944 and those of the Conference of Berat, in October 1944, had particular importance because they laid the foundations of the new Albanian state and defined its international position. At the Congress of Përmet, the Albanian people expressed their desire to have «a new regime in Albania which would be a sure guarantee for the future, would mark the triumph of democracy and make impossible the re-establishment of the Zog regime». It elected the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which represented the sovereignty of the people and the state as well as the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee vested with the attributes of a provisional government.

The decisions of the Congress of Përmet banned ex-King Zog from returning to Albania and recognized no other government which might be formed inside the country or in exile against the will of the Albanian people.

The Congress of Përmet dealt a decisive blow at the schemes and ambitions of the imperialist powers against Albania. In regard to the principles to be pursued in foreign policy, the Congress decided «to annul all the political and economic agreements the Zog government had concluded with foreign states, as incompatible with the interests of the Albanian people», and «to recognize no agreement, no international engagement which may have been concluded in Albania or abroad by the reactionary cliques either in the name of a political group, or in the capacity of a government».

These decisions proclaimed publicly that only the organs elected at the Congress of Përmet, which had emerged from the armed struggle of the people, could represent Albania and the Albanian people; they also affirmed the principle that it would not share power with any reactionary political group or clique. In the field of international relations, the decisions pointed out, the Albanian state would defend the interests of the people and the Homeland, by pursuing an independent national policy.

At the 2nd Session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was held in October 1944 in the liberated city of Berat, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee was changed into the provisional Democratic Government of Albania. The Anti-fascist Council and Committee stood firmly for respecting the principle of equality and mutual benefit in international relations.

In the declaration made at the 2nd Conference of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, the government pledged before the Albanian people that it would loyally carry on the functions of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee elected in Përmet and fight «for the speedy and complete liberation of Albania, for the defence of the independence of the Albanian state», and «reconsider and annul all the political, military and economic agreements concluded by ex-King Zog's regime with foreign states.»

The program of the Democratic Government defined the principles of the foreign policy of the new Albanian state, the establishment of relations of collaboration with the other states.

Thus, upon Liberation, the Albanian people had already established their state power, set up the organs of state power and administration, built at the centre and

at the base a structure which would enable them to better cope with the tasks of the day and carry out their foreign policy.

The destruction of the old state apparatus and the establishment of the people's state power

The people's state power was not a power grafted on the old state power of the bourgeoisie or an amalgamation of both. On the contrary, it was born and consolidated on the ruins of the old power of oppression and exploitation.

From the first months after Liberation, the old state administration was completely liquidated. A new apparatus was set up from the ministries and central institutions to the courts and people's police. Elections to the local organs — the people's councils, took place all over the country — in villages, towns and districts, in May 1945. These councils became the political organs of the new state power, both at the centre and in the districts. At the same time, all laws, decrees, and rules promulgated during the Italian or German occupation were abrogated and declared null and void.

On September 26, 1945 the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council adopted the law on the Constitutional Assembly. This law stipulated that the Assembly would decide on the form of the regime and that it would endorse all the acts approved before its convocation by the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council and its presidency. At the same time, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council approved the law on the elections of the representatives of the people to the Constitutional Assembly and the law on the establishment of electoral lists.

On December 2, 1945, for the first time in its history our country had truly democratic elections based on universal suffrage, with secret and direct ballot. The elections demonstrated that the people endorsed the policy of the Democratic Front and the Communist Party of Albania, its organizer and guide.

The Constitutional Assembly emerging from the elections was convened on January 10, 1946. On January 11, 1946 it proclaimed Albania a People's Republic. The question of the political form of the state was resolved by the Albanian peo-

ple themselves and the monarchy of Zog was abolished officially, «de jure».

After the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania, the Constitutional Assembly met on March 14, 1946 and adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, its draft having been discussed at large meetings by the working people of town and countryside. Its historic task accomplished, the Constitutional Assembly was turned into the People's Assembly.

The proclamation of the Constitution was an event of major importance for the new Albanian state. It sanctioned the social regime of the People's Republic of Albania, the class structure of society, its economic base, the rights and fundamental duties of citizens, the system of state organs, their sphere of competences as well as the electoral system.

The new state apparatus was built on the basis of the national liberation councils, in their capacity as the sole representative organs. The administrative apparatus was set up in compliance with the needs of the country. People who had collaborated with the enemy or who were notorious for their anti-people activity were expelled from the ministries and the other mechanisms of the administration.

The organization of a modern people's army and the creation of the organs of State Security for the defence of the achievements of the people's revolution had particular importance. Right from the beginning, co-ordinating their activities with those of the People's Defence (State Security), the armed forces fought against the remnants of the reactionary bands and foiled the plots hatched up by the imperialists. The support of the broad masses of town and countryside for the new people's power, its close links with the masses, enabled it to nip in the bud all the attempts of the hostile forces to organize centres of resistance. However, the struggle against bands of criminals or subversive agents sent in from abroad went on for several years.

In order to ensure public order, the state power set up, after Liberation, the people's police and a new judicial apparatus in the service of the people. These organs played an important role in the struggle against fascist remnants.

In this period, the struggle of the forces of reaction against the people's power assumed various forms. Along with the resistance of the armed bands, which were particularly active immediately after Liberation, the overthrown exploiting clas-

ses increasingly resorted to other forms of struggle, especially hatching up plots and setting up counter-revolutionary organizations in close collaboration with the espionage agencies of the imperialist powers, and trying to hamper and wreck the reconstruction of the national economy, which, besides the burden of backwardness inherited from the past anti-popular regimes, worked to overcome enormous difficulties and cope with the devastations of the war.

However, suppression of the hostile activity of the overthrown exploiting classes was only one aspect of the policy of the people's power towards them. This aspect was mainly a reflection of the determination of the people to defend their achievements and to ensure that all the attempts at restoring the former order of things were foiled. In the meantime, the principal objective of the people's power was to promote the revolution, to carry out the radical economic and social transformations which would pave the way for the construction of socialism.

In this way, the new democratic state played a decisive role in the whole life of the country. The establishment of the people's state power marked a radical turning-point in the history of the Albanian people and the beginning of a new stage in its existence. Albania broke away once and for all from the imperialist and capitalist system, and the Albanian people embarked on the broad and brilliant road of the construction of socialism, in which everything is done in the name of the working people and in their interest.

The essential functions of the Albanian socialist state

In the carrying out of the directive of the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, work began for drafting a new Constitution of the Republic. To this end, a broad and deep-going study was carried out of the great transformations that had taken place in Albania in the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural fields after the adoption, in 1946, of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, to which in the course of years a number of amendments had been made by the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania. The People's Assembly charged a special com-

mission, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, with drafting a new Constitution. After long and fruitful work on January 21, 1976 the commission published the full text of the «Draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania».

Referring to it, at the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The 6th Congress of the Party put forward the task of drafting the new Constitution and instructed that it should be the continuation of the existing one, which would express the continuity of the revolution in Albania, the uninterrupted struggle to guarantee the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the building of socialism. On the other hand, it had to take into account our present reality, the stage which the development of the revolution has reached. The new Constitution must sanction the major revolutionary transformations carried out and the successes achieved, must reflect the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialism and the further development of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The old Constitution was the Constitution of the building of the foundations of socialism, whereas the new Constitution will be the Constitution of the complete construction of socialist society.»

Although the old Constitution contains a number of juridical and political norms which at present have become too narrow and do not correspond to the development and deepening of the revolution on a broad front, still it made an effective contribution to the great achievements of the country. At the time when the old Constitution came in force (March 1946), the Party and the country were faced with immense and complex problems. For example, the people's state power had to be consolidated and perfected, the frenzied resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and their endeavours to bring back the past smashed, the old economic relations liquidated and replaced with new, socialist relations, the small-scale production of commodities controlled and restricted, and the strata of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and countryside, and first of all the working peasantry, drawn onto the road of socialism. The centuries-old backwardness inherited from the past had to be overcome, the defence of the Homeland constantly strengthened and, along with all this, a profound change in the mentality of people on the basis of the proletarian world outlook and morality brought about.

The draft-Constitution was submitted for study to the working masses all over the country for several months. This was the first stage of the active and democratic participation of the people in a question of so great importance. The second stage was characterized by thousands of contributions to the discussion, proposals and suggestions by the working masses about the content and the form of the document. They were recorded and studied with great attention by the special commission. All suggestions improving on the document, which has fundamental importance, were included in the draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania before it was definitively adopted by the competent organs of the Party and the state. The Constitution was endorsed by the People's Assembly on December 28, 1976.

This is what Comrade Enver Hoxha has said in this respect at the 7th Congress of the Party: «About 1,500,000 people, practically all the adult population of the country; participated in the meetings which were held, and about 300,000 people contributed to the discussion... That great popular discussion, characterized by a free and fruitful thrashing out of opinions, by lively and constructive debate, was a clear expression of our socialist democracy in action and of the genuine sovereignty of the people. It demonstrated in practice that in socialist Albania the people are the masters, that nothing is done against their will. «To the poor», said an ordinary peasant during the discussion of the draft-Constitution, «the word 'law' once had a terrible sound. It meant a threat of starvation, a threat of imprisonment, a threat of death. Today, the people make the law themselves, and they do so for their own good.»

Obviously, the draft-Constitution was received with great enthusiasm by all the working masses of the country, because it reflects the aspirations and the will of the entire people who were given the world's most advanced Constitution.

The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania consists of an Introduction and three main parts of 10 chapters each, and 112 articles.

The Introduction evokes the thousand-years long history of the Albanian people, characterized by fierce struggles against external and internal enemies for freedom and national independence, for land and for their language, for bread and social justice. After centuries of bondage they achieved

their first major victory in 1912, with the creation of the independent Albanian national state.

The Introduction says, «The national democratic and revolutionary movement was given a new impulse and content with the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution and with the spread of communist ideas, which marked a decisive turning-point for the fate of the Albanian people, too.»

In the grave situation created by the fascist and nazi occupation, the treachery of the ruling classes, which, as they had always done, made common cause with the foreign occupiers, the Introduction points out, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party (today the Party of Labour) of Albania, united in the National Liberation Front, rose to their feet, and arms in hand hurled themselves into the greatest war of their history for national and social liberation in the fire of the war for freedom, and on the ruins of the old state power, the new Albanian state emerged as a state of people's democracy. «On November 29, 1944,» says the Introduction, «Albania won genuine independence and the Albanian people took their fate into their own hands. The people's revolution triumphed and a new epoch, the epoch of socialism, was opened.»

After the establishment of the people's state power under the leadership of the Party of the working class, great socio-economic changes were carried out. The domination by foreign capital and plunder of the country's riches was ended; the capitalists and big landowners were expropriated and the main means of production passed into the hands of the people; the way was opened for the socialist industrialization of the country; the Land Reform and the collectivization of agriculture set the Albanian peasantry on the road of socialism. Likewise, social ownership over the means of production and the single system of socialist economy, which prevails in town and countryside, replaced the private ownership and the multi-form economy. With the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the establishment of new, socialist, relations of production, exploitation of man by man was liquidated once and for all. The entire social development proceeds consciously, according to plan, and in the interest of the people.

The Introduction has it clearly, «In socialist Albania, the working class is the leading class of the state and the

society. New relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have been established between the two friendly classes of our society — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. The work readily contributed by free people has become the decisive factor in the flourishing of the socialist Homeland, in raising the general and individual well-being.» «Albania has overcome its age-old backwardness and has been transformed into a country with advanced industry and agriculture.»

After mentioning the outburst of the creative energies of the people, the emancipation of the Albanian woman, the great progress made in the field of education, culture and science, the smashing of the foundations of religious obscurantism, the moulding of the moral figure of the working man, his consciousness and world outlook on the basis of the proletarian ideology which has become the dominant ideology, the Introduction points out: «Socialism has shown its absolute superiority over the old exploiting order.»

The great historic changes have created new conditions for the continuous development of the revolution and socialist construction.

The Introduction says, «The waging of the class struggle in favour of socialism, the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the deepening of socialist democracy, the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production, the steady raising of the well-being of the working masses, the gradual narrowing of distinctions between industry and agriculture, town and country, mental and physical labour, the affirmation of the personality of man within the socialist collectivity, the mastering of contemporary technology and science, the continuous revolutionization of the entire life of the country, are the main ways through which the socialist society is growing stronger and advancing.»

After affirming the determination of Albania to face up to any enemy of the people's state power and the achievements of socialism, in the part dealing with the foreign policy, the Introduction says: «Socialist Albania is always an active factor in the struggle for national and social liberation, for peace, freedom, and the rights of all the peoples against imperialism, reaction, and revisionism. In its foreign policy it is guided by the great ideas of socialism and communism, and fights for their triumph the world over.»

In conclusion, the Introduction reads: «The Albanian people have found constant inspiration in the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of which, united round the Party of Labour and under its leadership, they are carrying forward the construction of socialist society to pass over, later, gradually to communist society.»

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The first part of the Constitution consists of two chapters. Chapter One describes the *social order* of the country; the political order, the economic order and education, science and culture.

The Political Order

Article One states «Albania is a People's Socialist Republic», and as a consequence the PSR of Albania is a «state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people. The PSR of Albania is based on the unity of the people around the Party of Labour of Albania and it has as its foundation the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, under the leadership of the working class» (Article 2)... The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is logically the sole leading political force of the state and society.

«In the PSR of Albania the dominant ideology is Marxism-Leninism. The entire socialist social order is developed on the basis of its principles» (Art. 3).

To understand the great theoretical and practical importance of the first three articles of the new Constitution, account must be taken of the nature and role of the state in society. In a society consisting of antagonistic classes, the state is only an organ in the hands of the class in power, intended to exercise the political, economic, social, ideological domination and exploitation of this class on the other classes which are not in power. In other words, it is an apparatus, which in terms of its content and form, crushes the resistance of the oppressed classes and «legalizes» the oppression

exercised by the dominant class. So it is an organ of violence. History demonstrates very clearly and in an irrefutable manner that, for example, the feudal order was nothing other than the domination of the landowning nobility on the rest of the society through the monarchy and the church, it shows that the capitalist order is nothing other than the domination and exploitation of the proletariat, the peasantry and other working masses by the bourgeoisie through «parliamentary democracy». No matter how much it is trumpeted that a king is such «by the grace of god», that bourgeois «democracy» is based on the «freedom, equality and fraternity» of citizens, violence still remains violence. Just as the bourgeoisie overthrew feudalism and established its power through violence, so did it to maintain itself in power and carry out its exploitation of the working class, the peasantry and the other working people of town and country. The bourgeois state is nothing other than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that is, of the minority, over the oppressed classes, the majority of the society.

In Albania, too, the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie had created their state in order to exercise through it their dictatorship over the classes they exploited. The feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie, instead of defending the freedom and independence of the country, made common cause with the nazi-fascist invaders in order to crush the resistance of the people and strengthen their power, always through violence. It is still through violence, through the armed struggle that the working class, the most advanced class of the country, led by its vanguard — the Party, and in alliance with the working peasantry and the other working people of Albania, all united in the National Liberation Front, drove out the invaders, crushed the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie and established the people's power, thus opening for the country the brilliant perspective of a better future in all fields. If in the past the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie, which constituted only a small minority, had the right to exercise their dictatorship over the working masses of town and country why should then the working class, which together with the peasantry constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population, not have the more than legitimate right to exercise its dictatorship over its overthrown enemies? We do not hide the fact, indeed, we admit it openly that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is

a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why? Because the dictatorship of the proletariat expresses and defends the interests of all the working people of the country. So it is the broadest and most profound democracy human history has ever known. It is the revisionists and capitalists that are afraid, and they have good reason for this, of saying openly that their power is nothing other than a dictatorship exercised over the working people, that is, the overwhelming majority of the population. Such words as «parliamentary democracy» and «state of the entire people» are only lies.

Hence, the new Constitution does not conceal its class character. It proclaims and sanctions very clearly the character of the Albanian state as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the 7th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «The draft-Constitution is a vivid reflection of genuine socialist democracy and humanism. It is a confirmation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the broadest, most thorough-going and complete democracy for the working people. Ensuring broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people.»

The new Constitution recognizes the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, as the sole political leading force of the state and society (Art. 3). And this reflects the real state of things in Albania. The Party, which organized and led with great determination and farsightedness the National Liberation War, which is day by day leading the people from victory to victory, which is the brain and soul of all the working masses, the architect of socialist Albania, has been and will always be the sole leading political force of the state and society. This is one of its most legitimate rights.

The bourgeois ideologists scream themselves hoarse that in Albania there is no democracy because there is only one party and not many parties, as in their countries. We say to these demagogues that in Albania there are no antagonistic classes, there are no exploiters and exploited, there are no groups with opposing interests within the same class, as is the case with the capitalist countries. The only existing classes

are the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, which have the same interests and the same aims, and therefore have no reason to oppose each other.

The existence of many parties in the capitalist countries does not prove the «democratic» character of their regime, but on the contrary, the existence of many classes and groups with antagonistic interests. If in some capitalist countries there is a party of the working class, this is only a result of the struggle of the latter to free itself from the yoke of the bourgeoisie. It is not the bourgeoisie which donated this right to it. It is the proletariat that has won it through fierce struggle.

The plurality of parties in the capitalist countries does not prove in the least the democratic character of the regime, it only reflects the multiplicity of groups with opposing interests in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself. This is even better understood if we take account of the fact that the law prevailing in the bourgeois society is the law of the jungle.

In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the new Constitution «is permeated through and through by the ideology and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, embodies the teachings and the revolutionary experience of our Party of Labour, and bears the stamp of the creative thinking of the broad masses of our people... The new Constitution also serves as a program of struggle and work for the future. Its aim is to give the maximum scope to the development of the productive forces and the relations of production of a genuine socialist society, to open the road to the revolutionary emancipation and education of our new man, to safeguard and strengthen the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat still better, to create the best possible conditions for the country on its advance towards communism. ... This document also sanctions the juridical, political, ideological and economic dispositions to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In this respect our Constitution constitutes a valuable creative contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.»

In order to attain its goal — the final triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road, and to realize the complete construction of socialism and communism, the

People's Socialist Republic of Albania is constantly developing the revolution, relying on the principle of the class struggle.

Article 5 of the new Constitution says:

«All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people.

«The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people exercise their state power through the representative organs as well as directly.

«The representative organs are the People's Assembly and the people's courts.

«No one else apart from the organs expressly defined in this Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.»

According to the new Constitution, the representative organs wield both legislative and executive power. In fact, all the state organs carry out their activity under their direction and control. Thus, the state organs are responsible before the representative organs and render account to them for their work. But the representative organs, on their part, have to render account before the people, and in the last analysis, it is the people themselves that govern the country. The electors have the right to recall their representative at any time when he has lost their political trust, when he does not fulfil the tasks he is charged with, or when he acts in contravention of the laws. (Art. 8)

«Our socialist democracy has guaranteed the working people the important right to have their say in the solution of social and state problems, to exercise control over everybody and everything, to participate effectively on a broad scale, in an organized way and in the most various forms, in the administration of the country. The Party considers this participation and its constant extension as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great motive force to promote the socialist construction and as one of the most important factors to protect our state and our society against the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. This line of the Party has been fully sanctioned in the new Constitution» (E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA).

The representative organs are elected by the people through universal suffrage by equal, direct and secret ballot.

A special law regulates the organization and process of elections.

The new Constitution emphasizes that all the functionaries, not only those elected but also those appointed by the state, render account before the masses and are under their direct control. Thus the struggle against the danger of estrangement of the representative organs from the people, the struggle against bureaucracy and the tendencies to place the executive and administrative organs above the representative organs of power, is sanctioned in the Constitution. As Article 9 of the Constitution says, the officials serve the people and render account before them. They participate directly in work in production and are paid salaries in fair ratio with those of the workers and cooperativists, with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum.

Article 10 of the Constitution has great importance because it sanctions the duties of the working class, as the leading class of the society, the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the other working people, who under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania exercise «direct and organized control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and their workers, for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening of the socialist order.»

Another article of the Constitution sanctions the principle of the development of the political and economic line through a fair combination of the centralized direction with the creative initiative of the local organs and the masses of the working people, in struggle against liberalism.

At the 7th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The building and functioning of the entire socialist state and social mechanisms proceed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is the centralized leadership by the working class of the entire life of the country through its Party and the proletarian state, the combination of centralized management with the creative initiative of the local organs and the working masses.»

Article 13 of the Constitution says that «The state relies on the social organizations, cooperates with them, and creates conditions for the development of their activity. The social organizations unite the masses and broad strata of the peo-

ple, draw them, in an organized way, into the running of the country, the socialist construction and the defence of the country, work for their communist education and take care of the solution of their individual problems.»

The principal social organizations in Albania are: the Democratic Front of Albania, a broad political organization which unites in its ranks all the working masses of town and country; the Trade Unions, which envelop the workers and employees; the Albanian Labour Youth Union, which comprises all young men and women from 15 to 26 years of age; the Women's Union of Albania which unites in its ranks the women of town and countryside, both workers and employees.

Article 14 of the Constitution states that «In the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania relies mainly on its own forces». At the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in this connection, «Just as the freedom and independence is not donated, neither are the revolution and socialism imported. They are the outcome of the resolute revolutionary struggle of the broad working masses of each country with the working class at the head, and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The principle of self-reliance does not rule out the internationalist aid of the proletariat, revolutionaries, and socialist countries. However, the external factor, internationalist solidarity and aid, is an auxiliary and complementary element, but not the decisive one, despite its great importance.»

«In the National Liberation War as well as in the construction and defence of socialism, our Party has resolutely applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. Precisely for this reason our country successfully dealt with the nazi-fascist occupiers as well as the pressures and blockades of the imperialists and revisionists, has built a powerful and independent economy and developed a powerful and reliable defence potential, and a culture and art of a sound socialist content. By undeviatingly pursuing the Marxist-Leninist course of self-reliance, Albania will attain new, even greater victories in the complete construction of the socialist society.»

Article 15 defines the principles of the foreign policy of our country.

«In foreign relations the People's Socialist Republic of Albania proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, social progress and socialism and relies on their solidarity.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for peace and good neighbourliness, for relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania opposes any form of aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of self-determination of the peoples, the exercise of full national sovereignty and equality of all countries in international relations.»

That foreign policy clearly expresses the nature of the Albanian state itself — the policy of a genuine socialist country. Socialist Albania supports and will support the revolutionary movements of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for their freedom, independence and social progress. Socialist Albania has been and will always be for peace between the peoples and for the establishment of relations of good neighbourliness with the neighbouring countries, for relations with all the states on the basis of the principle defined by Article 15 of the Constitution. Our country has always respected and will respect in the future, too, the sovereignty of other countries; it has never interfered in their internal affairs; just as in the past, it will never allow anyone to trample on its sovereignty and interfere in its internal affairs. Socialist Albania has always energetically condemned the acts of aggression perpetrated by the imperialists and social-imperialists and has asked the international organizations to pass severe punishment on the aggressors. Socialist Albania has always been against the policy of expansion, colonization, hegemony of the two superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union, and all the countries which follow and pursue that policy.

Facts have proved exactly what we have said; thanks to its correct, sure, clear and at the same time energetic policy, Albania has won the sympathy of all the peoples of the world. The authority of socialist Albania in the interna-

tional arena has remarkably grown, because the greatness of a country is measured neither in millions of square kilometres, nor in millions of inhabitants, but in the first place in the ideas which inspire it and which it defends.

The economic order

The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy, which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production. In our country there are no exploiting classes, because private property and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated and are forbidden.

Socialist property enjoys special protection from the state, because it constitutes the inviolable base of the socialist order, the source of the well-being of the people and of the might of the Homeland. This is sanctioned in Articles 16 and 17 of the Constitution. In Albania there are two kinds of socialist property of the means of production:

- state property
- cooperativist property in agriculture

Article 18 of the Constitution says, «State property belongs to the whole people and is the highest form of socialist property. The following are property of the state alone: the land and underground riches, the mines, forests, pastures, waters, natural energy resources, the plants, factories, machine and tractor stations, the banks, the roads of communication and means of rail, water and air transport, post, telegraph and telephone offices, radio and TV stations, cinematography. Any other wealth which is created in the state sector or which the state gains according to law, is also state property.»

Cooperativist property (Art. 21) belongs to the group of working people of the countryside, voluntarily united in the agricultural cooperative for the purpose of increasing production and well-being, for the construction of socialism in the countryside and throughout the country. The following are property of the agricultural cooperatives: buildings, machines, equipment, means of transport, tools and implements, livestock for work or production, fruit trees, agricultural and livestock products, as well as other means necessary for their activity.

Land, which according to Article 18 of the Constitution is the exclusive property of the state, «is granted for social use to the economic enterprises and state institutions, to the agricultural cooperatives and social organizations, and for the personal use of individual citizens. Land is granted for use free of charge. Agricultural land may be used for other purposes only with the consent of the respective state organs.» (Art. 19)

As always, the state devotes special attention to the development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives and their transformation into modern enterprises of large-scale socialist production. Article 22 of the Constitution says explicitly, «Under certain circumstances, the state supports the setting up and development of higher-type cooperatives in which it participates directly with investments, especially in the main means of production. The transition of the cooperativist property into property of the entire people is done in conformity with the objective conditions, according to the free will of the cooperativists and with the consent of the state. The state works for the narrowing of distinctions between town and country.»

The personal property of citizens is recognized and protected by the state. Personal property are: income from work and other lawful sources dwelling-houses and other objects which serve to meet personal and family material and cultural needs; the objects belonging to the cooperativist family on the basis of the constitution of the agricultural cooperative are also personal property. Article 23, which sanctions the personal property, defines likewise that it cannot be used to the detriment of the social interest. On the other hand, Article 24 stipulates that when the general interest requires it, certain fixed assets of the cooperativist and personal property may be converted into state property. The criteria of conversion and the method of payment are fixed by law.

As far as foreign trade is concerned, it is the monopoly of the state, just as home trade is exercised by the state, which controls all activity in this field.

Articles 25 and 26 define the attributes of the state for the organization and development of the economic and social life «by a unified general plan» and for the setting up of the enterprises. Article 28 of the Constitution sanctions, «The granting of concessions to and the creation of foreign

economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited.»

That article assumes great importance for safeguarding the independence of the country and the socialist order. In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «This is an extremely important question of principle. No country whatsoever, big or small, can build socialism by taking credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, or by integrating its economy into the world system of the capitalist economy. Any such linking of the economy of a socialist country with the economy of bourgeois or revisionist countries opens the doors to the action of the economic laws of capitalism and the degeneration of the socialist order. This is the road of betrayal and the restoration of capitalism, which the revisionist cliques have pursued and are pursuing.»

Article 29 of the Constitution defines work as the foundation of the entire economic and social life of the country. «Work is the main source from which every citizen ensures the means of livelihood. The state works to narrow the differences between mental and physical labour, between work in industry and work in agriculture. The state takes care of and adopts measures for safety at work and the qualification of the working people.»

In regard to remuneration for work, Article 30 sanctions the application of the socialist principle «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work». Thus equal pay is guaranteed for equal work. The same article says that, to encourage work for maximum results, «the use of material stimuli is combined correctly with moral stimuli, giving priority to the latter». Likewise, it should be borne in mind that the fund of social consumption is destined to meet the common needs of citizens. This fund, which is very important, «is increased continually in accordance with the possibilities created by the development of the country's economy». In conclusion that article says that the state exercises control over the amount of work and consumption.

The last article of this chapter, Article 31, states that «The citizens pay no levies or taxes whatsoever».

Let us recall here that Albania is the first country in

the world where taxes and levies have been abolished. This is a very great victory for the working masses of our country.

Education, science and culture

While expressing and defending the interests of all the working people, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has the task of moulding the new man, carrying out an extensive ideological and cultural activity for the communist education of the working people, especially the younger generation (Art. 32).

That is why the state organizes and runs education, which is «open to all and free of charge», and built «on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook» and «combines lessons with productive work and physical and military training». At the same time, education «follows the best traditions of the Albanian national and secular school».

Just like education, the state organizes and directs the development of science and technology in close connection with life and production in the service of the progress of society and defence of the homeland. At the same time, the state supports the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the masses and drawing them extensively into scientific research activity (Art. 14). Thus it protects the cultural heritage of the people and cares for the all-round development of the socialist national culture; it supports the development of literature and art according to the method of socialist realism (Art. 35) as well as the development of physical culture and sports (Art. 36).

Finally, Article 37 of the Constitution sanctions the position of the state in regard to religion: the state recognizes no religion whatsoever; on the contrary, it supports atheist propaganda for the purpose of inculcating the scientific materialist world outlook in people. After the first Constitution entered in force (1946), which recognized the freedom of religion, the Party has never ceased its scientific propaganda of the materialist world outlook until the working masses themselves, and especially the younger generation, rejected religion, as a mental practice and attitude which gravely damages and hinders the progress of the Albanian

society. Ten years ago Albania became the first country in the world which got rid of religion and religious obscurantism.

Chapter Two defines the fundamental rights and duties of citizens.

According to Article 39, the rights and duties of citizens are built on the basis of the reconciliation of the interests of the individual and the socialist society, giving priority to the general interest. The rights of citizens cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. This bars the way to privileges and injustices in all fields of life — political, economic, cultural and ideological. These great principles can be proclaimed and applied only in a truly socialist country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power and which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The last paragraph of that article states that the further extension and deepening of the rights of citizens are closely linked with the socialist development of the country. Thus the increase of production and the lowering of costs will bring about the extension of the range of economic rights of every citizen, with each being able to acquire a greater amount to goods at lower prices. And this applies to all other fields — education, military service, culture, etc.

Article 40 says that all citizens are equal before the law, and that no restriction or privilege is recognized over the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation. This reflects the concrete reality in our country, where the socialist system in its entirety allows no violation of these principles. No matter how much this equality is publicized in the capitalist and revisionist countries, life proves each day that there equality is only shameless demagogy. Let us take into consideration the economic aspect of the problem: by what right a person can have an enormous income and live in luxury by exploiting the work of others?

Dealing with the Constitution of the capitalist and revisionist countries in his speech to the People's Assembly (December 1976) Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The majority of the capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie exercises its brutal dictatorship, as well as the Constitutions of the countries where the revisionists rule, distinguish themselves by their democratic phrases; but behind the fine words and promises of 'freedom', 'equality', 'justice', etc

lurks the violence of the exploiting classes and the ruling cliques on the working people.

«The working masses all over the world are fighting today, as Lenin has said, not for freedom on paper, but for real freedom, are fighting to win their democratic rights and liberties. Each time the masses demand the implementation of the constitutional norms which are proclaimed only to deceive them, their attempts are immediately labelled as activities endangering the political order of the state and suppressed with fire and steel. This reality confirms the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis according to which there where the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet been established, or there where it has been abandoned, the working masses cannot enjoy true democratic rights and liberties.»

Equality of rights in socialist Albania exists not only for the citizens of Albanian origin, but for the national minorities as well. In this respect, Article 42 of the Constitution needs no comment: «Protection and development of their people's culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities. Any national privilege and inequality and any act which violates the rights of national minorities is contrary to the Constitution and is punishable by law.»

The citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania who reach the age of 18 years have the right to elect and be elected to all the organs of state power. The only persons excluded from electoral rights are those deprived by decision of the court and those who are mentally incompetent and declared as such by the court.

A series of Articles of the Constitution defines the other rights of citizens: the right to work, which is guaranteed by the state; work is a duty and honour for every able-bodied citizen; the right to choose and exercise their profession according to their capacity and personal inclination, and in accordance with the needs of the society; the right to rest after work and paid annual holidays; the right to pension for all workers of town and countryside; the right to medical treatment free of charge; the equality of rights between man and woman in pay, holidays, social security and education, in all socio-political activities and in the family; the right of the mother to paid leave prior to and after childbirth, the same rights and duties for children born out of wedlock

as children born within marriage; the right of all citizens to personal property and inheritance; the freedom of scientific work and artistic creativeness; author's rights; the right to education; the freedom of speech, the press, organization, association, assembly and public manifestation; the right of all citizens to join various organizations which operate in the political, economic, cultural as well as in other fields of the country's life. However, in this connection, Article 55 defines that the creation of any type of organization of a fascist, anti-democratic, religious, and anti-socialist character is prohibited; fascist, anti-democratic, religious, war-mongering, and anti-socialist activities and propaganda, as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred are prohibited.

In order to guarantee the rights of citizens, the state takes a series of measures and places specific institutions and facilities at their disposal. To this end, rest homes, houses of culture, health institutions, maternity homes, crèches and kindergartens and other centres of this kind are created for and are put in the service of the working people.

In the field of pensions and social insurance, the state takes under special care the invalids of the National Liberation War and the struggle in defence of the Homeland and the invalids from work, and creates the conditions for their rehabilitation. The young children of those fallen in defence of the country and in the socialist construction are under care of the state.

On the question of the family, which is the cell of the society, Article 49 says, «Marriage and the family are under the care and protection of the state and society. Marriage is contracted before competent state organs. The parents are responsible for the upbringing and communist education of the children. The children are duty bound to care for parents who are disabled and lack the necessary means of livelihood. Children born out of wedlock have the same rights and duties as children born within the marriage. The children bereaved of their parents and without support are brought up and educated by the state.»

In order to guarantee a sufficient education of the younger generation, «Eight-grade education is universal and compulsory. The state aims at raising the level of compulsory education for everybody.» This means that the state is bound to take the necessary measures to make in the future

the complete cycle of the general secondary education compulsory for all, which will mark an important step forward in this direction, greatly facilitate the construction of socialism and place Albania among the advanced countries of the world in the field of education.

We have mentioned above the freedom of speech, the press, organization, etc which is recognized to the citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, but the fact of recognizing a freedom is not sufficient in itself. Our socialist state guarantees the implementation of these freedoms, it creates the necessary conditions for this purpose and makes the necessary material means available. Thus, the people's press in socialist Albania is not the monopoly of a group of people. Everybody may express his opinions, criticize anybody, make proposals in newspapers, wall-posters, at meetings, etc. Article 59 states that the citizens have the right to make requests, complaints, remarks and proposals to the competent organs over personal, social and state affairs according to the conditions defined by law. Citizens have the right to demand compensation from the state or its officials for the damage caused by the illegal activities of the state organs and its employees in the exercise of their duty.

The state guarantees the inviolability of the person, the home and secrecy of correspondence and other means of communication (Art. 56, 57, 58).

On their part, the citizens are obliged to respect and implement the Constitution and other laws. The preservation and strengthening of the socialist order and the implementation of the rules of socialist co-existence are a duty for all the citizens. On the other hand, the citizens have the duty to protect and strengthen socialist property. Violation of socialist property constitutes a grave crime. The defence of the socialist Homeland is the supreme duty and the greatest honour for all citizens. Betrayal of the Homeland is the most serious crime. Military service and the constant training for the defence of the socialist Homeland are duties for all the citizens.

Article 65, the last article of this chapter, deals with the right of sanctuary of foreign citizens. It reads, «The right of sanctuary in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is granted to foreign citizens who are persecuted on account of their activity in favour of the revolution and socialism, of democracy and national liberation, or the progress of science and culture.»

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Part Two of the Constitution is made up of six chapters, namely the Supreme Organs of the State Power; the Supreme Organs of the State Administration, the Defence of the Country and the Armed Forces, the Local Organs of the State Power and the State Administration, the People's Courts and the Attorney General's Office.

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The People's Assembly is the supreme organ of state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is the bearer of the sovereignty of the people and the state and the sole law-making organ.

The People's Assembly has the following main competences: it defines, in conformity with the general line and the orientations of the Party of Labour of Albania, the main directions of the internal and external policies of the state; it approves and amends the Constitution and the laws, decides on the conformity of the laws with the Constitution, and interprets the laws; it approves the plan for the economic and cultural development of the country and the state budget; it proclaims partial and general mobilization, the state of emergency, as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties; it ratifies and denounces international treaties of special importance; it grants amnesty; it decides on popular referendums; it elects, appoints, and dismisses the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and his deputies (these organs are responsible before the People's Assembly and render account to it); it defines the administrative territorial structure; it decides on the creation and dissolving of ministries (Art. 67).

The People's Assembly is comprised of 250 deputies who are elected in constituencies with an equal number of inha-

bitants. The deputies come from all walks of life — workers, cooperativist peasants, intellectuals, state functionaries, cadres of the army, etc.

We mentioned that the People's Assembly is elected for a term of four years, but according to Article 68 of the Constitution, in case of war or in similar state of emergency, the People's Assembly may continue its activity beyond the normal term as long as the state of emergency continues. In special instances, the People's Assembly may decide its dissolution before the completion of the term for which it has been elected.

The People's Assembly elects its Presidential Council, which leads its meetings according to the rules approved by it.

The People's Assembly meets in normal session twice per year by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, or it may be summoned in extraordinary sessions by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly or at the request of one-third of the deputies. The meetings of the People's Assembly open when the majority of the deputies are present (Art. 70).

Besides the commission for the examination of the mandates elected at the first session of the People's Assembly and charged with verifying the validity of the mandates of deputies, the People's Assembly elects from its ranks permanent and temporary commissions. The permanent commissions have the duty to examine the bills and decrees of a normative character of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to observe and control the activity of the state organs according to their respective sectors and to present problems to the People's Assembly or the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The temporary commissions are created for special questions.

The duties and rights of the deputies to the People's Assembly are defined in Article 72 of the Constitution.

It is the duty of the deputy to the People's Assembly to serve the interests of the people and the cause of the Homeland and socialism conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close contact with his electors, and render account to them. The deputy to the People's Assembly has the right to demand explanations from all the state organs and to intervene with them for the precise implementation of the Constitution and the laws. The state organs are obliged to examine the requests

and proposals by the deputies and to reply to them within defined regulations.

The deputy to the People's Assembly enjoys immunity (Art. 73). The deputy cannot be detained, arrested, or suffer penal punishment without the approval of the People's Assembly, or its Presidium, apart from cases in which a grave crime has obviously been committed.

According to Article 74 of the Constitution, the right to initiate legislation belongs to the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to the Council of Ministers, and the deputies.

The laws and acts of the People's Assembly are considered approved when the majority of the deputies present have voted for them. The laws are proclaimed no later than 15 days after their approval and enter into force 15 days after their proclamation in the Official Gazette, apart from occasions when they themselves envisage otherwise.

Principal Competences of the Presidium of the People's Assembly

The Presidium of the People's Assembly is elected from the ranks of the People's Assembly at its first session and it continues its activity till the election of a new Presidium of the Peoples' Assembly. It is a superior organ of state power with permanent activity. It is comprised of the president, 3 vice-presidents, the secretary and 10 members. Decisions of the Presidium of the People's Assembly are taken on a majority of votes when a majority of its members is present.

Article 77 of the Constitution states that the Presidium of the People's Assembly has these main permanent competences:

It convenes the sessions of the People's Assembly; it sets the date of elections to the People's Assembly and the people's councils; it awards decorations and titles of honour; it accords or revokes Albanian citizenship and accepts the renunciation of it; it exercises the rights of pardon; it defines the territorial-administrative divisions; it enters into international treaties and ratifies and denounces those which are not examined by the People's Assembly itself; it accepts the credentials and the letters of recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states; it proclaims the laws and referendums decided by the People's Assembly.

According to Article 78 of the Constitution, between sessions of the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly exercises these competences:

It controls the implementation of the laws and decisions of the People's Assembly; it controls the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and any other state organ, and summons them to report; it appoints or dismisses the vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers or individual ministers on the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers; it appoints or dismisses individual members or the vice-presidents of the Supreme Court and the deputies of the Attorney General. In each case the decrees for their appointment or dismissal must be approved by the People's Assembly; it issues decrees and decisions; the decrees of a normative character are presented for approval to the People's Assembly at its next session; it makes interpretations of laws and presents them for approval to the People's Assembly at its next session; when the convening of the People's Assembly is impossible, it proclaims partial or general mobilization, the state of emergency as well as the state of war in case of armed aggression against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania or when this is necessary to fulfil the obligations deriving from international treaties. In time of war, in case the convening of the People's Assembly is impossible, the Presidium of the People's Assembly exercises all the competences of the latter apart from changes in the Constitution.

Finally, according to Article 79 the Presidium of the People's Assembly directs and controls the activity of the people's councils; it may disband them, appoint their respective temporary executive committees as well as decide on the election of a new people's council. The Presidium of the People's Assembly abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the Council of Ministers, of the people's councils and of the executive committees.

The Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The Council of Ministers is the supreme executive and administrative organ appointed at the first session of the People's Assembly; it comprises the Chairman, the Vice-chair-

men and the Ministers. As a rule the members of the Council of Ministers are appointed from among the ranks of the deputies to the People's Assembly. The decisions of the Council of Ministers are taken on the majority of votes when the majority of its members is present.

The main competences of the Council of Ministers

According to Article 81 of the Constitution it directs the activity for the realization of the internal and external policies of the state; promulgates decisions, ordinances and instructions on the basis of the Constitution and the laws and for their implementation; it directs and controls the activity of the ministries, other central organs of state administration, and the executive committees of the people's councils, and defines their internal organization; it works out the draft-plan for the economic and cultural development of the country, the draft-budget of the state, organizes and controls the implementation of the plan and the budget, directs and organizes the finances of the state and the monetary and credit system; it directs the activity for the fulfilment of duties in the field of defence of the country in conformity with the decisions of the Defence Council; it takes the necessary measures for the security, protection and strengthening of the socialist juridical order and the rights of citizens; it enters into and approves international agreements and denounces those not subject to ratification.

According to Article 82 of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of the ministries and other central organs of the state administration and of the executive committees of the people's councils. The Council of Ministers suspends the implementation of unlawful or irregular decisions of the people's council, and presents the question of their abrogation to the higher people's council, or to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers, which is comprised of the Chairman and the Vice-chairmen, supervises, controls and takes decisions on the implementation of tasks set by the Council of Ministers. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers represents the Council of Ministers, presides over its meetings and directs its activity.

According to Articles 84, 85 and 86 of the Constitution, the ministries are central organs of the state administration specialized in particular branches of activity, and directed by members of the Council of Ministers.

The ministers are responsible for the activity of their respective ministries and of the Council of Ministers, they direct and control the organs, enterprises, institutions and economic organizations of their sector. On matters within their competences, the ministers issue orders, rules and instructions according to the laws, ordinances and decisions of the Council of Ministers, and for their implementation.

The ministries abrogate the unlawful or irregular ordinances and instructions of the organs, enterprises or institutions dependent on them and suspend the application of the unlawful or irregular decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils, which have to do with their respective sphere of activity, representing the question of their abrogation to the Council of Ministers.

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The defence of the country and the armed forces

Given their great importance, these questions have been dealt with in a special chapter (Chapter Three). The watchword of the Party is «The defence of the country is the duty above all duties». The socialist state has undertaken the tasks of safeguarding the victories of the people's revolution and the socialist construction, of defending the freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of the country. «The territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,» Article 87 states, «is inalienable and its borders are inviolable.»

According to Article 88 of the Constitution, «The defence of the Homeland and of the victories of socialism is ensured by the armed people, organized in the armed forces, which comprise the People's Army, the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the People's Voluntary Self-defence Forces. The People's Army, as the main force for the defence of the Homeland, is the army of the people and serves the

people. The armed forces are led by the Party of Labour of Albania.»

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Defence Council is created to direct, organize and mobilize all the forces and resources of the country in defence of the Homeland. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and the Chairman of the Defence Council. The composition of the Defence Council is defined by the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the proposal of the Chairman of the Defence Council (Art. 89).

Article 90 sanctions, «No one has the right to sign or accept in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the capitulation or occupation of the country. Any such act is condemned as treason to the country». This article assumes capital importance. An eventual war for the defence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will be carried out through to the end — the total liquidation of the enemy.

At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «Our people always regard the defence of freedom and national sovereignty as the duty above all duties. Therefore, the Party and the people's power have adopted a series of very important measures of a political, ideological, military and other character which have also been sanctioned in the draft-Constitution for the organization of a reliable and impregnable defence, capable of guaranteeing the socialist victories and coping with any enemy aggression, no matter where it comes from. The Constitution also sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the defence of the Homeland and the gains of socialism are guaranteed by the armed people organized in the armed forces.

«It is absolutely possible to ensure the national sovereignty and political and economic independence and to guarantee the defence of the country, because in Albania the people are in power, sovereignty belongs entirely to the working people and is exercised by them alone, because the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labour is in power here.»

Finally, in connection with Article 91, which states that «The establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited», Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «this principle is of vital importance for

Albania, as it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their Homeland. At the same time, this constitutional norm expresses the principled and friendly internationalist foreign policy of socialist Albania, so that its territory never be used as a base for aggression against the other countries and peoples.»

Chapter Four of the Constitution sanctions the local organs of the state power and state administration.

The people's councils

The People's Councils are organs of the state power which carry out the governing of the country in the respective territorial administrative units. The people's councils direct, with the broad participation of the working masses, all social life in the political, economic, socio-cultural fields, the defence of the country and the protection of the socialist juridical order, reconciling the local interests with the general state interests. The people's councils are elected for a term of three years (Art. 92).

The competences of the people's council

The people's council adopts the local plan and budget; from its members it elects the executive committee and the commissions of the council and discharges them, it appoints and discharges the chiefs of the sections of the executive committee; it directs and controls the activity of the people's councils at lower levels, and issues ordinances and decisions within its competences (Art. 92 and 93).

Just like the other organs, the meetings of the people's council open when the majority of its members is present. The decisions of the people's council are taken on the majority of votes of its members present.

A higher people's council may dissolve a lower level people's council, appoints the provisional executive committee and decides on the elections for a new people's council. A higher people's council may dismiss the executive committee

of a lower level people's council and order a new election of the executive committee.

The people's council abrogates the unlawful or irregular acts of its executive committee, of the lower level people's council and the respective executive committee.

The rights and duties of the members of the people's council

It is the duty of the members of the people's councils to serve the people conscientiously and loyally, to maintain close ties with the electors and render account to them. They have the right to control the state organs, enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives and demand from them the precise implementation of the socialist law.

On their part, the respective state organs are obliged to examine the remarks of the members of the people's councils and take the necessary measures.

The members of the people's councils enjoy immunity within the territorial unit under the administration of the people's council. They cannot be detained, arrested or subjected to penal prosecution without the consent of the people's council or the executive committee except in cases when a grave crime has obviously been committed.

The competences of the executive committee

The executive committee is the executive and administrative organ of the people's council. The executive committee continues its activity even after the expiration of the mandate of the people's council which has elected it, until the first meeting of the new people's council.

Between sessions of the people's council, the executive committee exercises the rights and duties of the people's council, with the exception of those which, by law, come within the competence of the people's council alone.

The executive committee renders account to the people's council which has elected it and the next higher administrative executive organ. The executive committee of a higher people's council abrogates the unlawful and irregular acts of a lower level executive committee and suspends those of the lower

level people's council, presenting the question of their abrogation to the competent people's council (Art. 99).

Finally, the specialized organs created under the executive committee are dependent on the people's council, its executive committee, and the higher organs of the state administration, they render account to them and to the masses of the working people (Art. 100).

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The people's courts

According to Article 101 (Chapter Five), the people's courts are the organs which administer justice. They protect the socialist juridical order, fight for the prevention of crimes, educate the masses of working people to respect and implement the socialist laws, relying on their active participation.

At the head of the organs of justice is the Supreme Court which directs and controls the activity of the courts.

The Supreme Court is elected at the first session of the People's Assembly. The other people's courts are elected by the people according to the method defined by law.

Court organization and trial procedure are defined by law.

Article 102 of the Constitution has it that the courts judge penal and civil cases and other cases which are within their competences according to the law.

Judgement is done with the participation of assistant judges and in public sittings, with the exception of cases on which it has been decided otherwise by law.

During the trial the Albanian language is used. Persons who do not know Albanian may use their own language and speak through an interpreter.

The accused enjoy the right of defence.

Finally, Article 103 of the Constitution states that the court is independent in its judgement of a case, it takes its decision on the basis of the law alone, and it pronounces its verdict in the name of the people.

The verdict may be annulled or amended only by the competent higher court.

The Attorney General's Office

Chapter Six and last of Part Two of the Constitution deals with the Attorney General's Office.

The duty of the Attorney General's Office is to control the precise and uniform implementation of the laws by the ministries and other central and local organs, by the courts, the organ of investigation, enterprises, institutions, organizations, officials and citizens.

The Attorney General's Office has the right to protest against every illegal act and to demand from the respective organs its abrogation or amendment. The request of the Attorney General must be examined within the period defined by law, otherwise the implementation of the act is suspended (Art. 104).

The Attorney General puts before the People's Assembly and before the Presidium of the People's Assembly cases in which the laws and decrees are not in conformity with the Constitution, and it also puts before the Council of Ministers cases in which its decisions and instructions do not conform with the law (Art. 105).

The Attorney General and his assistants are appointed by the People's Assembly at its first session.

The attorneys are appointed by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Part Three of the Constitution includes two chapters, the first comprised of 3 articles (107, 108, 109), dealing with the national emblem, the flag, the capital city, which remain unchanged.

The second chapter under the title «Final Dispositions», comprises the last three articles (110, 111, 112), which have particular importance. They read:

«The Constitution is the fundamental law of the state.

«All activity for the creation of juridical norms is conducted on the basis of the Constitution and in complete conformity with it. (Art. 110).

«Proposals for amendments to the Constitution can be presented by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers or by two-fifths of the total.

«Approval of or amendments to the Constitution are done by the People's Assembly by a majority of two-thirds of all the deputies» (Art. 111).

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The unanimous approval of the new Constitution by the People's Assembly on December 28, 1976, was received with great enthusiasm by the entire Albanian people. December 28, 1976 will always remain for them a historical date, representing a fundamental stage in the struggle of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, of the entire Albanian people, for building a better life, worthy of man in the true meaning of the word, for creating a genuinely socialist state where the workers are effectively the masters of their own country and destiny, a new society without exploiters and exploited, made up of new men living and working «one for all and all for one» in a spirit of fraternal solidarity, inspired by the noblest ideals of mankind and marching non-stop towards this society which is the dream of all men — the communist society. Conscious of the fact that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a country which enjoys the sympathy and support of all the revolutionaries and progressive people in the world, but which at the same time arouses the hatred of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the other reactionaries, the Albanian people, with its working class at the head, under the wise and resolute leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, have been charged with the historic task of making socialist Albania a brilliant example for the future of mankind, and an impregnable fortress for all the sworn enemies of our country and of all the peoples of the world.

Nothing better than the statement of a group of veterans of the National Liberation War can illustrate the determination of our people to defend their achievements and their Homeland.

«Even if we were a hundred years old, if the Party issues its call, we will rise to our feet, making light of the weight of the years, our bodies straight up like the rifle, and arm in hand, will defend our country.»

In his reports to the 5th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly on behalf of the Special Editing Commission of the draft-Constitution of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Our socialist regime is the regime of the working class, it is its dictatorship, whose

social base rests on the indissoluble alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, it is a regime of genuine democracy. Under this regime, the people have taken their destiny in their hands and govern the country. Our new Constitution reflects, develops and defends these great ideas. The great strength of our people rests on the fact that they are imbued with these ideas and carry them out. These correct and resolute ideas and actions underlie the correct policy of the Albanian state in the international arena, which the progressive peoples and nations understand and respect. If they pay tribute to our policy and respect it, this is because it is characterized by goodwill towards other states and the desire to maintain with them good relations, based on the known principles of equality, respect of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and mutual benefit. We go against the imperialist and revisionist current. One current is that of the revolution and the destruction of the capitalist order, which will be replaced by socialism and communism, the classless society. This society is the future of mankind and it will be built only through the class struggle, by bloodshed and sacrifices. But it will be built. Imperialism and social-imperialism are in decay. Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will get rid of this plague.»

The Albanian people, led by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, find in the clearly expressed articles of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania fresh inspiration for ever greater victories, to make Albania ever stronger and more prosperous, to defend socialism and the Homeland from all dangers, wherever they may come from.

THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The Democratic Front of Albania

The Democratic Front is the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front created at the Conference of Peza on September 16, 1942. At this conference, where besides the communists, patriots and nationalists of different political trends also took part, the problem of uniting and organizing the Albanian people in the struggle against the fascist invaders was raised and discussed. The National Liberation Front was one of the forms through which this union was realized.

The National Liberation Front was the united front of the entire people against the external enemy that had occupied the country. Its line was the union of all true Albanians without discrimination as to class, political conviction, religion or region, the union of all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country, of all those who were ready to fight the fascist occupier and the local traitors for a free, independent, democratic and people's Albania. This was a correct orientation which responded to the then situation of the country, where internal class contradictions had passed to second place, being subordinate to the external contradictions between the Albanian people who were fighting for freedom, independence and national sovereignty, on the one hand, and the Italian invaders who had enslaved the country, on the other hand.

Implementing this line, the Front rallied around itself

the overwhelming majority of the population. — the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty- and middle bourgeoisie of the towns, the patriotic intellectuals and all the other anti-fascist elements. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry was at the foundation of the Front. This alliance is of vital importance for any country that rises in struggle and revolution, it constitutes the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in the conditions of Albania, where the working class was small in number and where the peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, the participation of the latter in the struggle, under the leadership of working class and its revolutionary party, was a decisive factor for the fate of the struggle and the revolution. The countryside became the main base of the struggle for freedom and the peasantry represented the most important of the forces engaged in this struggle.

As for the foreign policy of the National Liberation Front, it was based essentially on the alliance with all the anti-fascist states and all the peoples fighting against fascism, in particular, on the alliance with the Soviet Union, which with its wise policy and heroic war under the masterful leadership of Stalin embodied the hopes of the peoples to get rid of the fascist plague, which menaced them with extermination.

In fact, the program of the National Liberation Front was the minimum program of the Party. It was a clear, understandable, militant and revolutionary program. The principal tasks of this program were: incessant uncompromising struggle against the invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, for freedom and national independence, for a democratic people's government; the general armed uprising and creation of the National Liberation Army; organization of political and economic assistance for the people's struggle, an assistance which had to be secured, in the first place, from the popular masses of town and countryside; destruction of the power of the occupiers and their collaborators (which represented the interests of the principal exploiting classes of the country); setting up of the power of the national liberation councils as the sole political power of the people; finally, broad political and ideological preparation of the masses for the general people's uprising and for the continuation of the struggle after the liberation of the

country in defence of the victories achieved, for the reconstruction of the country and the implementation of major socio-economic transformations in the interest of the people.

The founding of the National Liberation Front was a mortal blow at the occupiers and local reaction in general which had made common cause with them. To cope with this situation, the forces of reaction created, first, the organization of Balli Kombëtar, then that of Legaliteti, which directly opposed the National Liberation Front. These two organizations, set up with the backing of the Italian and German occupiers and the support and encouragement of the Anglo-American imperialists, were not political parties, but heterogenous groupings of the local reactionary forces, of big landowners and merchants, bourgeois intellectuals, members of the reactionary clergy and all the dregs of the society that had made common cause with the occupier.

Adhering to the correct line of uniting all the Albanian people in the struggle against fascism, «without discrimination as to religion, region or political conviction», the Front called more than once on the forces that had come out against itself to fight the invaders together, it did everything to show them the right course, to make them abandon their road of treason and prevent a civil war. The touchstone to assess the real orientation of these groupings would be their stand towards the enemy that had occupied the country. The Front demanded from these organizations to launch themselves in strength and without delay, without waiting for the «opportune moment», into stern and uncompromising struggle against the Italian and German invaders. Consistent in their course of betrayal, the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti not only did not fire a single shot against the invaders, but on the contrary united completely with them in the struggle against the people. Thus, the struggle against the fascist occupiers in Albania, the struggle for national liberation, was combined with the struggle against the collaborators of the occupiers, the principal exploiting classes and their political organizations — the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. That had important political repercussions for the development of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and gave this war the character of a thorough-going people's revolution.

Likewise, after Liberation, all the attempts of the landowners and bourgeois elements, abetted and supported by the

American and British imperialists, to create reactionary political parties, as a means for the overthrow of the people's power, were turned to ashes.

The Party of Labour of Albania has expressed and defended not only the interests of the working class but also those of the labouring peasantry, and the entire Albanian people united in the Democratic Front, always viewing these interests from the angle of socialism. The historical fact that in Albania there were no other political parties apart from the Party of Labour of Albania, was in itself a very favourable phenomenon for the working class, for the people, the revolution and socialism. This enabled the Party to fulfil its mission of the leader of the revolution in all its stages, better and more easily.

The Front has been and remains the broadest support base of the Party and the people's state power. It embodies the moral and political unity of the people round the Party. The alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry under the leadership of the working class has underlied the revolution in all its stages. The labouring peasantry has constituted its broadest base. The Party of Labour of Albania has always been the sole leading force of the Front and the sole political party in the country.

In all its stages, the Democratic Front has been a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party of Labour of Albania for the political union of the broad masses of the people round itself, for their mobilization at war and work to achieve victory.

Through the Democratic Front, the Party has succeeded in uniting the classes, strata as well as isolated groups and elements, which have become the allies of the working class in all the stages of the revolution, in a broad political organization. Through the Democratic Front, the proletarian policy of the Party has been able to exercise its influence on each of these allies, especially those not comprised in the ranks of the other mass organization.

The Democratic Front is the largest mass organization participating in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This system also comprises all the other mass organizations, such as the Trade Unions, the Albanian Labour Youth Union and the Women's Union of Albania. These organizations, dealing with the particular problems of workers, youth and women, carry out their political, educational and organiza-

tional work according to their own specific character. All these mass organizations carry out their activity in close connection with each other, but none of them can supplant the functions of the other. Each organization has its own specific character and role in the construction of socialism. If the other organizations deal with definite strata of the population, the Democratic Front is the organization in which the political union of the entire people is realized. While militating in their respective organizations, the members of the other organizations are at the same time members of the Democratic Front and take an active part in all the debates and activities of its organizations. The unity of the people in the Democratic Front is a unity of classes, strata and persons which are not divided by antagonistic contradictions, but on the contrary are united by common interests and aims over one or several historical periods. This unity has been created and strengthened in the struggle for freedom and national independence, in uncompromising struggle against internal and external class enemies.

The economic and social base of this union today is the social property of the means of production, the socialist relations of production established in town and countryside; its political base is the general line of the party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the country; its ideological base is Marxism-Leninism which guides and inspires all the life in Albania.

The unity of the people round the Democratic Front represents an unsurmountable wall against which all the internal and external enemies of our socialist country have broken their heads.

Since the establishment of the people's power the Democratic Front has played and continues to play a major role in the mobilization of the masses for the construction of socialism, as well as in their patriotic and communist education.

The defence of the Homeland has always been and remains a duty of capital importance for the Democratic Front. It carries out systematic work of ideological and political education to inculcate in the masses ever deeper the love for the Homeland and the devotion to the country, to keep always alive and further develop the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our forefathers from the legendary epoch of our National Hero — Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg,

the even greater epic — the heroic National Liberation War, to the just as glorious days of the socialist construction of the country. Each organization of the Democratic Front in town or countryside is a centre of the patriotic education of the masses for increasing prosperity and strengthening the defence of the Homeland, for deepening the hatred against the class enemy.

Like all the other mass organizations, the Democratic Front has played a major role and carried out all-round work for the incessant strengthening of the people's power. It has educated the working masses of town and countryside in the spirit of love for and devotion to the people's state power, has mobilized them to implement its decisions and laws, has drawn them more and more into participating in state and social activity.

The Democratic Front has played and still plays an important role in the struggle against bureaucracy for the further strengthening and democratization of the people's power. It has, on the one hand, organized and encouraged the control of the masses over the state organs and the persons working there, and on the other hand, it has carried out all-round political and ideological educational work so that the functionaries and employees, the representatives of the people to the state organs of all levels, are constantly aware of being the servants of the people.

The organizations of the Democratic Front carry out all-round work to draw the masses into studying and solving major problems of the people's power, to raise the consciousness of the masses and ensure their active participation in governing the country.

In the context of the struggle against bureaucracy the Democratic Front does great work in order to encourage people to express their views frankly on any subject, because they are the masters of the country and the people's power, because their will is a law which no one can infringe. At their meetings, the organizations of the Democratic Front encourage the broad and free debating of problems which concern and preoccupy them. In particular, they stimulate open and unrestricted criticism by the masses of shortcomings and errors.

The Democratic Front has always played an important role in the solution of social problems. This role has been constantly rising, especially in the more recent times. In

all the districts of the country the organizations of the Democratic Front, in concert with the organizations of the youth, women and trade-unions, have organized many large meetings and popular discussions to discuss major social problems. There, backward, feudal and patriarchal customs which oppress and enslave the woman, religious prejudices and dogmas, all that is alien to the socialist spirit, all that is conservative and reactionary, all that hinders the establishment of fair relations in family and society, all that hampers the progress of the country, was denounced.

Another no less important field of action for the Democratic Front is its all-round work to promote, especially in the countryside; a more cultured mode of living, especially in regard to hygiene, communal services, spread of education and culture, improvement of living standards, etc.

Since the day of the publication of the draft-Constitution in 1976, in collaboration with the other mass organizations — the Trade Unions, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, the Women's Union of Albania, the organizations of the Front have organized thousands of meetings at which people acquainted themselves with the draft-Constitution, discussed its content and form, and made very valuable remarks, suggestions, and proposals which were attentively studied by the special commission charged with editing the new Constitution. These propositions were forwarded to the commission for the amendment of the final text of the draft-Constitution.

The Trade Unions of Albania

The Trade Unions of Albania (TUA) were created on January 11, 1945. This was an important historic event and a logical consequence of the many and great efforts of the Albanian workers to organize themselves.

Before Liberation, the Albanian working class, although small in number, had a glorious history of class struggle. But due to the barbarous oppression it was subject to by the retrogressive regimes of the past, it was unable to set up an organization of its own on a national scale. Forced to protect themselves, the Albanian workers set up their own associations in some towns and for some crafts, which gra-

dually assumed a political character. Through overt and covert actions, they gathered strength, developed a relatively high class consciousness which was further enhanced and deepened with the creation of the communist groups and the propaganda of communist ideas. These first organizational elements and the strikes which broke out at Kuçova, Korça and other towns, weakened the regime of feudal-bourgeois oppression and showed that the working class was rising as a powerful political and social force in the life of the country.

The Italian fascist aggression raised the struggle of the Albanian working class to a higher level. Although numerically small, the working class created its political party, which at the most difficult moments, took the destiny of the country, the conduct of the war and the revolution, in its own hands. The National Liberation War was a great school for the political education and revolutionary tempering of the working class, which engaged in it totally, setting a brilliant example of heroism and abnegation and becoming the backbone of the alliance with the peasantry and other patriotic and progressive strata of the country.

The Trade Unions of Albania emerged under new historical conditions, when the country was liberated from the occupiers and the exploited classes were overthrown, when the working class, in alliance with the labouring peasantry, had come to power and established the people's state power. The TUA was born as a necessity of the moment which called for the unity of the working class, as one of the most effective levers of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under these circumstances, the TUA developed according to entirely new principles, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Albanian and international worker movement.

In the capitalist countries, trade-unions have been created more than a century ago as organizations of the workers against capitalist exploitation and social injustice, but they could not serve as a model for the Albanian working class, because trade-unions in Albania do not operate in the conditions of the capitalist system, where state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, but in new historical conditions, where the working class and its Party are in power. Thus in Albania, the Trade Unions and the state are two weapons of the same class, are led by the Party of the working class

which fights and works for one aim — the construction of socialism. The Trade Unions in Albania were created as a weapon in the hands of the working class and its Party, a weapon which should serve the construction of a socialist society, the continuous development of the revolution, and the defence of the independence and sovereignty of the country. Since their creation, they were conceived as organizations of a pronounced political and class character. Thus in their physiognomy, in their aims and tasks, in their method of work and form of organization, they represent an institution of an entirely new type. The place and function of the Trade Unions in socialist society is directly determined by the role of the working class itself as the leading political force of the country.

The working class constitutes the principal force of the Trade Unions, which also shares greater responsibility for the organization of the socialist life in the country. Hence, the great role and significance of the Trade Unions in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

In our country, the trade-unions do not limit themselves to only defending the rights of the workers, but they also take an active part in the management of production, in the building and consolidation of the socialist regime.

The trade-unions are organizations in which dozens of thousands of workers assimilate the first elements of organization of the economic and political life, organizations in which the workers enhance their cultural and political level, and through which they accede to the direction and management of socialist industry. As Lenin has pointed out, the trade-unions are an institution intended to educate and organize the workers, they are schools of direction and management, schools of communism.

To exercise a leading function in the economy, one need not necessarily hold a managerial post. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, even the commonest worker is given the real possibility to have his say and bring his influence to bear on the development of production, on correcting mistakes and shortcomings, to help improve the work and management of enterprises, to bring about the introduction of modern technological processes.

Production meetings play an important role in the development of the creative initiative and political activity of the working class. These meetings, held under the direction of the

trade-unions, have become an important means for the education of the working masses and their participation in running production. They are held regularly and deal with important questions, such as:

- production plans of enterprises;
- organization of production and work;
- means of improving the quality of production and lowering costs;
- problems of investments, technical norms, internal management, measures of safety at work, etc.

Production meetings, at which the workers express their opinions in all liberty, help to detect shortcomings and errors, and make concrete proposals and observations, are evidence of the broad democracy exercised on all the questions concerning the organization of production. The worker and the specialist, the engineer and the director of enterprise are not isolated from each other. They are all workmates subject to the same proletarian discipline, respecting and assisting each other in a fraternal spirit. During the working time the worker carries out the tasks assigned to him by the master, engineer or director, while at production or other meetings he criticizes their mistakes or shortcomings. The control exercised by the trade-unions — control from below, is the surest guarantee for the elimination of all bureaucratic distortions. Thus, all the strength and authority of the managers of production in the conditions of the people's state power lies in the masses. And production meetings serve to strengthen the ties of the executives, on the one hand, with the workers and employees, on the other.

Each year the basic trade-union organization of every enterprise signs a collective contract with the management. The stipulations of the contracting parties also bear on the working and living conditions of the workers.

The workers and employees participate directly in the execution of collective contracts. The trade-union organization controls the execution of the stipulations of the contract by both the workers and the management.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the interests of the state and those of the trade-unions are the same. Thus, in the struggle against mistakes and shortcomings the trade-union organizations enjoy full support by the state.

The rights of the trade-unions in the struggle for the

defence of the material and moral interests of the workers are very broad. The trade-unions:

— participate in the drafting and editing of laws on labour and wages;

— supervise the application of rules on safety at work and technical security;

— exercise social control on behalf of the masses over the execution of housing construction plans and participate in the allocation of houses;

— control the activity of commercial enterprises and public catering:

Through the trade-unions the workers exercise their control over the rates of utilization of state social insurance funds, the accomodation of the workers and their children in rest-homes, check the execution of plans for the construction of health and prophylactic institutions, the work of health services, etc.

The trade-unions wield all the necessary means and funds for the organization of cultural, sports and other free-time activities.

Socialist emulation

Organization of socialist emulation, which is one of the main methods of workers' participation in the management of production and, in general, a vivid expression of their concern about raising labour productivity, has been and remains one of the main problems of the TUA.

The bourgeoisie and its advocates do everything in their power to sanction the prejudice according to which private initiative and competition are the ideal «incentives» for the development of society. But in reality things stand the other way round.

Capitalist competition, which rests on the savage exploitation of the workers, brings about ruin and oppression for most of them, and profit for and domination by a handful of people. On this basis, it causes an ever increasing intensification of labour, aggravates exploitation, utilizes people's talents for purposes of profit and speculation, encourages individualism, egoism, misanthropy and hampers the introduction of scientific and technological innovations.

Contrary to all this, socialist emulation, which replaces capitalist competition and rests on the emancipation of workers of capitalist exploitation, constantly stimulates and develops bold thinking, free initiative, the spirit of creative innovation, opens the road for the revolutionary drive and movements of the masses, educates people by imbuing them with a high sense of responsibility for the tasks they are charged with, a critical attitude towards themselves, conscious discipline, an unflinching spirit in front of difficulties, and it serves directly the masses.

Socialist emulation is an important mobilizing and transforming motor force in the general process of the socialist construction of the country, a revolutionary method for developing and deepening the creative activity of the working masses, for increasing production and imbuing the cadres and masses with sound socialist concepts on work and common property.

Socialist emulation is an expression of socialist relations of production and a product of the socialist system in which work becomes a question of honour, and man makes to society a contribution proportionate to his capacities and is remunerated by the latter according to the quantity and quality of his work. As a component element of the socialist relations of production, socialist emulation gives rise to a broad socialist movement intended to raise the laggards up to the level of the more advanced, to assist the advanced to further progress and to swell their ranks. It strengthens the sentiments of socialist collectivity among the workers and reduces the sphere of influence of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois individualism down to the point of its total disappearance; it develops the creative thinking and initiative of the working masses, increases the productivity of labour and social production and creates greater possibilities for the development of the economic potential of the country and the raising of the standard of living of the working masses.

Socialist emulation in Albania is an expression of the communist spirit in man's process of active work. As the masters of the means of production and social production itself, people in socialism are concerned about bringing the society the maximum of utility with the minimum of expenditure of monetary means and materials, according to the principle of «quantity, rapidity, quality and economy.» Socialist emulation develops the consciousness of man, his orga-

nizational and productive capacities, stimulates the laggards and causes everything to develop and advance. Socialist emulation is organized on the basis of advanced experience and the best example, and leads to the generalization of this experience and the creation of a new, even more advanced experience.

One of the primary conditions for the organization of socialist emulation is the effective illustration of the results of work of a given collective or of the individuals that make it up. These results are determined and illustrated with great precision. They are popularized in various forms so that every member of the collective is informed of the results of work of each and compares his results to those of the others. Discovery, elaboration and propagation of advanced experience is one of the essential and always actual conditions for the organization of socialist emulation. Great work has been and continues to be done in this field. For this purpose, all-round propaganda work is carried out, which helps raise production indices by making the workers acquainted with innovations in science and technology, new technological methods, and the best achievements of advanced workers' collectives and individual workers.

Socialist emulation is a permanent method characteristic of the people's state power for the construction of socialism and the solution of problems jointly with the masses, a way intended to promote the active participation of the workers in the management of work, a powerful incentive for the development of the creative thinking and initiative of the workers, a field in which the masses make self-criticism, control and rectify the activity of the party and the state from below, a powerful ideological movement for the socialist education of the working people.

Since the establishment of the people's power, socialist emulation has been for the working masses a permanent method of work. Immediately following the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, the Albanian workers, driven by the spirit of socialist emulation, set about working to heal the wounds caused by the war against the occupiers and the local traitors. Blown up bridges and burnt down houses were reconstructed, factories and mines were recommissioned in record time. People started the construction of new factories and workshops, railways, roads, the draining of marshes, etc. From the ranks of the

working classes emerged the first shock workers, and the cooperative peasantry produced the first fighters for high yields.

Socialist emulation developed even more in the successive five-year periods, in the great battles for socialist industrialization, and the collectivization and modernization of agriculture, with dozens of thousands of people displaying an incomparable heroism in building the new life.

At its present stage, socialist emulation comes out with some new features. One of the peculiarities of socialist emulation of the recent years is its development in the form of mass initiatives, movements and actions which have made it more dynamic, more combative and more concrete. Its centre of gravity has been shifted to the base, that is, it has become more lively at the level of the basic production unit, the brigade, workshop or enterprise, which gives it a more marked mass character, because its value and effectiveness depend, first of all, on its capacity to set the broad masses of workers and cadres in movement, to make the laggards advance and encourage the workers of middling capacity, who represent the main force of production, to work ever better. In the context of development of socialist emulation, economic factors are ever better combined with moral and political elements, thus enveloping all activities of people at work and outside work. The general aim of socialist emulation is to increase production in quantity and improve it in quality, raise work productivity and lower production costs, strengthen proletarian discipline at work and solidarity among workers, encourage the innovative spirit to produce as many new articles as possible, to construct new machines and production lines, new equipment and workshops, protect socialist property, improve the training and qualification of workers, etc.

The known principle of self-reliance has created a revolutionary atmosphere of mobilization and innovation. This principle represents the very foundation of socialist emulation, of all revolutionary initiatives and mass movements and gives them a militant transforming character which enables them to successfully overcome the consequences of the imperialist and revisionist blockade and the difficulties created by it for our country.

Doubtlessly, the future will bring out new forms of socialist emulation which will ensure an ever larger participation of the masses and ever greater results at work.

The Labour Youth Union of Albania

The Albanian youth are organized in the Albanian Labour Youth Union. This organization was founded on November 23, 1941 under the name of the Communist Youth, only some days after the founding of the Communist Party.

A letter of greeting addressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth on behalf of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania in November 1941, among other things, reads: «The Communist Party of Albania is confident that the Communist Youth will be worthy of the trust our young Party has placed in it and will know how to carry out, in a revolutionary spirit, the lofty task it has been charged with, ... in indestructible unity of will and mind with the Party, that it will be able to organize and lead in a revolutionary way the oppressed Albanian youth towards a brilliant future, towards its emancipation of the mediaeval chains of fascist slavery, and a new life of progress, culture and joy.»

Under the leadership of the Party, the youth organization has played a very important role both in the war for the liberation of the country and in the long and hard battle for the construction of socialism.

The youth stood in the forefront of anti-fascist demonstrations, they were the first to swell the ranks of partisan detachments. Of 70,000 partisan fighters, 50,000 were young people, and among them 6,000 girls. Most of the martyrs were young people. The heroic deeds of the young generation in the course of the war remain immortal. The life and activity of Qemal Stafa, Vojo Kushi, Misto Mame, Margarita Tutulani, Zonja Çurre and many others now are part of the inestimable fund of revolutionary traditions of the Albanian people.

The triumph of the revolution together with the achievement of liberty and independence have set free immense creative energies which lay dormant among the people and the youth. The Albanian youth saw boundless perspectives of work, creativeness and progress being opened before them.

Since the establishment of the people's power, the new generation has made a valuable contribution to the work for the building of socialism. Young workers today account for more than 40 per cent of the working class, while in some sectors and enterprises, they represent 75 per cent of the work

force. The same can be said of the countryside, where young men and women represent the most energetic and, at the same time, the most numerous force among the cooperativists.

Aware of the fact that everything in this country is done to ensure them a happy future, the Albanian youth have always responded with enthusiasm and revolutionary ardour to the calls to contribute to the reconstruction of the country and the construction of socialism. In 1946, more than 4,000 young people built the Road of Youth through the rocks of North Albania; more than 100,000 young volunteers worked for the construction of the first railways of the country — Durrës-Tirana, Durrës-Peqin, and Peqin-Elbasan. A little later another 22,000 young volunteers were engaged in building the Road of the Light and the first big hydro-power station of the country — the «Karl Marx» hydro-power station on the Mat River. Thousands and thousands of young men and women flocked to the big building sites of the following five-year plans, working on the construction of dozens of factories, plants, etc. Youth brigades, animated by revolutionary optimism, climbed the mountains to open up new land. Within a short period of time, 40,000 young people tempered themselves in this mass action. In 1967 and 1968, 85,000 young people took part in the construction of the Rrogozhina-Fier railroad and a new highway in the mountains of North Albania. Thousands of young men and women took part in the construction of the Elbasan-Prenjas-Guri i Kuq railroad which passes through broken terrain and a narrow river gorge, with original solutions of many technical problems, which would have been difficult to achieve even in countries superior to ours in technical means and skilled labour force. Millions of cubic metres of rock and earth had to be shifted, dozens of bridges and viaducts built and many kilometres of tunnels pierced for the construction of this railroad. The Fier-Ballsh and the Laç-Lezha railways are the work of the youth, too. Thousands of young volunteers were engaged in such great projects as the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station of Fierza, the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex of Elbasan, etc.

In March 1974, considering the brilliant example of heroism and selflessness set by our young people in their successive actions for the extension of the rail network of the country, and in particular for the construction of the Elbasan-Prenjas-Guri i Kuq railroad, the Presidium of the People's

Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania awarded the organization of the Labour Youth Union of Albania the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. At present the mass actions of the youth follow one another without interruption.

These actions of the youth have not only an economic importance, but an educative, political and ideological importance as well. In the course of these actions, mouldy concepts are wiped out, the young generation is educated and armed with the norms and qualities of communist morality. The actions of the youth have been turned into real schools for their revolutionary education and physical tempering.

In the course of these actions young people do not limit themselves to carrying out manual work only, but they also become good agitators who strive to transmit their knowledge to their brothers and sisters. In the struggle against the old and for the triumph of the new, they attack mouldy customs, bury superstitions once and for good, do large-scale work for the clarification and complete emancipation of the Albanian young women in order to transform them into a colossal force for the construction of the new society all over the country. Besides construction work, the young volunteers carry out all-round political, cultural and sports activities as well as a military training, which makes their life at these mass actions ever more interesting and entertaining.

While responding with great readiness and in a spirit of active mobilization to the calls to participate in mass actions on a national scale, the Albanian youth do not neglect other actions undertaken at their own working places, in agricultural cooperatives, schools, combines, factories, mines, etc., either.

They represent a great force which increases yields in agriculture and productivity in industry, improves the quality of products and lowers production costs, spreads new methods of work, fights for utilization of internal reserves, takes an active part in the movement for discoveries and rationalizations. And everywhere the Albanian youth distinguish themselves by their revolutionary spirit.

The devotion of the Albanian youth to the Party and the people's state power has its source in the fact that they have ensured them all their rights and fulfil all their needs. Everything achieved in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania belongs to the new generation.

On the other hand, the Albanian youth, educated in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, have clear perspectives ahead of

them. They reject as alien to them all counter-revolutionary ideological trends which lead to the moral degeneration of the young, their corruption and bemusement, phenomena which are common to all the capitalist and revisionist countries of the world.

The Women's Union of Albania

The Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania, today the Women's Union of Albania, was born and tempered in the heat of the National Liberation War, when under the leadership of the Party, the women of Albania rose in the struggle against the nazi-fascist occupiers side by side their husbands, brothers and children.

At that epoch, the Albanian people were faced with the urgent task of fighting for their liberty. The Women's Union of Albania, while having this supreme task foremost in its program, also expressed the most ardent aspirations of women. As a result, it grew rapidly and became a large and powerful organization of the women's masses.

The first women's anti-fascist councils were set up immediately after the 1st National Liberation Conference which was held at Peza in September 1942, and to which the women sent their delegates. It was the first time they were represented to such historic meetings of national importance.

In April 1943 was formed in Tirana the Provisional Central Council of the Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania, which started the publishing of its organ *The Albanian Woman*. This organization took part in the historic Congress of Përmet, held in May 1944, where women were also elected to the first supreme organs of self-government of the country.

On November 4, 1944, on the eve of the liberation of the country, the Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union held its first congress under the slogan «For the complete liberation of the Homeland, for a free, democratic people's Albania».

The Women's Union of Albania is a democratic organization which rallies the large women's masses in order to enable them, under the leadership of the PLA, to carry on their activity in all fields for the strengthening of the social and state regime of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

It cultivates among the masses of Albanian women the patriotism which has always characterized them, educates

them in a spirit of solidarity with all the progressive women of the world, in struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, for the affirmation of the rights of woman and child.

The Women's Union of Albania, concerned about the active participation of women in the political, economic and social life of the country, about making them resolute fighters for the building of socialism in Albania, works incessantly for their ideological, cultural and professional education, tries to eradicate from their consciousness all left-overs of fanaticism and prejudices inherited from the regimes of the past, cultivates in them the socialist attitude towards work and social property, and strives to make them capable of leading the diverse sectors of activity in the life of the country.

The Women's Union of Albania takes particular care of the education of the young generation, assisting mothers to rear physically healthy children, affectionate and cultivated, dedicated to work, devoted to the country, to peace and friendship among the peoples.

The Women's Union of Albania plays a first-rate role in the struggle for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman.

Side by side with men

The three K's (Kinder — children, Kirche — church, and Küche — kitchen) are the three limits the German bourgeoisie had set to the life of woman. Such limits to the free development of the personality of woman exist in all capitalist countries and make her the slave of the home.

The lot of the Albanian woman before Liberation differed from that of the woman of many other countries only in it that it was even worse. Her existence was made even gloomier by the combined effects of patriarchal domination, the feudal yoke and capitalist exploitation to which the disastrous consequences of five centuries of Ottoman rule were added.

Women were deprived of the right of expression, they had no say in family matters and even less in social affairs. They lived secluded within the walls of their homes and, in the regions where they worked, they came out only to serve as beasts of burden. Women and girls were not consulted even over questions they were most concerned about, such as

their betrothal or marriage. These matters, which had to do with the laws of private property, were decided on the basis of private interest. The sale of girls, covertly or overtly, betrothals arranged between parents at the most tender age of those interested, and of course without asking for the subsequent consent of the girls, were the general rule.

Neglected at home by their fathers, husbands and sons and, outside by the whole society, women were reduced to ignorant creatures, physically handicapped and morally debased. The law and the custom, the state and religion had raised all sorts of barriers to keep them in a condition of slavery.

In the course of dozens of centuries, the state and the law, ethics and religion, philosophy and art have been used by the exploiting classes to justify and perpetuate the enslavement of woman. At all times, statesmen and thinkers, sociologists and theologians, moralists and writers — all those influencing public opinion, have vied with each other in ensuing the most humiliating judgements on woman and trying to justify the domination and superiority of man over her. Some of them base this alleged superiority of man on the physiological peculiarities of the two sexes. «The natural weakness of woman's organism,» August Comte explained, «is an eternal basis of inequality between the two sexes.» Some others consider «intellectual diversities» the source of this supposed inferiority. Others still explain this state of things with the history of development of science, philosophy and art. Great scientists, philosophers and writers, they claim, have always and everywhere been men, which according to them would prove the eternal superiority of man over woman.

In fact, the more profound causes of the domination of man over woman should be sought not in biological or psychological factors but in social factors, not in the Holy Writ but in the history of civilization.

At the dawn of human society, when man had just begun to take his first steps, woman was a respected being, an active member of the social fabric. The legends of the proud amazons perhaps are an echo of this distant epoch in which women's work and thinking were held by the society in just as high regard as man's, if not more. This was the epoch of what was called the order of matriarchy, a stage all the peoples of the world have gone through.

Then, after human society was divided into classes, one

finds everywhere the woman fettered, oppressed and exploited, relegated to a secondary role in the affairs of society as well as family. «...Whether at the epoch of the Greek civilization,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «or the Roman civilization, in the Middle Ages or in the time of the Renaissance, or even in modern times, in the refined contemporary bourgeois civilization, woman is the most enslaved and oppressed of human creatures, the most exploited and humiliated in all ways.» It is clear that the social factor, the emergence of private ownership, is the basis on which woman's enslavement by man rests. «The abolition of maternal right,» Engels pointed out, «was the greatest defeat of the female sex in history. Man took the reins of power in his hands, and woman lost her respected position even in her own home, to become a servant, a slave of the whims of her husband, a simple means of reproduction. This humiliating position of woman, which appears in all its nakedness especially with the Greeks of the heroic epoch and, even more markedly, of the classic epoch, has been afterwards embellished with fine words and if, at places, it appears in more softened form, it is not less real.»

The struggle for the emancipation of woman in Albania commenced as early as the first years of the National Liberation War, when women took to arms and, side by side with their brothers and husbands, fought for the liberation of the country and their own emancipation. The liberation of the country opened boundless perspectives to the Albanian women in all fields of life. It enabled them to profit from all material and cultural values and enjoy, the same as men, all the rights and liberties of the citizens of a socialist state.

After Liberation, the people's state power abrogated the old laws which sanctioned the discrimination against woman. In the new legislation, woman is proclaimed the equal of man: she enjoys the same rights in all fields — political, economic, social, cultural, etc.

But, as Lenin has pointed out more than once, «equality before the law does not yet mean equality in life». In order to achieve equality in life, for the emancipation of woman to be carried out in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, two conditions must be met: elimination, on the one hand, of private property and capitalist exploitation and, on the other, participation of woman in production. The attainment of these objectives under the people's state power

represents the greatest victory achieved by woman on the road to her emancipation. With the suppression of private property, it was made effectively possible for woman to enjoy all the liberties and rights proclaimed and legally guaranteed by the people's state power, which brought about a new conception of family, unknown to the bourgeoisie, a union founded on the purest sentiments and, at the same time, a relationship of complete freedom between husband and wife and between parents and children.

Abolition of private property and establishment of social ownership of the means of production, with the new conditions they created, favoured a large participation of women in production, indeed, made it absolutely necessary. As a result, the number of women has increased in all the branches of the economy without exception. In 1980 they accounted for 46 per cent of the total of workers as against 4 per cent in 1938. In 1980, 45 per cent of the working class were women and girls; in the sector of agriculture they made up 52 per cent of the members of agricultural cooperatives.

Exercising their right to work, the Albanian women take an active part in the creation of material and cultural values in all sectors of the life of the country. They also work in those branches of the economy which until then were considered as reserved only to men. Through the application of advanced technology in several production processes, manual work has been reduced considerably and the number of women employed in the sectors of mechanized production and construction has greatly increased. Likewise, in the countryside, women participate not only in all farming activities, but also in the mechanized sectors. This shows a radical transformation in the consciousness of women, their awareness of the great political importance of their participation in work. In the assignment to various jobs only one distinction is made between men and women: when a job may impair the health of woman as a mother. The Albanian woman has exposed the myth of woman's incapacity of participating in social production. Many women today have become brilliant examples of work. The right to work in all sectors has enabled woman to occupy a position equal to man's in the economic, political and social life of the country. The socialist construction is a great school which sanctions the equality of the Albanian woman and causes men to see in them their close comrades and collaborators. Side by side with their menfolk, the Al-

banian women build factories, plants, new villages and towns, contribute to the advancement of production, science, technology and culture, thereby occupying the place belonging to them in the society.

The participation of women in social work has gone hand in hand with the raising of their level of education. In the first years following the liberation of the country, their level of education and professional skill was very low. About 94 per cent of them were illiterate and most of them had no skill or profession.

Today 52 per cent of pupils and 50 per cent of students are of the female sex.

Thanks to these successes, women have become a great force in the political life of the country. Today women make up about 30 per cent of the party membership, and 33 to 46 per cent of those elected to the People's Assembly, the people's councils, the Supreme Court and the mass organizations.

Along with the constantly increasing mass character of the participation of women in the political life of the country one notices, especially in the recent years, increasingly more women in posts of responsibility in various sectors of education and culture. Reactionary concepts about the «natural incapacity of woman», her «inferiority» have been smashed everywhere today and public opinion is accustomed to consider not only the participation of women in the political and social life, but also their leading work in important sectors, as in the order of things.

With the creation of conditions of equality between husband and wife in the family a great step forward was taken for the emancipation of the Albanian woman. The right to have their say on family matters has marked for thousands of women a major transformation of their condition and played an important political role by preparing them to avail themselves of their rights and assume their responsibilities as conscious socialist citizens, fully and actively participating in social life.

The law on marriage and divorce, the Family Code were issued in the first years of the people's power. All bourgeois laws which curtailed the rights of women were declared null and void.

By virtue of the new, socialist law woman enjoys equal rights with man in regard to family property, she can freely

choose her profession and her residence; the union of the consorts rests entirely on mutual understanding.

The two consorts exercise equal parental rights.

Civil marriage is the only recognized by law.

Finally, we must add that the Introduction to the Constitution of the PSR of Albania reads that «In the unceasing process of the revolution, the Albanian woman won equality in all fields, became a great social force and is advancing towards her complete emancipation.» On the other hand, Article 41 of the Constitution stresses:

«The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activity, as well as in the family.»

THE CLASS COMPOSITION OF SOCIETY

Prior to Liberation the Albanian society offered a picture full of contrasts deriving from social inequality. On the one hand, a handful of rich and all-powerful people led a life of luxury, on the other the majority of the population lived in poverty, deprived of the most elementary rights and condemned to work for the rich all their life. At that time, the ruling classes consisted of the feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie of town and country. The peasantry represented the most numerous class; the working class was still young and small in numbers.

After Liberation, private ownership of the means of production, the main base of the division of the society into antagonistic classes, was abolished and, along with it, the exploiting classes were also liquidated. As a result, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania a society without exploiters and exploited was founded.

The Albanian socialist society is composed of two classes of working people — the workers and the peasants, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia issued mainly from these two classes.

The working class

In the achievement of the strategic tasks of the socialist revolution in Albania, at all the stages of its development, the working class has affirmed itself as the essential motor force of the revolution, the class which sets the tone to the whole life of the country.

The Albanian working class, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, has tempered itself in revolutionary battles. In a highly militant spirit, although still small in numbers, it engaged in the National Liberation War and, after Liberation, in the struggle for the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism. In the process of these battles, it has radically transformed the country, built the economic base of socialism, liquidated the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man. It has transformed itself in the process, has not only increased in number but also and above all tempered itself politically and ideologically, formed its class consciousness and enhanced its role as the leading class of the socialist society.

After Liberation, the Albanian working class has ceased to exist as a class deprived of the means of production, selling its labour and exploited by the capitalists. It has been transformed into an entirely new class, which wields the means of production jointly with the entire people and which now is liberated of all exploitation. It has socialist state property as its economic base. It is the vanguard class of the society, the leading force of the development of the latter. Hence it is to it that the leadership of the state in Albania appertains. In alliance with the working peasantry, it plays an essential and decisive role in the socialist transformation of the country, in the ceaseless development of our socialist revolution.

In the present stage of the work for the complete construction of the socialist society, when essential tasks remain to be carried out, such as perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat, complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism, elimination of all the blemishes of the feudal and bourgeois society, and strengthening of the socialist society, and of communist morality for the formation of the new man of the socialist society, the working class, in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry, plays a leading role, it is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The growth and development of the working class in the years of the people's state power, represents a great victory of historic importance. From the exploited and oppressed class comprising hardly 15,000 workers, most of them apprentices and craftsmen in the artisan and commercial sector, it was in the past, it has incessantly increased and numbers some hundreds of thousands in its ranks today. The working class

has grown in number, which has profoundly modified the social structure of the whole population.

The working class has been transformed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Today the overwhelming majority of workers are educated, cultivated and politically tempered. They have become specialists in advanced technology. At present the dominant figure among the working class is the worker with at least a medium education.

Through a comprehensive system of schools and courses, the state is coping with the task of forming cadres of working class extraction. Dozens of thousands of workers today attend diverse categories of evening schools and higher institutes destined for working people. Dozens of thousands of workers have improved or are improving their technical and professional skills in qualification courses. A system of ideological Marxist-Leninist education of the working class is working for some years now. A vast network of cultural institutions, clubs, cinemas, libraries, etc has also been created to widen the cultural horizon of workers.

The raising of the level of education and technical and professional skills has stimulated the creative thinking of the working class. As a result, hundreds of thousands of proposals have, especially in the recent years, been made by the working class for the rationalization of production, the improvement of the socialist organization of work, the construction of machinery and equipment, the mechanization of more toilsome operations, the production of new articles, the setting up of new production lines and workshops through a more rational exploitation of the internal resources of enterprises, all of which is aimed to prevent an excessive burdening of the state budget, to strengthen the savings regime, etc. Thanks to the persistent work of the working class, most of these proposals have been applied and brought the national economy considerable profit. The movement of innovators and rationalizers, which today comprises dozens of thousands of workers and specialists, has become a very important factor, which has allowed to cut down on imports and increase exports, to find appropriate solutions to many problems concerning production, the management of the economy and the socialist organization of work.

The numerical increase of the working class, the development of its political activity and the uplift of its cultural and technical level have strengthened the dictatorship of the

proletariat, consolidated the leading role of the working class, the monolithic alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

The working class of Albania is the main force for the development and deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution; it has waged the class struggle in the correct, Marxist-Leninist road, aimed, above all, against manifestations of bureaucracy for deepening the line of the masses and promoting the revolutionary class education of working people. In the class struggle waged against all manifestations of a conservative or liberal character, against the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, our working class has stood in the forefront of this struggle, leads it and, by its example, by encouraging and inspiring the other working people of town and countryside, makes a major contribution to it.

In the PSR of Albania, the working class, the champion of the great ideals of socialism and communism, is the more revolutionary and more progressive part of the society. It is the main force, the backbone of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The best representatives of the working class are elected to the leading organs of the Party, of the state power and mass organizations. Many managers and executives have come from the ranks of the working class. The cadres of the Albanian People's Army are in their great majority sons of the working class. Workers coming directly from production are more and more being integrated into the organs of the state, the economy, education, culture, etc.

The working class has its say on all major ideological, political, economic and social problems. It leads broad political campaigns for electing the organs of the people's state power, puts forth its candidatures, and gives its vote for its finest sons and daughters. The directives of five-year plans are always submitted to broad discussion by the working class. With its proposals and suggestions, it takes a direct part in the planning of the national economy.

The lofty mission devolving on the working class in the construction of socialism and communism and the role it plays in this field impose on it the duty of exercising its control over all the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a period of ceaseless development of the class struggle in all fields, on a national and international scale.

Control by the working class

The control exercised by the working class is inseparable from its leading role and the role of its Party in the entire life of the country. Immediately following the establishment of the people's state power, when it was still small in number and had not yet attained the ideological and political level it has today, the working class exercised its control and its leading functions mainly through its Party and state, which, in the final analysis, boiled down to a control by the working class itself, as this control was exercised on its behalf and in its interest. But at the same time the working class also exercised in various forms its direct control, which it has constantly strengthened and improved.

Worker control has developed and strengthened in the course of the successive stages of the socialist development of the country. In the present conditions it is going through a new development and rising to a higher level.

Direct control by the working class is a conscious activity of the latter, a form of its participation in the solution of problems of socialist construction, a vivid manifestation of proletarian democracy in action, a weapon of the struggle against bureaucracy and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois left-overs in the consciousness of people. It is a movement in which the ideological influence of the working class makes itself felt on the other strata of the working people, as well as a very effective form of education of the workers themselves in the class spirit.

Control by the working class is a permanent method whereby the working class carries out its leading role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the period of construction of socialism and communism, and this control will continue as long as manifestations of bureaucracy and ideologies alien to socialism continue to exist. The main targets of the struggle of the working class are bureaucracy and different left-overs of the old ideology in the consciousness of people. Worker control is one of the surest means wielded by the working class to keep the dictatorship of the proletariat in its hands and to ensure the carrying out of the line and program of its party. It is not a simple process of «control» but a component of the revolutionary ideology and practice, a process of struggle for the application of the line of the Party.

The struggle against bureaucracy, against conceptions and actions alien and hostile to socialism, opposed to the vital interests of the masses and socialism and weakening, no matter how slightly, the dictatorship of the proletariat, impose on the working class the duty of exercising its control.

The revolutionization of the whole life of the country, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, cannot be carried out without the incessant enhancement of the leading role of the working class, without its control being established and deepened under all circumstances, everywhere and on everything and everything. This is a sure guarantee for the successful and ceaseless development of the socialist revolution to bar the road to all possibility of revisionist and bourgeois degeneration. Here, direct control by the working class is an objective necessity.

The working class exercises its control in three main forms: from above — in the form of control by the Party and the state; from below — in the form of direct control by the working class on the activity of administration, and parallel — in the form of mutual control, as practised by the workers and other working people. These three forms serve the same aim. That is why they are not only in perfect unity between them, but also intertwined, relying on and completing each other.

State control, which is exercised from above on the activity of all and everybody, is in its essence control by the working class for it is carried out by the organs of its dictatorship, on its behalf and in its interest. All underestimation of this control weakens in fact the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus the working class itself in the PSR of Albania not only demands that this control be strengthened and perfected, but also that it be given all possible assistance.

State control in Albania is not merely a function incumbent only upon the supervisors and inspectors specialized in state economic and financial control. State control is exercised by everybody occupying a post of responsibility in state and economic organs within the limits of his competences, especially by people elected to these organs by the masses. Everyone charged with the exercise of state control has also the duty to submit its own activity to the control by the working class; so he controls but is at the same time controlled by the working class, by the working masses, as well as by the superior state organs, or his direct superior.

Party and state control is, in the final analysis, worker control, but it can by no means replace direct control by the working class. Direct control by the working class means direct participation of workers in the solution of political, economic, cultural, social and other problems inside and outside the enterprise, in the whole life of the country. By means of this control the working class makes its influence felt on the people's intelligentsia, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, and the administrative apparatus for the elimination of all the blemishes of the old society and the implantation of the proletarian ideology and morality. Direct control by the working class in all spheres of people's activity is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the purity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its constant strengthening.

Today direct control by the working class has a mass character and is multi-form; it has been raised to a new, higher degree. It has been transformed into a powerful movement from below aimed at discovering ways and means for the working class to exercise its supervision directly and everywhere, on everybody and everything. Worker control is on constant ascent and being transformed from a narrow control through groups and commissions into a larger and more massive control, going over from petty problems to more important problems, from action within the enterprise to action outside it, from the practice of simple campaigns to a more systematic activity, from the mere establishment of facts to more active action for resolving problems, from a control circumscribed within offices to public confrontations and debate, from an action organized and inspired from above to an action carried out on the initiative of the working class itself.

Worker control is exercised in the first place within each enterprise, on all its activity, from that of the director to that of the less skilled worker. The workers work out the plan of production, control its execution, promote the uninterrupted revolutionization of production. At trade-union meetings the director of the enterprise renders account from time to time before the workers on various problems which have to be solved for work to make progress. At the enterprise, the worker is not a mere pair of hands, he is above all a political man interested in the success of work, and not only in questions of an economic order, but in all political, ideological, cultural and social problems; he is not interested in

trifles, but in the fundamental problems of work; he does not confine himself to detecting shortcomings and failures, but sees to it that everything is remedied on time.

On the other hand, the working class does not limit its activity within the walls of the enterprise. It does not consider its role of leadership and control as limited to problems of production, which would mean sliding into economism, but extends its operation to all spheres of activity, giving priority to politics. It sees to it that work goes on well everywhere, that its spirit prevails everywhere, that the whole life of the country is pervaded by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of its Party. This is best achieved through the large-scale participation of the workers in the activity of state organs, political, social and cultural organizations, through their active participation in broad popular discussions, conferences, consultations, meetings, scientific sessions, literary and artistic conventions, inquires, etc.

Thanks to its experience, the working class lends an important, effective and concrete support to the peasantry for the organization of control from below. Hence, as the class in power, it exercises its control on the countryside, too. This control is a means of socialist education of the cooperativist peasantry, serving to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, to reduce the essential distinctions between the city and the countryside, to consolidate cooperativist democracy even more. This control is exercised in a spirit of comradeship and with the broad participation of the mass of cooperativists. Practice has produced many forms of direct action and control by the working class in the countryside. Let us mention, among others, the contribution of the workers who have their families or live themselves in the countryside, the cooperation between work and production centres, on the one hand, and agricultural cooperatives, on the other, the sending of workers and cadres to the countryside for a certain time, various mass actions and campaigns, etc.

The working class plays an equally major role in the field of education and culture. Worker control in this sector assumes great importance for the education of the people's intelligentsia, for the struggle against manifestations of intellectualism, technocratism, place-seeking and mean ambition, which are alien to the spirit of socialism, so that its creative activity and work be pervaded by the ideology of the working

class, the line of the Party. But this control also serves to make the cadres and the intelligentsia even more aware of the fact that it is the working class that is in power in Albania, that is the leading force in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make them even more conscious of their role and place in the service of the working class, of the cause of socialism and the revolution.

Direct control by the working class becomes the more effective by the fact that the latter is becoming ever better aware that the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism and communism, the elimination of the danger of the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism depend, in the final analysis, on the leading role it plays in the society.

One of the features of worker control is that it knows no limits and is exercised over everybody and everything, that it is therefore very comprehensive. All without exception — cadres, organs, councils, administrations, commissions, or workers, are subject to direct control by the working class because nobody, whether a leading cadre, civil servant, engineer, technician, squad leader, teacher, artist, worker, communist, or other, is immune against bourgeois or petty-bourgeois left-overs. So the idea that worker control is exercised over everybody by the working class as a whole and not by some of its members alone, even over the workers themselves, and that it proceeds from the ideology of the working class, from its vital interests, is best expressed.

All these forms of action illustrate the great and decisive vanguard role played by the working class in Albania. Conscious of its historic mission, the working class tries to raise its level of political and ideological formation ever higher, to assimilate Marxism-Leninism, the decisions of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha ever better, to imbue itself with the class ideology ever more deeply, to raise its revolutionary vigour and boldness. «Our working class,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is in command and it has all the means and all the possibilities to build a classless society, to build socialism and communism. But to be able to carry out these tasks, it must first temper itself, and then temper the masses according to its example.»

cooperativist The cooperativist peasantry

Before Liberation the peasantry made up the overwhelming majority of the Albanian population. Certainly, it was backward culturally but it preserved valuable revolutionary traditions, which it had created during its ceaseless struggle for freedom and land, against the oppression and exploitation by the feudal landlords, the merchants, the money-lenders, during its struggle against the former anti-popular regimes and, above all, the foreign oppressors. Hence, it became an essential source and the armed force of the National Liberation War, the surest support of the working class and the Communist Party of Albania, displaying a lofty patriotism and heroism in the course of the struggle for liberation. Only the rich peasantry and the village notables, in the hope of preserving their privileges, linked themselves with the traitor organizations of the bourgeoisie and landlords and the foreign invaders, becoming their main support in the countryside.

After Liberation, the peasantry, which until then had been a class of dispersed small producers based on private property, individual labour and primitive means of work, a class exploited by the beys, aghas, kulaks, merchants and money-lenders, transformed itself into an entirely new class. The peasantry in Albania is free of exploitation, its work and resources rest on cooperativist social property, collective labour and advanced means of work. In close alliance with the working class and under its leadership, the working peasantry takes an active part in the governing of the socialist state.

The establishment of the people's state power in Albania has put an end to the exploitation of the countryside by the town, to the skinning of the peasantry by the exploiting classes. The town, once the centre of exploitation of the peasantry, has become today a centre of economic, political and cultural assistance for the countryside. The powerful assistance the town has given the peasantry to liquidate the beys, aghas and kulaks, as well as the tractors and other farming machines it has systematically equipped the agricultural cooperatives with, have strengthened the alliance of the peasantry with the working class, its friendship with it.

Thanks to the socialist town, the countryside has been provided with new and powerful means. The links of industry with agriculture are being strengthened from day to day. There is no trace of the former mistrust, indeed hostility the countryside nurtured against the town. The interests of the workers and peasants converge on one common goal — the strengthening of the socialist regime and the construction of socialism.

The new working conditions created in agricultural cooperatives, which are big socialist enterprises, have brought about radical transformations in the countryside. The darkness and ignorance which reigned in the villages in the past were dispelled for good. Today all the peasant youth have at least an eight-year education, with all young peasants having finished middle or higher schools.

The completion of collectivization as well as the uninterrupted development and strengthening of the cooperativist system have created new social and material conditions which have, in turn, brought about the transformation of the consciousness of the peasantry. The feeling of collective property and labour, that is the spirit of socialist collectivity, has germinated and grown strong. The peasant, who formerly pinned his hopes on his individual property and work, now sees his future only in collective property and work. If at the moment of the setting up of the cooperative the peasant tried to retain as much land as possible in his individual possession, subsequently he reduced his individual plot to the minimum; in the future, when he is fully convinced that common property is capable of meeting all his needs, he will give it up altogether of his own free will. If, even yesterday, it dedicated a good part of his attention and effort to his own individual plot, today he devotes himself entirely to common property. The same process took place in regard to the livestock raised by the cooperativists in their individual stables. The feeling of socialist collectivity is more and more pervading the consciousness of the cooperativists according to the principle «All for one, one for all». The revolutionary movement of the cooperativists of the plains to assist their fellow cooperativists in the remote mountain regions with cadres and materials, as well as the voluntary exchange of workers for several months between the cooperatives of the North and those of the South, were best evidence of this moral evolution. The formation of new concepts is reflected in several fields of

the everyday life and activity of the cooperativists, such as education, culture, health service, way of life, social problems, communal services, etc. The collectivization of agriculture has created large possibilities for the participation of woman in social production and paved the road for her economic and social emancipation in society and family. In this way, an uninterrupted revolution goes on in the consciousness of the Albanian peasants.

On the basis of the successes achieved, new tasks are posed: that of the ever deeper revolutionization of production and education, with the aim of reducing and then liquidating altogether the essential distinctions between the town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the peasantry, as well as inequalities in the development of the cooperatives of the plains and those of the mountains; that of deepening the ideological and cultural revolution by promoting revolutionary movements, developing internal democracy and implementing the line of the masses, stepping up the struggle against backward customs; religious beliefs, conservatism, bureaucracy, etc, and stepping up the process of socialization of the domestic economy.

The completion of electrification in 1971, which is accompanied with the spread of the radio and television to the remotest villages, as well as the utilization of electric appliances in the process of production and in the domestic economy, the further revolutionization of the school, the extension of the road and telephone network to the remotest villages, etc. have given a vigorous impulse to the improvement of the material and socio-cultural life in the socialist countryside. It is characteristic of the present situation in Albania that both the peasants of the plains and those of the mountains, those who were the first to join the cooperatives and those who did it later, are marching side by side on the same road. Here must be stressed the great advance made in this direction by the cooperatives of the remote mountain areas, where the fight against the feeling of private property and the liquidation of the economic and socio-cultural backwardness are relatively more rapid than in the other areas. This is explained by the fact that collectivization in these areas has been realized in particular, and far more favourable, conditions.

Thus the activity of the people's power, the assistance of

the town and the working class, the setting up of large socialist farms are constantly changing the face of our countryside and the mentality of the cooperativist peasantry.

The unbreakable alliance of the working class with the peasantry

The alliance of the working class with the peasantry is a particular form of collaboration between the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, an alliance forged in the National Liberation War and the struggle for social emancipation and the construction of socialism and communism in Albania. It is the foundation on which the people's state power rests.

The alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fundamental interests of the working class coincide fully with those of the peasantry — both the one and the other are interested in the disappearance of exploitation and the construction of the socialist society. This is the foundation of their alliance.

The leading role in this alliance belongs to the working class. The working class, with its party and its ideology, is in a position to lead the whole life of the country, is just as interested as the peasantry in reducing the distinctions between the town and the countryside, in establishing socialist relations in the countryside and perfecting them further, strengthening even more the fraternal friendship uniting these two classes.

The establishment of a correct relationship between the respective roles of the working class and the labouring peasantry is a question of fundamental importance for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

The measures taken by the people's power for the development of the countryside have brought the peasantry to consider the dictatorship of the proletariat its own state power, because it is the first state power which has fulfilled its aspirations and centuries-old dreams, which has given it the land and liberty, has pulled it out of misery and backwardness and guaranteed its rapid progress in all fields, on the road to socialism.

To the aid given by the working class and to its concern for the overall development of the countryside, the cooperativist peasantry has responded by mobilizing itself ever better at work and constantly increasing agricultural and livestock yields, thus ever better fulfilling the needs of the workers and industry for these products.

This has had its effect on the ever increasing strengthening of the alliance of the peasantry with the working class and the establishment of a powerful militant unity and a community of interests between them. The total collectivization of agriculture and the great work done for the strengthening of cooperatives, for the rapid development of agriculture and the countryside in general, under the slogan «Agriculture is the concern of all», have given a new content to the relations between the town and the countryside and raised these relations to a higher degree. In these circumstances, more favourable conditions have been created for the working class to give larger and more all-round assistance to the countryside. The working class, not only through its state, but also directly, as the leading class, is actively contributing to the solution of problems of a political, ideological, economic and cultural order, proper of the socialist system and regarding the countryside.

The movement to assist the countryside has taken many forms. One of them is that of the workers going voluntarily to the remotest mountain regions in order to work and live there with the peasants. With their example and their attitude towards work they implant the proletarian ideology among the peasants, combat petty-bourgeois, feudal, religious, and patriarchal concepts, thus introducing a new style of work and a new way of life into these relatively backward areas.

The strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, the expansion of their production, the social and cultural development of the countryside, the massive introduction of elements of the urban way of life, like electric light, cinematography, hearths of culture, shops, public services, small workshops, etc. into the rural areas have greatly increased the need for specialists in the countryside. In this direction too, the class solidarity of the working class with the peasantry and its assistance to the peasantry are very significant. Many cooperativists have been welcome guests to thousands of workers of the town, where they have stayed two or three months to learn the skills of electricians, tailors, turners, joiners, etc.

The actions of the working class to come to the assistance of agricultural cooperatives during major seasonal campaigns have, in particular, a marked mass character. Dozens of thousands of town workers go to agricultural cooperatives and, side by side with the cooperativists, work in the fields — reaping, threshing, as well as opening up new land, building irrigation systems, etc. while their comrades, who have remained in the factories or offices, charge themselves to complete their tasks.

The scope of activity of the working class in the countryside is very broad. A broad ideological struggle is waged there against individualism to strengthen collective property. to create a socialist revolutionary attitude towards work. An active struggle is also waged against left-overs of vain beliefs and backward customs to inculcate and consolidate the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, to bring about the adoption of new socialist habits conforming to our time, to ensure the complete emancipation of woman, etc. Going to the countryside, the workers take an active part in the ideological struggle through the revolutionary example, vigour, initiative, spirit, and heroism of their class and its lofty moral qualities.

All these forms of action have still more strengthened the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, thus consolidating the political base of the people's state power.

The alliance of the working class with the peasantry is sanctioned in the new Constitution of the PSR of Albania. The introduction to this Constitution reads: «In socialist Albania, the working class is the leading class of the state and the society. New relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have been established between the two friendly classes of our society — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia.»

Article 2 of the Constitution reads:

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people round the Party of Labour of Albania and it has as its foundation the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class.»

The people's intelligentsia

The intelligentsia in Albania does not constitute a class apart. In fact, most of it is derived directly from the working class and the labouring peasantry and does not occupy a place apart in social production. Before Liberation, most of the few existing intellectuals were in the service of the ruling classes to help them enrich themselves and strengthen their hold over the state. And this could not be otherwise, as the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals came from the ruling classes of the country.

The people's revolution divided the intelligentsia into two camps: a number of intellectuals lined themselves up with the foreign occupiers and the local traitors, but their overwhelming majority joined the working people in their difficult struggle for the liberation of the country, and then for the construction of socialism.

However, this part of the former intelligentsia which chose the road of the revolution was very small numerically. For the tasks of the building of the country to be carried out, a new people's intelligentsia, an army of scientists, engineers, chemists, teachers, writers, artists, etc. had to be created. And it was precisely this intelligentsia that the working class and the cooperativist peasantry produced from their ranks; it was educated by the Party in a revolutionary spirit and it never ceased to make its contribution to the cause of the construction of the new society.

The revolutionary intelligentsia does not know of exploitation, it serves the working people, the cause of socialism, and all the possibilities have been created for it to apply its knowledge profitably.

The people's state power has given primary importance to the formation of cadres. In 1939 Albania had only 380 cadres of higher training and about 2,000 cadres of medium training, of which 1,600 teachers, while today there are 47,500 cadres of higher and 131,500 cadres of medium and professional training, and higher training come out of the Albanian universities each year. Our institutes of higher education train cadres of different branches, according to the needs of the country.

The intelligentsia has always been the object of high appreciation in Albania. It plays an important role in the

successful development of the process of the complete construction of socialist society. Without its participation, this process cannot be carried forward successfully. Its world outlook, its objectives and its interests determine its links with the working class and the labouring peasantry.

Still, if the people's intelligentsia is the intelligentsia of a socialist society, it is not immune against the influences of the bourgeois ideology. These influences threaten to engender intellectualist concepts and stands, which may be expressed in the tendency of the intellectual to isolate himself from the masses, to separate theory from practice, from life, from the problems of the construction of socialism, to overlook the role and experience of the masses, to overestimate the role of intellectual work and those who devote themselves to it, and to look down on manual work and those engaged in it. Thus in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, particular attention is devoted to the education and moulding of the people's intelligentsia.

In the crucible of work

One of the more important aspects of the socialist relations of production is the establishment of a correct relationship between leaders and masses in all the fields of life and activity.

Historical experience and everyday practice have clearly demonstrated that in the capitalist society the existence of contradictions between the working masses, on the one hand, and the leading cadres, on the other, is inevitable; but this contradiction exists in the socialist society as well. But while in the capitalist society this contradiction assumes an antagonistic character, it is a contradiction in the ranks of the people, for the cadres serve the interests of the working masses, and the relationship between cadres and masses is built on the basis of friendly and fraternal collaboration and not on the basis of exploitation, as in the capitalist society. It must be stressed, however, that even in the socialist order, if the contradiction between the cadres and the masses is not resolved on the correct road, it transforms itself ineluctably from a non-antagonistic contradiction in the ranks of the people into an antagonistic, hostile, irreducible contradiction, and the cadres begin to oppose themselves to the masses, to

oppose themselves to their interests, turning gradually into exploiters of the latter, and thereby the socialist relations of production are turned into relations between exploiters and exploited, in other words, into capitalist relations. This is what is occurring in the revisionist countries today.

A whole number of measures has been taken in order to prevent the bureaucratization of the intelligentsia. Such are, among others, rotation of cadres from leading posts to the base, and from administration to production, and vice-versa, promotion of many production workers, especially elements from the working class, to leading organs, lowering of higher wages and harmonization of the standard of living of the cadres with that of the masses, deepening of the line of the masses in the distribution of cadres, strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist ideological-political education of the cadres and the struggle against manifestations of technocratism, etc. Meanwhile, the main measure which prevents the cadres from isolating themselves from the masses, from counter-posing themselves to them, from transforming themselves from the servants of the people, as they should be, into their rulers, consists in their direct participation in production work.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, regular participation, to a determined degree, in direct production work of all the cadres of the administration, of the state apparatus and organs, the economy, the Party, and social organizations, of the army, state enterprises and agricultural co-operatives, and the intelligentsia, with the exception of those aged or impaired by their state of health or physically disabled, has been raised to a norm of social life. When doing physical work, the brigade or section leader, the engineer or director, the accountant or the manager, whoever they may be, work side by side with the workers, and do not distinguish themselves from them.

A number of important initiatives have been taken in this direction by the cadres and the intelligentsia. They have met with broad support all over the country and have been transformed into a powerful revolutionary mass movement.

«These commendable initiatives,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «proceed from a high ideological and political awareness, because those who take them up and carry them out merge with the masses, reduce the gap between mental and manual work... These initiatives revolutionize even more concepts on leading work, establish norms of a profound

revolutionary Marxist-Leninist content on these questions...»
 «The cadres must roll up their sleeves and dirty their shoes in order to see not only from above but also from below the problems, needs and tasks of everybody, in order to shake off all left-overs of bureaucracy, all presumption and arrogance, the malady of commandeering and favouritism, which more often affect those who, vested with power, think of themselves as being the only ones capable of creating everything, as being indispensable for the progress of work.»

Participation of the leading cadres and all the intellectuals in direct production work represents an aspect of our social life of high value of principle, of vital importance for the cause of socialism.

Participation of the intelligentsia in production work serves the establishment, defence and perfecting of genuinely socialist relations in our society, the creation of a correct relationship between leading cadres and the broad working masses of the town and the countryside.

Participation of the leading cadres and intellectuals in production work represents an important problem of principle also because it contributes to the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people in the struggle for the construction of socialism; it prevents discrepancies between theory and practice and is a new, concrete and effective road for the progressive reduction of contrasts between manual and mental labour.

Chapter five

FEATURES OF A NEW ETHIC

There are phenomena which cannot be calculated or expressed in figures. The features of the new ethic established in Albania are precisely among those phenomena.

In the past there were many kinds of ethics — feudal, patriarchal and bourgeois, coexisting in the country. Sanctioned by the religious ideology, they were widespread and had struck deep roots among the various strata of the working people. They engendered retrogressive and reactionary concepts, traditions and customs, conservative and patriarchal norms of life. Their impact was such that even today, when the socio-economic base which gave them birth and fostered them has been overturned, they are still active and now and then make themselves felt in the life of the working masses. But in spite of all this and at the same time with the creation of a new, socialist world, a new man imbued with a high revolutionary spirit and ready to accomplish heroic feats and make any sacrifice for the Homeland and socialism, has been formed. The main characteristics of our new man are his spirit of collectivity, his socialist patriotism and internationalism, his new attitude towards work and socialist property.

The creation of the collective spirit is one of the major achievements of our people's revolution.

At a time when in a world based on savage competition and fierce struggle for existence, all means of enrichment are permissible and the principles «Homo homini lupus» and «Everybody for himself» reign supreme, the principles prevailing in the socialist order are totally different. Thus in Albania the well-being of each depends on the well-being of

all, the interests of all are placed on the same plane, relations of friendly mutual aid and comradely collaboration are everyday phenomena. In their mutual relations people act according to the motto «One for all, and all for one.»

The collective spirit underlies the militant unity of people animated by the same ideals and tending to the same goal. But the higher the goal the more powerful unity and the militant spirit become. The goal of the socialist society in the PSR of Albania is the construction of socialism, and then communism. This lofty goal unites the Albanians to a man, makes them invincible.

The strength of man in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania rests on his links with the collective. Outside the socialist society there exists no happiness for the individual.

On November 30, 1967 a powerful earthquake struck the districts of Dibra and Librazhd. About 3,500 houses were completely destroyed or made uninhabitable, 41 schools and many social and cultural buildings were gravely damaged. In total, 5,865 buildings were destroyed or damaged.

But the Party and the Government stood by the side of the earthquake victims right at the first moment; the whole Albanian people responded to the call with the high sentiment of patriotism and revolutionary solidarity which always characterizes them. The Party and Government decided that all the buildings destroyed or damaged by the earthquake would be rebuilt or repaired before the end of December 1967, that is in one month, and that all expenditure for this work would be met by the state. As well as this, the state gave immediate material aid to the more gravely affected families. Thousands of workers and specialists from all the regions of Albania formed brigades of volunteers and went to the quake-stricken regions to give them their fraternal aid. As a result, difficulties were overcome and the workers of those districts continued, together with the rest of our people, their struggle for the building of socialism.

The leaders of the Party and the state, Comrades Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour, Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other leaders of the Party and state went to the spot to express their sympathy with the victims and discuss the measures to be taken by the organs of the peoples' power.

Struggling against the bitter cold and the deep snow, the

brave and patriotic population of the Dibra and Librazhd regions, supported by thousands of volunteers who had come from all the corners of the country, worked with heroism and rebuilt or repaired their homes ahead of the schedule set by government decision.

If the earthquake wrecked the buildings, it could do nothing to the great heart of our man moulded by the Party. Life in socialist Albania is such that, like a huge family, all feel each other's joys and sorrows. The whole of Albania rose to the assistance of the quake-stricken areas. More than 19,400 people, of whom 5,293 specialists, took part in reconstruction work, doing a total of 388,500 working days. About 3,200,000 bricks, 1,190,000 tiles, 36,000 square metres of tarred cardboard, 24,000 square metres of pressed fibre plates, 16,000 square metres of asbestos-cement plates, 24,000 square metres of plates of compressed wood shavings, 3,500 square metres of agglomerated panels, 9,400 square metres of glass sheets, 95 tons of nails, 1,530 tons of limestone, 925 tons of cement, thousands of cubic metres of wood, 3,640 window and door frames, 6,070 concrete beams, 800 iron clamps, 65 pre-fabricated houses, 10,000 square metres of plastic sheets, as well as 1,300 vehicles, 42 tractors were dispatched to the quake-ravaged areas.

Two years later, in April 1969, the same calamity struck the districts of Fier, Tepelena, Vlora, Berat, Skrapar and Përmet. There, too, the damage was considerable. Once again, all rose to the assistance of the earthquake victims. The same as in November 1967, thousands of volunteers rushed from all the corners of the country to these districts to work there side by side with their brothers and sisters, victims of the disaster, and eliminate the consequences of the earthquake as soon as possible. Thousands of others decided of their free will to produce the materials necessary for the reconstruction of the affected areas. The same solidarity and heroism were displayed after the earthquake which struck a region of the Saranda district in December 1975.

In April 1979 an eight point-strong earthquake struck the northern districts of the PSR of Albania, resulting in great loss of life and disastrous material damage. By decision of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania immediate measures were taken to eliminate the consequences of this calamity within November 1, 1979. However, within the space of 5 months 14,522 houses and

economic and socio-cultural objects were repaired; another 2,441 houses and flats as well as 165 economic and socio-cultural objects were built anew; 47 kilometres of power lines and 44 kilometres of water pipes were reconstructed. A volume of building work worth 150 million leks was carried out and all the earthquake victims — about 100,000 people, moved into new or repaired houses, with all expenditure being defrayed by the state. The new dwellings were handed over to the earthquake victims as their personal property. All this great and expensive work was carried out with our own forces and means, without asking other countries for help.

In this case, too, the principle of voluntariness, a feature characteristic of communist work which has by now become traditional in our socialist Albania, expressed itself with great force. No sooner had the Party issued its call than everybody rose to his feet and rushed to the assistance of the quake-ravaged areas, so much so that the Government and the Central Commission for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake had to lay down strict norms and rules for the volunteers who were leaving from all over the country for the affected areas, otherwise the whole of Albania would have assembled there. There were ten times more applications to go to the Shkodra and Lezha districts than it was necessary.

The militant spirit of collectivity does not manifest itself only in difficult days. It is a permanent phenomenon of Albanian life. In 1967, the cooperativists of the Myzeqe plain, who have reached a relatively high level of production, decided to assist the remote mountain regions by sending to them a number of heifers and sheep and goats.

The initiative of the cooperativists of the Myzeqe plain found an immediate response among all the cooperativists of the country. It spread with lightning speed from the south to the north of the country. This is another major patriotic action which illustrates the great principle, «One for all and all for one».

For the Albanian people there are no higher interests than those of the whole society, of the whole people. In socialist Albania the concept «my life, my well-being» is more and more being pushed aside by the concept «our life, our well-being». The ceaseless struggle to eliminate discrepancies in the life of the country is taking a concrete shape in all fields. Love and true friendship of citizens, close links between

villages and towns, between the plains and the mountains, between North and South — these are the results achieved thanks to the steel unity of the Albanian people around their Party.

Another important link in the chain of initiatives which prove the vitality of the socialist collective spirit are the mass actions converged on one target which were started on December 14, 1969. That day 12,000 working people of the Dibra district set about work on a long line to dig a 17 kilometre-long irrigation canal. About 42,000 cubic metres of earth were shifted and the canal was completed in 8 hours.

In this action participated peasants and townspeople, men and women of all ages and professions, united by one common goal: the rapid development of agriculture which in Albania is the concern of the whole people.

The mass action of the Dibra district served as an example for the entire country. In hundreds and thousands, the workers of Tirana, Durrës, Gjirokastra, Puka, Kukës, Berat, Vlora, of the whole Albania, followed suit by organizing similar actions, and even on a larger scale, with more massive participations and with tighter schedules. The strength of hundreds of thousands of joined hands has made itself felt in all the corners of the country, it has criss-crossed it with canals of dozens of kilometres, has covered it with millions of fruit trees, with terraces which rise in tiers on all the hills of the Albanian coast. Everyday and every hour the map of Albania is changed by the skilful hands of its people.

In many areas of the country winter months are utilized for intensive work in opening up new land. Large numbers of workers are engaged in planting fruit trees. The press has frequent reports about vast areas planted to olives, orange, pear and apple trees.

Mass actions converged on one target, which are intended to resolve diverse problems of the economic and cultural development of the country, have spread to all villages and work sites. The spark kindled in the Dibra district has been transformed into a huge revolutionary flame which has set the entire country ablaze.

The new man in Albania is being moulded according to the lofty principles of socialist humanism. Humanism, of course, is a term which was also used in the past, but in Albania true humanism, socialist humanism, was born at the same time as the Party. It displayed itself in the course of

the partisan struggle, of the war for liberty, and grew stronger and stronger hand in hand with the growth of the Republic, of the new man. And this humanism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «... is becoming a mass phenomenon with each passing day. The ardent love of man for the working man is the essential characteristic of our socialist society. All that is done in our country through common social work has one noble goal — the defence of the Homeland, of the liberty of the people, the well-being of man, his happiness and moral beauty.»

There are many examples of this humanism. Such is, among others, the noble action of 40 workers of different ages of the MTS of the Tirana district. Genc Osmani, a boy of 16 years, worked as an apprentice at the MTS of Tirana. He had more than half of his body burnt in an accident. His life was in danger. His comrades were quick to give him first aid and carry him to the hospital. An operation of plastic surgery was needed. No sooner had his comrades been informed of it than they came together and decided to donate patches of their skin to save the boy's life. This was a clear, typical manifestation of socialist solidarity, of the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial of the Albanian man. These sentiments have not developed by chance. In the struggle for the strengthening of the Homeland, in the years when ceaseless difficulties had to be surmounted, the people of our country have developed an ardent love for one another, for the Homeland and liberty, sentiments which are indivisible components of communist morality. These powerful sentiments prompt our people to lofty examples of socialist humanism at all times and in all situations.

The lofty humanism of the workers of the MTS of Tirana became a source of inspiration for the working masses of the capital. It was accompanied by acts of the same kind — mass blood donations for the needs of health institutions. The trade-union organization of the state zootechnical enterprise was the first to take this initiative. The same readiness was displayed by hundreds of workers of other enterprises, in particular the Ali Kelmendi food-processing combine, the state fur-making enterprise, the MTS, the maternity home, etc. Thus an act of socialist humanism is followed by others, and from individual persons this humanism spreads and envelops the large masses. Their aim is to assist their comrades in need, those who want to participate, in the struggle

for the building of the new life. And our people have always been unsparing with their assistance to their comrades, even at the cost of their lives. This is what occurred, to mention only one case, with the eleven heroes of socialist labour of Batra. In a raging snowstorm they met their death looking for a lost comrade.

All those are examples which prove that the lofty feeling of socialist humanism is widespread among the masses of our people.

The new man in the PSR of Albania places general interest above everything.

This is one of the essential guarantees for the march of Albania towards socialism and communism.

In the socialist system, there are three kinds of interests: general interest, collective or group interest, and personal interest. In the Albanian society these interests are dialectically inter-connected. General interest comprises both collective and personal interest and is the basis on which they develop. Socialism does not negate personal interest, its existence is an objective phenomenon. But the important is that fulfilment of this interest should not be in opposition to general interest. In Albania, exploitation of man by man and, along with it the basis on which it rests, have been abolished, and there is no objective reason for personal interest to be opposed to general interest. So the premises have been created for a correct harmonization and combination of general interest with individual interest. This is also reflected in an economic policy which is aimed at a just sharing of social production, a just distribution and redistribution of the national income.

The harmonization of these different kinds of interests and the resolution of the contradictions opposing them to each other is always done on the basis of the priority of general interest over collective or personal interest, of the subordination of personal interest to general interest. This is a principle emanating from the very nature of socialism and characterizing the entire life of the country. Application of this principle enables a more correct combination of personal interest with general interest, of immediate interest with long-term interest in order to ensure a constant improvement of the well-being of the working people.

In the present stage, the Party of Labour of Albania has stepped up the struggle in this direction, by combining the

ideological education of the masses with their practical revolutionary activity.

The relationship between these different types of interests in the socialist order also determines the relationship between material and moral incentives. Material incentives for the working people represent a form of action to promote production, to distribute the objects of consumption according to the work done by each and to make the improvement of the well-being dependent on the labour of the working people. At the same time, they are used as an important means for the education of the masses with a socialist attitude towards work, for their active mobilization in the construction of the socialist society.

Incentives of a new type, moral incentives, also appear in the socialist society. The moral incentive prompts the workers to toil in the interest of the society, to constantly develop their thought, their energies and their creative talent for the good of the people. In socialist Albania, the workers and peasants work and produce for themselves, for their own and their children's happiness, as well as the prosperity of the entire society. So it is their consciousness, first of all, that prompts them to fulfil their tasks. That is why moral incentives occupy first place, go before material incentives.

Evidence of this are the many examples of heroism at work, the vigorous development of the movement for inventions and rationalizations, the initiatives of the workers to renounce many additional remunerations. Of more than a hundred forms of material incentives formerly practised, only a very small number has remained, and this great reduction is due to the initiative of the workers themselves. At the same time, it must be stressed that, despite this reduction, inventions and rationalizations have proliferated, which shows that in our socialist society moral incentives are stronger than material incentives.

The moral incentive is a factor which strengthens the features of communist morality among the workers, without which the socialist society cannot advance.

The priority given to moral incentives over material incentives does not exclude the latter. On the contrary, they are combined with each other. Parallel with moral incentives, material incentives, in other words, remunerations according to quantity and quality of work done, are also perfected. In the present stage, this perfecting of material incentives is

intended to link them better with the quality of work, combining them with the raising of the consciousness of the workers and their socialist attitude towards work.

Every man loves his country. But the man of socialist Albania has a much larger conception of the Homeland. To him Albania is not only the country where he and his forefathers have been born, but also the land of socialism, where the workers have seen their dreams of free work, equality and social justice, realized.

The main feature of socialist patriotism is its active character. The love of country prompts the Albanian people to produce new creative works, to perform acts of ever higher patriotism. Patriotism is a source of mass heroism.

With the birth of the Communist Party of Albania the heroism of the people, which is fostered by their sentiment of patriotism, has assumed a new character. In this period one has seen the emergence of a patriotism inspired by new ideals, of a profound social content.

The heroic patriotism of the masses has continued after Liberation, in the battles for the reconstruction of the country and the construction of socialism. Struggling through furious storms, coping with complicated and difficult situations, under the leadership of their tested guide, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people have displayed a heroism which has enabled them to score brilliant victories in the course of the recent decades.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism, the heroism of the masses has become ever broader and deeper, as emanating from the very nature of the economic and social system under which the people are in power, under which they are the masters of their destinies and lead and direct the whole life of the country.

Patriotism is closely linked with revolutionary vigilance. With exemplary readiness, firmness and military discipline, with a high sense of the sacred duty devolving upon them for the defence of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, an essential not only political but also moral duty, the Albanian people are taking all the necessary measures to strengthen their combat readiness in order that even the most perfidious enemy cannot take them unawares.

The revolutionary vigilance of our people manifests itself in their readiness to defend national independence, in their struggle to expose the class enemy, in their intransigence

towards manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and left-overs of the past, in their stand towards any violation of socialist legality and moral norms.

The loyalty of our people to the cause of the Homeland, the cause of the revolution and socialism is closely interconnected. The loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the noble ideals of communism, one of the primary requirements of communist morality, is apparent in all the activities of the Albanian people.

Socialist patriotism is intimately linked with internationalism. Conceptions of bourgeois nationalism, revisionism, etc. are alien to our new man. He respects all the progressive working people of other countries and is in solidarity with them. One of the essential characteristics of communist morality is, among other things, the attitude towards work. Under the socialist system, work is the fundamental measure of man's worth. Neither riches nor origin determine the position of man in our society. This position is determined by the work he does.

The shock workers of five-year plans, the heroes of socialist labour, the laureates of national prizes are the most respected figures of the Albanian society.

Socialism and work are indivisible.

Conscience at work is one of the main features of our new man. It is at work that the consciousness and moral unity of our people are tempered. Our people are guided by the noble aim of raising the standard of living of the society as a whole. Socialist emulation has as its first motto: to assist the laggards, to reach the advanced, and it stimulates the general increase of production.

The advanced worker is not content with overfulfilling production norms himself, but is also interested in the way his comrades, other sections, other enterprises, etc. do their work.

Every worker has an interest in the widest possible application of recent technical innovations. Without exchange of advanced experience, without propagation of the successes of modern technology, no progress is possible.

The socialist state holds in high esteem the advanced workers, honours and respects all those who do not spare their efforts for the construction of the new Albania.

The Albanian workers see the meaning of their life in the utility of their work to the society, to socialism, in the

value their work and creative activity have for the people, for the socialist homeland, for the prosperity of Albania. This lofty goal cannot be achieved without courageous struggle. Many and significant examples illustrate this.

In October 1967, a brave girl of the Northern mountains, Shkurte Pal Vata, fell carrying out her task in the brigades of voluntary work for the construction of the Rrogozhina-Fier railroad. This is what the father of Shkurte wrote to Comrade Enver Hoxha on the day when the dead body of his daughter was brought to him: «Here we have held council again among us. Shkurte was with us. And we have decided to follow in her footsteps. Her place in the railway construction site is vacant. I, Pal Vata, her father, and Katrina, her cousin, are going to occupy it. I regret, Comrade Enver, that my sons are still too young to accompany me. But when they grow up, rest assured that, just as Shkurte, they will be the first to respond to the call of the Party, at all times and in all places.»

This heroic act aroused an unexampled revolutionary drive all over the country. Dozens of thousands of young men and women from the mountains and the plains, from the cities and villages, peasants with only primary school certificates, engineers, economists, young artists or constructors of precision instruments, even pensioners expressed their desire to take the place of the girl. New brigades of volunteers set out towards the railway building site. But not everyone who wished could get there, the work front being too narrow compared to the great number of volunteers. So what had to be done? People said to themselves: «Everyone should multiply his efforts on his own front of work in honour of Shkurte, to pay tribute to her deed, to fulfil her last will, to honour her memory.»

Here is another example of the new attitude of our people towards work. As a result of an accident, Nuredin Hoxha, a young man of hardly 18 years of age, had both his legs amputated. However, the misfortune matured him, gave him the judgement of a fully grown-up man. «What can I do?» he asked himself. He answered: «For the time being I can breathe, eat, drink... Is this enough for a human being? Man must necessarily have something to look forward to, otherwise life would be meaningless for him!» This monologue could either plunge him into despair or, on the contrary, urge him to try a fresh start in life. Nuredin chose the

second road. For one whole month he trained on his artificial limbs on the rocky river-bed of Zaranika, near his native town of Elbasan, and did not rest until he learned how to walk. Then, on one fine morning he went to the pensions office, handed over his invalid certificate and curtly said: «I do not want to be considered an invalid... I want to work!»

He was offered to run a little cigarette shop, as well as other jobs generally assigned to invalids, but he chose to work in such a place as to be linked with the everyday struggle, with its excitement and preoccupations.

He did not content himself with accomplishing his daily task. He wanted to do more. He applied some new things to his work. One need not go through files or refer oneself to the newspapers to have an idea of his achievements. Everyone working at the state building enterprise of Elbasan can speak about them at length.

... Once, while walking on his stick past the section of construction materials, he saw dozens of women engaged in polishing wall tiles. It was a toilsome labour of low productivity. That day Nuredin spent many hours in his workshop and as he came out he had sketched a device capable of carrying out these operations which were done by hand until then.

Today his name is linked with a whole series of innovations.

And there are dozens and hundreds of examples of this kind which illustrate the new, self-denying attitude of the Albanians towards work, their determination to spare nothing, even their lives, for the good of the people and the Homeland. They have an educative value for the broad people's masses and inspire them in their everyday activity.

Another feature of the new man in the PSR of Albania is his attitude towards socialist property as the intangible base of the socialist system, his struggle to protect it as the apple of the eye, to strengthen and expand it incessantly. Alien attitudes are manifestations of the psychology of private property, which has struck deep roots in the consciousness of man in the centuries. The imperialists and reactionary elements try to avail themselves of the psychology of private property in order to undermine socialist property, the material base of the socialist order. That is why in the PSR of Albania a resolute struggle is waged against misuse and

embezzlement of socialist property, its degradation, waste and mismanagement, against incomplete utilization of productive capacities and concealment of reserves. This struggle has resulted in the raising of the consciousness of the working people and their mobilization to a higher degree, and in the expansion of social property, the essential base for the improvement of the well-being of the people. So much so that there are many people who have laid down their lives to protect this patrimony.

Such, among others, were Adem Reka, Muhamet Shehu and Myrteza Kepi, Isuf Emin Plloçi, Zeliha Alimeta and Ilia Dashi.

On November 1966, a storm was raging on the Adriatic. The high waves threatened to sink the floating crane on which Adem Reka worked. Although he had ended his night shift, he rushed to the assistance of his comrades in the early hours of the morning, aware of the danger menacing people's property. Four hours in succession he and his comrades struggled against the unleashed waves to rescue the crane, and Adem Reka was killed in the furious fight with the blind elements of nature.

On February 15, 1967 Muhamet Shehu and Myrteza Kepi laid down their lives in defence of people's property. That day, as a result of a leaking tube in the heating furnace a violent fire burst out at the pumping station of Linas. The engineer Muhamet Shehu and the young technician Myrteza Kepi, who had worked on the construction of the station, rushed through the fire to salvage the property of the people. With his garments on fire, Muhamet went on unperturbed with his work. Under his direction the workers of the pumping station averted the danger. Myrteza Kepi, too, displayed heroic abnegation. Both fell on their post of duty, fighting to salvage socialist property, and they have become brilliant examples for all workers of the country in the accomplishment of their tasks.

In November 1969, another hero, Isuf Emin Plloçi, laid down his life struggling for the protection of socialist property. A forester at Martanesh, he was alone when a violent fire burst out. He struggled against a sea of flames to circumscribe the disaster, cutting the flaming branches with his axe, jumping from one pine tree to the other, digging ditches to stem the advance of the fire. His resined coat risked to take fire at any moment. But Isuf braved the danger. With

his burnt hands and his garments on fire, he went on with his struggle for a long time. Only after he could no longer control his hands and his body was covered with grave burns did he go away, but not to the hospital, but to his comrades and warn them of the forest fire. Making light of his suffering, he ran for long minutes. He thought only of saving his forest. And he accomplished his task as a communist.

Those are some examples characterizing the moral qualities of the working masses, created under the people's state power in the struggle for the construction of socialism in Albania. These examples represent a powerful means of education of the masses with the principles and norms of communist morality.

Part three

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

Chapter one

BETWEEN TWO EPOCHS

Ownership

To determine the social regime of a state one must answer certain questions: who owns the means of production and the natural resources of the country, how is production organized, to whom do the products of labour go, to what social groups or classes do the people who comprise the leadership of the state belong, how do the people live and what are the relations between them?

Every social system is based on its own form of ownership of the means of production. This form of ownership determines the relations of people in production and the mode of distribution of the products of labour. It exercises a decisive influence on the whole structure of society and all its institutions, from the state down to the family.

Wherever private ownership reigns, a handful of big proprietors cruelly exploit the vast majority of the working people. This is what occurs today in all the countries where capital rules and this is what occurred in Albania before Liberation.

In 1938, Albanian industry which consisted of some small factories and workshops and the existing mines as well as the banks were all privately owned. As a result of the «open door» policy practised by the feudal-bourgeois regime of Zog the wealth of the country was rapidly concentrated in the hands of foreign capitalists, mainly Italians. Suffice it to say that in 1938 Italian investments in Albania amounted to 280 million gold francs, ten times the total of the budget of the

Albanian state. Consequently, 75 per cent of the industrial enterprises at that time were owned by foreign capital, 23 per cent by joint companies and 2 per cent by the national bourgeoisie.

Seven big feudal families, representing 0.006 per cent of the total number of rural families, held 14,554 hectares of land, or 3.70 per cent of the total arable land. The wealthy landowners, 4,713 families, or 3.034 per cent of the total number of families of the country, held 91,133 hectares, or 23.16 per cent of the arable land. On the other hand, the Albanian state of that period was also a big feudal proprietor: it owned 50,000 hectares, or 12.71 per cent of the land, which it exploited by means of the feudal system. The poor and middle peasants, comprising 128,961 families, or 83.05 per cent of the total number of peasant families, held 237,668 hectares or 60.43 per cent of the land, approximately 1.8 hectares per family, while the 21,544 families, which owned no land at all, worked as share-croppers on the land of the feudals, landed proprietors of the state, handing over to them a third or half of the agricultural produce.

Internal and foreign trade was concentrated in the hands of 50 big merchants.

All these facts show that before Liberation, Albania was still between two historical epochs, the epoch of feudalism which was declining and the epoch of emerging capitalism.

The people's state power which emerged from the National Liberation War could not be based on this economic structure. This structure had to be abolished and the socialist collective ownership which would respond to the regime in power and to the interests of the working masses of town and countryside had to be built upon its foundations. To this end, the people's state power carried out a series of revolutionary reforms and transformations which overturned the old system based on private ownership and created new relations of production based on socialist ownership.

The first transformations

The state control over production and distribution, established in December 1944, served as a preliminary measure, the first step towards the nationalization of the main means of production. At the same time, this represented a form of

control by the working class. It was established over the enterprises owned by national and foreign capital which influenced the entire economy of the country.

This control was exercised by its commissars appointed by the state. Under their guidance, the workers participated actively in the organization of production and the management of the enterprises. This gave them the possibility to test their ability and to acquire the aptitudes necessary to manage production.

In December 1944, the mines and the property of the political fugitives were nationalized. One month later, a law was promulgated on the confiscation of Italian and German owned property and assets in Albania. Under this law, the National Bank, the other banks and the property of 111 shareholder companies, owned by foreign capitalists, passed into the hands of the Albanian state, without compensation, and became the collective property of the Albanian people.

In regard to their form, the measures for the nationalization of 1945 were measures of a general democratic character. In regard to their economic and social content, however, these nationalizations represented transformations which went beyond measures of this kind. These nationalizations were in the interests of the working masses and the nationalized means were placed totally and directly in their service. In essence, these measures were a socialization of the main means of production and had a socialist character. It was on this basis that the state socialist sector of the people's economy was established.

In 1946, a new phase of nationalizations began. The power stations, the building materials industry, and the entire light and food industry became the property of the people. At the end of 1946, the main means of production in the cities had become social property and the state sector produced 87 per cent of the total industrial output. One year later, private capitalist production in industry had been practically eliminated.

The nationalization of the main means of production in Albania was accomplished at rapid rates and without compensation. It put an end to the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and laid the economic foundations for the dictatorship of the proletariat. On these foundations, the social ownership, the socialist relations of production and the socialist sector in industry, trade, transport and finance were establish-

ed. The nationalized enterprises became socialist enterprises. The exploitation of man by man was abolished.

In the first years after Liberation the people's state power took a series of measures to limit speculation and set up the socialist trade system. At this time a law was promulgated on the requisition of food-stuffs and materials necessary for the reconstruction. The state established its control over foreign trade. A system of fixed prices was established in private wholesale and retail trade. Trading in gold was prohibited. A state monopoly in the purchase and sale of grain was established. Measures were taken to curb inflation; the old banknotes were overprinted and thus control was established over the old paper money in circulation. Of great importance was the law promulgated in January 1945, imposing extraordinary taxes on war profits. Under this law, the big capitalists were compelled to hand over to the state part of the speculative profits they had made during the war, so that they could be used for the benefit of the people and the reconstruction of the country. This was a graduated tax, taking from 50 to 80 per cent of the war profits in excess of 500,000 Albanian francs.

Commissions to determine the amount of these profits and the taxes to be paid were set up in all regions of the country. They were composed of representatives of the state, the army and the mass organizations.

All those on whom this tax was imposed: merchants, factory owners and others, did everything to evade this law, but the commissions, with the support of the masses, forced the merchants and other capitalists to pay the tax imposed by the law. In 1945, the revenue from the extraordinary tax on war profits made up more than half of the state budget receipts.

All the property of the capitalists who did not pay the tax was confiscated. In this way the state gathered in a large quantity of merchandise of all kind. It was on this basis that the state-run stores were established. The opening of these stores marked the birth of the state socialist sector in Albanian trade. The socialist trade sector also included the consumer cooperatives of the cities, which were first set up in 1945. In those conditions, when the state sector of trade did not exist or was only taking its first steps, these cooperatives played an important role in supplying the people and in the struggle against the black market.

The Land Reform

For the establishment of socialist property in the countryside the people's state power used different ways and methods. The first task in this field was to abolish the feudal relations and to impose restrictions on the capitalist elements in the countryside. This could be realized only through the land reform. Before the reform was carried out, the people's power had taken a series of measures in favour of the poor and middle peasants. A law promulgated in January 1945 annulled rural arrears of rent and reduced rents for the years 1944-1945 by 75 per cent. In May the same year, the irrigation system was nationalized and became the collective property of the peasants. Later, all debts contracted before the war were cancelled. But the most important step of an anti-feudal and democratic character, taken at the time, was the *Land Reform*.

The law on the Land Reform was promulgated in August 1945. Under the terms of this law, the holdings of the state and religious institutions and all the privately-owned land in excess of the area envisaged by the law, were confiscated without compensation. The land was given free of charge to peasants with little or no land at all. The head of each family was allotted up to 5 hectares of land. The alienation and renting of land were prohibited.

Part of the confiscated land was not distributed, but became state property. It was on this land that the first state farms were set up. They marked the birth of the state socialist sector in agriculture. The water resources, forests and underground riches became the collective property of the people.

Poor peasants' committees were set up to ensure a just and rapid implementation of the Land Reform. They played an important role in the accurate definition of the lands of the state, the big landowners and the enemies of the people and in compiling lists of peasant families with little or no land. They helped in the division of the expropriated land and especially in mobilizing the labouring peasantry to combat the hostile activity of the landlords and other reactionary forces who rose against the Land Reform from the very start.

In May 1946, the law on the Land Reform was amended in a way which gave it a profoundly revolutionary content. The land, vineyards, olive groves, orchards and kitchen gardens, agricultural buildings and tools, i.e. all property of

people who did not till the land themselves, was confiscated. A maximum of 5 hectares of land was left to those cultivators or working proprietors who tilled their own land. These amendments ensured the full application of the principle «the land to those who till it,» abolished big land ownership and weakened the economic position of the kulaks. In November 1946, the Land Reform had been carried out throughout the country. The peasants became the genuine masters of the land on which they had toiled and poured out their sweat, generation after generation.

The Land Reform affected almost half the land and the olive-trees then existing in our country. The reform expropriated 8,714 latifundists and rich landowners, as well as 480 religious institutions; 10,641 proprietors owning more land than envisaged by law were partially expropriated. All told, 288,407 hectares of land were surveyed and distributed to 21,544 landless families and 48,667 land-poor families.

The democratic transformation of the agrarian relations in the countryside was the essence of the Land Reform. It abolished big land ownership, and eliminated the vestiges of feudalism and the class of latifundists once and for all. The restriction of the private ownership of land, the prohibition of the sale, renting or mortgaging of land were measures which did much to prevent the differentiation among peasants and limited to the extreme their exploitation by the kulaks. Hence the Land Reform had a pronounced anti-capitalist character.

The socialist transformation of the countryside

The Land Reform was not an aim in itself. It was a transitional measure which was to open the way to the socialist revolution in the Albanian countryside. The confiscation of land of the big landowners and its distribution according to the needs of the peasants brought about a relative equality among peasants as regards the area of land owned. Such measures as the prohibition of the sale, renting or inheritance of land, as well as the prohibition of the exploitation of another's labour in agriculture, deprived the owners of the possibility of adding to their property and using it as a means of oppression and bondage.

The establishment and consolidation of a relative equality

in the relations of land ownership created the necessary conditions in Albania for the transformation of rural private property into collective property.

The private property of small rural producers was turned into social cooperative property through the collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization implies the free will of the small rural proprietors to combine their land and their main means of work into big agricultural enterprises. The peasants put their land and their main means of production into the collective, and thus form the agricultural cooperative. The essential characteristics of the agricultural cooperative are: the collective ownership of the main means of production, the collective labour and the socialist distribution of the products according to the quantity and quality of the work done, as well as the existence, parallel with the common property, of the personal plots, the use of which serves to satisfy certain needs of the cooperativist families.

The collectivization of agriculture began in the first years after Liberation. The Land Reform was still uncompleted when the first agricultural cooperative was set up in the village of Krutje, in Myzeqe, the largest plain of Albania. It was the spark that kindled the flame of collectivization all over the country.

In order to become model, modern, socialist enterprises, the first agricultural cooperatives needed an advanced material base and equipment. To this end, the first machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up in 1947, along with the socialist state enterprises in the sector of agriculture. They were used as a particularly important form of organized aid which the state gave the peasants for the establishment and strengthening of the new system of cooperatives in the countryside. The machine and tractor stations were the foundation stone of the new material and technical base of socialist agriculture.

The rate of this collectivization was determined by objective and subjective conditions. In the first stage (1946-1955), when the material and moral conditions had still not been prepared or the necessary experience accumulated, the pace of collectivization was steady and cautious. This was a preparatory period. In December 1955, when these conditions had been created, the rates of collectivization were accelerated and developed to collectivization en masse in the lowland zones and partially in the hilly zones.

Thus, in contrast to the 150 cooperatives set up from 1946 to 1954, 1,679 cooperatives were created in five years, from 1955 to 1959, and at the end of 1960 the collectivized land covered 86 per cent of the cultivated land area and 71.3 per cent of the peasant holdings. The years 1956-1958 were rightly called the crucial years of the socialist transformation of agriculture and 1957, the year of the great turn.

However, in the remote mountainous and semi-mountainous regions, 46,155 small peasant holdings still remained to be collectivized. They made up 28.6 per cent of the total number of peasant holdings and covered 14 per cent of the cultivated land. They were to be collectivized in the third and final stage of the collectivization, which started in November 1966 and lasted no longer than five months. Thus in March 1967, the collectivization of Albanian agriculture was completed.

The collectivization of agriculture was guided by this principle: «Firm reliance on the poor peasants, alliance with the middle peasants and restriction of the capitalist elements in the countryside.» As a result of this policy, the strata of the poor peasants became the core of the agricultural cooperatives.

The collectivization policy was based on the Leninist principle of persuasion and free consent which was applied very strictly, without permitting the slightest violation. The principle of persuasion and free consent was dictated by the fact that the peasants were the allies of the working class and made up the overwhelming majority of the population; any other stand or action of an administrative nature would have had grave consequences for the alliance of the working class with the peasants and the construction of socialism.

Thanks to the great amount of political and ideological work done with the masses of the working peasantry, the process of the collectivization in Albania was accomplished without any political upsets. The idea of collectivization had to penetrate deeply into the heart and mind of every peasant, overcome his mentality and psychology and individualistic tendencies which were manifested in many ways, but which were based on personal interest, narrowly conceived, and constituted the most serious obstacle to the collectivization.

The work of explanation and persuasion was accompanied by a series of practical measures in favour of the peasants. Among these measures were the financial and credit policy,

the policy on accumulation of agricultural products, on aid in machinery, selected seeds, chemical fertilizers, and cadres, the big drainage and irrigation projects, the raising of the level of education and culture, as well as the development of agrotechnical knowledge. Consequently the agricultural cooperatives grew stronger from day to day and the peasants became more convinced of the advantages of collectivization which gradually won them en masse, to the agricultural cooperatives.

In the process of the collectivization, a number of original forms of management of the cooperatives, of the organization and remuneration of work within them were discovered and elaborated, forms which found their expression in the constitution of the agricultural cooperatives approved at their 1st Congress (February 1949); as well as in a number of government decrees. Later these forms were still further elaborated and enriched with new content in conformity with the development of the economy of the agricultural cooperatives and the raising of the cultural level and the socialist consciousness of their members. Care was taken to ensure a judicious combination of personal interests with the collective interest, of the collective interests with the general interest, and of the immediate interests with long-term ones, giving priority to the general interest.

The collectivization of agriculture was accomplished through a relentless struggle which had as its objective the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks. As a result, their economic power and political influence were destroyed, while they were liquidated as a class without recourse to forced expropriation of them. Compulsion and violence were used only against certain individuals or groups of kulaks who took the course of crime and did not observe the laws and ordinances of the state.

The successful collectivization of agriculture was a major qualitative leap forward on the road to the establishment of socialist relations of production in the countryside, to the transformation of the small-scale private property into collective property. However, the creation of cooperatives is not the final step in the construction of socialism in the countryside; it does not rule out all possibility or danger of a return, a resurgence of individualist tendencies of private property.

Special care is taken in the People's Socialist Republic

of Albania also, to ensure the economic and organizational strengthening of the cooperatives, the continuous formation and strengthening of the socialist consciousness of their members, the ceaseless improvement, in a revolutionary way, of the relations of production and distribution, raising the level of education, culture and agronomical knowledge of the cooperativist peasantry.

Collectivization opened up prospects of the realization of a number of political-ideological and socio-economic objectives. In the political field, it contributed greatly to strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, drew the peasants into active participation in the construction of socialist society and strengthened the class base of the state. In the ideological field, it helped to inculcate in the rural masses new socialist concepts of property, work, the collective, the family, the individual, etc. In the socio-economic field, it helped to replace the old relations of production and distribution with new, socialist relations, small private ownership with large-scale collective ownership, and individual work with collective work; it contributed to the construction of a unified economic base of the socialist regime in town and countryside, to barring the way to the appearance of capitalist tendencies and many other social evils, to ensuring rapid and continuous growth of the productive forces in the countryside, to the harmonization of the rates of development of industry and agriculture, to satisfying the increasing needs of the people for agricultural products, to increasing the goods for export; it created the conditions for the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture. In the series of initiatives taken by the peasantry, the herding together of the cooperativists' personal livestock, which relieves the peasants of a number of daily cares and increases their participation in field work, is an important moment towards the further socialization of work in the countryside.

Collectivization was the only way to the socialist development of the countryside and within the space of a few years it made possible the establishment of big, modern agricultural economies on the basis of advanced agronomical science. From a country of small-scale rural economies, Albania has become a country of large-scale modern agricultural enterprises, based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

The people — masters of the country

The revolutionary transformations carried out under the people's power changed the face of the ancient land of Albania. The people, the society, the land have been rejuvenated on new foundations. The old face of Albania now belongs to the historical past.

Albania, that had remained a backward agricultural country, stagnating at the dividing line between the epoch of declining feudalism and the epoch of the birth of capitalism, has now put an end to its age-old backwardness and has become an agricultural-industrial country with the prospect of becoming an industrial-agricultural country in the near future, because the first historic milestone on the road of socialism, the establishment of the economic base of socialism, has been attained successfully.

The socialist property

Under the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the socialist property is the inviolable base of the socialist order, the source of the well-being of the people and the strength of the Homeland; the state protects it with the greatest care.

The socialist property in the means of production comprises the state property and the cooperative property in agriculture.

The state property belongs to the entire people and represents the highest form of socialist ownership.

The land and the underground riches, the mines, forests, pastures, water resources, natural sources of energy, the plants, factories, the machine and tractor stations, the banks, communication roads, means of transport by rail, sea, river and air, the post and telegraph system, the radio and television stations and cinemas are exclusively the property of the state.

All material goods created on the basis of the state property or which the state acquires by law are also state property.

The land is distributed, for social use, to state enterprises and institutions, to agricultural cooperatives and social orga-

nizations, as well as to individual citizens for their personal use.

Cultivable land cannot be used for other purposes without the approval of the competent state organs.

The cooperative property belongs to collectives of rural workers voluntarily united in the agricultural cooperatives to increase production, to improve their well-being and build socialism in the countryside as part of the socialist construction of the entire country.

The cooperative property comprises: the buildings, machinery, equipment, means of transport, working tools and means, draft animals and productive livestock, the orchards, the plant and animal products, as well as all the other means necessary for the activity of the cooperative.

It is the duty of the state, the economic organizations and all citizens to protect the land, the natural riches, the water resources and the air from pollution and damage.

Of these two forms of socialist property, the state property is the predominant one, not only because it includes the overwhelming bulk of the means and instruments of production, but also because it is the principal base of the Albanian state for the construction of socialism. The state property is the heritage of the entire people who manage it through the state. This is what distinguishes state property in the socialist state from what they call state property in the capitalist states, where it is nothing but a form of private property.

The state property constitutes a single fund of which the state is the sole owner. The various state institutions and organs such as the ministries or the other administrative offices, the enterprises, combines, etc. do not own the means and tools at their disposal. These belong to the state but are entrusted to these organizations and enterprises to enable them to accomplish the tasks assigned to them.

The cooperative property is a form of socialist property because it is not the property of any individual but of a collective of working people; it contributes to the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and is the basis on which the socialist agricultural cooperative is organized.

However, these two forms of property are not identical. The state property is the property of the entire people, while the cooperative property is the property of a particular collective or group of workers. Whereas in the state enterprises

all the means of production without exception are socialized, in the agricultural cooperatives, part of these means, such as the personal plots of the cooperative members and some of the agricultural equipment, remain the personal property of the members. Another difference is that the products of the state enterprises are the property of the socialist state, while the products of the agricultural cooperatives remain their own property. From this stems the difference in the mode of distribution of the social product in the form of wages in the state enterprises and on the basis of the work days performed in the agricultural cooperatives. There are also differences in their forms of management.

However, these differences are not essential. They are differences between two economies of the same type, within the framework of socialist relations of production.

The state encourages the development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives and their transformation into modern economies of large-scale socialist production. In certain conditions, the state encourages the setting up and development of the higher-type cooperatives in which it participates directly with investments, particularly for the main means of production.

The transition of the cooperative property to property of the entire people is made in conformity with the objective conditions, with the free consent of the cooperativist peasants and the approval of the state. The state works to ensure that the distinctions between town and countryside are narrowed.

In socialist society, personal property also exists. The state recognizes and protects it. Under the Constitution it includes income from work and other lawful sources, family homes, as well as other things used to satisfy personal and family material, cultural needs. All the things which are returned to the cooperativist family under the constitution of the agricultural cooperative (grain and other produce) are also personal property. Personal property cannot be used to the detriment of the social interest. Particular fixed assets which are cooperative or personal property may be transformed into state property if the general interest requires this. The criteria for this transformation and the method of compensation are defined by law.

In our country, the source of personal property is the people's own work. This form of property does not lead to

the accumulation of capital, i.e. it cannot serve as a means of exploitation.

Personal property in Albania is closely linked with the state property, which is the basis of it. With the extension of the social property, a continuously increasing quantity of products goes to satisfy the personal needs of the working masses. This close connection between the socialist property and personal property reflects the harmonization of the interests of society with those of the citizens.

The development of the socialist property

The socialist property in town and countryside constitutes the unified economic base of the people's power, the essential factor for the well-being of the working people, and this is why the state takes all appropriate measures to extend and develop this type of property to the maximum. The socialist industrialization is the main way to achieve this objective. Undertaking this industrialization and its continuous extension are the only way to guarantee the complete triumph of large-scale mechanized production, not only in industry, construction and transport, but also in agriculture.

The principal features of the socialist industrialization of Albania

Immediately after the triumph of the people's revolution, Albania had to cope with the contradiction existing between the advanced form of political power, the people's democracy, on the one hand, and the backward state of the economy, with the very low level of development of the productive forces, on the other hand. The most important means to overcome this contradiction in the economic and social fields was the socialist industrialization of the country. Since that time, this task has been the fundamental general line of the economic policy of the people's power. The aim of this policy has always been to gradually build up a multi-branched heavy and light industry, which would enable the utilization and processing of the natural riches and agricultural products of the country, in order to satisfy the needs of the development of the economy ever better, to raise the level

of productivity of social labour, to open the way to the intensive complex development of agriculture, to enhance the well-being of the people and to strengthen the defence of the country. This line of industrialization was implemented on the basis of a class analysis of all factors, objective and subjective, material and social-political and economic, internal and external.

The necessity for this industrialization was dictated by the need to establish an entirely new material and technical base for the national economy, to increase the production of commodities, to prepare the conditions for the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis, to build up the working class so as to strengthen its positions of leadership and, finally, to defend the victories of the revolution and guarantee the construction of socialism.

In implementing this policy of the socialist industrialization of the country, from the beginning, the people's power correctly defined the ways and possibilities of increasing and utilizing the internal socialist accumulation for this purpose. To this end, it mobilized all the monetary and material means and all the physical and intellectual capacity of the people. At the same time, it made wise use of the internationalist aid of friendly socialist countries.

The main sources of the socialist accumulation in Albania were the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the big landed proprietors, the transformation of the private property of the means of production into social property, the cancellation of the debts incurred by Zog, the profits from the nationalized industry and foreign and internal trade, as well as from the banking system and that part of the state budget allocated for the development of the national economy. Relying mainly on its own internal resources, Albania created a considerable accumulation which enabled it to carry out the industrialization.

The socialist industrialization of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was characterized by the rapid rate of industrial expansion, so as to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past in the shortest possible time, to ensure the independent development of the economy, and to achieve a considerable raising of the material well-being and a higher cultural level of the working masses.

The establishment of the socialist ownership of the means of production makes it possible to mobilize all the material

and financial means, and use them for the development of industry, heavy industry first of all. The main sources contributing to the industrialization of the country today are the income from the national industry, and the accumulation from agriculture, foreign and home trade, the banking system, etc.

The industrialization in Albania brought about the growth and development of the socialist property, the creation of new towns, and a number of new industrial centres, the numerical growth of the working class and the strengthening of its role in the socialist society.

The development of industry in Albania gave an impulse to the creation of new productive forces in agriculture, and contributed to its transformation on a socialist basis and, consequently, to strengthening the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

The direct result of the line of the socialist industrialization of the country was the construction of new industry with modern technology, which is developing quickly from one five-year period to another, raising the total industrial output and production per capita, and playing an ever more important part in the construction of the material and technical base and the development of the national economy.

In the years of the people's power, a big qualitative leap forward has been achieved in the socialist industrialization of the country. Albania has already been transformed into an agrarian-industrial country, is rapidly turning into an industrial-agrarian country, and eventually will become an industrial country with an advanced agriculture.

During the six five-year plans (1951-1980), industry has led the development. Each five-year plan has marked a new expansion of industry which has distinguished one five-year plan from another, not only from the quantitative aspect, i.e. from the volume of production, but also from the qualitative aspect, in other words, from the viewpoint of changes in the structure of industrial production and the higher level of technology, efficiency, etc.

This progress of industry made it possible to liquidate the contradictions between the very advanced form of political power and the backward economic and technical base inherited from the past. In this way the country was able to defend its independence and smash all the attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to subjugate socialist Albania.

A whole series of new branches of heavy and light industry have been set up.

Industry in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has developed at an annual average rate of 10,8 per cent in the period 1965-1975. This is one of its characteristic features.

The road of development of the cooperativist property

In the first stage of the construction of socialism, cooperativist (group) property is an objective necessity. Historically, however, it has a transitional character. This property is born, grows, gains strength and is inevitably transformed into the property of the entire people.

The process of the transformation of the cooperativist property into property of the entire people passes through two essential stages. The first is the stage of its quantitative and qualitative development and its tendency to gradually move closer and closer to the property of the entire people. The second is that of the fusion of the cooperativist property with that of the entire people. These two stages are the natural road of development of this type of property.

The fusion of the cooperativist property with that of the entire people is conditioned by material and subjective, ideological and political, economic and social factors. All these factors are directly linked with the development of the productive forces in agriculture, in each separate cooperative as well as in the national economy as a whole.

The tendency of the cooperativist property to move closer and closer to the property of the entire people, then its fusion with the latter, entails a long and complicated process. This cannot be achieved all at once, in a mechanical or administrative way, because it depends on the development of the productive forces. The economic, ideological and political conditions for this must first mature in every cooperative, in every zone and in the entire country.

The qualitative development of the cooperativist property which is occurring in Albania is the beginning of its fusion with the property of the entire people. The main factor which has led to the strengthening of the collective property and its subsequent qualitative transformations is the ceaseless increase of social production.

The rates of development of agricultural production have been so high as to enable the age-old backwardness to be overcome in a few years. The primitive agriculture of the wooden plough has given way to an agriculture of large-scale socialist economies, in which the cultivation of the soil and many other processes are nearly all mechanized. Today, Albania is ranked among the most advanced countries as regards the quantity of chemical fertilizer used, irrigation capacity and big land improvement projects.

From 1946 to 1960, the process of collectivization was still under way and many cooperatives had just been set up, but in 1960, agricultural production had increased by 72 per cent against 1938, while from 1961 to 1970, when the cooperatives were enlarged and developed further, agricultural production increased a further 79 per cent. It is interesting to note that in the two five-year plans (1961-1965 and 1966-1970) most of the increase in production (80 per cent to 90 per cent) was achieved through higher yields, although at the same time the cultivated area was considerably extended. Here we have to do with radical quantitative transformations which are observed in all aspects of the development of the countryside. In 1978, 77 per cent of the total agricultural production and about 73 per cent of the national income realized by the sector of socialist agriculture (the state and cooperative sectors) was created by the agricultural cooperatives.

These figures show that inherent in the collective ownership are great possibilities for development of the productive forces and social production and for raising the yield rates of different crops.

Considerable progress has been made also in other aspects of this collective property. The area of cultivated land increased 2.4 times in 1979, as against 1938. The number of buildings serving production and social-cultural purposes had been increased considerably. The area of orchards, olive groves and vineyards has been greatly increased as compared with the pre-war period. More than 52 per cent of the cultivated area is under irrigation. The park of motorized means has developed beyond any comparison with the past.

The effect of the expansion of production was to increase the funds of consumption and accumulation. Now it became possible for the agricultural cooperatives to establish the most correct ratio between the funds of consumption and accumula-

tion and within them, between the portion to be used for the extension of production and the portion for the development of the non-productive sphere, including buildings for socio-cultural purposes.

As a result, agriculture today supplies the food for an urban population which has grown 2.5 fold and whose purchasing power has increased greatly since Liberation.

Another important direction of the development of the cooperative property is the very marked socialization of the means of production within the collective property itself. This has been achieved through the development of the fundamental means and the consolidated funds, through joint construction projects by several cooperatives, through the progressive regrouping of the agricultural cooperatives, as well as through the gradual reduction of the personal plots and the herding of the personal livestock of the cooperative members parallel with the development of social production.

The development of the fundamental means and the consolidated funds is the main factor for the further socialization of the means of production. The fundamental means and the consolidated funds are the most concise index of the quantitative and qualitative development of the cooperatives. They represent the essential content of the collective socialist property. As regards its nature and content, the consolidated fund has some features in common with the productive funds of the state enterprises. Formed by accumulation, these funds, too, are used to maintain production and satisfy social-cultural needs, but they differ as regards their degree of socialization.

Concern to build up the fundamental means has steadily increased. At the present stage of the development of the collective property a gradual diminution can be seen in the existing differences between the cooperatives of the mountainous zones and the plains in the level of socialization of the means of production. This process is going well thanks to the action of many factors, in particular the development of production in the mountain cooperatives, the long-term credits accorded them by the state, the numerous construction projects built and donated by the people, the aid provided by the cooperatives of the plains.

The development of the cooperativist property and the raising of its level of socialization at a given period have made it necessary for the cooperatives to undertake joint construction projects. These are carried out jointly by a

number of cooperatives of the plains or the mountainous zones, or both when they maintain economic relations (cooperation in matters of work and production), or are neighbours. In this field, the initial stage of manual labour has not yet been left behind, especially in the mass actions for the construction of irrigation works. Nevertheless, this path opens up vast prospects.

Another important aspect of the improvement of property relations is the eventual regrouping of agricultural cooperatives, which is directly linked with the very pronounced socialization of the means of production. This regrouping of the cooperatives creates the conditions for better concentration, specialization and cooperation in production and contributes to a more correct co-ordination of the various branches of agriculture.

This process of regrouping the cooperatives assumes particular importance from the ideological viewpoint, as it enhances the feeling for the collective property among the rural workers, enhances its social character and prepares the cooperativists to gradually raise their property to a higher form, to transform it into property of the whole society. Uniting cooperatives of the plains with those of the hilly and mountainous zones also gradually diminishes the differences in the socio-cultural development between the lowland zones and the hilly and mountainous zones, and levels out the disparities in their income and standards of living.

This process of regrouping does not go beyond the context of the collective ownership. However the superiority of the regrouped property rests on the fact that it totally loses the character of individual accumulation, that it is transformed into social accumulation and prepares the indispensable premises for its transformation, when the political, social, economic, organizational and technical conditions mature, it is transformed into the property of the whole society.

The regrouping of the cooperatives is a continuous process, which is carried out in a conscious, organized and progressive way. This process has its limitations and is accomplished gradually. The transition from one stage to another requires certain political conditions, a certain level of economic and technical development, specific territorial conditions and the ability of the masses and cadres to organize and manage large-scale socialist enterprises.

This process gradually leads to the narrowing of the essential economic and social distinctions between town and

countryside, between work in industry and work in agriculture, in the sense that the latter is raised to the level of the former, especially as regards the level of technical equipment. It tends to level out the income and standards of living of the rural and city workers, to ensure the rural workers' income equal to the wages the workers of the state enterprises receive.

The higher-type cooperatives — a new stage in the socialization of the group property

The development of the agricultural cooperatives stimulates the important process of narrowing the essential differences between town and countryside and the preparation of the objective and subjective conditions for the gradual transformation of the group property into property of the entire people. The grouping of the separate cooperative properties into more powerful units, the consolidation and improvement of the relations of work, exchange and distribution, the better distribution of the net income, especially of the differential rent, the gradual levelling out of the essential economic, social and cultural differences between town and countryside, and within the countryside itself, the ceaseless raising of the socialist consciousness of the cooperative members and the revolutionization of their whole life-style, are the most important factors which are bringing the group property closer and closer to the property of the entire people.

The setting up of higher-type cooperatives in the five-year plan of 1971-1975 was an important economic and organizational measure for the increase of state aid to the cooperativist sector and the gradual raising of agricultural cooperatives to the level, and when the necessary conditions have matured, to the status, of agricultural enterprises. The setting up of higher-type cooperatives was a step forward in all directions. The first cooperatives of this type were set up at the end of 1971. They were the pioneers of this great transformation which will be one of the most important ways of the socialist development of the Albanian countryside.

These cooperatives were set up with the consent of their members. They remain owners of the work tools and all the other belongings which they bring to these new cooperatives: they have the right to retain their personal plots as in all other cooperatives.¹

Naturally they also enjoy other rights, such as the right to work, to elect and be elected in leading organs, to express their opinions on and discuss all the problems of the cooperative, to demand answers to the suggestions and ideas they raise, to criticize and demand a rendering of account on the activity of their cooperatives. It is on this basis also that the question of pensions and other social insurance benefits has been settled.

The foundations of the higher-type cooperatives are their own material and monetary means, the joint labour of their members and the participation of the state, which provides them with supplementary means and all-round aid. The financial aid of the state to the higher-type cooperatives is not accorded in the form of long-term loans, but in the form of investments of budget funds, with the objective of developing the productive forces. In this connection, Article 22 of the Constitution of the PSRA says: «Under certain circumstances, the state supports the setting up and development of higher-type cooperatives, in which it participates directly with investments, especially in the main means of production.» Otherwise, these cooperatives receive long-term credits and other aid in the same ways as the other cooperatives, depending on their needs.

From the early years of their activity the state put at their disposal, as a supplementary contribution, a sum of millions of leks to be invested in the construction of stables, hot houses, implement sheds and repair shops, for land development, etc. In these conditions, the amount of investments and accumulation per hectare of arable land in these cooperatives is greater than in the other cooperatives and nearly at the level of investments in the agricultural enterprises.

With the passage of time, the state investments have increased and this form of financing has brought the group

¹ According to the Constitution of the PSR of Albania, land is the exclusive property of the state (Article 17). It is allocated to state institutions and enterprises for social use and to individual citizens for personal use. Land is allocated for use free of charge (Article 19).

property closer and closer to the property of the entire people both in form and in content. This increase in investments by the state constitutes one of the concrete forms of action which assist the transformation of the group property into property of the entire people.

Along with the direct investments by the state in the higher-type cooperatives, special machine and tractor stations have been set up for their benefit. They contribute significantly to augmenting the motor power and the machinery base of these cooperatives, bringing them to the same level as the agricultural enterprises.

The members of these cooperatives are paid a guaranteed wage in proportion to the production. For each work norm accomplished, they are paid twice per month at a rate of 90 per cent of the salary envisaged in the plan. At the end of the year, if the plan is realized, they get the additional 10 per cent of their salary and 20 per cent when the plan has been overfulfilled; on the other hand, when the plan is not realized, they do not get the remaining 10 per cent, but this hardly ever happens. The members of higher-type cooperatives also have the right to get 30 per cent of their salary when bad weather makes work in the fields impossible. It should be pointed out that, although the higher-type cooperatives pay their members a guaranteed wage, its level is determined on the basis of the economic capacity of each cooperative. Hence it differs from one cooperative to another.

Thus the higher-type cooperatives are big socialist collective enterprises in which the relations of property, exchange and distribution are raised to a higher, more advanced level. This constitutes a new advance in the field of perfecting the relations of production, a step forward of profound political, economic and social importance. This question is linked with the development of the productive forces, with a better harmonization of the interests of the group with the interests of society, with a more efficient utilization of the material and technical base and the fund of accumulation, with the accentuation of the process of concentration, specialization and cooperation in agriculture, with the gradual transformation of group property into property of the entire people and with the reduction of the essential differences between town and countryside.

The setting up of these cooperatives tends to accelerate the rates of agricultural production. Important material, technical and financial means have been placed at their dis-

posal; they utilize the human and material possibilities and the climatic conditions better, and the organization and management of production are strengthened and perfected. The bulk of the production of bread grain, cotton, sun-flower, milk and meat needed by the country has been concentrated in these important modern agricultural economies and the agricultural enterprises.

For instance, the higher-type cooperatives have ensured higher yields than the ordinary cooperatives in the production of bread grain, sunflower, sugar-beet, olives, citrus fruit, milk, meat, etc.

The setting up of these cooperatives also marks a new, higher stage in the development of the group property and all the relations linked with it, in the course of bringing it closer to the property of the entire people. This is a new intermediate road which leads to the gradual elimination of the differences existing today between the two forms of socialist property.

The setting up of the higher-type cooperatives has also had the effect of consolidating the relations in the field of organization and management of production. While preserving the principles of cooperative democracy, the forms of organization and management and the structure of the leading apparatus of these cooperatives are becoming more and more like those of the agricultural enterprises. The system of finance and accounting, provision and distribution has been perfected in these cooperatives, and all the new conditions created permit more rapid concentration, specialization and cooperation of production, gaining the advantages or large-scale socialist enterprises.

The creation of the higher-type cooperatives is based on a better harmonization of the interests of the cooperativists with those of the whole society. Their creation is based on the harmonious and proportional development not just of agriculture only, but of the entire economy of the country. The extension and consolidation of the material and technical base of production, the ever more solid and better organized scientific management of this production, the increase and stability of production, the improvement of the material well-being of the cooperativists, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the search for new ways to reach a higher level of the socialization of the group property — these are all essential aspects of an improved concrete co-ordination of the individual and

group interests with the general interest in this new form of organization. The institution of regular payments of wages, linked with the results of production, is an important step forward which directly favours the cooperativists. It tends to eliminate the existing differences between the state sector and the cooperative sector in the system of distribution and to convince the cooperativists that this collective economy is their guarantee of more stable incomes.

While retaining the small peasant ownership, the collectivization of agriculture, through the organization of collective production, has transformed it into group ownership. However, the cooperative ownership, and together with it, the cooperative system in the countryside, have a transitional character. In the process of the construction of the socialist and communist society, the group ownership must be transformed into ownership of the entire people. The higher-type cooperatives are a step towards this objective.

From the viewpoint of property relations, what is new in this form of collective organization and management of agricultural production is that it permits the gradual development of the group property in a way that is completely natural to the peasantry. The participation of the state in these cooperatives enables the state property, the property of the entire people, to be gradually built within the framework of the group property. It is clear that this process responds to the collective interests of the cooperativists and, at the same time, to the interests of the entire society.

The experience of the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980) further strengthened the conviction of the masses on the correctness of the line followed by the Party for the establishment of higher-type cooperatives as the appropriate means for the growth and intensification of agricultural production, for bringing the group property closer to the property of the entire people.

Chapter two

ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The fundamental aim of socialism is to develop the forces of production to such a level as to satisfy the ever increasing needs of society and open the way for the future application of the communist principle of distribution. This objective can be achieved only through the continuous growth and perfecting of socialist production on the basis of modern technology and an unprecedented rise in the productivity of social labour.

The process of socialist production in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on three essential principles and methods which ensure its rapid, harmonious and continuous development: democratic centralism, self-reliance and planning.

Democratic centralism — a fundamental principle of the organization and management of the national economy

Article 11 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania says: «... the organization of the state and state activity, all the political and economic life in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are based on the principle of democratic centralism and develop according to it, combining the centralized direction with the creative initiative of local organs and the masses of the working people, in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.»

The essence of democratic centralism is therefore a judicious combination of the centralized organization and direc-

tion of the economy by the socialist state with the conscious, general and direct participation of the working masses in the management of this economy.

The centralized organization and direction of the socialist economy are dictated by the level of the productive forces and by the conditions created for their development, by the degree of socialization of production and the means of production, by the necessity for a harmonious development of the economy in the interest of the whole society. Social and cooperative ownership of the means of production creates the objective possibility to organize and manage the economy on this single basis through an overall state plan in which the productive activities of all the enterprises and the different branches of the economy in all districts of the country are completely co-ordinated. This function fully conforms with the social character of production and appropriation. The organization and management of the economy on this basis ensure an appropriate and rapid development in conformity with the needs of socialist production, increase the efficiency of production, and save the society a great deal of energy and other material losses which can have harmful consequences in organization and management.

Centralism in the economy presupposes the organization and management of the economy by a centre, by the socialist state, its development in conformity with economic laws and, first of all, with the fundamental economic law of socialism, its harmonious development on the basis of an overall state plan, exercise of control by society over work, production and the utilization of material means, the application of a conscious proletarian discipline in the accomplishment of each task by each link of the economy, the responsibility of the lower organs to the central organs of the state and the economy, as well as the application of a revolutionary style and method in the organization and management of the socialist economy.

At the same time the social ownership, the social character of production and appropriation imply not only that this process is managed in a centralized way but also that the working masses, the owners of the means of production take part in this management. This form of production also absolutely demands the application of socialist democracy in the leadership and management of the economy. It follows that centralism and socialist democracy in the organization and management of the economy are two aspects of the same

phenomenon; they presuppose one another and constitute the fundamental requirements of democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism is the best combination of the unified leadership of the state with the initiative and organized participation of the masses. It enables the co-ordination and accomplishment of the primary political and economic tasks in the fields of production, distribution and exchange and fulfilment of material needs on the scale of the whole society, while it ensures the organized control of society over the proper accomplishment of these tasks.

Democratic centralism is the highest form of democracy, not only because it implies the active participation of the masses in the discussion, examination, and approval of economic plans, as well as in check upon and application of these plans, but also because it presupposes that it is the masses who put these plans into practice, who verify the correctness of these plans in their productive activity, who modify and correct them. This centralism does not paralyze the initiative of the workers. On the contrary, it encourages the collectives to carry out their tasks in social production in the best and most efficient way. Herein lies the profoundly democratic, social and popular character of socialist centralism. The socialist democracy in economic management has become more and more deeply implanted. Socialism is the deed of the working masses, and the socialist mode of production itself creates the necessary conditions for this deepening of socialist democracy. In the course of the construction of socialism, the working masses thoroughly master the art of organization and management, and acquire ever more profound scientific knowledge about the laws of social development.

Consequently, the initiative of the masses and their participation in the study and discussion of various problems have increased; the leading organs listen more attentively to the voice of the masses and the control of the working class has become more and more extensive and thorough in all directions.

In order to develop the line of the masses further in the management of the people's economy, an all-round struggle is waged in the PSR of Albania to eradicate bureaucracy in the method of management, against domineering practices, against tendencies to underrate or not listen to the voice of the masses. This is a struggle for the continuous perfecting of the method of organization of work and the management of social

production. This perfecting constitutes a permanent task and it is conditioned by the development and perfecting of the mode of socialist production itself, by the necessity of enhancing the role of the working class in the management of the economy.

Improvement of the method and forms of management of the economy includes both the centralized management of the economy and the socialist democracy in the organization and management of the economy. This can be achieved, first of all, through strengthening the centralized management, which cannot yield the desired results if control is not exercised from below as well as from above. Socialism implies both control and accounting, and the forms in which they can be put into practice are perfected along with the development of the economy.

In the correct application of the principle of democratic centralism, in perfecting the method of the organization of work and the management of production, special attention has been paid to the deepening and extension of socialist democracy in the management of the economy. The working masses take part extensively in all the economic and social activity of each enterprise. All the activity of the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives is subject to the judgement and control of the working masses, who exercise these rights not in a purely formal way but actively.

In this matter, the question of establishing the most correct relations possible between the leaders and the working masses assumes special importance. These relations which ensure the correct direction of the economy and give it the correct orientation are considered an important aspect of the relations of socialist production. The deepening of the socialist democracy in the organization and management of the economy is particularly manifested in the merging of the cadres with the masses. In regard to the organization of work, the management of the economy, the development of social production, etc., the cadres are ready to listen to the voice of the masses, learn from them and participate together with them in production and scientific research. Such a practice is obligatory in the state enterprises, in the agricultural cooperatives and at all levels of the national economy.

The deepening of socialist democracy in the economy presupposes abandonment of the old forms and adoption of new ones to make it possible for the masses to manage production

and control all the economic activity of the enterprises, cooperatives or various institutions. The question of controlling the activity of a given enterprise or institution is above all the business of the entire working collective and not that of a small élite.

The control by the working class stems from its mission, from the role it plays in social production in the socialist regime, in the construction of socialism and communism. This control becomes possible, necessary and inevitable in socialist society, because the working class and the working masses become the owners of the means of production.

The control in the name of the masses is exercised, first of all, by the Party of Labour of Albania which guides and directs the entire life of the country, including its economic activity. The socialist state also plays a special role in this field, through its action in economic and organizational matters, bringing into play the leadership and control by the working class and the working masses. The state exercises control over its own organs and administrative and economic apparatuses and it is brought into action with the help and under the direct influence of the working masses. These forms of control are combined and interlinked with each other so that they serve the cause of the construction of socialism in the best possible way.

In the socialist regime, the subjection of economic activity and all other activity to the control of the masses is inherent in the regime itself, because the working masses themselves are the producers of the material goods, of the regulations, ordinances and laws of the organs of people's power, and in the course of their activity, they apply, correct and amend them in accordance with the level of development of the productive forces, the degree of perfection of the relations of socialist production and the level of consciousness of the masses themselves. Hence the masses participate actively in governing the country.

There are many forms of the participation of the masses in the management of the national economy. The workers play a primary role in drafting and implementing plans, they participate actively in the analysis of the economic and financial activity of the enterprises, in studying and deciding the measures to take to raise their own ideological, cultural and technical-professional level. Daily practice provides many new forms in this field, which contribute to the strengthening

of the centralized planned direction, to the further deepening of the socialist democracy in the management of the economy and the perfecting of the relations between the cadres and working masses in a revolutionary way.

The control, organization and management of the economy by the working class, by the working masses, are not purely formal, do not have the character of a simple campaign and are not carried out spontaneously; on the contrary, they have a permanent character and are consciously applied under the guidance of the Party. The working masses are engaged every day, every hour in this control, organization and management of social production and are ceaselessly perfecting them.

Self-reliance — the principal road of the construction of socialism in our country

«In the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania relies mainly on its own forces.» (Article 14 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania.)

Theoretically, this principle and its importance for the construction of socialism stem from the Marxist-Leninist theses on the determining role of the internal factor and the decisive function of the masses in the work of construction. Like the people's revolution, the construction of socialism in Albania is the work of the masses. This, however, does not exclude the role of the external factor during the national liberation war or the internationalist aid of other socialist countries during the socialist construction of the country.

In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA (November 1976) Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «the complete construction of the socialist society is closely linked with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.» The Party of Labour of Albania considers that the principle of self-reliance is not a temporary policy dictated by particular circumstances, but an objective necessity for each country, big or small, backward or developed, a principle applicable in the liberation struggle, in the proletarian revolution, as

well as in the construction of socialism and the defence of the country. «The implementation of this principle,» Comrade Enver Hoxha goes on, «bars all paths to the inflow of bank credits from bourgeois and revisionist states, by means of which the imperialists and social-imperialists enslave countries and nations, and fatten on their blood and sweat. The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the developing countries constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them.»

The principle of self-reliance presupposes the continuous reliance on the strength, the ideas and creative work of the working masses, the mobilization and organization of these masses for the material and social progress of the socialist society, it presupposes reliance on the material resources of the country and their discovery, development and rational utilization to the benefit of the construction of socialism; reliance on the internal accumulation of the country, the most rational utilization of it in accordance with a general line of a regime of savings, on the accumulation and generalization of the country's internal experience, as well as on the prudent and creative utilization of foreign experience, adapted to the conditions of the country; the setting up of an independent, multi-branched, modern national economic system which responds to the conditions and needs of the country.

Immediately after Liberation, the question of the economic and cultural development of the country became the concern of the entire people. Under the leadership of the Party, workers, peasants, intellectuals and women, set up units, detachments, battalions and brigades for voluntary work. An unprecedented enthusiasm for work swept the whole country.

In those very difficult conditions and despite a terrible shortage of machinery and experienced cadres, everybody worked self-sacrificingly to repair all the damaged roads and bridges and restore the communications network.

Thanks to the unsparing efforts of the workers, some of the factories, power stations and mines were repaired and recommenced their operation in the first year after Liberation. The peasants were mobilized to ensure the sowing of the arable land and, with state aid, to rebuild the burnt-out houses. The educational and cultural institutions began their activity, and new schools were opened, especially in the villages.

The entire development of the economy of the PSR of Albania is based on the utilization of the internal, human, material and monetary resources. Immense investments have been made in order to increase the fundamental production funds, to re-equip and modernize the existing branches of the economy, to develop the natural assets of the country and utilize them more and more for the benefit of the economy.

Through consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance considerable results have been achieved in Albania in the development of the national economy and the fulfilment of the needs of many branches. Thus, today our industry fulfils all the needs of the country for electric power, liquid and solid fuels and chemical fertilizers. It also satisfies all the needs for building materials (cement, timber, bricks, window glass, etc). Our engineering industry is capable of producing most of the spare parts needed for our economy and has begun to turn out many types of machinery and equipment, up to complete production lines, for factories and whole industrial complexes. Light industry fulfils the needs of the people for textiles, shoes, etc, the food industry also fulfils the greater part of the needs for various products, especially oil, sugar, etc.

The advance of our socialist agriculture enables it to ensure ever better supplies of other food products for the needs of the population and to provide industry with raw materials of plant or animal origin. In 1976, our agriculture achieved a great success: it produced all the bread grain needed by the country.

The complex plants designed and built in Albania, today, rank with the most advanced in the world as to their size and technical level. A complete educational system, which satisfies the needs of the country for middle and higher cadres of all specialities, has been established. Today Albania has an extensive network of research institutions engaged in fruitful studies and research for the benefit of production.

The coming into production of new, powerful industrial complexes will fulfil the needs of industry for steel, for iron profiles, tubes and plates, for high-quality liquid fuels, raw materials for the chemical industry, fibre-cement products, glass, and other products required by the engineering industry.

This vigorous development has resulted in the build-up of the internal resources in the functioning of the national economy.

Self-reliance means that the working masses play an ever greater role in the solution of the economic problems of the country. The motto «Rely on our own forces» has become a source of inspiration in Albania. When the Khrushchevite revisionists, and later, the Chinese revisionists, recalled their specialists and organized the blockade against our country, the Albanian workers themselves started to design and build machinery and equipment and even whole industrial complexes with their own forces. The Albanian cadres and specialists discovered important mineral resources, thus increasing the potential and independence of the national economy.

The working class, the innovators and rationalizers, the engineers and technicians, the cadres, specialists and all the other working people of Albania have mobilized their physical, mental and creative abilities to fulfil the state plan ahead of schedule, to increase the productivity of labour, and to produce within the country machinery, equipment or other products which were imported in the past.

The principle of self-reliance, the maximum utilization of all the internal resources and reserves, as well as the construction of a powerful national economy, enable the country to obtain the necessary machinery and equipment in foreign markets through trade on the basis of mutual benefit.

The principle of self-reliance does not deny the role of the external factor.

On this subject, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out:

«While working for the construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never dreamed of creating an autarchic economy, isolated within itself. At the same time, while combating any feeling of inferiority and worshipping everything foreign, it has not negated the value of progressive world thinking, the achievements of science and technology in other countries. It has always prized the revolutionary experience of all peoples, everything that serves the cause of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

«Far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary and socialist forces, self-reliance presupposes it. The aid which the victorious revolution gives the countries and peoples fighting for national and social liberation, the mutual aid among countries building socialism, is an internationalist duty. It is devoid of any sort of selfish interest and inspired by the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country

which receives it but also of the country which gives it, because the triumph of socialism in any country serves the triumph of the revolution in the other countries, too, its triumph over capitalism and revisionism.»

In the future too, Albania will adhere firmly to the line of building socialism by relying on its own forces.

The planned management of the economy

The mode of production in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is characterized by the planned development of the national economy.

This principle is sanctioned by Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution:

«The state organizes, manages and develops all economic and social life according to a unified general plan, in order to satisfy the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the society, to strengthen the independence and defence of the country, by constantly increasing and perfecting socialist production on the basis of advanced technology.»

«For the administration of means which are property of the whole people, the state creates economic enterprises which carry on their activity guided by the general interests of the society, expressed in the state plan.»

The necessity and possibility of this planned development stem from the social character of the ownership of the means of production, the various enterprises being considered as forming a single economic entity. Therefore large-scale socialist production cannot develop without a general plan.

The planned development of the economy in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is carried out by the people's power.

The state plans the development of the country's economy; it administers the material, human and financial resources, determines the volume and structure of production and major projects to develop the economy, establishes the rates of increase of labour productivity, the volume of goods in circulation in internal and foreign trade, fixes the prices of goods, the levels of pay for workers and officials, etc. The Albanian state also directs the economic life of the agricultural

cooperatives always taking account of their special characteristics as cooperative enterprises.

Because of the great importance of planning in the accomplishment, by the socialist state, of its principal function in the economic, organizational, cultural and educational fields, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as was mentioned above, gives explicit legislative sanction to the planning of the national economy as a constitutional principle.

The planning of the economy develops along with the essential stages of the conversion of private property of the means of production into social property. In the first stage, at the commencement of social ownership of the means of production, when this form of ownership is not yet predominant, the planning of the people's economy has a partial and limited character. In the second stage when the socialization of the means of production has been achieved, in general, and social ownership has become predominant, the people's economy begins to develop according to a unified general state plan. In the third stage, when the social ownership of the means of production is totally predominant, when the economic base of socialism has been built and the socialist relations of production have triumphed both in town and countryside, the planning of the economy enters a new higher stage of development. At this stage it is applied in the entire economy.

The establishment and development of a planned economy demand the establishment and organization of an adequate system of organs for the management and planning of the national economy, from the centre to the base, according to the principle of democratic centralism. This has been and remains the fundamental principle of the planned management of the national economy. The drafting of a unified state plan on a broad, democratic basis cannot be conceived without this principle. The system of state organs for the management and planning of national economy in Albania was established and has gradually developed, starting from initial, simple forms of organization, to reach the highly perfected form it has today.

The state plans in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania bear «the seal of the people». Both drafting them and carrying them out are the collective work of the working people. Wherever they are, at work, at meetings of their city

quarter, in the cultural institutions, etc, the working masses never fail to discuss the draft plans, to make their criticisms and suggestions. On the basis of the many suggestions put forward in these popular debates, the initial figures always undergo changes and modifications. The working masses have frequently modified the plan during its execution, have set higher targets and accelerated the rates of development. All plans undergo such modifications.

Upward of 13,500 commissions and planning groups, consisting of more than 82,000 members, 78 of them workers and cooperativists were set up and functioned all over the homeland to draft the directives of the 6th Five-year Plan. About 160,000 working people contributed to the discussion in the course of the examination of the draft directives, advancing about 45,000 proposals, of which over 30,000 were found valuable and endorsed. The same procedure was followed for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), too.

It should be pointed out that in the course of the debate, thanks to their very powerful spirit of initiative and revolutionary enthusiasm, the working masses expressed their determination to undertake bold tasks, considerably greater tasks than those envisaged in the draft-directives. Thus, the working masses themselves raised almost all the main targets presented in the draft-directives of the 6th and 7th Five-year Plans. The revolutionary ardour of the agricultural workers is also note-worthy.

From one five-year plan to the other

Albania embarked on the road of the development of a planned economy with a burden of great social, economic, technical and cultural backwardness inherited from the past, at a time when the country had suffered great material damage and loss of life at the hands of the fascist occupiers. The planned organization and development of the life of the country, of course on the basis of partial plans, began immediately after the triumph of the people's revolution. Such were the plans of 1945 and 1946. These annual plans envisaged the accomplishment of concrete tasks for the revival and organization of the national economy immediately after Liberation. The indices of these plans were naturally relatively restricted, but no small effort was required to

accomplish them. The aim was to reconstruct the ravaged and paralysed economy, to get the mines and certain small industrial units back into operation, to rebuild bridges and communication routes, to rebuild the damaged houses, etc.

The first unified state plan of the national economy was that of 1947. It marked the beginning of the development of the economy on a national scale, on the basis of unified state plans. It enabled certain concrete and urgent tasks concerning the reconstruction and equipment of the economy to be carried out. The plan of 1948 completed the restoration of different branches of the national economy and ensured their subsequent development. Total industrial output that year was twice that of 1938. At this stage communications were completely restored, the bridges and roads were repaired, the burnt-out houses were reconstructed and a great number of new projects were completed.

After the accomplishment of the two annual plans, the drafting of the two-year state plan for 1949-1950 began. This plan marked a new, higher stage in the planning and development of the Albanian people's economy. This plan envisaged the creation of new branches and new indices which, with reason, did not figure in the preceding plans. The accomplishment of the two-year plan brought about many modifications in the structure of total industrial and agricultural production.

The development of the people's economy on the basis of short-term state plans was necessary in the first years after Liberation, in order to accomplish some very urgent tasks, for the reconstruction, management and organization of the economy, to acquire the necessary experience to go on to five-year plans of the development of the economy and culture, without which the construction of socialism and communism was inconceivable.

The 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955)

As a result of the accomplishment of the first plans, in 1950, total industrial and agricultural output were respectively 4 times and 30 per cent above the pre-war figures. Therefore, in 1951, the conditions had been created for the planning of the people's economy to enter a new phase of development, that of long-term plans. Thus a new period began, a period of development at high rates. New, rational, well-harmonized

proportions were established between the various branches of the economy, planning was established on a more scientific basis and corresponded better to our possibilities, the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist planning of the people's economy were applied in a more complete and better organized way.

The long-term plans in Albania are unified five-year plans for the entire national economy. Up till 1980, six such plans had been successfully accomplished. Now the Albanian people are engaged in carrying out the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985).

The effect of the successful completion of the 1st Five-year Plan was to transform Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country. The basis of the new socialist economy was laid and the socialist sector of agriculture was extended. The necessary conditions were created for the rate of the collectivization of agriculture to be accelerated, and for the construction of the economic base of socialism to be completed in the next five-year plan. In 1955, the total volume of industrial production was 179 per cent higher than in 1950 and 11.5 times that of 1939. The rate of growth of industrial production was 22 per cent a year. In certain branches of industry, such as the extraction of chromium ore, the engineering industry, the timber industry, local industry, etc, the targets of the plan were overfulfilled. The handicraft cooperatives fulfilled the five-year plan 10 months ahead of schedule. About 150 factories and other new state-owned enterprises were commissioned during the 1st Five-year Plan.

Agriculture made great progress also. The production of bread grain in 1955 was 53 per cent higher than in 1950.

The vigorous development of the economy and the growth of industrial and agricultural production made possible the improvement of the material situation of the working people and the raising of their cultural level. The circulation of goods in 1955 was 105 per cent greater than in 1950. The national income had increased by 70 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees by 20 per cent, the income of the peasantry by 35 per cent.

Great successes were recorded also in the development of culture and education. The network of schools was extended and the number of schools and students increased. Illiteracy was completely abolished among people under 40 years of age.

The 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960)

The 2nd Five-year Plan was overfulfilled. This plan was characterized by the construction of the economic base of socialism. The total industrial output which was to be realized in five years was realized in four years and nine months, hence the industrial output envisaged for 1960 was realized in 1959. In 1960, the total industrial output was 2.2 times above that of 1955 and 25 times that of 1938. The mining, electrical, engineering and building materials industry had the highest development rates. The branches of the light and food industries developed in parallel fashion. Consequently, the structure of industry was much improved. In 1960, industry's contribution to the national income reached 40 per cent.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan, 250 big economic and cultural projects were completed. New oil-fields and new iron nickel, chromium, copper and coal mines came into production. New workers' towns sprang up alongside.

The most important victory in agriculture, a historic victory, was the large-scale collectivization of agriculture. In 1960, the socialist sector in agriculture covered 87 per cent of the arable land. Despite bad weather, especially in the two last years of the five-year plan, the agricultural output of 1960 was 25 per cent higher than that of 1955. The area of cultivated land was increased by 13 per cent. Yields of all agricultural products, including grain, increased. Tobacco, cotton and sugar-beet had the highest rates of increase.

The growth of industrial and agricultural production, the big productivity of labour and the fall in the cost of production were the main factors which resulted in an appreciable rise in the level of the material and cultural life of the people. In comparison with 1955, in 1960, the national income increased by 48 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees by 29 per cent, while the real income of the peasants increased by 35 per cent. During the 2nd Five-year Plan, 6 major reductions in the retail prices of consumer goods were decreed. These reductions represented a gain of 7 billion 200 million (old) leks for the population. The rates of increase in the circulation of goods were 2 to 3 times higher than those of the increase of population.

Considerable progress was recorded, also, in the development of education and culture, as well as in the protection of the people's health. In 1960, one person out of five went to school. The number of higher cadres trebled in comparison with 1955. Average life expectancy rose to 62 years.

The 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965)

Despite the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade imposed on the country, the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan were successfully accomplished on the whole. This plan marked an important step forward in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism.

The plan of total industrial production was fulfilled 97 per cent. In the chromium, copper, electrical and engineering industry, the targets were overfulfilled by satisfactory margins. The oil, coal, building materials, and light and food industries made further progress. The foundations of the chemical industry were laid. In the five years, 430 industrial, agricultural and socio-cultural projects were built and brought into service. Total industrial production in 1965 was 39 per cent higher than in 1960, or 34.8 times higher than in 1938.

The total agricultural output in 1966 was 36 per cent higher than that of 1960, and 2.3 times that of 1938. The production of bread grain increased by 51 per cent, the irrigation capacity by 52 per cent. The volume of mechanized work increased by 82 per cent, while the necessary base for the establishment of an intensive agriculture was strengthened.

In comparison with the 2nd Five-year Plan, the national income increased by 44 per cent. The part of this income allocated to consumption, the circulation of the goods in socialist trade and the total housing floor space increased likewise. The number of pupils and students envisaged in the plan was surpassed. The number of middle cadres doubled while the number of higher cadres more than doubled.

The successful achievement of the objectives of the 3rd Five-year Plan was a testimony to the revolutionary spirit of the Albanian Workers, and their great moral and political strength. The accomplishment of this five-year plan showed that the base on which the Albanian socialist economy was built was invulnerable and that the road followed by the

people's power for the socialist construction of the country was correct. The experience of these five years also proved that the socialist construction of a country can continue successfully even under the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and pressure.

The 4th Five-year Plan (1966-1970)

The 4th Five-year Plan marked an important step forward in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism by means of the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening of the cooperative system in the countryside, the rapid development of agricultural production, mainly of bread grain, and the deepening of the technical and scientific revolution. On this basis the well-being of the people and their cultural level were raised and the defence potential of the socialist Homeland increased.

The 4th Five-year Plan was accomplished in 4 years and 7 months. The targets for the growth of total industrial production were overfulfilled and the level fixed for 1970 was achieved in 1968.

Because of a more complete exploitation of the existing productive capacities and the construction of new projects, during this plan the socialist industrialization of the country developed in extension and depth. Instead of the 50-54 per cent increase envisaged by the plan, total industrial production in 1970 was 83 per cent higher than that of 1965. The average rate of annual growth of industrial production was 12.9 per cent, or 4.2 per cent higher than envisaged.

The production of the means of production (group A) in 1970 was 108 per cent higher than that of 1965, instead of the 65-69 per cent increase envisaged. In the sector of the geological service, the objectives set for the increase of industrial reserves were surpassed. Instead of the envisaged 46 per cent increase, crude oil production in 1970 increased by 81 per cent in comparison with 1965. The targets were overfulfilled also in mineral extraction, oil refining, production of blister copper, etc. The production of electric power increased 2.8 fold in comparison with 1965, instead of the 2.3 fold envisaged. The 4th Five-year Plan laid the foundations of the chemical industry, which has made an important contribution to the continuous increase in production, es-

pecially in agriculture. The engineering industry also made considerable progress through the creation of new productive capacities and a better utilization of its internal reserves. This branch of the economy successfully accomplished all the tasks assigned to it. The total output of the engineering industry in 1970 was more than 3 times greater than in 1965.

The advance in the production of the means of production was accomplished in harmony with the equally necessary increase in the production of goods for current consumption (group B). Instead of the envisaged 33-38 percentage increase, the production of consumer goods in 1970 increased by 58 per cent in comparison with 1965. The average rate of annual growth was 9.5 per cent instead of the envisaged 6.7 per cent.

In 1970, total agricultural output had increased by 33 per cent in comparison with 1965, representing a 5.8 per cent annual increase. The production of field crops increased by 55 per cent and bread grain by 65 per cent. The production of milk, meat and other animal products also increased considerably.

The plan for breaking in new land by the cooperativist peasantry was overfulfilled. The irrigation capacity grew by 33 per cent to cover 54 per cent of the arable land as against 46 per cent in 1965. The volume of mechanized work increased by 90 per cent instead of the 36 per cent increase envisaged by the 4th Five-year Plan. Agriculture was provided with 6 times more chemical fertilizers than in the 3rd Five-year Plan.

In the course of the 4th Five-year Plan, the volume of investments increased by 55 per cent and that of construction work by 46 per cent instead of the envisaged 34 and 18 per cent, respectively. The purpose of the investments and construction work was to ensure the rapid development of the extended socialist reproduction, the development of the social and cultural sectors, in particular, for the construction of houses, and especially to overcome the heavy damage caused by several earthquakes which the country experienced during that period.

Satisfactory results were also achieved in the development of transport. In comparison with 1965, the volume of goods transport had increased in 1970 by 53 per cent instead of the envisaged 41-46 per cent. Passenger transport increased

by 108 per cent instead of the envisaged 83 per cent. The railway network was extended and the merchant fleet expanded.

Thanks to the continuous development of social production, the national income in 1970 increased by 55 per cent in comparison with 1965, instead of the envisaged 45-50 per cent.

During the 4th Five-year Plan, the level of accumulation achieved was raised to 34 per cent. This increase was accompanied with the continuous general growth of consumption by the population. In comparison with 1965, the fund of consumption in 1970 had increased 30 per cent, or 2.1 times more rapidly than the growth of the population. Important measures were taken during this five-year plan to raise the standard of living of the working people. All taxes on the working people's incomes were abolished. The prices of a series of mass consumer goods were reduced, and a number of measures favouring the agricultural cooperatives were taken. The turnover of retail trade goods in 1970 had increased by 45 per cent as against 1965, instead of the envisaged 25-27 per cent.

The network of health institutions was extended during the 4th Five-year Plan, and the number of hospital beds increased by more than the envisaged 8 per cent.

All these figures show that the targets set by the 5th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the 4th Five-year Plan were, on the whole, accomplished with success.

The 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975)

The 5th Five-year Plan was marked by a more vigorous growth and strengthening of all branches of the economy.

The figures show that in 1975, in comparison with 1970, social production increased by 37 per cent and the national income by 38 per cent, or at an average rate 3 times higher than the rate of increase of the population. Industrial production now represented 65 per cent of the total industrial and agricultural production. In comparison with 1970, in 1975 it had increased by 52 per cent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent. Agricultural production had increased by 33 per cent, at an average annual rate of 5.9 per cent. The

table below presents the main figures characterizing the development of our people's economy in the 5th Five-year Plan:

Principal indices	In per cent	
	Increase in 1975 as against 1970	
- Total social production	37	
- National income	38	
- Total industrial production	52	
- Total agricultural production	33	
- Volume of goods transported	45	
- Volume of investments (for the 5 years taken together)	50	
- Productivity of labour in industry	21	
- Productivity of labour in construction	28	
- Volume of exports (for the 5 years taken together)	75	
- Goods turnover in retail trade	35	
- Real income per capita of population	14.5	

During the 5th Five-year Plan, the people's economy continued to develop at relatively rapid rates. The average rate of growth of total social production was 6.5 per cent (8.7 per cent for industrial production, 5.9 per cent for agricultural production). As was stressed above, these rates were two to three times higher than the rate of increase of the population. This shows clearly that the economy of socialist Albania is developing more rapidly than the economies of the capitalist countries or those countries where the revisionists have come to power. Unlike the capitalist and revisionist countries, socialist Albania knows no rises in the prices of mass consumer goods, no inflation, no unemployment.

The productive forces have developed rapidly in an all-round way, the material and technical base of socialism was raised to a new higher stage, and an important step forward was taken in the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country. The share of national income allocated to the development of the economy and culture was 36 per cent. The industrialization of the country continued to develop and the role of industry as the leading branch of the people's economy grew considerably. In 1975, the production of means of production (Group A)

accounted for 58.5 per cent of the total industrial output. Important steps were also made in the rapid development and intensification of all branches of agriculture, especially the production of bread grain. This made it possible for the untiring agricultural workers to achieve a brilliant victory: in 1976 they succeeded in producing all the grain required to ensure the people's bread supplies.

The well-being of the masses as a whole steadily improved, and the essential differences between town and countryside were further reduced. The state used important accumulated funds to cope with the uncontrollable rise in the prices of imported goods and has not permitted this phenomenon to affect the purchasing power of the population. In comparison with 1970, the production of mass consumer goods (Group B) increased by 45 per cent in 1975. Thus the rate of growth of the fund of consumption was higher than the rate of growth of the population, while the real income of the peasantry increased much more rapidly than that of the urban population. Improvements were made in the management of the economy, in the system of wholesale purchases, supplies of goods and distribution. The improvement of all the links of the superstructure during the 5th Five-year Plan opened the way to the continuous development of the productive forces, released great forces and energies and warded off the danger of the bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of our social, political and economic order.

Achievements in the field of production

1. Industrial production

In 1975, total industrial output made up 57 per cent of the total social product, as against 52 per cent in 1970. In comparison with 1970, in 1975, the production of means of production had increased by 57 per cent and the production of consumer goods by 45 per cent. Great successes were achieved in increasing the industrial reserves of minerals; the targets in this sector were accomplished and overfulfilled, opening up surer prospects for the continuous socialist industrialization of the country, for the exploitation of the natural resources

and the long-term development of the various branches of industry.

The light and food industry also achieved considerable successes: In comparison with 1970, production of the food industry in 1975 increased by 51 per cent and that of light industry by 34 per cent. To illustrate the importance of these results, it suffices to mention that in 1975 our economy fulfilled 85 per cent of our needs for consumer goods with local products. This is a great victory.

2. Agricultural production

Thanks to the particular concern of the Party for the socialist economic, social and cultural development of the countryside, important successes were achieved in agricultural production and the development of the countryside in general.

In 1975, the agricultural enterprises and the higher-type cooperatives alone ensured 37 per cent of the bread grain of the Republic and their contribution to the other crops was about 57 per cent for cotton, 58 per cent for sunflower, 68 per cent for sugar-beet, 39 per cent for olives, 60 per cent for citrus fruit, 62 per cent for milk, 49 per cent for meat, etc.

During the 5th Five-year Plan, the number of tractors (calculated in 15 horse-power units) increased by 54 per cent; the irrigated area now covers 50 per cent of the arable land. In 1975, the quantity of chemical fertilizers used was 41 per cent higher than that of 1970. During this same period 90,000 hectares of the new land were planted to crops.

The production of 1975, as against 1970, increased as follows:

— total field crops	30 per cent
— bread grain	35 » »
— sugar-beet	76 » »
— sunflower	70 » »
— cotton	48 » »
— haricot beans	47 » »
— livestock products	35 » »

3. Investments and fundamental constructions

The important and complex investments for the rapid and many-sided development of the different branches of the economy and culture, made especially in heavy extracting and processing industry and agriculture, were one of the main characteristics of the 5th Five-year Plan.

The investments made during the 5th Five-year Plan were 50 per cent higher than those made during the preceding five-year plan and the volume of fundamental constructions increased by 49 per cent.

In the 5th Five-year Plan, 155 important new economic and socio-cultural projects were constructed and put into service. During this period, a considerable amount of work was done in several major projects such as the metallurgical combine (which has now turned out the first Albanian iron and steel), the hydro-power station at Fierza, the oil refinery in Ballsh, the urea plant, the PVC and soda plant, the Gjanç irrigation reservoir, etc.

4. Transport and communications

The road, railway and telecommunications network was extended. This facilitated and improved economic and social relations and further animated the life of the country. The volume of goods transport increased by 45 per cent and passenger transport by 38 per cent. The volume of rail transport of goods was doubled. Sea transport made progress, and the capacity of the sea ports increased. The communications sector satisfied the needs of the economy and the population of the city and the countryside better, doing a volume of work in 1975, 61 per cent greater than in 1970.

II. The accomplishment of tasks for the distribution of the social product, for raising the level of well-being and the cultural development of the people

1. Distribution and utilization of the national income

During the 5th Five-year Plan, the distribution and utilization of the national income were carried out in con-

formity with the policy of the Party, maintaining a high level of accumulation with the aim of accelerating the development of the productive forces, ensuring the build-up of the defence capacity of the country and improving the general well-being of the people.

The part of the national income allocated to the fund of accumulation was 36 per cent instead of the 34-37 per cent envisaged by the 6th Congress of the Party, while 64 per cent, as against the envisaged 63-66 per cent of the national income was allocated to the fund of consumption. The target set by the 6th Congress of the Party for the growth of the real income of the population was successfully achieved and the difference in incomes between the urban and rural population was further reduced. The real income of the city dweller increased by 8.7 per cent while that of the peasant increased by 20.5 per cent. It should be noted that the primary factor in the well-being and increased real per capita income has been and remains the growing participation of the active population in useful social work. In fact, the number of workers in 1975 increased by 21 per cent as against 1970. In the countryside, too, the participation in work contributed directly to raising the well-being of the peasants. The fact that the average income per member in the agricultural cooperatives in 1975 had increased by 29 per cent, as against 1970, was a great success.

During the 5th Five-year Plan, a series of measures were taken favouring the cooperative peasantry, especially in the hilly and mountain zones, in order to reduce the essential differences between city and countryside. Here are some of them: the establishment of a unified, centralized system of pensions and social security benefits for mother and child; reductions in the process of certain means of production sold to the agricultural cooperatives by the state; increased prices for certain agricultural and livestock products bought by the state; the undertaking by the state of part of the investments made for breaking in new land, irrigation works and the development of fruit-growing. Besides reducing the essential differences between city and countryside, those measures have helped to increase agricultural production and strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

In fighting to raise the living standards of the working masses, the Party has always pursued a correct policy in the

field of distribution, allowing no great differentiation in the levels of income and living standards between different classes and groups of the population. This is not petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, but a correct application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work done, and an effective measure to prevent the creation of a privileged and favoured stratum which might become the carrier of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and a social basis for the restoration of capitalism in our country. It was with this purpose in mind that the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers took the decision in April 1976, «On the reduction of higher salaries, on improvements in the pay system for the workers and on the further narrowing of the distinctions between city and countryside.» Thanks to these measures, the peasantry has a net gain of 140-160 million leks per year. This is greater than the total gain to our whole population from the important reductions in the prices of consumer goods made in our country up to date.

Thus in the PSR of Albania, the ratio between the average pay of a worker and the pay of a director of an enterprise in a given sector is 1 to 1.7; the ratio between the average pay of the workers in general and the pay of a director or minister is about 1 to 2; the ratio between the lowest and highest pay of the workers in a given sector is about 1 to 1.5-1.65. Because of its importance in principle, the pay ratio has become a juridical constitutional norm.

In the countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, not to speak of the capitalist countries, the ratio between the lowest and highest pay varies between 1:10 and 1:30, without counting the bonuses which the directors of enterprises, the engineers and technicians enjoy as a result of the capitalist distribution of profits in the revisionist enterprises.

2. Improvement of the well-being of the masses

The improvement of the well-being of the working masses also depends on the circulation of goods. During the 5th Five-year Plan, the circulation of goods increased by 35 per cent. Supplies for the people in 1975, as against 1970, increased as follows: sugar 30 per cent, edible oils 27 per

cent, meat 27 per cent, vegetables 22 per cent, milk 43 per cent, cheese 60 per cent, eggs 180 per cent; shoes 25 per cent, hosiery 51 per cent, furniture and household goods 26 per cent, etc.

The health service in the PSR of Albania was greatly extended during the 5th Five-year Plan, especially in the countryside. Health service institutions have been set up in almost all cooperatives. In 1970 there was one doctor for 1.180 people, while in 1975 there was one doctor for 870 people. It should be noted that in Albania medical care is provided by the state free of charge for the entire population. Albania is the country with the lowest death-rate in Europe and average life expectancy has reached 69 years, as against 38 years in 1938.

3. Education and culture

Important successes have been achieved in the fields of education and culture. In 1975, 30 people out of every 100 went to school. In the work of education and teaching in our new school, the spirit of the class, the proletarian and revolutionary spirit of education have been strengthened through the application of the three components of our new education system: study, productive labour, physical and military education.

On the other hand, cultural and artistic activity assumed a more pronounced mass character. This activity was purged of the liberal-bourgeois and revisionist influences which were the result of the hostile activity of the traitors Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja and others in this field. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was of great importance. It created greater possibilities for the further extension and better organization of research work, as well as for the perfecting of the method of study and scientific research. The arts and literature also made progress both in quantity and quality, in their revolutionary content and in their artistic form.

The marked raising of the well-being of the entire people is a great victory for the general line and the economic policy of the PLA, which once again shows the superiority of the socialist socio-economic order over the capitalist order, whether bourgeois or revisionist, in such a vital and decisive sphere as that of the care shown for man and all his needs.

In the PSR of Albania, despite the blockade imposed by the external enemies and the hostile activity in the economic field of the traitors Abdyl Këllezhi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, despite the pressure of the great economic and financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, the prices of consumer goods have always remained stable and correspond to the needs and purchasing power of the people, whereas in the capitalist and revisionist countries the prices of consumer goods are constantly rising.

In conclusion, it can be said that the targets for the economic and cultural development of the country during the 5th Five-year Plan, on the whole, were successfully attained and that the fundamental political, economic and social objectives set by the 6th Congress of the PLA were achieved.

For the Albanian people these results were a solid basis for their efforts to carry out the 6th Five-year Plan sanctioned by the 7th Congress of the PLA.

The 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980)

The economy and culture of our country reached a higher stage of development in the 6th Five-year Plan. The volume of production was further increased and major improvements were made in the structure of social production.

Although the Chinese revisionists cut off credits and interrupted economic relations with our country, on which the achievement of important objectives of the 6th Five-year Plan depended, the Party called on the people, mobilized and led the working masses to fulfil the main targets of the state plan.

In 1980, as against 1975, the total social product had increased 24.4 per cent, or more than twice the increase of the population. The industrial output of 1980 was 131 times that of 1938.

As a result of the consistent implementation of the economic policy of the Party for the further development of the socialist industrialization of the country, total industrial production increased at an average annual rate of 6.1 per cent during the last five-year plan. New branches of industry were set up, such as that of ferrous metallurgy, deep processing of oil, the ferro-chrome industry, etc. Along with this, the material and technical basis of the existing branches of the

extracting and processing industry was further extended.

Priority was given in the 6th Five-year Plan to the development of branches which produce means of production. In 1980, the proportion of Group A in total industrial production reached 64 per cent as against 56.8 per cent in 1975. The energy industry was further strengthened, thus fulfilling the growing needs of the country and becoming one of the main sources for the increase of exports. Major successes were also achieved in the discovery of new oil- and gas fields which resulted in the increase of industrial reserves. In 1980 the quantity of coal extracted was 63 per cent greater than in 1975, while the production of electric energy by the hydro-power stations increased by 3 times.

The engineering industry had high rates of development, too, and it fulfilled the target of ensuring 95 per cent of the needs of the economy for spare parts locally. Major steps were also made in the increase of the production of various machinery and equipment. In 1980 the production of this branch of industry was 57.7 per cent greater than in 1975. Marked progress was also made in the other branches of the heavy extracting and processing industry, such as that of chrome, copper, the chemical industry, the building materials industry, the timber and paper industry, etc.

The production of consumer goods was further increased during the 6th Five-year Plan. The annual average growth rate of many of the main products of the light and food industry was 2.2 to 6.5 times the annual rate of the population increase.

Our socialist agriculture further developed in the 6th Five-year Plan on the basis of the intensification of the production of its various branches. In comparison with the 5th Five-year Plan, agricultural production for the five years of the 6th Five-year Plan taken together was 21.4 per cent greater. The cooperativist peasantry and the other working people of agriculture consolidated their great victory, the fulfilment of the needs of the economy and the people for bread grain through the production of all the grain needed within the country. This, along with the increase of other agricultural and livestock products, resulted in the further enhancement of the role of agriculture, in the strengthening of the independence of the country and in the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the people, industry and exports.

These achievements were also the result of the further

strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture. Along with the increase in the number of tractors and other agricultural machines, irrigation was extended to another 40,000 hectares and in 1980 the quantity of chemical fertilizers was 50 per cent greater than in 1975. Marked progress was also made in the more rational utilization of the material technical base through the application of advanced techniques and technology for increasing the fertility of the soil and management of livestock.

The volume of investments made in the 6th Five-year Plan for the development of the economy and culture was 15 per cent greater than in the 5th Five-year Plan. Important economic and social-cultural projects were built and commissioned during this plan. They brought about the further strengthening of the material-technical base of the economy as a whole and of its separate branches, of industry and agriculture in particular.

The other branches and sectors of the economy and culture were also further developed. The volume of products and goods transported during the past five-year plan increased by 30 per cent, thus fulfilling the requirements of the economy for the timely transport of goods.

New markets for the export goods were ensured by the foreign trade and the volume of export and import was increased as a whole.

All these achievements were another major step forward on the road of the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country.

As a result of the care of the Party and the measures it took, the living standards of the working masses were further improved. The real per capita income and the purchasing power of the population were further increased and the socialist commerce fulfilled the needs of the people for consumer goods better, in quantity, quality and structure. The sector of communal services was also rapidly extended.

Socialist education and culture were further developed. Their role in the communist education of the working masses was further enhanced. Twenty thousand higher cadres of different specialities, or 57 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan, were trained in the 6th Five-year Plan. The quality of teaching was raised in higher schools turning out higher specialists and in secondary schools turning out qualified workers and middle specialists. Over 730,000 pupils and

students are nowadays attending secondary and higher schools. Fourteen feature films, 10 animated cartoon films, 26 documentary films and 40 newsreels are annually produced in Albania.

The health service was further developed in the direction of the protection and improvement of the health of the people. Another achievement was the adoption of further and more complete hygiene measures in cities, villages, work and production centres and the protection of the environment from pollution. There are 3,890 health institutions in Albania with 5,140 higher cadres serving in them. There is one doctor for every 738 residents without counting dentists.

The socialist relations of production were further perfected on the basis of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party. The measures taken for the constant strengthening of the socialist property, the improvement of the forms of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done, encouragement of revolutionary initiatives, especially of that for the creation of joint herds from the cooperativists' personal livestock as well as the improvement of the scientific and planned management of the economy, became major factors for the further development of the economy and culture and the socialist construction in our country.

The uninterrupted development and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, which has successfully solved many problems of the development of the economy, culture and the enhancement of the defence potential of the country, has also made a valuable contribution to the general development of the country.

The 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985)

The main indicators of the development of the economy during this five-year plan are to rise as follows:

	Increase in per cent 1985 against 1980
— Total social product	34-36
— National income	35-37
— Total industrial production	36-38
— Total agricultural production (in the 7th Five-	

year Plan as against the 6th Five-year Plan, for the five years taken together)	30-32
— Fundamental investments (in the 7th Five-year Plan as against the 6th Five-year Plan, for the five years taken together)	22-24
— Transport of goods (ton/kilometres)	34-36
— Circulation of retail goods in state trade	22-24
— Exports	58-60
— Productivity of social labour	12-14
— Real income per head of population	8-10
— Total financial income	34-36

In industry geological prospecting for minerals will be stepped up. Priority will be given to the development of the energy industry. In 1985, as against 1980, oil extraction will increase 58-60 per cent, coal extraction will increase about 48 per cent and the production of electric power about 16 per cent.

The mineral extracting industry will be developed at rapid rates. In 1985 as against 1980, extraction of chromium ore will increase about 29 per cent, of copper ore about 53 per cent, and iron-nickel about 2.5 times. The extraction of phosphorites, quartzite, rock salt, marble blocks, dolomite, olivinite, bauxite, magnesium, nickel-silicate, alabaster, etc. will also be increased.

Ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy will be developed rapidly; in 1985 as against 1980 production of rolled steels will increase 76 per cent, carbonic ferro-chrome about 3 fold and blister copper about 28 per cent.

The total production of the engineering industry will increase 43-45 per cent, reconditioning of spare parts 54-56 per cent and the production of machinery and equipment 56-58 per cent.

In 1985 the production of the chemical industry will be 62-65 greater than in 1980, that of the building materials industry 20-22 per cent, of the timber and paper industry 22-24 per cent, of the light industry 38-40 per cent, of the food industry 23-25 per cent.

Agriculture will proceed more rapidly on the road of intensification of production. Production of bread grain remains the principal task in this five-year plan, too. Over the 5 years it will increase about 20 per cent in comparison with the 6th Five-year Plan. Production of industrial crops will

also increase rapidly. Average annual production of sugar-beet will increase 41-44 per cent, sun-flower 56-58 per cent, cotton 55-58, and tobacco 46-49 per cent. Special importance will be given to increasing production of potatoes, vegetables and dry beans.

Animal products will also increase at rapid rates. In 1985 as against 1980 milk production will increase 30-32 per cent, meat 53-55 per cent, eggs 50-52 per cent and wool 34-36 per cent.

The area planted to fruit trees will be further extended. Over the five years of the 7th Five-year Plan the production of pip and stone fruit will increase 38-40 per cent, grapes 41-44 per cent, citrus fruit 43-45 per cent and olives 68-70 per cent as against the 6th Five-year Plan.

Another 50-51 thousand hectares will be added to the area under irrigation and 26 thousand hectares of virgin land will be broken in.

The national income will increase at rapid rates. In 1985 the fund of accumulation will increase 74-76 per cent as against 1980. The volume of investments during the 7th Five-year Plan will increase 22-24 per cent. About 74 per cent of the total volume of investments will be used for the development of industry and agriculture.

During the 7th Five-year Plan 46-48 per cent of the increase of industrial production and 42-44 per cent of the increase of the volume of construction-installation work will be secured from the increase in labour productivity.

About 50 thousand flats will be built by the state during the 7th Five-year Plan. Likewise, construction materials will be made available for the cooperativist peasantry to build 31 thousand houses.

In 1985 as against 1980, the number of students attending the higher schools will increase 24 per cent, while the number of pupils attending full-time secondary school will increase about 46 per cent.

Art, physical culture and sports will be further developed with greater mass participation in them.

The health service will also be further developed.

The technical-scientific revolution will be developed and deepened in all branches of the economy and culture on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy and world outlook of the Party.

The socialist relations of production will be further im-

proved. The socialist property will be further strengthened, especially in the countryside. The relations of distribution will be further improved through the application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done.

Advantages of the planned management of the economy

The planned development ensures the national economy a marked superiority not only over the semi-feudal economy our country had in the past, but also over that of the most developed capitalist countries.

The people's economy is directed to satisfying the needs of society as a whole and not to seeking profit. Competition and anarchy of production being non-existent, the planned development of the economy in Albania is based on the development of science and technology serving the needs of the national economy.

Planning, as a method of management, ensures a continuous development of the people's economy at accelerated rates. The people's economy does not experience the economic crises which ravage the economies of other countries periodically drawing them into regression and inflicting great material damage on society. Unlike what happens in the capitalist countries where there is a cyclical development of the economy and crises recur periodically, the people's economy in Albania develops at high rates according to the proportion fixed by the state, in conformity with the law of the planned development of the national economy and the fundamental economic law of socialism.

The high rates of development are an objective necessity dictated by the need to eliminate the technical and economic backwardness inherited from the past as quickly as possible, to accelerate the rate of development of the productive forces and bring it into conformity with the socialist relations of production so as to ensure the raising of the well-being of the working masses.

Even in recent years when Albania has built a powerful economic base, the rates of development have remained high.

Average annual growth rates 2 to 3 times higher than the

rate of natural increase of the population, which is one of the highest in the world, is the main characteristic of the industrial development of Albania.

Such high rates of development naturally have the effect of pushing Albanian industrial production to proportions beyond any comparison with the past.

It should be mentioned that Albania surpasses a good number of countries in the rate of industrial expansion. Under the people's power, industrial expansion rates have been double the average annual world rate and three times higher than the rates of certain developed capitalist countries.

During this same period, socialist agriculture also developed rapidly. It is noteworthy that, despite the extreme backwardness Albania inherited from the past, today it has surpassed the average world development rates.

Historical experience has refuted the theses that high rates of development are typical of the first stage of industrialization, and gradually decline in the subsequent stages.

The rapid development recorded in socialist Albania is proof of the superiority of the socialist regime. This superiority will make it possible in the future for Albania to attain higher and higher peaks in its economic and cultural development.

The harmonious development of the national economy

The socialization of the means of production in Albania resulted in the liquidation of the elements of the economic life characteristic of bourgeois society, spontaneous fluctuations of market prices, the rate of profit, the value of shares, etc. which gave way to the harmonious development of the socialist economy. Under capitalism, where all processes develop spontaneously, harmony is conceived in no other form than as a blind means to be obtained and established temporarily through the crises, disproportions, anarchy, competition and disruption which are characteristic of this system. In the socialist regime, the social ownership of the means of production makes possible the conscious preservation of the stability, continuity and dynamism of

these proportions. This is achieved, first and foremost, through the planning of the people's economy.

The five-year plans ensure the proportional development of the various branches of the people's economy as well as of all the districts of the country. This is not just a static balance, established through the various elements of reproduction, but an interlinking of these elements adapted to the conditions and requirements of a given stage. Hence the five-year plans comprise a dynamic balance. Consequently, under the people's power, production of means of production has increased more rapidly than that of goods for consumption, accumulation more quickly than consumption, industry has developed more quickly than agriculture, the development of certain elements and sectors of social reproduction is accomplished more rapidly than that of certain others. All these factors constitute an objective necessity for the harmonious development of the people's economy at the given stage.

The successes achieved in the development of industry testify to the creation of a powerful material base and make possible the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country to an industrial-agricultural country, then to an industrial country with advanced agriculture. Along with the increase of the productive capacities, these successes also enable emphasis to be placed on the intensification of agriculture based on modern technique and technological processes.

The main task in regard to industrial development in the future remains the development of industrial production and improvement of its structure, so that a multi-branched industry relying mainly on advanced technology and a stable local basis as regards the provision with raw materials is created. Only such an industry can make possible the achievement of short-term and long-term objectives of the industrialization, the utilization, stage by stage, in a rational way and with the maximum economic efficiency, of the various natural resources of the country; the fulfilment of the essential and most urgent needs of the national economy; the systematic raising of the standard of living of the people and the build-up of the defence capacity of the country.

The priority development of the means of production is based on the process of continuous technical development, on the expansion of the material and technical base, on the

quantitative growth of the means of production used; on the gradual modification of their structure and the multiplication and renovation of their forms. This process has contributed to the accelerated growth of the volume of production of means of production compared to that of consumer goods.

The more rapid growth of means of production as compared with consumer goods has been achieved in Albania as a result of the increase of the share of material expenditure in production.

The rapid growth of productive accumulation remains another factor of the high level of dynamism of socialist reproduction and the priority development of means of production.

Starting from the 3rd Five-year Plan, the fund of accumulation has increased not only in absolute value but also in relation to the fund of consumption. In the historical conditions of the construction of socialism in the PSR of Albania, the maintenance of a relatively high level of accumulation is dictated by the need to accomplish as quickly as possible the tasks emerging from the stage of the completion of the construction of the material and technical base of socialism, as well as the circumstances created by the imperialist and revisionist economic blockade.

This is a revolutionary line in the distribution and use of the national income. It fully responds to the necessity of achieving the highest possible rates of development by carefully harmonizing the long-term objectives with the immediate tasks. This line is closely linked with the vital necessity of establishing an economy as self-sufficient as possible, capable of coping with all circumstances which may arise from the imperialist and revisionist encirclement. The growth of the fund of accumulation and first of all its increase as a percentage of the national income are also dictated by the need to overcome the economic backwardness inherited from the past as quickly as possible. This is indispensable if the program of the socialist industrialization, the collectivization and intensification of agriculture, the program of the complete construction of the socialist society, is to be carried out.

The increase in accumulation, the maintenance of high rates of this increase, constitute an objective process dictated by the development in depth of the technical-scientific revolution which is going on in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania today, by the acceleration of the rates of

construction of the material and technical base of socialism, and by the need for a marked increase in the productivity of labour. That is why the norm of accumulation in Albania is so high.

It is the rapid development of socialist production which has made the growth in volume and the rate of increase of accumulation both necessary and possible. The need for funds, especially for productive funds has increased considerably. And as we have pointed out in previous chapters, this can be seen in the increase in the fundamental investments made in our national economy.

This increased accumulation constitutes a material and financial base, not only for the increase of production but also for the growth of consumption, a growth which results in the improvement of the well-being of the people. In fact, if accumulation and consumption are considered from the angle of their reciprocal connection and not only for one year but for a longer time, it turns out that the fund of accumulation used in the course of several years is materialized in the growth of production and the national income, consequently in the growth of material and financial values in the successive years, a large part of which is used to raise the material standard of living and the cultural level of the people.

The question of proportion between the consumption and accumulation funds has been always solved in Albania through a judicious harmonization of the immediate and long-term interests of the individual and general interests. As a result of this policy, the big increase in the fund of accumulation from one period to another and the rate of accumulation have not entailed reduction of the fund of consumption in absolute value or per head of population. On the contrary, the increase in accumulation is accompanied by the increase of the fund of consumption at a rate twice as high as the rate of increase of the population and has exerted a favourable influence in this direction.

The accumulation in itself is dictated by the long-term interest and the general interest; this is why it is given priority over increase in the fund of consumption.

The raising of the level of the material and cultural life of the people is reflected in the increase of the real per capita income which in 1970 was 20 per cent higher than in 1960 and 17 per cent higher than in 1965. As regards the

year 1975, it can be said that the target set by the 6th Congress of the Party was successfully achieved and the difference in the incomes of the peasantry and the urban population was further reduced. The real per capita income in the cities increased by 8.7 per cent, while in the countryside it increased by 20.5 per cent.

During the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980), when the greatest economic, political, financial and energy crisis came to a head in the bourgeois-revisionist countries, when the rates of industrial production and utilization of productive capacities showed a continuous fall and when price rises, unemployment, inflation, etc. had reached unheard of proportions, with us, in Albania, despite the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, the economy developed with success, always on the rise, our currency remained strong, whereas prices never were raised and never will; they remained stable even though the state imported a series of articles at continuously higher prices and the living standards of the people were not only not affected but were improved to the degree the development of the economy allowed.

The planned development of the economy in the PSR of Albania ensures a gradual and proportional growth in the main branches. The correct proportions must be preserved mainly between industry and agriculture, because the development of the other branches of our national economy also depends on their successful development.

A close interdependence exists between industry and agriculture. The development of the economy further accentuates their interconnection and interdependence and at the same time makes them more complex as they tend to satisfy their mutual needs ever better. In these conditions, it becomes even more necessary to set the highest possible rates of development of industry and agriculture as well as sound proportions between them, so that they can satisfy their own needs and those of the other branches of the economy.

Under the people's power, industry develops more quickly than agriculture, and this is explained by the leading role of industry as the essential source of production of the material goods which maintain the extended socialist reproduction.

The planned development of the national economy permits the rational distribution of the productive forces,

which makes it possible to satisfy the material needs ever more completely.

The rational distribution of the productive forces has as its objective the ever more complete satisfaction of the ever increasing material and cultural needs of all the working people of Albania. «Only a society which is capable of establishing a harmonious union of the productive forces in conformity with a unified, overall plan,» says Engels, «makes possible the distribution of industry all over the country, which is capable of enhancing its own development and strength as well as the development of the other elements of production.»

Before Liberation the situation in this field was deplorable. For instance in 1938 the districts of Korça, Shkodra and Tirana provided 45 per cent of the entire industrial and agricultural production, while the districts of Dibra, Elbasan, Fier, Kukës and Mat, the population of which was equal to that of the three above-mentioned districts, provided only 14 per cent of this production, or one third as much as those three districts.

The construction of many new industrial establishments during successive five-year plans permitted the harmonious and proportional distribution of industry to all the districts of the country.

Districts which were purely agricultural in the past are now well known for their various industrial products.

In the district of Fier (southern Albania), Albanian geologists have discovered important oil resources. Big plants to refine oil, to produce nitrogenous fertilizers and urea for use in agriculture, an important thermal power station and other industrial establishments have been built in this district.

In the district of Kruja (Central Albania), where the only industry in the past was an oil press, such important projects as a timber combine, a cement works, a chemical fertilizer plant, etc. have been built. In the new industrial town of Laç, work was completed on a copper smelting plant and the extension of the granulated superphosphate plant.

Kukës, a mountainous district of Northern Albania, which was one of the most backward districts of the country in the past, has become well known for its wealth of minerals, especially copper, which are utilized for the benefit of the national economy.

The need to gradually liquidate the great technical and economic backwardness inherited from the past in most of the districts of the country has been taken into account in the geographical distribution of industry. This is why the industrial output of the most backward regions of the country has increased at rates higher than the average for the whole country, in the course of the five-year plans.

The development of industry and its judicious distribution over the whole country have changed the ratio between the urban and rural populations. Today there are three times as many towns as in 1938. Such new towns as Laç, Cërrik, Patos, Maliq, Memaliaj, Fushë-Kruja, Rubik, Bulqiza, Kurbnesh, Ballsh, Bajram Curri, Çorovoda, Prrenjas, Rrëshen, etc. have sprang up under the people's power.

The competent organs have paid special attention to the rational distribution of agricultural crops and livestock breeding in all the districts of the country, in conformity with the climatic and soil conditions and the needs of the people's economy. Special importance is attached to the liquidation of the monoculture character in agriculture. Nowadays, wheat, maize, potatoes, different vegetables, lucerne, fodder and industrial crops are cultivated in all districts of the country. Scores of factories and plants have been built in many districts on the basis of agricultural raw materials. This road will be followed in the future, too, according to the criterion of building factories near the sites where agricultural raw materials are produced and the centres where their products are consumed.

The complex development of the productive forces in the various districts of the country is one of the essential characteristics of the development of the economy. The investments envisaged by the state ensure a still better distribution of industry in all the regions of the country.

Socialist cooperation

The planned management of the economy requires the establishment of close collaboration between the various enterprises and between the various branches of the economy, in order to realize socialist cooperation. Cooperation exists in the capitalist countries, too, but its scope is very limited there because of the domination of private ownership of the means

of production and the struggle of competition. Hence in those countries, cooperation has a spontaneous character. In Albania, however, where social ownership of the means of production prevails, and the people's economy develops according to a plan, all the conditions have been created for the establishment of close links of production between the various enterprises and even whole branches of the economy. All the enterprises and branches of the economy are linked with one another through a dense network of relations of cooperation, without which the harmonious development and progress of the economy are inconceivable.

Socialist cooperation in Albania is developed and strengthened along with the development of the people's economy. It has been applied in different forms in industry, as well as in handicraft, between one and the other, between industry, agriculture and other sectors. These forms of cooperation have already advanced greatly. After 1967, they developed to a higher stage of cooperation, to a complex cooperation which made possible the local production of many complicated machines, assembly lines and even factories and plants. The present stage of cooperation is characterized by a higher level of connection, not only within the various branches of industry but also between all the sectors of the national economy: of industry with agriculture, transport, construction, with the sectors of teaching and education, etc.

In the years of the people's power, the collectivization of agriculture is reflected by the establishment of big agricultural enterprises in the Albanian countryside, creating the premises for cooperation in this branch of the economy also. In the agricultural cooperatives, the means of production are common property, and it is on this basis that cooperation and collaboration is carried on in a comradesly spirit. Socialist cooperation in the agricultural cooperatives is based on the common labour and the common ownership of the means of production. Thanks to this cooperation, Albanian agriculture has advanced, the people have been revolutionized, the old relations and methods of work used in backward, fragmented peasant holdings in which the petty-bourgeois sentiments of small-scale ownership, anarchy in production and the fluctuation of a capitalist market predominated, have been liquidated; in a word, the narrow interests of the family economy, the interests of private capital with all its inherent evils,

have been replaced by cooperation between the various branches of the agricultural economy.

The development of cooperation within the different sectors of the agricultural cooperatives parallels the development of their economy, the raising of the living standards of the cooperative members, the narrowing of differences between the city and the countryside. The united cooperatives, as big agricultural economies, are gradually organizing the local production of a series of products urgently needed in rural life, based on residues from crop production, developing handicrafts to ensure not only repairs to work tools but also the manufacture of clothing, furniture, the production of building materials, etc. This cooperation gives a new impulse to material, cultural and moral life in the socialist countryside.

Apart from this, in the years of the people's power, the cooperation between agriculture and animal husbandry has been strengthened. They are branches of the same economic trunk and one cannot do without the other. This cooperation existed previously in the small private economies but the collectivization of agriculture developed it to a higher level, put it on a scientific course on the basis of the respective laws of development and organization, on the basis of new socialist norms.

Only the socialist system creates the possibilities for larger-scale, proper cooperation between industry and agriculture. These two main branches of material production are interdependent. With the development of the economy, the links and relations of interdependence between industry and agriculture become more evident and more complex, because of the development of these two branches themselves and their activity to satisfy their constantly growing needs better. If in the past Albanian industry provided agriculture with only a few simple tools, and those in insufficient quantities, in these recent 20 years especially, the consolidation of its leading role enabled industry to ensure more adequate supplies of implements, chemical fertilizers, fuel, building materials, etc. for agriculture. On the other hand, the accomplishment of the tasks of agriculture enabled it to provide larger quantities of raw materials for the light and food industry and satisfy the needs of the population better.

The socialist cooperation in Albania has had a favourable influence on the progress of technique, on the introduction of

modern machinery on an ever larger scale, on the application of advanced technology and the mechanization of production. It makes possible a more rational exploitation of the industrial resources of various regions, the reduction of transport costs and increased productivity of social labour.

The increase of the economic potential of the natural resources

Since the first years of the establishment of the people's power, the plans for the development of the people's economy were aimed at eliminating the baneful consequences of the activity of the foreign monopolies which had turned Albania into an economic appendage of their metropolises and a source of raw materials. One of the principal objectives of these plans has been and remains the establishment and consolidation of a powerful, independent economy as a result of the raising of the level of processing, and consequently, the value of industrial products and mineral and agricultural raw materials, through extension of the treatment of natural resources. The rational utilization of natural resources and agricultural products in Albania is carried out in a planned way. The long-term plans of economic development envisage the discovery of new ore and fuel deposits, the introduction of these products as well as new agricultural products in the economic circulation and enhancing their value by processing them within the country. Within three decades, a new processing industry has been built on the basis of the abundant natural underground riches of Albania and the agricultural raw materials of the country.

The development of the processing industry, in harmony with that of the extracting industry, has considerably increased the economic effectiveness of investments in equipment and the activity of the various branches of production.

The higher level of processing primary products locally is reflected first of all in the Albanian market. Whereas in the past Albania imported almost all types of industrial goods from abroad, nowadays we see the list of its exports growing longer and longer. The build-up of the economic capacity and greater utilization of the national resources serve to support the policy of the people's power of increasing exports and reducing

imports to the degree permitted by the concrete conditions of the economic development of the country.

The establishment of the processing industry and, consequently, the raising of the level of processing industrial products and primary products of mineral and agricultural origin has resulted in a considerable increase in the value of these products. At the same time, this policy guarantees a long period of rapid and continuous development of the national economy in general and the processing industry in particular. Thanks to the construction of new industrial projects and the improvement of the existing ones, the rational utilization of natural resources and agricultural primary products will be raised to an even higher level in the future stages of the socialist construction in Albania. The development of the heavy extracting and processing industry in extension and depth remains one of the essential characteristics of the industrial development of Albania for the future, too.

On this basis, a wide-ranging program of measures aimed at exploiting and processing the mineral resources, fuels and the hydro-power resources of the country, in the most complete and advantageous way possible with the aim of increasing their economic effectiveness, by processing them within the country, has been applied.

A big metallurgical combine has been built in Elbasan. With the commissioning of this combine, considerable quantities of iron-nickel ore for the production of rolled steel and other valuable products are processed within the country.

A modern oil refinery has been built in Ballsh. This plant enables us to go over to deep, complex processing and refining of oil by-products by complicated chemical processes.

The chemical industry is a typical example of the higher level of utilization and processing of the natural resources of the country. Based on the raw materials and natural resources of the country, the chemical industry provides the economy with sulphuric acid, chemical, fertilizers, soda ash and caustic soda, oil plants, pharmaceutical products, urea, etc. The PVC, the pesticides, etc. increased their range of products.

The vigorous development of heavy industry and especially of the branches which use large amounts of electric power for their technological processes, requires considerable amounts of electric power. This is the road which ensures a

more complete and efficient utilization of Albanian natural resources of useful minerals and hydro power.

The development of the chemical industry and of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy constitutes one of the essential directions for the intensive development of industry and the socialist economy; not only does it permit the bringing into economic circulation of a larger quantity of the natural resources of the country, but it also leads to more complete and efficient realization of their economic value with a view to increasing production, improving the structure of industry and augmenting the income of the state. The development of these branches of heavy industry has had a positive influence on our trade balance, freeing the Albanian economy from the need to import a series of essential products. On the other hand, by improving the structure and increasing the effectiveness of our exports, it opens up new prospects for increased agricultural production, for the advance of the construction and transport industries and, more generally, of the branches of industry producing consumer goods.

The successes achieved in Albania in the rational utilization of natural resources and agricultural raw materials testify to the great possibilities created by the socialist regime for a small country, which, relying on its own forces, vigorously develops its ever more independent national economy serving as a basis for the continuous raising of the standard of living of the masses.

The planned development of new technology

Before Liberation, the number of enterprises with some level of modern technical equipment represented no more than 1.39 per cent of the total number of handicraft enterprises and workshops, while the number of workers employed there comprised only 6.62 per cent of the total number of workers. This was inevitable. Imports of machinery in the period 1929-1938 represented only 2.46 per cent of the total value of imports. On the other hand, the production of machinery and equipment within the country was out of the question. This deplorable situation is explained by the fact that the bourgeoisie, both local and foreign, which controlled the national economy made great profits out of the exploitation of the very

cheap labour force and showed not the least interest in technical development.

Under capitalism, machinery is used, as Marx has said, «as a means to produce surplus value», and consequently its sphere of application and the efficiency of its utilization are determined by the role it plays in increasing the surplus value and profit.

Besides, the introduction of new equipment in the capitalist system entails drastic consequences for the ordinary workers, raising the level of unemployment, intensifying the exploitation of the workers, deepening the general impoverishment of the working class. Thus under capitalism, the workers themselves are not at all interested in the introduction of machinery.

The introduction of advanced technical equipment in socialist Albania has effects of a totally different character from those it has in the capitalist economy. The development and constant improvement of the technical equipment in our national economy constitutes the material basis for the rapid increase of productivity, for the expansion of production and the improvement of working conditions, for the gradual freeing of workers and peasants from heavy manual work. It is the basis for the future elimination of unqualified work, for the introduction on an ever larger scale of elements of intellectual work into manual work, which will result in the reduction of the essential differences between intellectual and manual work, between industry and agriculture, between town and countryside.

The development and improvement of technical equipment in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are planned. The state plan for the development of the people's economy defines both the level of production for the given period, and the means which will help achieve this level of production.

The plans for technological development envisage the application of new equipment, raising the level of mechanization, the introduction of new technological processes, mastering the production of new products, scientific research work, etc.

The plan for the production of new products includes a list of new types of machinery, equipment, spare parts, mechanisms, consumer goods and other materials which the enterprises and each branch of industry, in particular, are to produce on the basis of the tasks assigned to them by the

higher organs, as well as the list of products to be improved, the time-limits with which practical production of these new products is to commence, their efficiency and the measures to be taken to ensure that these objectives are achieved.

The plan of scientific-research work is of the greatest importance in technical development and special attention is paid in this plan to the progressive introduction of the new technology.

The perfecting of technology in Albania is achieved in two main ways: first, the construction and commissioning of new enterprises and projects on the basis of advanced equipment and technology, second, expansion of the productive capacities, the modernization and re-equipment of existing plants, factories and workshops.

The planned development of technical progress in Albania is carried out in two main directions: the mechanization and automation of work processes, the electrification of production, and the greatest possible utilization of various chemical processes in production, etc.

The high rates of technical progress in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have made it possible to replace manual work with simple machinery and systems of machinery. Simple and complex mechanization have been applied in various sectors; production has been automated in many enterprises, where the role of the worker is limited to supervising and controlling the functioning of the machines and ensuring their technical efficiency.

The large-scale mechanization of principal and auxiliary processes in the oil industry is an example which reflects the continuous technical progress of our national economy. Considerable successes have been achieved in this field in the mining sector in general where all sorts of machinery are used (electric drills, jack hammers, conveyers, electric transport, automatic loaders), and many other types of equipment and machinery.

The high rates of construction work and the construction of giant modern projects is inconceivable without a very high level of mechanization in construction and installation processes. Instruments, machinery and equipment of the most modern technology are used in the different construction sites around the country. Several processes are completely mechanized. The expansion of mechanization of production is

aimed at reducing the number of jobs requiring heavy manual labour and increasing those linked with the use of machinery.

The collectivization of agriculture, the great expansion of the machine and tractor stations, the equipping of them and the agricultural enterprises with modern machinery are important factors which led to the planned growth of the traction power in agriculture. The number of tractors and other agricultural machines has increased from year to year.

The marked rise in the technical level of large-scale mechanized production, the introduction of new advanced technology in all branches of the people's economy, the vigorous development of the productive forces are illustrated by the increase in the installed capacity of the power stations and the production of electric power.

The rates of growth of the production of electric power in the course of successive five-year plans have been constantly higher than the rate of growth of total industrial production. The construction of major power projects has resulted in a considerable increase in electric power production as compared with the past. In 1979, the electric power produced was 322 times greater than in 1938.

The bulk of the electric power has been and always will be used for productive purposes. It should be stressed that electric power is used not only to drive the machines and other equipment of industry and other branches of the economy, but more and more in the technological processes, and this tends to raise the technical level of production.

The electrification of the entire country opens up broad prospects for the utilization of electric power in agriculture especially.

The chemical industry, a new branch of the Albanian national economy, is taking its initial, but confident steps. Production increased by 493 per cent in 1979, as against 1938. This industry has broad prospects for development. In order to meet the ever-increasing needs of the Albanian economy for chemical products, a whole series of new chemical plants has been and will be built. The development of the chemical industry enables the ever more extensive use of chemical methods in the oil refining industry, in the timber, copper, light and food industries.

Plants for the enrichment of copper, chromium, phosphorites and other minerals have also been built. Some plants for

the production of chemicals to be used in the production of plastic products, aniline dyes, lacquers, pharmaceutical products, etc. have been built.

The successes of the chemical industry open up broad prospects for a more complete utilization of primary products of animal or plant origin and increased production of them.

The development of the chemical industry opened the way to the extensive use of chemical products in agriculture. In 1979, the production of phosphatic fertilizers was 1.6 times greater and that of ammonium nitrate fertilizers was 6.4 times greater than in 1967. Chemicals are employed for the protection of harvested and standing crops, as well as forest assets against various diseases and pests.

One of the characteristics of the technical progress of the Albanian people's economy is that it is based more and more on the country's own forces. To this end, great importance has been attached to the development of the engineering industry which is first of all required to produce spare parts and repair the many machines used in industry, agriculture, transport, construction, etc. and which has now been charged with the serial production of machines, implements and equipment required by various branches of the national economy. The establishment of this solid base of the engineering industry made it possible for Albania to turn out in 1979 444 times as much machinery, instruments and spare parts as in 1938. And the output of the engineering industry in 1979 was 19.4 times greater than in 1960 as regards spare parts and 206 times greater as regards machines and equipment. Thus 95 per cent of the needs of the national economy for spare parts were met with local products. The engineering industry produces almost all the necessary implements for agriculture. It produces tractors and supplies nearly all types of spare parts for them in the required quantities, produces various agricultural machinery, harvesting and threshing machines, blowers, cultivators, maize husking machines, manure spreaders, pumps, etc.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution has given a new impulse to technical progress. The large-scale participation of the masses of the people in this field, the many innovations and rationalizations they have made indicate their great interest in everything to do with the application of new technology. This interest is understandable, because this progressive process, far from threatening them with being

thrown out of work, as occurs in the capitalist countries, increases the social product and consequently raises the standard of living of the population and improves working conditions.

The concentration of production and its advantages

The development of the socialist economy in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on large-scale production which, as is known, offers a number of advantages over smaller-scale production.

In the capitalist countries, the concentration of production brings big supplementary profits to the millionaires and billionaires, and operates spontaneously through the rate of profit and the struggle of competition. This process is intensified especially during economic crises, when thousands of small, middle-size, and even large enterprises go bankrupt and are gobbled up by the big monopolies.

One of the characteristics of the development of the economy in the PSRA is the high level of the concentration of production, the accentuated specialization as well as the establishment of rational economic and productive links between the various enterprises and branches of the economy. As a result, the level of socialization of production is raised, the working class is concentrated in larger economic and productive units and the workers are united by relations of mutual help and socialist cooperation.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the steady rise in the level of concentration of production which is based on the continuous technical progress, the extension of mechanization and electrification, is brought about in a planned way. Notable successes have been achieved in this field.

Immediately after Liberation, the people's state power took important measures to revive what little industry was inherited from the past; in a relatively short time, small units were grouped into larger units, especially the oil-presses, weaving mills, small hosiery shops, engineering workshops, etc. Later, by special decisions of the government, direct concentrations or transfers of various activities from one enterprise to another, for the same aim of concentration, were

carried out. Concentrations of this kind were carried out in the period 1954-1955, when a certain number of small industrial enterprises such as printing shops, mechanical repair workshops, etc. were grouped into larger units. The refurbishing of the existing enterprises and supplying them with technical equipment likewise contributed to the industrial concentration. These measures resulted in the growth of the productive capacity of these enterprises. The volume of production and the number of workers increased many times over. The people's economy benefited greatly from these changes.

However, the concentration of production in Albania increased mainly as a result of the construction of new industrial enterprises. The new establishments were characterized by a high level of concentration of production. Some examples will suffice to illustrate this: the output of the textile combine in Berat alone is higher than the total industrial output of 1938.

Today, the Memaliaj mine supplies more coal in one week than the whole country produced in 1938. The production of the building materials combine in Tirana exceeds the total quantity of building materials produced in 1938.

The complete collectivization of agriculture resulted in the liquidation of small-scale production in this sector, too, and in its replacement with big advanced economies. Now there are more than 50 agricultural enterprises with over 3,000 hectares each. In the cooperativist sector, the process of regrouping agricultural cooperatives for the establishment of big economic units is followed. The united cooperatives today have nearly 1,100 hectares of land each. The area they cultivated in 1979 covered 75.8 per cent of the arable land.

The higher degree of concentration and specialization of production is accompanied by higher output, as a result of the more rational utilization of working means, implements, and the labour force in the processes of production and in services.

The productivity of labour

The short- or long-term plans of development constitute the program of the concentration of the forces and resources of the society with a view to the development of the productive forces. However, the people involved are the de-

cisive factor determining the kind of development of these forces and the success of these plans. The successful fulfilment of the five-year plans in Albania is conditioned by the continuous increase in the productivity of social labour.

As Lenin has pointed out, in the final analysis, the productivity of labour is the most important and essential factor for the triumph of socialism. It is the index of the efficiency and usefulness of the work done by each worker, and of the quantity of products this worker turns out in a given time.

All social systems aim at increasing production. Its constant growth is an economic necessity. The fate of the system itself depends on it. The problem of the increase in the productivity of labour arises in the capitalist countries too. However, the rate of growth of this productivity and its level depend not only on the level of development of the productive forces, but also on the character of the relations of production. The capitalist is not interested in the increase in the productivity of labour when this is not accompanied by an increase in his profits. The increase of the productivity of labour in the capitalist countries is largely the result of the expansion of forms of intensive labour, in other words, the intensive exploitation of the workers.

In Albania, on the contrary, the increase of the productivity of labour has a different purpose and a very different character. The high rates of development of the economy and the improvement of living standards of the working masses in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are directly dependent on the increase on the productivity of labour. The increase of productivity permits increased accumulation to be allocated to the construction of new projects and improvement of the technology of production.

The working masses are interested in systematically raising the productivity of labour, because this increase permits society to produce greater quantities of goods per head of population, and consequently to satisfy the ever growing needs of the people better.

The prevailing social system in Albania creates unlimited possibilities for the continuous increase of labour productivity.

The level of labour productivity also has a direct influence on other technical and economic indices of production and first of all directly on reducing the cost of production, which results in the increase of the fund of accumula-

tion and, consequently, in acceleration of the rates of socialist construction, on the one hand, and reduction of prices of consumer goods, as well as in raising the standard of living of the working masses, on the other hand.

The socialist system creates the possibilities for an uninterrupted rise in this productivity. This is of vital importance for the fate of the system of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Albania is advancing on the road of socialism and communism and the rapidity with which it forges ahead depends on the level of efficiency of labour, consequently on the rate of increase of its productivity.

In 1985 as against 1980, the productivity of labour in industry and construction will increase 13-15 per cent and 14-16 per cent respectively.

Chapter three

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

The fruits of creative work

Albania has favourable conditions for the development of industry. In the past, however, the political and social conditions of the country hindered this development. If we go back to ancient times it appears that a mining industry existed in our country then. This emerges from the testimony of many historians of antiquity, notably Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny Jr. Their works inform us that the Illyrians and the Pirusts in particular, (an Illyrian tribe living in Mirdita and Dukagjin) were very skilful in quarrying and working metals. Under the Ottoman occupation however, the mining industry declined to the point of complete extinction. It was only near the end of the 19th century that the Ottoman government granted a French capitalist company a concession to exploit the bitumen mines of Selenica (Vlora).

After the proclamation of independence (1912) the exploitation of a few small mines began and in the same period, especially during the First World War, the first prospecting work was undertaken by foreign geologists.

Without the least hesitation the feudal-bourgeois regime granted concessions for the prospecting and exploitation of the mineral resources of the country to foreign capital, which grabbed large areas of land with the aim of exploiting its riches. The objective of the foreign capitalists was not only to exploit the underground resources of Albania and to reap

the greatest possible profits, but also to colonize the entire country.

In 1925 a secret struggle was waged between the foreign companies for the seizure of all the mineral resources of the country, especially oil. Two years later, just two companies, the Italian oil company AIPA and the bitumen company SIMSA (Italian Mineral Company of Selenica, Albania) remained masters of the terrain. Concessions were granted to various Italian companies for the exploitation of other mines, including coal, copper, chromium, and other mines. After the occupation of Albania by Italian fascism, these companies became the masters of the entire economic life of the country.

The other branches of industry developed much later in Albania. During the centuries of Ottoman occupation, Albania remained very backward with only handicraft industry; the peasant produced for himself nearly everything necessary to him and his family. It was only about the end of the 19th century that a flour mill was built in Durrës, and a weaving mill for belts in Shkodra. Later, many small tanneries and soap factories, as well as water-driven flour mills and a few primitive presses to produce olive oil were built.

Industry made some progress in Albania after the proclamation of independence and especially after the First World War. Some small factories of a local character such as small flour mills, soap-works, tanneries and cigarette factories were built during this period. When the country was occupied, there were 100 small- or medium- sized factories in Albania and a few small power-stations. The factories produced mainly food-stuffs, some clothing and building materials. It goes without saying that the industry of this period was far from able to satisfy the needs of the country.

The situation in industry deteriorated during the fascist occupation. The influx of goods from overseas further weakened industry, and it fell into almost complete stagnation. A good number of the existing factories were destroyed, while the remainder were gravely damaged.

After Liberation, all branches of the national economy, including industry, made rapid progress.

Growth of total industrial output

	(in times)			
	1938	1950	1970	1980
Total industrial output	1	4.1	64	131

Albania a mosaic of lights

Fifty years ago, on April 20, 1930, the newspaper, «Arbëria» wrote: «According to local opinion the lighting of Shkodra with electricity, judging from the way this problem has been treated and its vicissitudes, is virtually impossible.» Similar opinions existed all over the country.

Albania is rich in hydro-power resources; the annual run-off of water per square kilometre is 1,120,000 m³ or 35.6 litres a second per km², while in Norway, which ranks first in the world as regards its hydro potential, the annual flow is 1,130,000 m³ or 36 litres a second per km². The exploitable potential of the two main rivers of the country, the Drin and the Vjosa, is 10 billion of kW hours, or 5,000 kW hours per head of population and 360,000 kW hours per square kilometre. As a comparison the total hydro-power potential of the rivers of France is 1,400 kW hours per head of population and 110,000 kW hours per square kilometre, in Italy it is 1,100 kW hours per head of population and 182,500 kW hours per square kilometre, in Bulgaria it is 2,600 kW hours per head of population and 191,000 kW hours per square kilometre.

The abundance of hydro-power resources in Albania creates favourable conditions for their exploitation with technico-economic indices, such as cost per kW of installed capacity, cost per kW of power produced, construction and installation costs, etc., much more advantageous than those of many other countries of the world. Despite these favourable conditions, before Liberation Albania was a country where the pine torch and the candle prevailed. The first power station in Albania was built by a foreign company in Tirana in 1927. Ten years later, on the eve of the occupation of the

country by fascist Italy, Albania had 12 power stations in all, with a total capacity of 3,391 kW. Only ten cities had electric power supplies, while the electrification of the countryside was not even dreamed of. In 1938 the total quantity of electric power generated in Albania was 9,315,000 kW hours. After the Liberation the electrification of the country was given special importance. An electric power industry was built in a very short period. A series of hydro and thermo-power stations were built and commenced generation.

The characteristic feature of the development and consolidation of the energy base of the country is that in all the five-year plans of the economic and cultural development of the country the average annual rate of increase in the production of electric power has been higher than that of industrial production. Thus, while electric power production in 1960 had increased 20.9 fold against 1938, in 1979 it increased 322 fold.

During these years, the cadres for the electric power sector, who are now capably running the electric power enterprises and leading the construction of new projects have been taught, specialized and trained, both in schools and in practice.

The socialist system has made possible the application of a series of important principles, the influence of which has been to accelerate the rate of development of the production of electric power. These principles are: the planned development of the electric power sector and the priority given to this sector in comparison with the other sectors of industry; the concentration of electric power generation in relatively powerful stations and the elimination of uneconomic small-scale production of power; the construction of power stations using locally produced fuels such as coal, gas and furnace oil; the exploitation of hydro-power resources; the regrouping of power stations in a unified system; the judicious harmonization of the construction of hydro-electric and thermal-stations, which, functioning in a unified energy system, complement one another, ensure uninterrupted power supplies, and bring indisputable advantages to the people's economy.

On the basis of these successes, it was decided in 1967 that the electrification of the country would be completed, not in 1985, as envisaged in the long-term plan, but on November 8, 1971. This decision, which reflected the wishes of

the entire people, impelled the masses to mobilize their forces in a self-sacrificing project of gigantic proportions. This task was completed ahead of schedule and socialist Albania was transformed into a mosaic of lights on October 20, 1970. «The march of the light» during these three years was carried on at an unprecedented pace. In three years (1968-1970), electric power supplies were extended to 1,759 villages. In this period 1,995 transformer cabins, 37 hydro-power stations, and 14 diesel stations were built. Internal installations were made in 140,768 houses and socio-cultural institutions, while 20,574 kilometres of high and low tension lines were installed. For this purpose, 4,198 tons of wire for external lines, 51,200 reinforced concrete poles and 433,770 timber poles were used.

The electrification of the entire country is a great victory for the Albanian people. Albania has left behind many countries which have been using electric power for more than a century.

The rural electrification creates great possibilities for large-scale use of this form of energy in agriculture.

The electrification of the country and the vigorous development of the electric power industry are not only useful, but indispensable. The development of the productive forces and the material and technical base of socialism, and later of communism, are inconceivable without the electrification of the country. Hence the Party of Labour of Albania has attached great importance to the rapid development of the power industry in Albania.

The increased number of generating stations has given rise to the need for linking these stations together in order to co-ordinate their activity through the creation of a single control system. Today the network of 6 kilovolt high tension lines covers the whole territory of Albania with a density of one kilometre of line per square kilometre. A modern distribution centre with advanced equipment has been built to regulate the supply of power over the whole system.

Today, the electric power system extends over almost the entire territory of the country and supplies energy not only to the important industrial centres but also to the most remote regions. This energy which is an indispensable and vital element for economic and cultural development, is not only distributed to every corner of the country to enliven the activity of man and to lessen the burden of hard work, but is also exported to other countries.

The development of the fuel industry

Albania is rich in oil, natural gas and coal. In the years after Liberation this important branch of industry has made great progress in the context of the policy of building an economy as independent as possible, which aims at ensuring within the country everything possible that can be taken from its natural resources and which is necessary for the construction of socialism.

The most important oil fields were those of Kuçova (today Stalin City) and Patos. The former had been exploited for a long time. In the Patos field, on the contrary, prospect work started in 1939. After Liberation, in order to increase oil production, new wells were drilled, modern equipment was introduced for well drilling and refining oil and at the same time research work and prospecting for new oil-fields were intensified.

Prospecting for new oil and natural gas fields has now been established on completely scientific foundations. Wide-scale use is made of advanced and efficient methods based on seismology and gravimetry, and studies on various subjects have been conducted. Drilling technology has been mastered and deep wells have been drilled, while the industry has been re-equipped with powerful modern drilling rigs.

As a result, new oil-fields have been discovered and the proven industrial reserves of oil and natural gas have considerably increased. Thus the hindering concepts of the foreign specialists, who denied that our oil industry had any prospects for development, above all, that reserves in the form of fields of an older origin could exist, have been refuted.

Geological research has also resulted in the discovery of rich deposits of methane gas, which, when used extensively in industry creates possibilities for making considerable savings in the use of oil and coal.

Before Liberation our oil was refined abroad. The Italian capitalist company AIPA processed all the crude oil extracted in Albania in Italian refineries, mainly at Livorno. During the occupation, the invaders built three small distilleries in Albania for their military needs, but they seriously damaged them before their military defeat by the National Liberation Army, in November 1944.

After Liberation, the oil workers quickly restored the damaged distilleries. In 1947, two plants for the exploitation

of bitumen and later, the refinery at Cërrik and the oil refineries at Stalin City and Fier as well as the deep oil-processing plant of Ballsh, were built.

Today the modern oil-processing plants with advanced technology turn out petrol, diesel oil, lubricating oils, various kinds of refined petroleum products, fuels, solvents, a whole range of bitumen products and many others. Thus, from an importer of oil by-products in the past, Albania has become an exporter of these products.

The construction and commissioning of the plant for the complete processing of oil at Ballsh marked a new important quantitative and qualitative advance in the oil processing industry. This plant, with its modern cracking and catalysis equipment, turns out products of high quality. On the other hand, this plant provides important basic materials for the development of the petrochemical industry in the near future.

In our country the development of the oil industry is in harmony with the continuous development of the economy, and this contributes to the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country, as well as to strengthening the independence of our economy. This is precisely one of the characteristics of the development of the Albanian economy, and of the oil industry in particular, which ensures the stability of our economy and prevents it from suffering fluctuations in its continuous development. This is why, even in the conditions when the energy and economic-financial crisis has the capitalist world in its grip, our economy is developing as planned.

Albania has rich deposits of coal. In recent years new deposits have been discovered and new mines have been brought into production especially in Central Albania. Like all the other branches of the economy, the coal industry has also made considerable progress. Here are some significant figures:

Growth of the coal industry

(in times)

Year			
1938	1950	1970	1979
1	16.4	193.4	398

Under the people's power more and more mechanized means have been introduced in all the coal mines.

The development of the mining industry

Albania is rich in metallic minerals. In the past, however, these resources were very little exploited and then mainly for the benefit of foreign monopolies.

Since the liberation of the country, the mining industry has made considerable progress. Today Albania has many more mines than before the war and the mining industry constitutes the main branch of Albanian heavy industry. Under the anti-popular regimes and the foreign occupation the underground wealth of Albania was processed overseas whereas today, the mining industry, based on the industrial reserves of the country and the prospects of new discoveries has entered a new higher stage:

Chromium ore is one of the most important minerals found in Albania. Prospecting began in 1937 and exploitation of the first deposits discovered started in 1938. The chromium-bearing regions of Kukës-Tropojë, Bulqizë-Klos and Pogradec were exploited by both the Italian fascists and the German nazis. After the liberation of the country, production increased as the mining of further deposits got under way. The extraction of chromium ore has increased rapidly during the years of the people's power. In 1979 chromium production was 176 times greater than in 1938 and 38.7 times greater than in 1960.

Today Albania ranks fourth in the world for the total output of chromium ore and first for production per head of population.

Along with the increase in the amount of chromium ore extracted, during this period the first plants for processing this mineral have been built. In 1979 the plant for the production of ferro-chrome came into production in Burrel. A plant for the enrichment of low-grade chromium ore and a ferro-chromium plant which smelts high-grade ore are now functioning in Albania. The establishment of ferro-chromium metallurgy which is a new branch for our industry, is of great importance because it greatly increases the value of the crude ore.

The copper industry plays the principal role in the Alba-

nian metallurgical industry today. Copper has been known and worked in Albania since ancient times. However, the first systematic prospecting for this mineral was undertaken in 1938 by an Italian company, while mining started at Rubik immediately after the occupation of the country. After Liberation, important geological prospecting work was undertaken and this resulted in the discovery of big reserves of copper ore in Northern Albania.

Under the people's power, Albania has set up its own copper processing industry, in place of the single smelter that existed for the production of blister copper.

A plant for the enrichment of copper ore and a copper processing plant were commissioned in 1960. Later another plant for the enrichment of copper ore, a copper smelting plant and a plant for the processing and refining of this metal which produces blister copper and refines copper were also constructed. A wire drawing plant was built in Shkodra, and it produces thousands of tons of copper wire of different types (unsheathed wire, plastic insulated wire, very fine wire, etc.), which fulfil the needs of the country and are also exported. With the commissioning of these new plants, all the ore extracted from the copper mines is processed to a high level. Today Albania is an exporter not only of blister copper but also of first quality cathode copper and electrical wires and cables of nearly 600 different types. Production of the copper industry in 1979 was 336 times greater than that of 1946 and 12 times greater than that of 1960.

Albania possesses reserves of iron-nickel. The ore discovered is of good quality and contains 1 to 2 per cent nickel.

Investigations concerning this mineral were begun before Liberation by the Italian company AMMI (Italian Metallic Minerals Company) which was already exploiting the copper ore. During the occupation it was preparing to exploit the iron-nickel ore, too, but the liberation of Albania prevented this.

The industrial exploitation of iron nickel ore began in 1958 in the regions of Librazhd and Pogradec. The extraction of the mineral in these regions is very advantageous because open cast mining is possible. The extraction of iron-nickel ore has increased from year to year.

It is on this basis that the iron and steel industry has been established in Albania. A steel rolling plant was built

in 1966 in Elbasan. A metallurgical combine for smelting and processing of iron-nickel ore has been built close to this plant. In 1976 it poured the first Albanian-made pig-iron, only to continue later with the production of steel billets, sheet steels, etc. In 1978 it was named the «Steel of the Party» Combine.

The bright prospects for the development of metallurgy in Albania are based on the important geological reserves discovered by Albanian geologists, especially in recent years. Thus the reserves of a number of important minerals which, up till now, could not satisfy the country's needs for raw materials, will be able to do so in the future five-year plans.

The chemical industry — the youngest branch of Albanian industry

The development of the chemical industry in Albania is closely linked with the development of other important branches of industry, such as the oil industry, the building materials industry and the branches producing consumer goods, as well as the development of intensive agriculture.

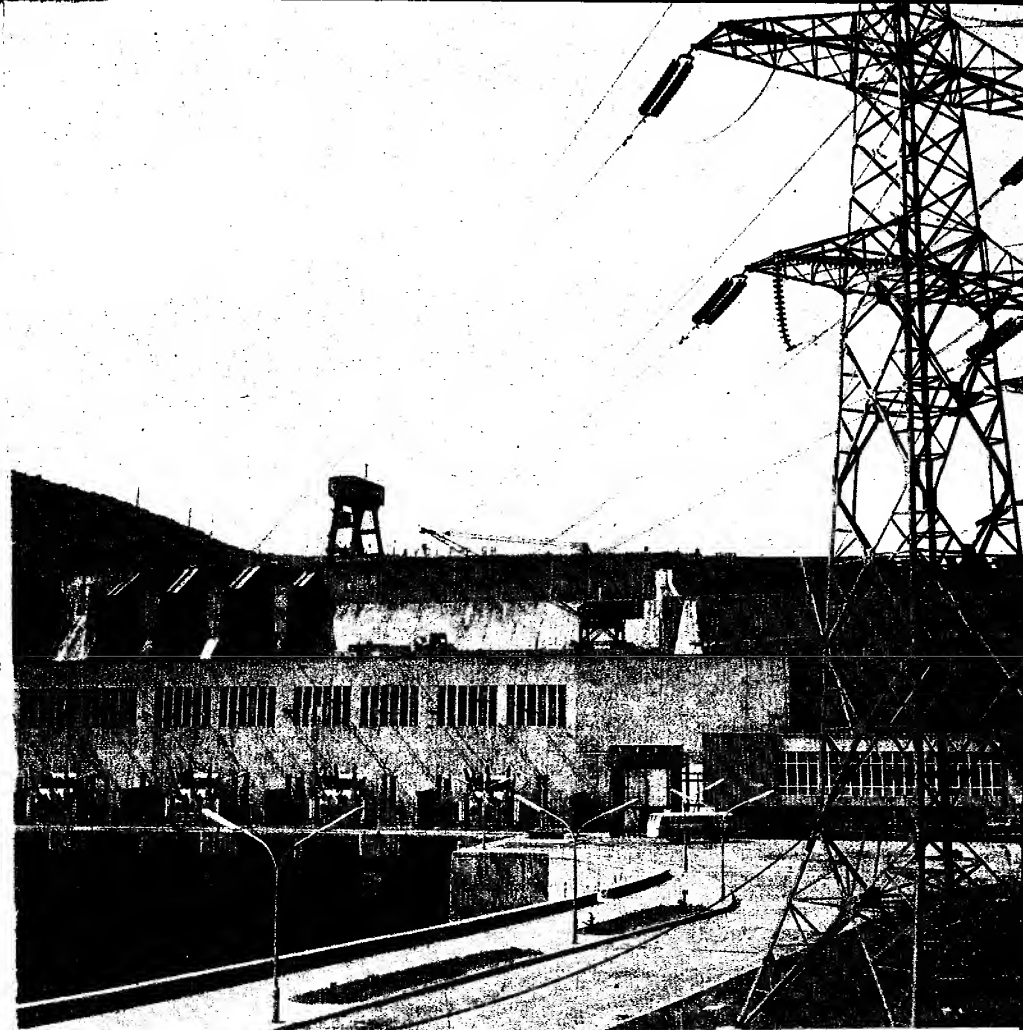
It is only in recent years that this industry has developed rapidly in Albania.

In quick succession big plants were commissioned to produce superphosphate, nitrogenous fertilizers, soda ash and caustic soda, as well as a modern oil paint factory, plastic goods plant, and a plant for the production of polyvinylchloride. The technology of production in the Albanian chemical plants is modern and largely automated. Apart from their main products, these plants also turn out many others which fulfil the needs of the people's economy. Albania exports certain products of the chemical industry such as ammonium nitrate, soda ash, sodium fluosilicate, etc.

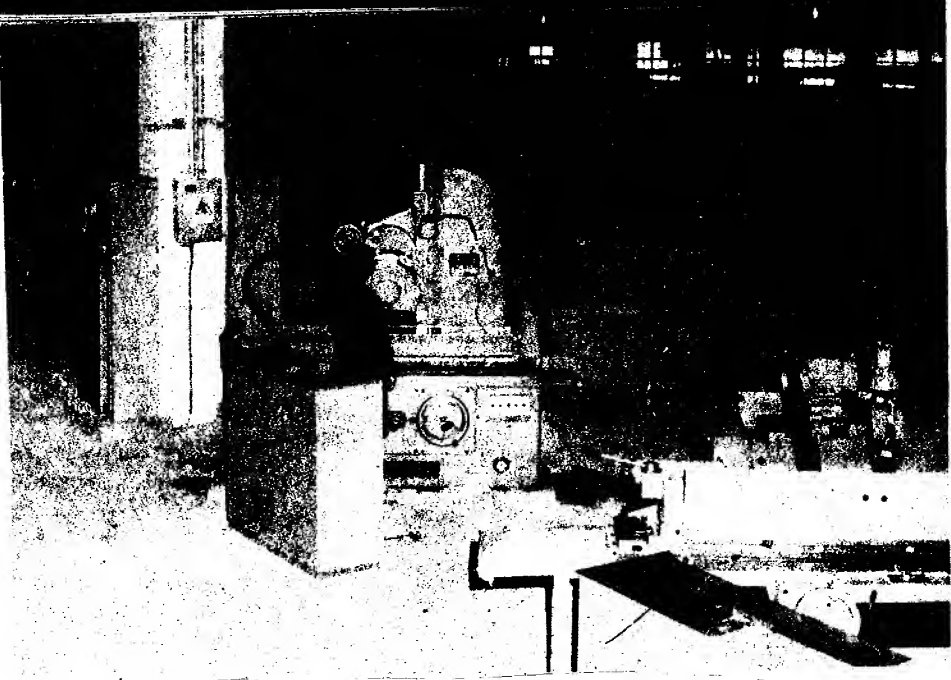
Development of the chemical industry

(in times)

Year	1950	1960	1979
Growth of production of the chemical industry	1	9.7	493

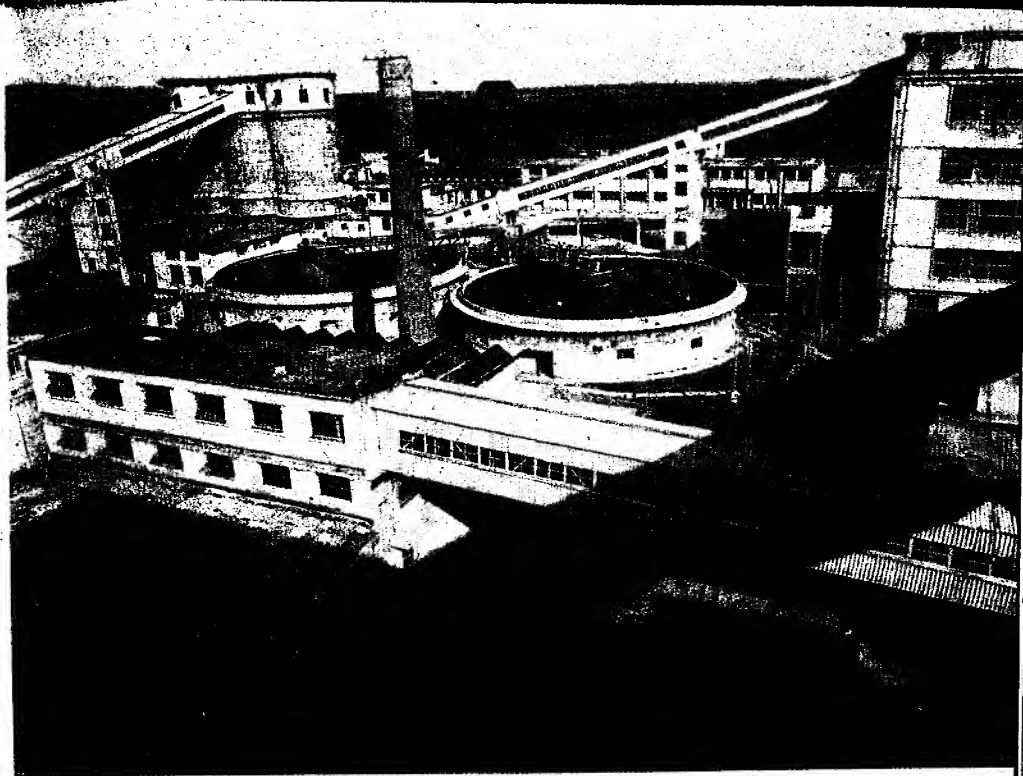
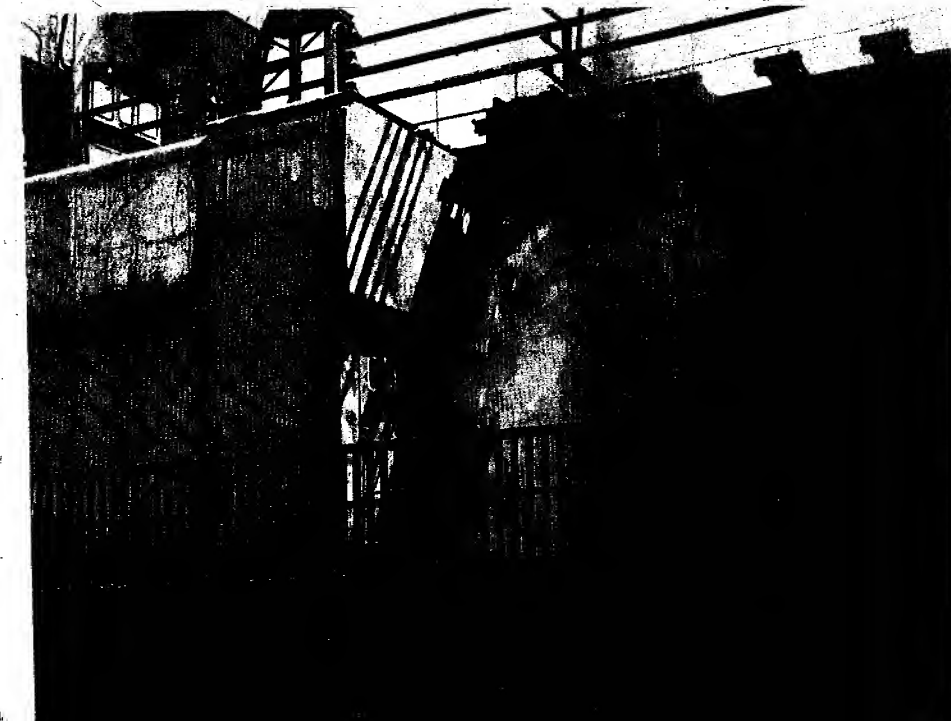


The Vau i Dejës 250 kW hydro-power station.



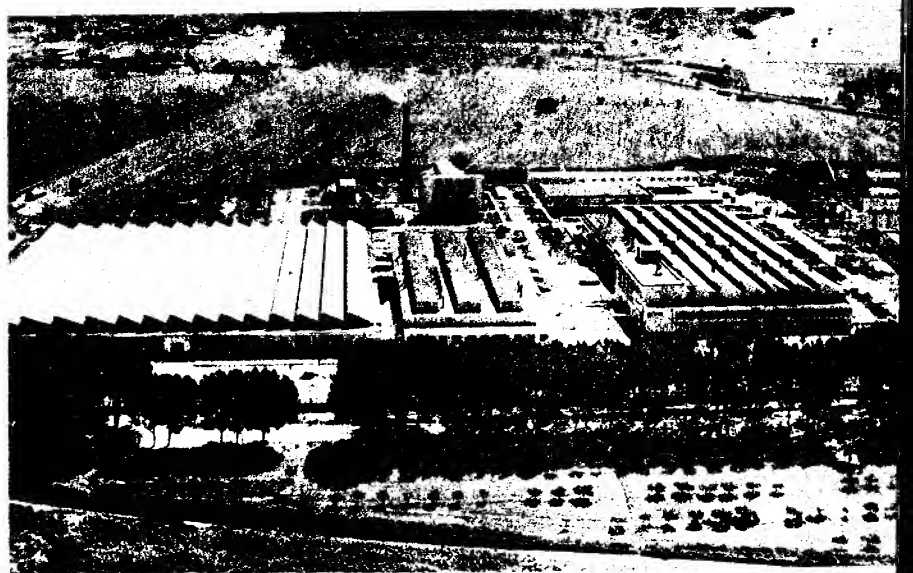
View of a shop at the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, Tirana.

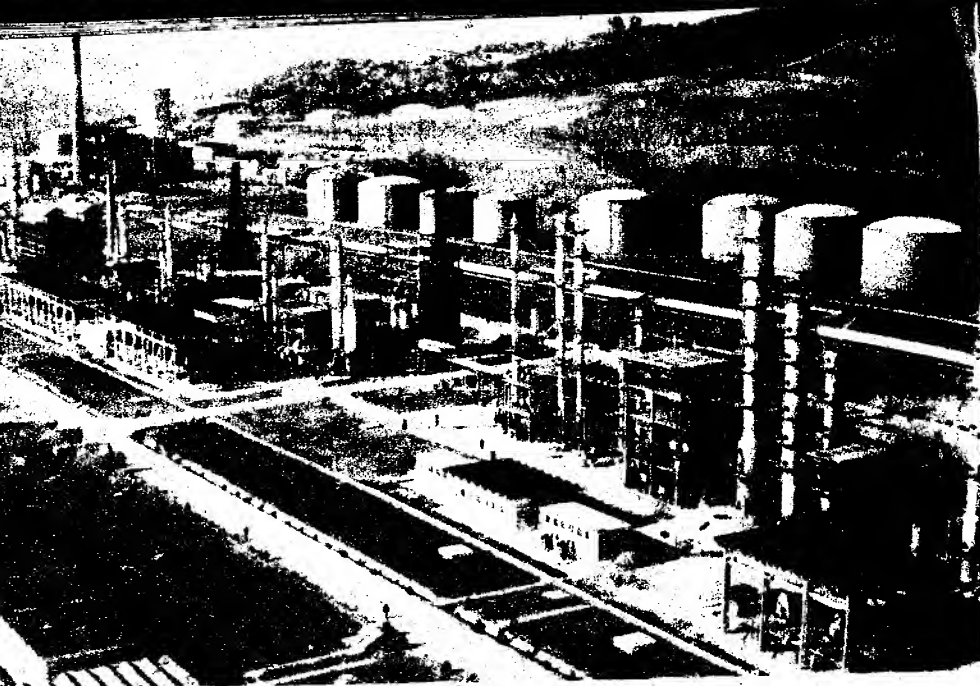
The «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex in Elbasan produces «the bread» of our industry.



New industrial landscape.

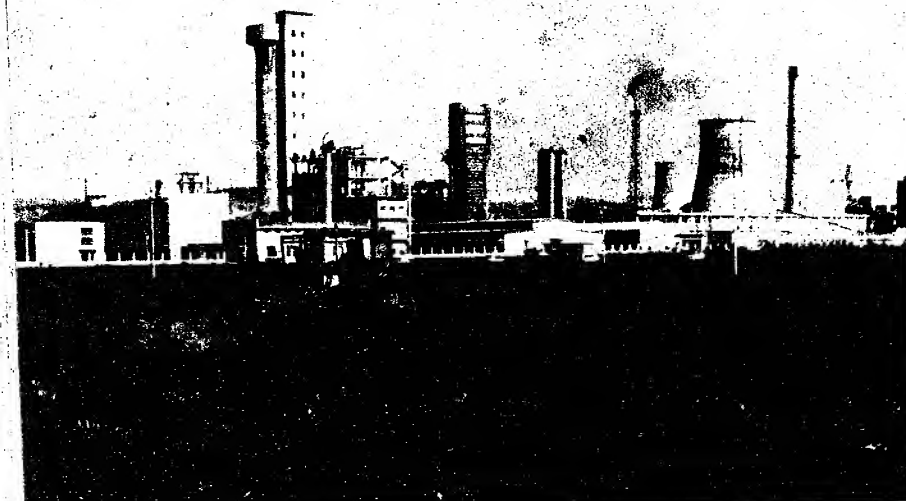
View of the textile combine, Berat.





The oil refinery, Ballsh.

The «Gogo Nushi» nitrate ammonium plant, Fier.



A new, important step forward has been taken in recent years in the development of the Albanian chemical industry. The existing plants for the production of chemical fertilizers have been enlarged, a new plant for the production of urea and a combine for the production of pesticides have been built. The production of chemical fertilizers has doubled in just a few years and this provides an even more solid base and support for the intensification of agriculture. The new plants producing PVC and such very useful products as caustic soda, liquid chlorine, hydrochloric acid and calcium carbide, are of great importance for the economy of the country. A new plastic materials factory, which has been built, fulfills the needs of the economy and supplies the population with consumer goods. It produces plastic sheeting slabs and tubes as well as consumer goods, kitchenware furniture, etc.

The engineering industry

This is an essential branch for the industrial development of the country. In the period from Liberation till 1948, which has gone down in the history of the development of our national economy as the phase of the reconstruction of the war devastated economy, the engineering base of the country was made up of a few small auxiliary workshops in the principal cities, engaged in the maintenance of the machinery and vehicles of the different enterprises to which they were attached. Despite its relatively low level, this engineering base played an important role in the restoration and return to production of the industry ruined by the war. With the development of the people's economy, the engineering industry became more and more important and its development was accelerated. In 1948 the «Enver» plant was built in Tirana; it made spare parts as well as implements and machines for agriculture. Later, a large number of engineering plants were built attached to the big combines and plants, such as the engineering plant of the «Stalin» textile combine, the engineering plants at Stalin City and the oil-processing plant in Cërrik, the agricultural machinery plant in Durrës, the «Partizani» plant and the «Dinamo» plant in Tirana. These enterprises are a solid base for the fulfilment of the country's requirements for spare parts. A nail and bolt plant

in Kavaja, a plant producing metallic products for mass consumption in Gjirokastra, plants for the general overhaul of tractors in Shkodra, Fier, Gjirokastra, etc. were built in the 60's. During this period the most important engineering plant, the «Traktori» plant which, after extension, was named the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor plant and in 1978 produced the first Albanian-made tractor, the «Petro Papi» precision instruments plant in Korça were built. In 1980 the engineering industry in Albania included scores of plants of a national level and hundreds of workshops spread all over the country. This industry provides more than 95 per cent of the spare parts the national economy needs, numerous agricultural machines, relatively simple equipment, various machines and appliances needed by the different sectors of the economy as well as a number of consumer products which satisfy the ever-growing demands of the population.

Development of the engineering industry

(in times)

Year	1939	1950	1979
Growth of the production of the engineering industry	1	21.4	444

New prospects have been opened up for the engineering industry in recent years when numerous production lines, whole factories and plants have been designed and production of them has begun.

The building materials industry

Since Liberation, the expansion of construction work has been accompanied by a great development of the building materials industry.

The main branch of the building materials industry in Albania is cement production. Before the Liberation this industry was represented by a single cement factory at Shkodra. During successive five-year plans, modern plants pro-

ducing high quality cement were built at Vlora, Tirana, Kruja and Elbasan. They use limestone and clay from nearby quarries.

Under the people's power, the cement products industry, which produces slabs and pipes of different dimensions, prefabricated materials, spun concrete poles, fiber-cement sheets and tubes, etc. has also developed.

In the past, the brick and tile industry did not satisfy the needs of the country. After Liberation, numerous brick and tile works went up in Tirana, Durrës, Shkodra, Elbasan, Lushnja, Fier, Vlora, Korça, etc. to meet the increasing needs of construction. The 3rd Five-year Plan saw the construction of two big modern factories: the brick and tile works of Vora (Tirana district) and the silicate brick factory in Tirana.

The building materials industry in Albania also uses many other materials which are found in abundance in the country, such as marble of different types and colours, gypsum, limestone, etc. The production of this industry in 1979 increased 263 times, while the production of cement — 93.3 times, bricks and tiles — 83.8 times against 1938.

Glassware and crockery

The glass industry in Albania was established only after Liberation. The first glass factory, of small capacity, was built in Korça during the 1st Five-year Plan. At the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan another one was built in Tirana, while in the 4th Five-year Plan a second glass factory was built in Korça, a window glass plant was built in Kavaja and a light bulbs factory in Vlora.

The porcelain and ceramics industry existed in the country even before the liberation. Earthenware vessels, jugs, pots and other simple crockery, in small quantities, were manufactured in primitive potteries.

After Liberation, with the construction of the porcelain factory in Tirana, this branch of industry passed from the handicraft to the industrial stage. Previously imported articles such as crockery and sanitary ware, toys, lamps, ornaments, fire bricks for lining high temperature furnaces, etc. are now produced locally.

The paper and timber industry

Despite the great forests of Albania, the timber processing industry was non-existent. At this period, the timber industry was limited to logging and sawing timber which was exported in balks and then partly re-imported in worked-up form.

Many wood-working factories and combines were built after the Liberation. They turn out processed timber and consumer goods.

Under the people's power, the primitive saw-mills were transformed and equipped with modern, high production motor-driven saws and their distribution within the country was made on the basis of sounder criteria. At the same time, the big saw-mills were built at Fushë-Arrëz (Puka) where the overwhelming bulk of the industrial timber for the whole country is produced. The biggest centres for the processing of industrial timber are the «Nako Spiru» combine in Elbasan and its counterpart at Laç (Kruja). They turn out dried and impregnated timber, plywood and chipboard sheets, parquet blocks, etc.

The furniture industry especially has developed greatly in recent years. The former small, primitive, cabinet-making shops have been transformed into big enterprises turning out a wide range of joinery and furniture. There are modern joinery factories in Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Gjirokastra, Korça, Pogradec, etc. The biggest and most modern of them all is the «Misto Mame» enterprise in Tirana, which has an output 6 times that of the whole timber industry of 1938. Factories for processing timber residues have also been built. They turn out core board, hardboard and chipboard. These residues are also used by the paper industry which has seen greatly development during the successive five-year plans.

The paper and cardboard mills built at Korça, Shkodra, Kavaja and Lushnja, Lezha and Tirana have solved a major problem of the national economy: the production within the country of different kinds of paper.

In 1979, under the people's power, the production of the timber and paper industry had increased to 169 times the pre-war figure.

The light industry

Before Liberation, the light industry, ranked second after the food industry, as regards its share in total industrial production. However, it satisfied only a small part of the needs of the population. Under the people's power, this important branch of industry has developed continuously. In the context of the industrialization of the country, a number of new modern combines and factories have been built and the existing factories have been extended and modernized.

The textile industry is the most important branch of light industry. It comprises the weaving mills in Shkodra, the knitwear combine in Korça and the two textile combines in Tirana and Berat.

The development of the textile industry goes hand in hand with the development of the garment industry. Factories turning out ready-made, cotton or woollen clothing for men, women and children, have been established in the big cities.

Development of the light industry

(in times)

Year	1938	1960	1979
Growth of production	1	23.2	89.6

The leather industry has tanneries in Vlora, Durrës, Shkodra, Korça and Gjirokastra. These factories process local hides. On this basis the footwear industry was set up after Liberation. It includes the footwear plants of Tirana, Korça and Gjirokastra as well as the rubber products factory in Durrës.

In 1979 production of footwear increased 25 fold against 1950, the production of consumer goods increased 90 fold against 1938, that of different stuffs — 11.5 fold against 1950, cotton cloth — 134 fold, knitwear — 129.3 fold against 1938,

The food industry

The concern the people's power shows for this branch of industry stems from the fact that its supreme objective is precisely to raise the standard of living of the working masses. That is why, immediately after Liberation, the extension and modernization of the existing food-stuff enterprises was accompanied by the construction of new ones in all the districts of the Republic. Thus the sugar industry, the fruit, vegetable, meat and fish preserving industry, the industry of wines, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, fruit juices and oils, the infant foods industry, the flour, bread and noodles industry, the potato processing industry, the rice husking industry, the oil and soap industry, the milk products industry, the confectionary industry, the cigarette and tobacco industry, etc. were set up.

Today there is no district in Albania which does not possess a number of new food-stuffs factories. All have been built near the sources of raw materials. For instance, the sugar combine was built in Maliq, where sugar-beet is grown in the plains reclaimed from the former Maliq marsh (in the south-east of the country), a fish cannery was built in the coastal city of Vlora, fruit and vegetable preserving plants were built in the cities of Elbasan, Korça, Shkodra, Berat, Peshkopia, Përmet, and other centres of districts noted for their vegetable and fruit production. The «Ali Kelmendi» food-stuffs combine, one of the most important enterprises of the Albanian food industry and well known for its wide range of products, was built in Tirana. Tobacco and cigarette factories were built in the tobacco producing regions.

To give an idea of the development of the food industry in Albania, let us point out that in 1975, its weekly output was equal to the annual output of 1938. In 1979 the output of this industry increased 70 fold against 1938.

The production of certain articles such as edible oil and fats in 1979 increased 7.8 times, cheese — 16.6 times, noodles — 55 times, sugar — 57 times, etc. against 1938.

The Albanian food industry supplies the home market with a wide range of products and in recent years some of them have won acceptance on foreign markets. Albania has become an exporter of all kinds of preserved food, wines, brandy, dried fruit and medicinal herbs. The export of

such traditional export goods as tobacco and cigarettes has increased considerably.

Finally, let us stress that thanks to the light and food processing industry, Albania, which up till yesterday was obliged to import the vast majority of the industrial products it needed, today fulfils over 85 per cent of its needs for mass consumer goods with local products. This is the outcome of the wise economic policy of the Party of Labour of Albania.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

Before Liberation Albanian agriculture was in an utterly backward, even primitive state. Only 10.2 per cent of the total area of the country was cultivated, while 31 per cent was used as pastures and the rest consisted of forests (45 per cent), marshes and non-productive land (more than 13 per cent).

The agricultural economy was fragmented into thousands of small individual plots on which the most primitive means were used. Tractors and chemical fertilizers were practically unknown. Cereal crops, mainly maize and oats, were cultivated in more than 96 per cent of the sown area. The yields of these crops were relatively low and never exceeded 10 quintals per hectare. The situation was no better in livestock farming in which sheep and goats predominated.

These then were the elements of a backward, extensive agriculture in which feudal relations predominated. The fascists, nazis and local traitors ravaged the whole economy of the country to further their ends in the occupation and the war, reducing agriculture to the most lamentable situation.

After Liberation, thanks to the land reform and collectivization, Albanian agriculture was radically transformed and took on an advanced socialist character.

Agriculture in Albania is divided in two sectors: the state sector and the cooperative sector. The state sector consists of the state farms, the machine and tractor stations (SMT), the regional plants, the seeds enterprise and its branches in each district, the managing body of the irrigation system, the forest enterprises, and the scientific research institutes, stations and centres.

The state farms

The state farms were the first socialist agricultural enterprises and were created immediately after Liberation. They were set up on the basis of land confiscated from foreign companies, big feudal estate owners and other big local capitalist landowners, and the big flocks of animals and olive plantations which were nationalized. The state agricultural and livestock farms have grown steadily bigger and stronger. A good number of new state farms were set up on the land reclaimed by draining the swamps of Maliq, Tërbuf, Vurgu, Vrina, Thumana, Durrës, Lezhë-Mat, Hoxhara, etc. New prospects will be opened up to this sector in the future with the establishment of state farms in the hilly and mountainous zones.

The state farms have played an important role because they have applied the most advanced methods of agricultural technology and mechanized almost all the various processes of work. From the very beginning, these enterprises have served as a support for socialism in the countryside, as examples for the cooperativist and individual peasantry demonstrating in practice all the advantages of large-scale economies with planned and mechanized production. The state farms have successfully accomplished this task. In 1979 the state farms accounted for 25 per cent of the agricultural production, occupying 20.5 per cent of the sown area. The state farms not only provide high yields of good quality agricultural and livestock products for the cities and industry, but they also provide an excellent example for the agricultural cooperatives so that they can benefit from their advanced experience. These enterprises are also important centres for the distribution of selected seeds, fruit tree sapplings and pedigree livestock.

The centres of many state farms have been transformed into real, properly planned agrarian towns.

The machine and tractor stations

The establishment of the state and cooperative sectors in agriculture brought out the contradiction between the new socialist relations of production and the relatively low

level of development of the productive forces. This contradiction could not be resolved without the introduction of advanced agricultural technology. To this end, the first machine and tractor station was set up in Myzeqe at the beginning of April 1947. Other stations followed all over the country. These are socialist state enterprises of the agricultural sector having at their disposal tractors, harvester-threshers and other complex agricultural machinery which they put in the service of the agricultural cooperatives on the basis of contracts. The machine and tractor stations constitute a form of the organization of the material base of large-scale collective production in agriculture, under the guidance and aid of the state. The purpose of these stations is to promote the mechanization of agricultural work, the rapid and continuous growth of agricultural production, the increase in the productivity of labour, and the continuous reduction of the costs of production. From the very beginning of the process of collectivization, the people's power took care to help the agricultural cooperatives with modern machinery and took concrete measures to this end. It is understandable that the agricultural cooperatives themselves were unable to cover the very high cost of acquiring these machines. Thus the state undertook to defray the costs for new technical means of production and make these means available to the collective enterprises.

The machine and tractor stations have steadily increased in numbers, have a wide-range of machinery at their disposal and have ensured the accomplishment of all kinds of important work.

The 10 machine and tractor stations which existed in the country in 1947, and these only in the plains, have now increased to more than 30, which have extended their activity to all corners of the country, even to such mountainous districts as Puka, Tropoja, Kukës, Dibra, Mirdita, Mat, Librazhd, Pogradec, Kolonja, Përmet, Tepelena, etc. They have powerful machines and implements of various types: tractors, different types of ploughs, sowers, silage choppers, harvesters, threshers, winnowing machines and blowers, spray pumps, shearing machines, milking machines, etc. Thanks to the expansion and more rational and efficient exploitation of their material and technical base, from year to year, the machine and tractor stations have increased the number of mechanized processes they perform. In the first years of their existence they did

only 10 types of work, mainly ploughing, whereas today they perform more than 70 different types including ordinary and deep ploughing, mowing, mechanized sheep shearing, etc. The machine and tractor stations come to the aid of the agricultural cooperatives with all their means for breaking in new land, have done the bulk of the work for the planting of thousands of hectares of vineyard, the digging of irrigation and drainage canals, and the construction of big reservoirs.

The MTS assist the cooperativists in various kinds of work on the basis of contracts between them. In the terms of the contract, the cooperatives pay the stations for the work they do in kind or in cash. The state transforms the agricultural products accumulated by way of these deliveries in kind into monetary funds and uses them to renew the means of production of the MTS and to pay the wages of their workers.

The MTS workers and the cooperativists take part together in agricultural production, through the utilization of modern means of production which are the common property of the entire people. Thus the machine and tractor stations constitute one of the highest forms of linking the working class with the cooperative peasantry; they play a decisive role in strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasants. The MTS are a particular form of the important organized financial and economic aid which our state gives the peasantry with the aim of building up and strengthening the new cooperative system in agriculture.

On the other hand, the MTS help the agricultural cooperatives in different ways in the organization of work, the planning of production, the introduction of advanced agricultural methods, the strengthening of the accountancy sector, and in training specialists in mechanization, etc.

The machine and tractor stations are indispensable for the development and strengthening of socialist agriculture and ensuring the adoption of more and more intensive methods. This necessity is dictated by three essential factors. First, because the main means of production in agriculture, as in the other branches of production, must remain in the hands of the state which represents the interests of the whole society. Second, because equipment does not remain at a given level, but is continuously developed and perfected. The old equipment is replaced with new and this involves heavy expenditure, the investment of considerable sums. Only the

state is able to make such big investments for the benefit of agricultural production. Finally, the fact that the main means of production are in the hands of the state, enables it to provide the proper aid for the agricultural cooperatives in the districts and zones where agricultural machinery can be used and, at the same time, to pay special attention to the economically weaker cooperatives.

In 1938 draught animals made up 99 per cent of the motor power potential of agriculture, whereas in 1979, 92 per cent of it was mainly motor powered.

The agricultural cooperatives

The agricultural cooperatives constitute the base for both agricultural and livestock production. These cooperatives are a voluntary association of peasant producers, based on the social ownership of the means of production and collective work, and which exclude the exploitation of man by man. The agricultural cooperative correctly combines the individual interests, the day to day interests of the cooperativists, with the general interest of the cooperative.

Joining by free consent constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the establishment of the agricultural cooperatives, and this principle has been rigorously respected all through the long process of the collectivization of agriculture in Albania. All the land included in the cooperative, from which the old divisions between separate fields have been eliminated, forms the common land of the cooperative. Under the new Constitution, the land is no longer the property of the group. Now it is the property of the state and it is given to the cooperativists for their use. In the terms of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (Article 18), the land belongs exclusively to the state which grants it for social use to the state enterprises and institutions, to the agricultural cooperatives and social organizations and to individual citizens for their personal use. The use of the land is granted free of charge (Article 19).

Each cooperativist family is allotted a private plot (without counting the area occupied by the house). The size of these plots is decided by the general assembly of the cooperativists. However, the model constitutions stipulate that for the lowland cooperatives, they should not exceed

10 acres and for the newly formed mountainous cooperatives 15 acres. In his private plot, the cooperative peasant grows mainly fruit and vegetables, fodder, etc. The vegetable and livestock products which the cooperativist families take from their private plots serve to satisfy their personal needs more adequately. This form of property, however, tends to diminish and, with the passage of time, it is disappearing not only because it is incompatible with social ownership, but also and above all because the peasant himself, sees from his own experience that the cost of production of agricultural products from his private plot is much higher than that of products from the cooperative. Therefore it is in his interest to buy these products at much lower prices at the shops of the cooperative and devote the time spent working his private plot, to work in the cooperative fields, with greater benefit to himself.

The cooperativists are the joint owners of all the agricultural machinery and means of transport of the cooperative, the pack and draught animals, the productive animals and bee-hives, with the exception of those left to families for their individual use, the seed necessary for the cooperative crops, the fodder for the cooperative's livestock, the necessary buildings for the management of the cooperative as well as the establishments in which products are handled or processed.

The dwelling-houses, the agricultural implements needed to work the personal plot, are not collectivized. The constitution of the cooperative allows each cooperativist family a definite number of cattle, sheep and goats, pigs and bee-hives, which, while being used for the personal needs of the cooperativists, are tended, herded and housed by the cooperative.

The peasants jointly perform all the agricultural tasks envisaged in the plan of the cooperative, which is an integral part of the general state plan for agriculture. The income from this collective work is divided among the cooperativists according to the quantity and quality of work done by each of them. Such an organization of agricultural production ensures the best possible utilization of the productive forces, and increases and improves production.

Democracy is one of the fundamental principles of the structure of agricultural cooperatives. This democracy is reflected in the right of the cooperativists to participate directly in solving all the problems of the cooperative economy,

in their right to elect and be elected to the leading organs of the cooperative; in their right to exercise control over and to demand that the leading organs and functionaries of the cooperative render account of their management, in their right to dismiss before the expiry of their term, or at any time, those people elected to leading organs or posts who do not justify the confidence of the people and do not perform their tasks well.

The supreme organ of the agricultural cooperative is the general assembly in which all the members take part. The entire activity of the cooperative is run by the assembly and in intervals between sessions, by the presidium of the cooperative itself elected by the assembly. To ensure the handling of the day to day activities the assembly elects a president who is simultaneously chairman of the cooperative and chairman of the management committee, called the presidium. Let us stress once again that the cooperatives conduct all their activity in conformity with their constitutions, and with the laws, decisions, instructions and directives of the state organs, combining their interests with those of the national economy, to the benefit of the socialist construction and the continuous improvement of living-standards.

The advantages of the cooperativist system

The cooperativist system in Albania combines the advantages of the large-scale modern enterprise over the small primitive enterprise, and, at the same time, the superiority of the socialist economy over the capitalist economy. If before Liberation Albanian agriculture comprised more than 155,000 peasant holdings, averaging 2.5 hectares each, some belonging to those who worked them and some owned by others, on which the peasants could not subsist by their own resources, in 1979 there were 423 economies with an average area of 1,150 hectares of cultivated land in which the area of land under crops and their production of plant and livestock products are steadily increasing.

The process of the establishment of large-scale agricultural economies in Albania has not been carried out at the expense of the peasants, spelling ruin for them, as is the case in the capitalist countries, but to their benefit through the co-ordination of their interests with those of the whole

society. Consequently, not only has the Albanian peasant escaped from oppression and exploitation once and for all, but brilliant prospects have been opened up for him to improve his economic and social situation. The cooperative system has eliminated the possibility of the appearance of inequalities among the peasantry, and rural poverty and want along with it. The collective ownership has placed the peasants in conditions of equality as regards the utilization of the means of production which belong to the entire collective. The conditions of the collective economy exclude the exploitation of another's labour. As regards work and remuneration for it, the agricultural cooperatives apply the principle «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work». The cooperative members are paid on the basis of workdays put in during the agricultural year. The differences in their incomes do not derive from their economic and social position before joining the cooperative, but from the amount of work done in the collective economy, from the value of the workday which is continuously increasing, parallel with the economic strengthening of the cooperatives.

The establishment of the cooperative system has guaranteed the Albanian peasantry the necessary conditions for a more prosperous and cultured life. Before Liberation, the Albanian countryside was made up of small, very scattered villages, whereas the collectivization and particularly the creation of big cooperatives uniting several cooperatives in one led to the creation of new economic and administrative centres with their own social-cultural and educational institutions, which are becoming more and more like small towns. More than half the peasant families live in new houses, mostly built after the collectivization; thousands of educational and social-cultural institutions have been built in the agricultural cooperatives, including creches and kindergartens, eight-year and secondary schools, houses of culture, hospitals, maternity homes, out-patient clinics; new roads link the villages with the national road network, and even the most remote mountainous villages have electric light. In the countryside as in the cities the state provides free medical services. The members of the agricultural cooperatives are entitled to invalidity and old age pensions.

New moral norms, the spirit of socialist collectivism, the predominance of the general interest over personal interests, characterize the activity of the Albanian cooperativists. They

see the basis of their well-being in the common property. The experience of the construction of socialism in Albania shows that the only way to build socialism in the countryside, in the countries with fragmented rural economies, is the collectivization of agriculture. All other ways lead to the development of capitalism in the countryside. The establishment of big collective economies led to removal of all the hedges and ditches which divided up the cultivated land, and thus created large areas on which it is possible to use agricultural machinery and apply modern agricultural methods. In the united agricultural cooperatives agricultural and livestock production is even better organized on a scientific-technical basis. The socialist transformation of the Albanian countryside created very favourable conditions for the planned development of agricultural production on the basis of advanced methods.

Under capitalism, the use of modern equipment by the rich farmers intensifies competition and leads, finally, to the ruin of the small peasants. On the contrary, the introduction of the tractor and the leader-harvester in the Albanian countryside has lightened the work of the cooperativists and helped to improve their well-being.

With the setting up of the big collective economies, the working peasantry has the possibility to benefit greatly from the drainage and irrigation projects built by the state, as well as from the state aid in credits for increasing agricultural production, the use of selected seeds, chemical fertilizers, etc. Today Albania ranks among the most advanced countries of the world as regards the amount of chemical fertilizers used, the irrigation capacity and big land improvement projects.

The cooperative system has ensured a considerable increase of agricultural production, so that agriculture provides the market with increased products, a fact of great importance for supplying the country with food-stuffs and agricultural primary products.

The figures show that agricultural output in Albania has increased 5 fold in comparison with the pre-war period. This increase is over 50 per cent greater than the increase of the population. Total agricultural output in 1975 was 33 per cent higher than in 1970. The growth of production of certain products was as follows: bread grain 35 per cent, sugar-beet 76 per cent, milk 47 per cent, eggs 68 per cent, etc.

As to the rate of growth of agricultural production it is noteworthy that Albania has surpassed the world average.



Harvesting.

Hills transformed into orchards.





Agriculture, the concern of the entire people.



Vegetables and fruit all the year round,

Saw how
Michelle's
personalty
was like
point
first





The port of Durrës.

Ready for the market.



Collectivization has put an end to the quasi-monoculture character of Albanian agriculture. While bread grains occupied 96.5 per cent of the cultivated area in 1938, today they occupy about 50 per cent of it, at a time when the production of bread grain has increased incomparably with 1938. In 1980 its production increased 5 fold and its yields about 3 fold against 1938. Whereas in 1938 the ratio in the area sown with maize and wheat was 70 per cent maize against 30 per cent wheat, in 1979 it was 35 per cent maize against 65 per cent wheat. At the same time the area sown with industrial crops was extended. In comparison with 1950, in 1979 production of cotton increased 3.5 fold, sugar-beet 50.5 fold, sun-flower 10.6 times, that of tobacco, against 1938, increased 10 fold, and so on. Compared with 1938, production of vegetables in 1979 was 11.2 times greater, fruit production in 1978 increased 6.4 fold, citruses — 11.8 fold, etc.

This increase in the agricultural production is due, to a great extent, to the increase of various yields. There are many agricultural economies in our country which take in 70 quintals of wheat and 70-80 quintals of maize per hectare, more than 50 quintals of rice, about 20 quintals of cotton, 24 quintals of sun-flower per hectare, etc.

The establishment of big agricultural economies has created the conditions required for a radical change of the character of Albanian agriculture: from an extensive agriculture in which the increase of production was achieved by expansion of the cultivated area, it is more and more tending to become an intensive agriculture which is characterized by the continuous increase in investments and the work done per hectare of cultivated land, and this has resulted in a considerable rise in the yield rates of agricultural crops.

Collectivization created the premises for regionalization, cooperation and specialization in agriculture. These phenomena are encountered in the capitalist countries too, but they differ fundamentally in regard to their aims and methods. Thus, while the distribution of crops, the specialization and development of the productive forces in the capitalist agriculture constitute a spontaneous process, aimed at achieving the maximum profit and the absorption of the smaller economies by the bigger ones, in accordance with the «law of the jungle», in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania these phenomena constitute a process which is developed consciously for the benefit of the workers. The planned develop-

ment of the productive forces serves to increase production and productivity, to reduce costs and to raise the level of the material and cultural life of the masses. In Albania, the regionalization and specialization of crops, in other words, deciding on what crops will be grown in the different regions of the country, and the concentration of agricultural production in the specified cooperatives, farms or zones, are measures which are closely linked together and respond to the general interests of the national economy. They are two links of the same chain.

Advancing on the road of intensive cropping, Albanian agriculture is further perfecting the regionalization and specialization of crops, guided not by profit as is the case in the capitalist countries, but by the needs of the national economy, by the needs of the working masses, at the same time taking into consideration the climatic and soil conditions. So the geographical distribution of crops and the specialization of the agricultural economy in Albania are based on the state plan which is drafted in accordance with the economic laws of socialism and reflects the reality of the country. This harmonious development which makes the best possible use of the soil and weather conditions and all the material and moral resources of the country serves the achievement of the supreme objective of the Party, the construction of socialism and the continuous raising of the level of material and cultural well-being of the people.

The combination of forces creates immense possibilities to undertake mass actions, unrealizable in the conditions of small private economies, because such undertakings require large-scale work and big investments. Undertakings of this type were the actions for breaking in new land, for the terracing, irrigation and draining of land, planting large blocks of fruit trees, etc.

The cooperativist system opens up great possibilities for the scientific experimentation, the rotation of crops, the dissemination of advanced experience, which are indispensable conditions for the rapid development of agricultural production. Research work in Albania has already gone beyond the confines of laboratories to spread almost everywhere, in the state farms and the agricultural cooperatives. A series of factors have contributed to this, above all, the raising of the cultural level of the cooperativists and the other agricultural workers. Whereas before Liberation there was only one low

level agricultural school, nowadays there are two higher institutes of agriculture (in Tirana and Korça, which have trained hundreds of higher specialists: agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians, agricultural economists, forestry specialists, etc.). There is also a vast network of agricultural secondary schools which train hundreds of middle-level specialists each year. Specialization and qualification courses are run continually in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms. Thus efforts are made to ensure mass participation in agricultural schooling. On the other hand Albania has an extensive system of scientific research institutes, engaged in research in the field of agricultural production, zootechny, pedological studies, plant protection, the development of fruits crops, the mechanization of agriculture, hybridization of maize, etc. Equipped with modern laboratories, these institutes engage in wide-ranging activities assisting increased agricultural and livestock production.

Scientific experiments are carried out even in the small production units in the agricultural cooperatives. Thousands of workers of all categories and levels of qualification are devoted to this work. The scientific experimentation by the masses has now become a school which stimulates agricultural and livestock production.

The study of the agricultural land in Albania was completed in 1973. A survey was carried out and a land registry compiled of the entire arable area of the Republic. Pedological and agrochemical studies involving hundreds of thousands of soil analyses were conducted in all the agricultural economies.

As a result of these pedological and agrochemical studies, the agricultural workers now have at their disposal pedological and agrochemical maps which show the different types and subtypes of the soil, the depth of the active layer, its mechanical composition, the quantities of humus, nitrogen, phosphorus and potash it contains, and other agrotechnical information.

Thanks to a good knowledge of the soil, all the technical processes in agriculture, ploughing, fertilizing, draining, irrigation, the regular rotation of agricultural crops, the breaking in of new land, are carried out in accord with the chemical, physical and biological properties of the soil, and consequently, they have a more marked effect in increasing yields.

The pedological and agrochemical field studies, performing the chemical analyses of the soil, the compiling of maps and

the respective supplement reports in general have become a great school in which the specialists, agricultural workers, the chemists and laboratory workers have studied the characteristics of the soil and with the aid of the supplementary reports, have taken concrete measures to preserve and increase the fertility of the soil. In courses and seminars, and especially during the work itself, a large number of cadres have been trained and specialized in the field of soil analyses, pedology and agricultural chemistry. Attached to the district agricultural stations, pedology laboratories have been set up, as well as a number of simpler ones attached directly to cooperatives. These laboratories play a major role in the development of scientific-research work in agriculture, especially in pedology and agricultural chemistry.

So, having overcome its age-old backwardness and being freed of the old relations of production, Albanian agriculture, now completely collectivized, is advancing confidently on the road of intensification and modernization. As a result of these measures, the total agricultural output increased in 1980 by 500 per cent against 1938. Agricultural production in the 7th Five-year Plan 1981-1985 will increase by 30-32 per cent against the 6th Five-year Plan for the five years taken together.

The mechanization of agriculture

Mechanization is one of the main factors in the rapid progress of agriculture. Therefore, from the time it was established the people's power has given this problem particular importance and care. In 1977 the volume of mechanized work was more than 15 times greater than in 1950; compared with 1938, when motor power constituted only 1 per cent of the total power potential, in 1979 motor power accounted for 92 per cent of it.

As a result of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance, nowadays a whole series of processes are accomplished with machinery made in Albania, such as threshing-machines, seed drills, fertilizer spreaders, mills, silage choppers, winnowing machines, grain driers and other machinery, all manufactured locally.

As regards mechanization, the central research stations, in collaboration with the agricultural enterprises and the

engineering plants of the country, studied the possibilities of further extending the mechanization, of working sprinkler irrigation plants not only by motor driven pumps, but also by utilizing the natural conditions, the extension of precise seed sowing, the utilization of certain groups of implements simultaneously, etc.

Parallel with the modernization of the machinery used in the agricultural sector, work is going on to train many specialists in this branch of mechanics so that they acquire a high degree of qualification. The machine and tractor stations have at their disposal a whole army of highly trained cadres and mechanics.

Unlike the capitalist countries where the machinery belongs to the wealthy capitalist landowners or financiers, who exploit the farm hands by employing them as day labourers or by charging excessive rates for the hire of their machinery, in Albania this machinery is used extensively by all the cooperative peasantry. The machine and tractor stations put their machinery at the disposal of the cooperative for a very moderate charge. These practices illustrate the great interest of the state in the development of agricultural production.

Breaking in of new land

The greater part of Albania is mountainous and hilly. The area sown to crops occupies only 42 per cent of the total territory of the country. After the establishment of the people's state power, continuous attention was given to increasing the production of bread grain and the development of all the branches of agriculture by harmonizing the development of intensive cropping with the breaking in of new land.

In the years since Liberation, the main efforts were directed to breaking in new land in the plains through river control and drainage, the clearing of degraded forests, etc. However, the greatest reserves of this kind were situated in the mountains and remote areas, therefore in recent years the Party issued the call: «Let us take to the mountains and hills to make them as beautiful and fertile as the plains!» a call which mobilized all the agricultural workers as well as the youth of the cities and the countryside. This call was the signal for the launching of a vigorous drive which made possible the realization of the most daring forecasts. Today the

hills are covered with terraces planted to crops and fruit trees.

The peasants of the mountainous districts proclaimed winter a season of work like the other seasons, in order to wrest from the mountains and degraded forests the fertile land unutilized up till that time. Battling the rocks, the snow and the cold, imbued with a lofty revolutionary spirit, the peasants wrested the precious land from nature, inch by inch. As a result the hills and the mountains have changed their former appearance. On their slopes thousands and thousands of hectares of land have been shaped in terraces. This involved the excavation of hundreds and thousands of cubic metres of stone and earth in forming the terraces and the building of dams to control the torrents and protect the soil from erosion damage. Entire zones were transformed into big orchards and vineyards.

The breaking in of new land in the hilly and mountainous areas was made much easier as a result of the great help provided by the machine and tractor stations and the state farms in lending machinery. Overcoming the difficulties with a lofty revolutionary spirit the young people of town and countryside have transformed immense areas of mountainous terrain and degraded forests into cultivable land. In tens of thousands, they rushed to the aid of the peasants of the mountainous regions to respond in deeds to the call of the Party to make the hills and the mountains as fertile as the plains. As a result of this great work, the arable land area in 1979 had increased by 2.4 times as against 1938 when it covered only 292,100 hectares.

Drainage and irrigation of the land

This problem assumes great importance for the development of the Albanian agriculture, if account is taken of the fact that before Liberation thousands of hectares of land were covered by water or periodically flooded, while whole regions suffered from drought in summer. At that time the feudal owners were not interested in undertaking water control projects and they were not in a position to do so. On the other hand, the anti-popular state power displayed no concern at all over this problem.

This very important task was fulfilled only under the

people's state power. Within 25 years the «black spots» designating the swamps of Maliq (Korça district), of Vurgu (Delvina), Tërbuf (Lushnja), Thumana (Kruja), Roskovec (Fier), etc. were erased from the map. From the draining of the swamps 50,000 hectares of very fertile land were gained and a further 188,000 hectares were improved up to 1979.

Pumping stations with a total capacity of 160 cubic metres of water per second were built for drainage of the flat coastal regions. The pumping station of Hoxhara (Fier) with a capacity of 35 cubic metres per second ranks among the most powerful in Europe. A dense network of drainage canals extends over 200,000 hectares of land which comprise over 90 per cent of the total area of plains in the country. Within the same period, stop-banks built along all the main rivers prevented overflowing. Thus water control work in the plains has now entered its final stage.

In the years of the people's power more than 230,000 hectares of land in the plains have been completely protected from flooding, drained, and placed under irrigation.

Major works have been carried out to achieve this. Today the area under irrigation is much greater than in the pre-Liberation period. Hundreds of reservoirs have been built, some of them of considerable capacities. The Thana reservoir (Lushnja) contains 65 million cubic metres of water and is capable of irrigating more than 25,000 hectares.

The continuous growth of the economic potential of the country and the completion of collectivization have made possible the large-scale construction of irrigation projects in the mountainous regions also. Reservoirs, irrigation canals and other structures have been and are being built in difficult terrain in the mountainous regions.

In 1980 the irrigation system covered 53 per cent of the total cultivated land or 366,000 hectares, against 29,000 hectares in 1938. Sprinkler irrigation in 1979 extended to 70,000 hectares.

The state does not limit itself to building the reservoirs, irrigation canals, electric pumping stations, etc. which are required for the reclamation of swamps and land improvement and irrigation schemes with its own means, but it provides every sort of aid for the cooperative peasantry to build relatively simple projects with their own forces. The state provides them with materials and specialists free of charge, as well as with credits of very favourable terms.

The carrying out of land improvement projects has a double advantage: on the one hand, new agricultural land has been gained, and on the other hand a more favourable regime has been established for the crops, because in the main agricultural regions of the country they suffer from drought in summer and excess humidity in winter.

After four years of persistent work, in 1973, the Institute of the Study and Design of Land Improvement schemes, in close cooperation with specialists from the different districts and the agricultural cooperatives, completed the study of schemes for the complete irrigation of the 26 districts of the country, on the basis of which the irrigation map of the Republic, which envisages hundreds of projects (reservoirs, canals, tunnels, etc.) was drafted.

The state allocates considerable sums for the construction of these projects. On its part, the cooperative peasantry, assisted by the city workers, gave effective assistance through voluntary labour performing a great many tasks in the building of irrigation and drainage projects, etc. Large-scale mass actions are giving excellent results in reducing the time needed to build these projects.

The irrigation system schemes have served as a basis to study the possibilities of harnessing the irrigation projects (which fulfil the necessary conditions) for the production of electric power.

The use of chemicals in agriculture

In the past, only natural manure was known and used in Albania, and this to a totally inadequate extent. Artificial fertilizers were completely unknown. After Liberation great importance was given to chemical fertilizers. The two big plants built in Fier and Laç ensured the necessary amount of chemical fertilizers for Albanian agriculture. The quantity of chemical fertilizers distributed to the agricultural economies in 1980 had increased 50 per cent as against 1975. Today Albania is ahead of many countries as regards the utilization of chemical fertilizers.

The amount of chemical fertilizers used in our agriculture in 1977 was 6.3 times greater than that of 1970 and 11.6 times greater than in 1970.

Parallel with the increased production of chemical fertilizers, the utilization of organic manure has never been underrated. Chemical fertilizers are combined with the organic manure or they will damage the structure and the microorganisms of the soil. Therefore, the gathering and preparation of organic manure is a decisive prerequisite for increasing crop yields and the fertility of the soil. Every agricultural economy has now turned each of its sectors into a real «factory» of organic nitrate through the collection and scientific processing of all organic manure. To this end, special brigades have been set up with the task of finding, collecting and processing organic manure.

Special attention is paid to the protection of plants from diseases and pests. To this end, the state regularly supplies the agricultural economies with large quantities of fungicides, insecticides and herbicides at fixed low prices. The state also provides technical assistance for the peasants by putting at their disposal specialists to cope with this problem.

The selection of seeds

In the past seeds were of poor quality and produced low yields, so under the people's power, in conformity with the requirements of agricultural technology and with the aim of increasing production, great importance was attached to the selection and distribution of high productivity seeds. Every year the state distributes thousands of quintals of selected seeds, in wheat, maize, tobacco, sugar-beet, etc. Great work has been done to secure high-yield seeds and the optimal number of plants per hectare.

Variety of crops

Before Liberation, Albanian agriculture developed in a unilateral way. Field crops were predominant, while fruit growing and forestry taken together represented only 6 per cent of the total agricultural output.

Under the people's state power, great efforts have been made to diversify agriculture, to improve and transform the structure of agricultural production.

The proportion of field crops to fruit and livestock products has been gradually modified and improved in favour of the latter. The continuous improvement of the proportion between the three fundamental branches of agriculture is accomplished without reducing the production of field crops. It is achieved by giving a certain priority to livestock and fruit production, by the relatively more rapid development of these two branches.

At the same time, the proportions between the field crops themselves have been improved, giving relative priority to production of certain plants which should play a larger part in the people's diet, such as vegetables, potatoes and oil-bearing plants.

Great efforts have been made to increase the varieties of fruit, particularly grapes. Thus today fruits which are especially appreciated by the consumers, which can be processed and are in greater demand on the foreign market, are planted on a larger scale. Another objective is to prolong the period of availability of fresh fruit in order to avoid big fluctuations in supplies of these products, to organize consumption better and facilitate their utilization by the food industry.

Special importance is given to industrial crops.

The main cereal crops grown in Albania are: wheat, maize, rye, barley, and rice; the main industrial crops are cotton, tobacco, sugar-beet, and sunflower. Vegetables include green beans, haricot beans, peas, onions, tomatoes, cabbage, spinach, egg-plant, lady's fingers, courgette paprika, leeks, carrots, etc. The climate being suitable, fruit growing has progressed greatly in Albania. The most widely grown fruits are: apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, apricots, figs, walnuts, persimmons, oranges, mandarins and lemons. A good part of the fruit produced is exported fresh or preserved.

Fruit production in 1978 increased 6.4 fold, citrus production — 11.8 fold against 1938.

Viticulture is also greatly developed. Very high quality table grapes and grapes for wine are produced in Albania. Albanian table grapes and for wines are in keen demand on the international market.

Broad prospects open up for fruit growing. It is envisaged that in 1985 as against 1980 the number of pip and stone fruit trees will increase by 41 per cent, of citrus trees 47 per cent, of olive-trees 33 per cent and vine plants 40 per cent.

The proportions between the different branches of agricultural production and within these branches themselves, are not unalterable. They are in constant evolution according to the needs of the socialist construction of the country.

Livestock farming

Albania has an ancient tradition in livestock farming. However, this branch of the economy had remained in an utterly primitive state. Moreover it was gravely damaged during the war.

The establishment of the state sector in livestock farming was a measure of great importance for the development of this branch and the economy of the country as a whole. The law on the nationalization of big flocks was the starting-point for the state sector in livestock farming.

The establishment of the socialist sector opened up vast perspectives for fruitful scientific work in zootechny and for the introduction of the socialist system in this field. The state flocks and herds, organized in state livestock enterprises are a means for ensuring better supplies for the working population of the cities and a fine example for all those engaged in livestock farming. Hence, livestock farming, like all the other branches of the economy, was organized and developed on new foundations. In 1950 the damage caused by the war had been made good and the pre-war numbers of livestock restored.

The number of cattle has been built up in the state and cooperative sector, and possibilities have been created for the application of technology and the rapid improvement of breeds.

The most important measure taken after the establishment of the people's state power for the qualitative improvement of livestock was the large-scale application of cross-breeding of the local stock with pedigree stock of high productivity. Great efforts were made also to improve the sheep breeds with the help of pedigree rams of the «Merino» and «Cigaia» breeds. To this end major investments were made to ensure the necessary breeding stock and to train thousands of specialists.

Careful work has been done, also, to improve cattle

breeds. In the past the local breed of cow with low productivity for herd predominated in Albania. Starting from the 60's a campaign was undertaken for herd improvement in cattle by cross-breeding with pedigree stock and by using artificial insemination. This activity was guided by a single centre, the State Zootechny Enterprise, and now by the central breed improvement station attached to the Institute of Zootechny Research. The activity of this institute is continually increasing. In 1974 it extended its activity to all the districts of the country and carried out the artificial insemination of more than 60 per cent of the total number of cows, a figure higher than the world average.

Along with the spread of artificial insemination, continuous work has been done also to ensure the required pedigree bulls. To this end, a state farm has been established at Lezha which contributes to providing the necessary pedigree animals. Each year this enterprise breeds a large number of animals specially for high productivity lines.

Another important orientation for herd improvement is the increase in the number of pedigree cows and the raising of female calves. In this way, many cooperatives and state farms have built up their own large herds of pedigree cows. While their influence is to increase production, these herds also provide pedigree breeding stock, especially young bulls, supplying thousands of head each year.

As a result of the measures taken for the development of cattle breeding, the composition of dairy herds has undergone a profound qualitative and quantitative change. It is calculated that more than 70 per cent of the cows are of improved breed and 20 per cent of them are purebred.

Work in this direction has also made possible the improvement of all the pigs and poultry, almost half of the number of sheep, etc. On the state farms all the livestock are of improved breeds, while in the agricultural cooperatives the animals of unimproved breed occupy a negligible position and will soon be entirely replaced.

Radical changes are taking place to ensure the provision of adequate fodder. The application of a series of organizational and technical measures has contributed to increased production of fodder crops concentrates, etc. and this has ensured adequate supplies of stock food throughout the year and consequently, the seasonal fluctuations in animal pro-

ducts have been eliminated, ensuring the required amount of production and regular supplies for the market. All these measures have resulted in the steady increase of livestock products and consequently, of consumption per head of population, from year to year.

Compared with 1938, the number of cattle in 1979 increased 2 fold, pigs — 11.2 fold, poultry — 4 fold, etc. Animal products have increased at high rates. The production of milk in 1977 increased 3 fold, meat — 2 fold, eggs — 4 fold, etc. against 1950.

Science in the service of agriculture

The door was opened to science in Albanian agriculture only under the people's state power. The first nuclei for scientific activity were set up in the first years following Liberation. In these last decades however, agricultural science has developed vigorously. A large number of central research establishments are functioning today and they guide experimental work over the whole country according to their orientation and the tasks assigned to them. A vast amount of activity is conducted by the Institute of Soil Studies, the Agrarian Research Institute in Lushnja, the Institute of Veterinary Research in Tirana. Besides these, a large number of central stations specializing in maize, vegetables and potatoes, fodder crops, plant protection, mechanization, fruit growing, forestry, etc. have been set up in different regions of the country. A vast amount of research work is also conducted by the Higher Institute of Agriculture in Tirana, the Higher Institute of Agriculture in Korça, by certain faculties of the University of Tirana, as well as by the Institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The policy followed in this direction in Albania is aimed at ensuring mass participation in scientific activity; the scientific institutes are only links in the large network of scientific organisms spread over the whole country. Scientific nuclei made up of vanguard workers, experimental centres and scientific councils of the cooperative or state farm, function in every state farm or agricultural cooperative, in each work brigade and in all units of agricultural and livestock production.

This mass participation in agricultural science has made possible the accomplishment of thousands of programmed agricultural experiments each year. Almost all the studies and scientific experiments are carried out mainly on the production fields and livestock herds of the state farms or the agricultural cooperatives. On the other hand, the central research stations study and define the essential problems of agriculture which require more highly qualified work, while the agricultural stations of the districts and the agricultural economies solve problems of a local character and sum up the results obtained in production.

The mass participation in agricultural scientific work organized in a system of many levels and the extension of this work to the entire territory of the country have contributed significantly to the achievement of good results, to the increase of the yields of plant and livestock products. Among the achievements so far in the modernization of agriculture are the production of a genetic material of high value, in seeds, plants and animals for breeding purposes, high quality biopreparations, studies on the most advanced technology, the application of a program for the long-term development of agriculture, etc. The studies and experiments have led to better knowledge of the characteristics of plants and animals, to their improvement and adaptation to the different economic zones, to the introduction of measures for the increase of the fertility of the soil, etc. At the same time, they are used in improving agricultural technology, zootechnology and the genetics of the main crops and animals, for the more intensive build-up of the fertility of the soil and increased effectiveness of the use of fertilizers and water, in elaborating the methods and technology of production, etc.

Agricultural science in Albania is developed on the basis of plans and programs covering a period of 10 or 15 years, which by indicating the general direction of studies and experiments ensure a better co-ordination of science with production and the national economy as a whole. The scientific plans are combined and harmonized with the activity of different sectors of research groups or institutions, with that of the sectors of large-scale agricultural production and the economy and science of the country as a whole. The themes included in the plans of scientific work are such as to serve the plan of agricultural production.

Agricultural credit

The people's state power has always given agriculture considerable assistance by means of the agricultural credit which has played an important role in the development of the productive forces, the growth of production, the intensification of agriculture and the economic and financial strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives. The funds allocated to agricultural credits have increased from year to year.

In the first years after the establishment of the people's state power, almost the total sum of agricultural credits went to the benefit of individual economies, while nowadays, with the complete collectivization of agriculture, it is entirely used by the agricultural cooperatives.

As a result of the continuous strengthening of the older cooperatives, especially those of the plains, the bulk of the long-term credits for investments in equipment have been allocated to the hilly and mountainous cooperatives, and this has contributed to reducing the economic disparities between the cooperatives of the plains and those of the hilly and mountainous zones.

The rates of interest charged on credits from the agricultural bank are so moderate as to be almost symbolic. For instance, the interest rate for long-term credits is 1.3 per cent, for short-term credits 2 per cent, for long-term credits accorded to individual peasants for the repair or construction of their houses 0.5 per cent. The cooperatives of the mountainous zones with modest incomes and the cooperatives set up after the 1st of January 1967 enjoy credits free of all interest.

ALBANIA — A CONSTRUCTION SITE

The construction work carried out in the years of the people's state power illustrates the colossal progress made by socialist Albania which has caught up centuries of backwardness in this field. Thus the volume of construction in 1950 as against 1938 had increased 8.6 fold, in 1955 more than 20 fold and in 1960 36 fold. The subsequent five-year plans were marked by even more rapid growth rates. During the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1966), the volume of construction work was equal to that carried out in the first 15 years after Liberation, while the 5th Five-year Plan envisaged a volume of construction work equal to that carried out from Liberation to 1965.

The volume of construction work in the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) was 53 per cent greater than in the 4th Five-year Plan (1965-1970). During this period 155 important new projects were built and put into service.

In four decades the Albanian construction workers have given the Homeland more than a thousand projects of great importance for the development of the economy, education and culture. They have built 13 entirely new industrial towns. About 300,000 flats had been built up to the end of 1979 both in the city and the countryside. In the distribution of construction work among the different sectors of the economy, priority has been given to the development of the productive forces.

Since Liberation, our building workers have ceaselessly raised the level of mechanization and the building enterprises have been equipped with many different kinds of machinery. Manual labour and artisan methods are on the way out. Pre-

fabricated reinforced concrete components are used extensively in all kinds of constructions, in industrial projects, in culverts, aqueducts, etc., in land improvement and irrigation schemes, the decks of bridges, in housing and social cultural buildings, in high-tension lines, etc. Likewise, various kinds of equipment and machinery are used in construction sites, from simplest types manufactured in our country to large modern equipment and heavy machinery, excavators and mechanical shovels, large capacity trucks, cranes of different kinds and capacities up to 150 tons, modern machinery for the drilling and concreting of tunnels, bulldozers, scrapers and many other machines.

Progress has been made also in the construction of machinery and equipment and the production of spare parts which provide a powerful base for the setting up of new workshops and production lines, for the further mechanization of construction and production processes.

One of the principal factors which has contributed to these successes is the fact that in Albania investments in equipment are centralized in the hands of the state, which guarantees the centralized financing of projects requiring considerable expenditure.

The investments made by the state today in the economic and cultural development of the country are of proportions beyond any comparison with those made under the feudal-bourgeois regime.

In socialist Albania, construction work serves the immediate and long-term interests of the country. Hundreds of industrial projects built in the various districts of the Republic have brought about a rapid development of heavy and light industries.

Thanks to the draining of swamps and the construction of irrigation canals and reservoirs, which are now being built even in the remote mountainous zones, the area of cultivated land has greatly increased. At the same time, new dwelling-houses, schools, houses of culture, hospitals, crèches and kindergartens have been and are being built all over the country, while new roads are being opened up in the remote mountainous zones.

A great victory in the field of construction is the creation of a whole army of higher and medium-trained cadres, as well as the training of qualified construction workers and specialists who are capable of building big complex projects

and solving difficult problems of construction. Albania inherited a limited number of construction specialists and workers from the past, while nowadays thousands of higher and medium-trained specialists trained in Albanian schools are working in every part of the country. Numerous specialized study and design institutes have been founded and are engaged in designing industrial projects, hydro-power stations, high-tension lines, bridges and roads, railways, sea ports, dwelling-houses, hotels, hospitals, etc.

The development of the economy and culture of the country, the development of the creative scientific thought of the building workers, specialists and engineers, have greatly assisted the construction workers in the accomplishment of the major tasks assigned to them. Preliminary studies and experimental work have made possible the designing and construction of important technically complicated projects for hydro-power stations, which rank as big ones by world standards, railways built in difficult terrain, large land improvement and irrigation systems, industrial projects, social cultural and health establishments, housing blocks, etc.

Advanced technique has been applied in the construction of big projects and thorough studies have been made of the technological processes and the scientific organization of work, leading to the completion of the construction of many daring projects ahead of schedule.

The rapid development and the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in the field of construction must necessarily correspond to the rapid rate of the construction of socialism in Albania. Efforts are being made in all directions, especially for the continuous raising of the professional, cultural, technical and scientific level of the workers, and for the establishment of strict technical and scientific discipline everywhere.

Chapter six

THE ARTERIES OF THE REPUBLIC

In the field of communication, too, Albania inherited great backwardness from the anti-popular regime of the past. The few roads, a small number of automobiles and some wooden boats were all that Albania inherited from the past. Apart from Iceland, Albania was the only European country without a railway. All the transport of import-export goods was carried out by Italian shipping companies. The main sea-port of the country, Durrës, could handle only two small ships at a time and possessed only one hand-winch of 200 kilograms capacity.

The situation was further aggravated with the occupation of the country by fascist Italy, and later by Hitlerite Germany. In November 1944 all forms of transport were paralysed.

To overcome this situation, in 1947, just three years after the liberation of the country, despite the great difficulties it had to overcome in the different branches of the economy, the people's state power allocated 44 per cent of the total investments envisaged for the entire economy to the development of communications. It was not long before the results of these efforts began to be felt. Transport in Albania developed rapidly. The volume of goods transported today in less than two days is equal to the total volume of goods transported in 1938. The total length of roads has more than doubled. Numerous new roads have been opened up in the mountains, to distant villages and remote mountainous zones to contribute to the all-round development of the new cooperatives. The passenger transport in 1979 was 2,863 times greater and goods transport 163 times greater than in 1938. In the years of the people's state power, the volume of trans-

port by coastal shipping increased 17 fold, while that by long-distance shipping increased 9 fold as against 1960. The tonnage of the merchant fleet has increased nearly 20 times and today its modern ships plough the oceans, while the ports of the country have been equipped with powerful modern machinery. Today the shipyard at Durrës is an important base for repairing ships of big tonnages, as well as for the construction of various vessels for maritime transport.

The first railway in Albania was built in 1947 and since then the railway network has been extended year by year. Today, this network transports a volume of goods 30 times greater than the total volume of goods transported in 1938.

In the years of the people's state power, the number of telephone lines and call-boxes has increased considerably. Now all the villages are linked with the telephone network.

Today Albania is in a position to produce trucks, buses, freight cars, passenger cars, etc.

Major tasks are envisaged for the extension of transport in the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985). Priority will be given to railway transport the transport capacity of which will be doubled.

Part four

SOCIALIST DISTRIBUTION

Chapter one

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

In all social regimes, the aim of production is determined by the relations of ownership of the means of production. When the means of production are owned by the bourgeoisie, the aim of production is to enrich the owners of capital, through the exploitation of the workers of their own country and the peoples of the colonial and dependant countries. When these means of production are social property and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, the aim of production is to continuously raise the level of the material and cultural well-being of the working people. This is the case in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where the state power is in the hands of the working class led by its vanguard, the Party of Labour of Albania.

Every product in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is destined to satisfy the needs of the people and the economy.

Therefore there is extended production to which the response is ever increasing consumption. This whole process develops without exploiters or exploited. Under the capitalist regime, such a state of things is inconceivable.

The establishment of the socialist economic and social system brought about the elimination of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that between the social character of production and the capitalist, private form of appropriation. Consequently, one of the forms in which this contradiction is manifested — between production and consumption, has also been eliminated. Production in Albania is organized in such a way as to fulfil the needs of the working people. Its continuous growth is an objective necessity which conditions the

constantly growing consumption by the working people. The degree to which the needs of the population are satisfied depends first of all on the degree of development of production. Its continuous expansion not only ensures the quantity of products necessary to satisfy the growing needs of the population but also constitutes an indispensable condition to ensure the progress of production.

The rapid and continuous increase of the needs of the people in Albania results not only from the rapid growth of production, the technical progress, but also from the radical transformations in the life of the working masses, their higher material and cultural standards. For their part, these increasing demands exert a very stimulating influence on the development of production.

The increase and distribution of the national income

Each year the Albanian workers produce material and spiritual values of the most diverse kinds, which, in total, constitute the social product. After the means of production consumed in the process of production have been replaced, the remainder of the national income is at the disposal of the society, and from this each worker receives the share that belongs to him. Thus distribution is one of the stages of the reproduction of the social product which links consumption with production. Distribution itself is divided into two branches: that of means of production and that of means of consumption. The character of the distribution of means of production between the different classes is determined by the form of ownership prevailing in the society, while the distribution of the total social product among the different classes depends entirely on the distribution of the means of production, the ownership of the means of production determines the relations between the social groups in production.

In the capitalist system, the distribution of the social product has an antagonistic character, as it does not go to the producers but is appropriated by a handful of exploiters who possess the overwhelming bulk of the means of production. Under this system, the capitalists and the big landowners, who make up a minority of the population, appropriate more than half the social product.

In contrast to this, in Albania the socialist principle of distribution of material blessings «according to the work done» has been established on the basis of the social ownership and the socialist economic system. This means that each member of society receives his share of the common wealth according to the quantity and quality of the work he has performed.

The consistent application of this principle encourages the workers to perfect themselves in their jobs and to achieve ever better results in their work. Otherwise, it is impossible to increase the productivity of labour rapidly and continually and to advance eventually to the communist principle of distribution, «from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.»

The character of distribution is reflected first of all in the distribution of the national income.

Before the war, the rate of increase of the national income in Albania was very low. In the period 1927-1938, the national income increased by only 12 per cent or an average of 1 per cent annually. On the contrary, since the establishment of the people's state power, the national income has been characterized by consistently high and steady rates of growth. In the period 1960-1970, when the average annual rate of growth of national income for Europe was 4.6 per cent, that of Albania was 7.2 per cent. Particularly high rates of increase in income have been recorded in the sectors of industry and construction. In the period 1950-1970 the average rates of increase for these sectors were 15.5 per cent and 12.5 per cent respectively.

It should be repeated that the rate of increase of the national income of Albania is constantly increasing. The national income in 1975 increased 13.3 fold as against 1938 while the national income per capita increased 5.6 fold.

To put it in another way, from 1971 to 1975 the national income increased by 38 per cent (the annual average: 6.7 per cent), while the real per capita income increased by 14.5 per cent (8.7 per cent for the city workers, and 20.5 per cent for those of the countryside).

The increase of the national income has been the result of the harmonization and judicious utilization of all factors which contribute to its growth, such as: the increase in the number of workers employed in the sector of material production, the increase of the productivity of social labour and the fall in the cost of production.

Before Liberation, 90 per cent of the national income in Albania was supplied by agriculture alone, while today almost the whole of the national income is created by the two principal branches of the national economy: industry and agriculture. The general tendency has been the continuous growth in the contribution of industry to the national income.

Albania has succeeded not only in achieving a rapid growth of the national income but also in using it judiciously in the immediate and long-term interests of the working masses. There are no exploiting parasite classes in Albania. The entire national income belongs to the working people and is used to raise the wellbeing of the working people.

The national income is used first of all to ensure the development of production and the creation of indispensable reserves. This part comprises the fund of accumulation. The rest of the national income goes to individual consumption and constitutes the fund of consumption.

Distribution of the national income in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

	National Income	
	Consumption fund	Accumulation Fund
Individual Consumption	Social Consumption	

The *individual consumption* of the national income consists of the pay of workers and employees, the incomes of cooperativists and the incomes of the other strata of the population.

The *social consumption* of the national income consists of the expenditure for the maintenance and development of the education system, the public health service, science and culture, for the improvement of the living standards of the working people and for social insurance. It also includes the expenditure for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus, the strengthening of the defence of the country, etc.

In this way, the total income of the socialist state is used to satisfy the social and individual needs of the working people; the *current accumulation* allocated to the construction of economic enterprises, schools, hospitals, dwelling houses etc.

will be transformed tomorrow into the fund of consumption. It reflects the growth of the national wealth, the wealth of the entire society, that is, of each of its members.

The policy of the distribution and utilization of the national income of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always been in accord with the fundamental interests of the people, it has correctly harmonized the general needs of society with those of specific groups, the current needs with long-term needs.

The establishment and maintenance of the fairest proportions in the division of the national income into accumulation and consumption funds has been and still is a matter of particular concern, as well as one of the essential principles of the people's economy. Under the people's state power, (starting from 1950) the national income has been divided each year in this way: from 26 to about 35 per cent to the fund of accumulation and 65 to 74 per cent to the fund of consumption.

The division of the national income into accumulation and consumption funds is characterized by the gradual increase of the norm of accumulation. This process has passed through several stages, in conformity with the general conditions, the possibilities and the needs of the country.

Utilization of the national income

in percentage

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975
Utilized national income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Consumption	74.4	73.0	71.2	66.1	64
2. Accumulation	25.6	27.0	28.8	33.9	36

It should be mentioned that during the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) the productive accumulation funds allocated to the priority development of the branches of material production, made up the preponderant part in the division of the total fund of accumulation.

The increase of the fund of accumulation has been dictated by the necessity to make large fundamental investments

in industry, agriculture and communications, to develop and deepen the technical scientific revolution, to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, to carry out the program for the electrification of the country in a very short time, to improve the working and living conditions of the working people, to promote the ideological and cultural revolution, etc. All this required major material and financial resources which could be ensured only by increasing the fund of accumulation.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the effect of the increase in the norm of accumulation on raising the standard of living of the people will be even more marked in the future, because the increased accumulation and the development of production in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania do not constitute an aim in themselves, but are directly linked with the fulfilment of the ever growing needs of the working masses of town and countryside.

The increase in the national income is accompanied by the increase in the fund of consumption, and the immediate and future interests have been harmonized in the most judicious way possible.

The people's state power has followed a wise policy as regards the increase in the fund of consumption, making it contribute to the continuous and general raising of the people's standard of living, according to the possibilities and conditions of the country. The fund of consumption has increased more rapidly than the population. In the past decades the fund of consumption has increased about 4.2 fold and the population only 1.7 fold. During the 5th Five-year Plan the rate of growth of the fund of consumption was two to three times greater than the rate of growth of the population.

The policy of the people's state power as regards the improvement of the well-being of the people, and linked with this, the policy on the utilization of the fund of consumption, have been based on the continuous increase in the number of workers in all the sectors of economic and social activity; the institution, implementation and perfecting of a just system of remuneration; the steady reduction of prices and the adoption of a series of other measures precisely to raise the living standards of the masses.

Parallel with individual consumption, social consumption has also increased at high rates. From 1961 to 1970, while the total fund of consumption increased by 60 per cent, the

fund of individual consumption increased by 56 per cent and that of social consumption by 98 per cent.

Utilization of the fund of consumption

The year	1950-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70
Total consumption	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Individual consumption	88.7	88.7	89.1	88.1
Social consumption	11.3	11.3	10.9	11.9

In the 5th Five-year Plan, 64 per cent of the national income went to the fund of consumption and the growth rate of this fund was higher than the rate of the increase of the population.

In 1980, as against 1975, the fund of social consumption had increased by 18 per cent while the increase of the norm of accumulation was kept at an average of 30 per cent in all five years of the 6th Five-year Plan. In the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) total social output will increase by 34-36 per cent, the national income will increase by 35-37 per cent, and the real per capita income by 8-10 per cent.

Social consumption contains in itself the embryo of communist distribution, because the material blessings and services are provided for all the working masses free of charge. The increase of the fund of consumption offers the possibility of raising the wellbeing of the people and enhancing the spirit of collectivism in the fulfilment of needs, on the basis of sound ideo-political principles. The free education, free medical service for the entire population, including the peasantry, pensions in town and countryside, other subsidies at the level of social insurance for temporary incapacity to work, paid maternity leave, school bursaries, holidays in rest homes, etc. come within this context.

The rapid growth of the fund of consumption has resulted in a further rise, not only in the material wellbeing of the people, but also in the standard of living and level of culture of the masses.

The rapid expansion of the productive forces, the perfecting of the relations of production, the ceaseless improvement in the wellbeing of the working masses of town and countryside, require a higher norm of accumulation in the future too, and linked with this, the rapid development of so-

cial production, first of all of the production of means of production. At the same time, the continuous and general raising of the wellbeing of the people and the gradual application of the line aimed at reducing the differences in income and living standards between town and countryside as well as within the town and the countryside themselves, has been a point of special concern in the distribution, redistribution and utilization of the national income.

The 6th Congress of the PLA issued the directive that, in the utilisation of the fund consumption in the future, priority should be given to improving the living standards in rural areas while not reducing, but rising, the level of wellbeing in the cities and without compromising the development of the lowland areas or the living standards of the people there; priority should also be given to the development and improvement of the living conditions of the villages of the mountainous zones.

In applying this directive of the 6th Congress of the PLA, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania issued their decision on April 1st, 1976 **«On the reduction of high salaries, on some improvements in the pay system of working people and on the further narrowing of the differences between town and country.»**

The preamble to this historic decision points out, among other things, that during more than three decades of socialist construction Albania has realized deep-going revolutionary transformations in every field of life. «The dictatorship of the proletariat and its social basis, the main pillar of which is the alliance of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, have been further consolidated,» says the preamble. The socialist economy has been developed and strengthened unceasingly as a multi-branched, complex, stable, economy, which is growing steadily stronger and to which the crises or any other ills, characteristic of the capitalist-revisionist economy are unknown. The defence of the Homeland and the socialist victories have been further reinforced... The continuous increase in social production has led to the uninterrupted raising of the general wellbeing and the cultural level of the people, and the gradual reduction of the essential differences between country and town, mental and physical labour.

«In the unceasing process of the development and deepening of the socialist revolution, the Party of Labour has always

consistently applied the line of struggle against manifestations and influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and liberal attitudes towards them, the line of class struggle against liberalism, bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism...

«In the present stage of the struggle for the complete construction of socialism, the perfecting and constant revolutionization of socialist relations of distribution are of great importance... The Party has followed the line of the gradual narrowing of differences between the levels of income and the ways of life of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and the different categories within those classes, as well as between town and country. It has always taken care to maintain as fair a ratio as possible between the salaries of the cadres and the incomes of the workers and cooperativists, not to allow marked differences in incomes, which give rise to the birth of degenerate elements and privileged strata and directly endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. At the same time, the Party has always combated tendencies to petty-bourgeois equalitarianism in the field of remuneration, which is alien and harmful to socialism.»

It is beyond any doubt that the application of the pay system for workers and officials and the system of remuneration of the work of cooperativists, a system which has been built and improved from time to time, always on the basis of the socialist law of distribution according to the work done, has made possible the narrowing of the differences between low and high wages, between the incomes of officials, workers and cooperativists and the establishment of fairer proportions between them.

It goes without saying that quite the opposite occurs in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the pay system is based on the enrichment of the minority which oppresses and exploits the majority.

To further develop the correct Marxist-Leninist line in the field of distribution, it was decided:

A. To reduce the higher salaries and make certain improvements in the system of wages and remuneration of the working people.

This subject will be dealt with in another chapter of this volume.

B. To reduce the essential differences between town and country.

The concrete measures taken in this direction need no comment. We shall mention the essential elements of these measures which the entire Albanian people and especially the peasantry, hailed with great enthusiasm.

1. The state will take upon itself, in the countryside too, expenditure for outpatient clinics, mother and child consultation centres, maternity homes, kindergartens and nurseries, the wages of the staffs of the houses of culture and health institutions in the centres of enlarged cooperatives, investments for the construction of schools, kindergartens and nurseries in the villages, as well as of houses of culture and health establishments in the centres of agricultural cooperatives, the maintenance costs of the internal power system in the villages and the telephone network linking the district centres with the centres of enlarged cooperatives.

The peasantry will continue to contribute as much as possible to these projects through voluntary work and securing local materials.

2. To raise the percentage of pensions of cooperativists, equalising them with those of the city workers, to raise the minimum pensions of cooperativists; to meet the expenditure for maternity leave for women cooperativists from state social security funds, to unify the percentage of maternity paid leave and childbirth benefits in town and countryside.

3. State investments will be increased in the hilly and mountainous areas, for the construction of irrigation projects, for the opening of secondary canals, and for the extension of the existing irrigation network, to partially or totally cover the values of the work day for the opening and systematisation of new land and for the creation of new plantations of fruit trees and vineyards, for the financing by the state, up to 50 per cent of the value of the work days spent on the heavy pruning of olive trees, for building retaining walls round olive trees and planting olive saplings.

With the aim of increasing draught animals, the state will help the cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous areas with financial means for the purchase of these animals.

4. The price of nitrogenous fertilizers will be reduced by 9-15 per cent for the agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous regions.

5. The machine and tractor stations will defray all the costs of the agricultural cooperatives for the transport and storage of fuel and agricultural machinery. Investments for the construction of sheds for the machine and tractor stations within the cooperatives will be financed by the state.

6. The agricultural cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous areas will be exempted from paying interest on all the loans they have received and will receive in the future, and the percentage of this interest for the other cooperatives will be reduced.

The premiums for state insurance of agricultural crops, livestock and the other assets of the agricultural cooperatives will be reduced to such a level as to merely cover the costs.

It suffices to say that all these measures and other dispositions to the benefit of the countryside cost the state about 140 million leks, a sum greatly in excess of the biggest price cut decreed in our country in past years.

Finally, let us quote some extracts from the editorial of «Zëri i popullit» of April 2, 1976:

«The entire structure and superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist world has been shaken to its foundations, it has badly lost its equilibrium and is sliding relentlessly and irresistibly towards disaster, making the situation of the working masses more and more serious.

«Our reality knows only the road of development and great achievements. Here, industrial and agricultural production, the total social product and the national income, the fund of accumulation and that of consumption are in continuous growth. Within the last five years total industrial production in our country increased 51 per cent, and agricultural production 30 per cent. The national income in 1974, as against that of 1950, increased about 2.8 fold. It is precisely the general upsurge of our economy that has made it possible to take the measures envisaged in the decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA... In our country his monthly pay is not all the real income that the working man receives from society, whoever he may be, whether a cadre or a simple working man. There is also a whole fund which society outlays in favour of the individual through other channels. Thus, in 1975, as against 1960, the fund of consumption more than doubled, while that part of it which is used to defray the costs of social and cultural measures, education, health, and social insurance, increased 2.7

times over. For financing these expenditures, which go directly to the advantage of the people, the state spends one quarter of its budget each year. On the average, each family benefits to the extent of about 4,000 leks per year from the state expenditure on social and cultural measures.

«In 1974 the number of people employed in the state sector alone in our country had increased 2.5 times over 1960, and on this basis the incomes of every family have increased and continue to do so... Precisely because of this, the standard of living here knows only rises. The facts speak clearly: In 1975, as compared with 1970, the real income per head of the population increased about 15 per cent. Quite the opposite is happening in the capitalist and revisionist countries where living standards are falling continually.

The state budget — an instrument for the distribution of the national income

The socio-economic character of the budget of a given state is determined by the form of ownership and the social regime that prevails. In Albania the budget constitutes the essential form of the planned creation and utilization of the centralized fund of financial resources for the extension of socialist production and the fulfilment of the growing needs of society. The state budget is made up of receipts which represent the monetary resources collected by the state, and expenditure which corresponds to the use of these resources for the needs of society.

In the capitalist countries, the budget is another weapon for the exploitation of the workers and the enrichment of the capitalist monopolies, through the armaments race and the militarization of the economy. The budget income is derived essentially from direct and indirect taxes imposed on the working people and is used for the benefit of the exploiting classes. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the contrary, the budget is an essential instrument for the distribution of the national income to the benefit of the working people, and is intimately linked with the whole national economy; it serves its planned development and the rational utilization of financial resources in all branches of production.

Immediately after Liberation, the political-economic content of the budget changed, both in its income and in its

expenditure, and was adapted to the nature and character of the new state power. The establishment of social ownership of the means of production was accompanied by a transformation in the field of the distribution of the social product, now carried out on a socialist basis; in other words, the structure of the state budget was radically altered.

In 1947, with the establishment of the state economic enterprises run on the basis of balancing income against expenditure, part of the social product was channelled into the state budget in two ways: the revenue from the turnover tax and that from the tax on profits. This enabled the state to concentrate in its hands the funds necessary for the extended socialist reproduction, the fulfilment of socio-cultural needs, and the defence of the country, while on the other hand, it provided the monetary means to ensure finance for the projects envisaged in the plan for the development of the economy and culture when required, regardless of the results achieved by particular enterprises in the realisation of the production in given sectors. The system of two channels ensures better harmonization of the general interests of the state with the interests of the economic enterprises and organizations run on the principle of balancing income against expenditure. The total budget revenue of the state has been constantly increasing.

Unlike in the capitalist countries, the taxes payed by the population in Albania represented only a small part of the budget revenue, and now these taxes have been completely abolished.

The budget income is destined, first of all to fulfil the needs of extended socialist reproduction. This income is used to finance the national economy in the form of investments, sums allocated to increase the funds in circulation and to cover the losses envisaged in the activity of certain enterprises.

The sums allocated in the state budget for the development of the people's economy have increased from one five-year plan to another. These sums are used for the development of heavy industry, the production of mass consumer goods and agriculture. The budget of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania includes large investments for the construction of various new projects and establishments, plants, mines, factories, power stations, state farms, schools, hospitals, sanatoriums, etc.

The budgetary system in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania ensures the territorial distribution of the national income and the financial means indispensable for the harmonious development of the economy and culture in all districts of the country. To this end the budget allocates considerable sums to the development of all the branches of the economy, while maintaining fair and harmonious proportions in the distribution of its funds among the districts. These tasks are partially realized also, through the investment funds of the budgets of the district people's councils.

However, it should be mentioned that the local resources do not cover even the requirements for the sectors of education and public health in the budgets of the district people's councils. This being the case, the bulk of the investments necessary for the development of the local economy are provided by the state budget.

The re-distribution of a part of the national income to meet the needs of the social order is also brought about by means of the budget.

In the socialist regime, the wages of the working people are the main fund for the fulfilment of their material and cultural needs. On the other hand, however, by means of the budget, the state provides the working masses with different services and benefits which have a direct influence on raising their material and cultural standard of living.

A large part of the budget funds is spent on the development of science, education, public health, physical culture and sports, pensions and all kinds of social security benefits. These funds constitute an important factor in the continuous rise in the standard of living of the population.

All the credits allocated by the state budget to different social-cultural sectors, school bursaries, different kinds of assistance granted through social insurance, family allowances, the care for children in crèches and kindergartens as well as the low house rents in Albania, contribute directly to increasing the real incomes of the working people.

The state budget of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is characterized by the fact that income is always in excess of expenditure. This is the basic factor which contributes to the strengthening of the monetary system of the country.

Albania — the first country in the world without taxes

The tax system was abolished in Albania on November 6, 1969. In other words, the last remnants of the system of taxes and levies on the working masses of town and countryside were swept away once and for all. The development of the socialist economy and the extension of socialist relations of production automatically brought about the abolition of some taxes as a consequence of the elimination of the basis for them. On the other hand, the taxes levied on the incomes of urban and rural working people were gradually rescinded until they were completely abolished. Thus the incomes of the people are exempt from any deductions and Albania has become the first country in the world where the population pays no taxes or levies whatsoever.

Taxes appeared in history at the same time as the division of society into antagonistic classes and the creation of states. All states, whatever their social system, always have a tax system appropriate to them.

The bourgeois state uses taxes to exercise its function of oppression and coercion. In that economic and social system, the taxes imposed on the population, and first of all on the working masses, are the main source of income of the state budget, without which the very existence of the state is inconceivable.

During the 20th century, taxes in the capitalist countries, where they make up 90 per cent of the financial resources of those states, have been increasing at unprecedented rates. In the five decades (1917-1967), the total amount of taxes collected, calculated at 1913 price levels, had increased in the United States of America 22 fold, in the German Federal Republic 12 fold, in Italy and Great Britain 7 fold, in France 6 fold and so on.

In the capitalist countries the whole burden of taxes weighs on the backs of the working masses and is becoming heavier and heavier resulting in reduction of the workers' standard of living. Taxes imposed on the working families of the United States and West Germany represent more than 30 per cent of their incomes, while in France and Great Britain more than 25 per cent.

Taxes in the capitalist countries are an integral part of the system of capitalist exploitation and the re-distribution

of incomes in favour of the bourgeoisie. It is no secret that most of the colossal sums squeezed from the people in the form of taxes are allocated by the governments to military orders which are extremely profitable to the big monopolies.

In the years following Liberation the tax system was retained in Albania as this was indispensable, but its character was the opposite of that of the past.

At that period, the people's state power used graduated taxes to gradually strip the exploiting classes of economic power and concentrate the principal means of production in the hands of the socialist state.

Taxes have played an important role in the extension of the basis of the socialist relations of production. In the countryside, where small-scale private economies predominated, the tax policy was directed to setting the peasantry on the road to the socialist collectivization of agriculture. This policy helped to eliminate the kulaks as a class by imposing increased taxes on them. On the other hand, it served to support the extension of collectivization by exempting the newly created cooperatives from payment of taxes and by the reduction of taxes and levies in general.

Despite the growth of agricultural production, the total amount of taxes remained unchanged in the period 1950-1968, up till 1969 when it was reduced by one third as compared with 1950.

Since it is the owner of the main means of production, the Albanian state has as its financial base the accumulation created by the state economic enterprises and the cooperative economies.

The gradual reduction and, finally, the abolition of taxes imposed on the population, result from the extension of the basis of the socialist relations of production and the development of the productive forces of the country. The share of taxes in the total budget income was 92 per cent for the fiscal year 1945-1946, 12.6 per cent for 1950, 2.7 per cent for 1960, 0.1 per cent for 1969 and zero for 1970.

Tax contribution to the budget

(in millions of leks)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1969
Total amount of (direct and indirect) taxes	97	104	75	70	—

These figures show that in the first years after Liberation when the socialist state was not yet the owner of the principal means of production, taxes constituted its financial base. However, immediately after the nationalizations of 1946-1947, the tax contribution diminished by nearly three times, while later, with the development and strengthening of the socialist economy, taxes were reduced appreciably until finally, they were totally abolished.

The financial policy of Albania shows that the socialist regime creates objective possibilities for the abolition of taxes and the elimination of any deductions from the incomes which the working people of the country, including the cooperative peasantry, earn by their work.

COMMERCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE

Socialist commerce

By its very nature, commerce in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is fundamentally different from capitalist commerce. It is commerce without capitalists or speculators. Before Liberation Albanian internal and foreign trade was the monopoly of a handful of rich merchants who speculated without control at the expense of the working masses. The products of agriculture and livestock farming, the main commodities traded, were monopolised by some 200 big merchants who had concentrated all wholesale trade in their hands; about 50 of them had direct links with foreign markets from which they imported almost all industrial products. They fixed the wholesale prices at which they bought agricultural products at very low levels, but charged the consumer prices many times higher. In their activity, they were not impelled by concern to fulfil the needs of the people but solely by the desire to add to their capital. Maximum profits being their sole purpose, the capitalist merchants paralyzed the material and technical development of commerce. Commercial activities were confined, for the most part, to the main towns. There were only a few stores in the countryside, and none at all in the remote mountainous regions, so that the peasants had to walk for days to reach a town where they could get salt, kerosene or a pair of shoes.

After Liberation, the establishment of common ownership of the means of production was necessarily accompanied by corresponding transformations in the mode of distribution of

material goods. The goods turned out by the socialist enterprises were not to be sold by the private merchants. This is how the socialist trade network was born. The means it uses are socialist property.

Commerce was placed in the service of the people and it develops in conformity with the fundamental economic law of socialism on the ever better fulfilment of the constantly growing needs of society. Through the function of redistribution by means of the trade network, the bulk of the goods produced by society are distributed to the consumers according to the quantity and quality of the work they have done. Hence, commerce in Albania is the principal form of the distribution of consumer goods among the members of society, the principal form of the satisfaction of the growing personal needs of the working people.

Profit is not the objective of Albanian commerce; its purpose is to ensure continuous supplies of various goods for the population and to serve the people in the best possible way.

The strengthening and development of socialist trade are based essentially on socialist production, but trade itself is an indispensable condition for the development of production. The trade network, being in direct daily contact with the consumers and acting as a link between them and production, struggles to raise the living standards of the people and to fulfil their material and cultural needs; in other words, it serves as a catalyst and stimulant for the expansion of production.

Commerce links production with large-scale consumption. In capitalist society this connection is achieved through free competition; while in Albania, thanks to the law of the planned development, commerce is in a position to co-ordinate production with consumption in a planned way.

Commerce in Albania is based partly on the continuous expansion of the demands and purchasing power of the masses. The planned development of socialist production, the increase of the real incomes of the working people and the continual reductions in prices result in the growth in the demand for goods. These factors ensure a proper distribution of the goods available so that Albanian commerce knows no crises or difficulties from lack of sales.

The development of commerce

Internal trade in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is in the hands of the state. It has developed along with industrial and agricultural production. The turnover of goods in 1979 was 10.4 times greater than in 1950. The network of socialist trade which extends all over the country was in 1979 6.8 times greater than in 1950. Every village has its store or shopping centre, each with two or three sectors. The trade network has undergone an unprecedented development, especially in the 60's. In three years during the 4th Five-year Plan 1,000 shops were built in the countryside, as many as those built in the two previous five-year plans taken together.

The state trade enterprises regularly distribute the goods produced by socialist industry and the handicraft cooperatives as well as the daily necessities from the state agricultural sector, and the special wholesale purchase organizations.

In the years of the people's state power, along with the extension of the trade network and the material and technical base, the structure of the network of shops has been improved and great progress has been achieved in its extension, modernization and specialization.

A great effort has been made to extend and improve the provision of social eating facilities. The buffets are already giving way to restaurants, grill-rooms, numerous kinds of canteens open in the mornings or at meal times, to dining rooms, shops selling pre-cooked dishes etc., which are a considerable aid to feeding the working class and all the working people and lighten the burden of domestic work. There one finds a satisfying variety of meals and high quality service.

The technical equipment provided for the network of shops, restaurants, etc. has extended unprecedentedly. A network of cool-stores and freezers enables food products to be stored and used over longer periods, helps assure uninterrupted supplies for the consumers and raises the quality of the commercial service.

The retail goods turnover, too, has increased rapidly, along with the growth of industrial and agricultural production and the rise in the well-being of the people.

The products destined for the market and their structure have also altered from year to year. Before Liberation, the

purchasing power of the working masses was low. In those conditions, the volume and variety of goods purchased by the people were very limited; they were reduced to a few essential products such as bread, salt, cloth, «opinga» (leather sandals), which could not satisfy even the minimal needs for existence.

Since Liberation, the range of articles on sale has been greatly extended. Nowadays, besides the daily necessities, the shops offer more and more cultural articles, furniture, electrical appliances, radios, washing machines, refrigerators, TV sets, school requisites, etc. The complete electrification of the country took electric light to the most remote mountainous regions and the torch and candle disappeared once and for all. This progress, along with other factors inherent in the struggle for the elimination of backward customs, for the complete emancipation of women and the narrowing of differences between city and countryside have resulted in radical changes in the structure of the circulation of goods in the countryside, bringing it closer to that of the cities.

As a result of the impetuous development of the economy, Albania today fulfils its needs for industrial products and increases continuously its exports of a wide range of goods to different countries of the world.

Albania today realizes in less than one month double the amount of exports carried out in 1938. About 70 per cent of the Albanian exports consist of finished products, against 46 per cent in 1960 and only 13 per cent in 1938.

Albania exports minerals and oil by-products, blister copper and cathodic copper, different kinds of copper wires and cables, electric power, chemical products, handicrafts articles, textiles and knitwear, construction materials, articles of the wood-working industry, foodstuffs, fresh and preserved vegetables fruits, medicinal plants, etc.

The unified system of prices

Socialist Albania is one of the rare countries of the world which has not been hit by the financial crisis or fluctuations of prices. Without doubt this is a consequence of the economic order which has established and consolidated a unified system of prices on a national scale. The application of a policy of unified prices over the entire country is a universal principle

for the successful construction of socialism and communist society; this policy excludes all fluctuations of prices, guarantees stability and establishes socialist discipline in production and distribution. Its characteristic feature is to promote the setting of prices in a conscious, organized, centralized way, and conforming to a plan. It is uniform over the entire economy of the country, and this is an essential condition to prevent the free play of prices and the transformation of the market and of its relations into spontaneous regulators of production as is the case in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

The origin of this policy goes back to the first days of the establishment of the people's state power. Along with other revolutionary measures which were taken during that period, important dispositions were passed to prevent price rises, to stabilize the market, the money in circulation, etc. These measures made possible the subsequent application of a unified and centralized policy in fixing prices, a policy guided by the predominant interests of the working masses and the people's economy.

Thanks to this policy, in the past three decades, 14 important general reductions in prices have been made in Albania. As a result, the prices of certain mass consumer goods were 8.1 per cent to 24.5 per cent lower in 1968 than in 1958. At the same time the purchase prices paid for compulsory deliveries of products are 6 to 6.5 times higher today than those paid up till 1956.

As a result of the sharpening of the economic and financial crisis, in recent years prices of many products have risen to unprecedented levels in the capitalist countries. Consequently, Albania has to pay prices 2, 3, 4 and more times higher for the machinery, raw materials and other products it imports from those countries. Nevertheless, the Albanian economy has not experienced the fluctuation of prices according to the spontaneous mechanism of the market. On the contrary, the prices of the market have been kept perfectly stable.

On the basis of the complete stability of prices and the continuous growth in the supply of commodities, the purchasing power of the lek has increased.

The main factor which contributes to the decline in prices in Albania is the rise in the productivity of labour. It

is precisely this increase which determines the size of the price reductions for different products.

In Albania, the price of any particular commodity is not always the expression in money of the value of the goods on the market. It is not fixed on the basis of supply and demand on the market. The price policy of the people's state power is determined by the interests of the bulk of the working masses of the country and, first of all, it concerns the products essential to the life of the working masses of town and countryside. The enterprises do not have the right to fix prices themselves.

In socialist Albania, the calculation of prices in money is not a simple technical calculation, a matter of accountancy, but above all a social calculation, which has as its aim the interests of society, the development of production and the improvement of the living conditions of the working masses. Thus the prices paid by the state for bread grain purchased from the mountain cooperatives (where the yields are lower), are higher than those paid to the lowland cooperatives. This allows the peasants of the mountainous regions to increase their incomes and gradually attain the standard of living of the plains. Here is another example: in order to encourage the sale of locally made products, their prices are set lower than those of similar imported products.

Prices are used as a means to partly adjust the differences between various groups of the population. That is why the retail prices for children's shoes, sandals and clothing are set in a way favourable to the parents of many children. Likewise, advantageous prices have been fixed for work tools and other implements destined for the countryside and especially for the mountainous regions. The purpose of the particular commodity is also taken into consideration in fixing prices. Preserving a proportion, the prices of luxury goods are set somewhat higher and those of daily necessities lower.

Thus, the application of a unified, centralized policy in fixing prices is a universal law to be observed for the successful construction of socialism, for the just distribution and redistribution of the national income in the interests of the development of the productive forces and raising the level of the material and cultural life of the working masses. Such a policy is an indispensable condition for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, for

establishing the fairest possible economic links between town and countryside, and the gradual reduction of the differences between the living standards of the urban population and the working peasantry. The price policy followed by the people's state power has contributed to the planned and centralized creation of the necessary accumulation of finance.

The fixing of prices in a planned and centralized way is a very important factor for the stabilization of the market and the circulation of money, for increasing the purchasing power of the Albanian currency, for strengthening the dominant positions of the socialist elements in the economy. On the other hand, this practice prevents the emergence of capitalist and revisionist elements.

The policy of fixing prices has been applied by the people's state power with the aim of consciously harmonizing the general and long-term interests with individual and immediate interests, of harmonizing the general and individual needs, of creating and increasing the accumulation of finance, of continuously increasing the people's consumption and raising the material and cultural level of the life of the working masses.

The correct price policy applied in Albania has contributed and will continue to contribute to the development of industrial and agricultural production and to the constant improvement of the living standards of the working masses.

Chapter three

EVERYTHING FOR MAN

Work is the foundation on which society exists; it makes man the master of the riches and inexhaustible forces of nature.

Unemployment has been abolished in Albania

Albanian emigrants can be found in many countries of the world. Before the liberation of the country, they were forced to leave their homes to seek a livelihood in foreign lands. Nearly 59 per cent of the Albanian workers were unemployed. Today, this long-standing social evil which afflicts all the capitalist and revisionist countries without exception, has been done away with forever in Albania. The disappearance of unemployment and the realization in practice of the right to work result from the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of social ownership of these means, from the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

The right to work is the most important social and economic right which has been guaranteed to the Albanian workers with the establishment of the people's state power. Article 44 of the Constitution states: «In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania citizens have the right to work, which is guaranteed by the state. Work is a duty and honour for every able-bodied citizen. Citizens have the right to choose and exercise their profession according to their capacity and personal inclination, and in accordance with the needs of society.»

This triumph is closely linked with the nature of the socialist system itself. The working masses in Albania have in their hands not only the political power, but also the principal means and instruments of production.

All persons who have reached the minimum age envisaged by the labour legislation (15 years) are eligible for employment. Any agreement to employ a person who has not reached the age envisaged by the law is illegal and considered null and void.

The labour legislation envisages a series of restrictions on the employment of juveniles in all kinds of work, which are of a particularly arduous nature and harmful to their health.

In this context, the labour legislation shows special concern for women workers. It is prohibited to employ women in heavy work harmful to their health, such as in the mines, drilling oil wells, on blast furnaces, digging wells and pits of great depth, diving operations, etc.

Citizens enjoy the right to work in their own profession, speciality or the branch for which they are qualified without distinction or discrimination. The state is greatly interested to ensure that people are employed at tasks in which their productivity is greatest in quantity and quality. The labour legislation also includes special dispositions which clearly regulate the transfer of cadres. These regulations are aimed at preventing the irrational utilization of the labour force, unjustifiable transfers, etc.

At the same time the labour legislation gives the management of the different enterprises or organizations the right to allocate workers to other jobs when the needs and the interests of production require it. Such a practise is permitted not only when the interests of production demand it, but also when it is considered necessary to find easier jobs for workers who are sick or for those who are incapable of doing certain jobs.

The socialist system creates the economic conditions necessary to make the right to work a reality, something which does not happen in the capitalist countries. As is known, the Albanian socialist economy experiences neither the crises nor the anarchy in production which bring about the close-down of factories and enterprises and the dismissal of hundreds of thousands of workers in the capitalist countries. The Albanian economy develops in conformity with a

plan, in a continuous and harmonious way, in conformity with the interests of the nation and the working masses. Such a development not only opens up new jobs for all able-bodied people, but also responds to the natural increase of the population. In 1980 the socialist state sector and the cooperativist sector of the economy employed over 1 million people, or the equal number of the whole population of the country in 1945.

The continuous rise in the productivity of labour which is based on improved equipment and organization, of course frees part of the labour force in certain enterprises but new jobs are opened up for them in the new projects which the people's state power builds.

The planning of the economy makes it possible to guarantee work for all able-bodied citizens in their own occupations. New occupations are created along with the development, extension and establishment of other branches of the economy. While the law on the classification of workers in 1947 envisaged 85 occupations, mostly manual, today the new classification tables include more than 3,000 occupations. During the process of extended socialist reproduction a correct and harmonious proportion is established between the growth of the labour force and the needs of the economy of the entire country, while taking account of the interests of the development of the people's economy in each separate region of the country.

The construction of socialism is also accompanied by the elimination of the marked inequality in development between different regions of the country. This is of particular importance for ensuring full employment of the labour force in all regions of the country. Each district of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has its own state and cooperative economic enterprises, its own construction sites and cultural institutions.

The Albanian worker cannot be arbitrarily dismissed

In the capitalist countries the employer has the power to throw the worker out on the street, while in Albania this is only a bitter memory. The illegal dismissal of a worker is considered a grave violation of the labour code. In such

cases, the organs dealing with labour conflicts reinstate the worker to his former position, and when there are particularly grave violations of the labour code, they take disciplinary or penal measures appropriate to the case against the guilty person.

The clear definition of cases in which the management is entitled to dismiss a worker guarantees the stability of relations of employment according to the law. Every worker or employee knows that his right to work is protected by law against any bureaucratic action.

Under the law, the management of an enterprise or organization can dismiss a worker or employee only when the latter has the right to retirement, in other words, when he has fulfilled both conditions required by law on social insurance, length of service at work and the age of retirement. A worker or employee can also be dismissed when he proves unfit to discharge the task or function assigned to him, especially when he lacks the required professional qualifications or the health, moral and political conditions.

According to the law, dismissal on grounds of incapability can be carried out only when the non-realization of the objectives of production or other tasks is the result of the objective incapacity of the worker in normal working conditions. When this stems from the fact that the management of the enterprise has not created the normal working conditions, the worker cannot be dismissed. It should be mentioned that the dismissed worker is guaranteed another job according to his abilities.

In many cases the non-fulfilment of the tasks set can be the result of the worker's state of health. The managements of enterprises very rarely dismiss workers on these grounds, and when they do so it is with great circumspection. In such cases, they are obliged to find the dismissed worker another job suitable to his state of health. If a worker, even though sick, fulfils the tasks assigned to him, he cannot be dismissed. Those working in food-handling establishments, kindergartens, prophylactic establishments, etc. in which their illness might have consequences for the health of the population, are an exception to this regulation.

Incapacity to work for health reasons can be declared only by the competent medical organ, in conformity with the regulations laid down on this question.

Many functions in the activity of the various enterprises,

institutions or organs require perfect moral and political purity. For example, a teacher can be very highly qualified, but he cannot educate the younger generation as he should, if he is not morally and politically sound, if, for instance he steals, engages in morally condemnable activities, etc. At first sight, it may seem that such conduct does not concern his professional activities, but in fact such a teacher cannot satisfactorily fulfil the task of educating the youth and the organ he belongs to has the right to dismiss him. Other requirements of this kind have to be met for numerous other functions.

In such cases, the dismissal of the worker, according to the Labour Code, is carried out when the latter does not fulfil the necessary conditions for the proper accomplishment of the task assigned to him.

The managements of the different employing establishments or organs have the right to dismiss a worker or employee if he has been absent from work for six successive months. However, they have not the right to do so if the worker is absent intermittently because of illness, even if this period is longer than six months. Another stipulation of the law is that the dismissal cannot be carried out if the worker continues to be ill, and in no way after he has recovered and resumed his work. Another exception to this rule is a further concession made to mothers after childbirth. Under the law, a woman worker cannot be dismissed for failing to go to work until she has used her maternity leave, another three months' unpaid leave, plus another six months stipulated by Article 65 of the Labour Code.

It should be said that in such cases, the managements have the right but not the obligation to dismiss the sick worker or employee. This means that they can keep his job open during the whole period of his illness if this does not hinder the normal functioning of the enterprise. The organs charged with adjudicating in disputes of this kind always refer to the provisions of the law and carefully analyse whether the absence from work of the person concerned influences the functioning of the enterprise, institution or organ. In practice this provision is very rarely applied.

The rigorous definition of the cases when the management has the right to dismiss workers, excludes all arbitrary action in this field and guarantees the workers' employment. On the other hand, if the management of the enterprise dis-

misses a worker according to the law, it is obliged to find him another appropriate job.

It is very rare in Albania for an enterprise or organization to close its activities or make major reductions in staff. In such cases the management has the right to dismiss the worker on its own initiative, but it has to find him another job in the same establishment or somewhere else. The same occurs when a reorganization of the enterprise or organism is carried out. In this case, the management is authorized to dismiss the workers whose jobs have been eliminated but it has the right to transfer them to the new enterprise or organization created as a result of the reorganization.

Working hours

In Albania work is not a heavy burden as it was in the past. Under the anti-popular regimes the Albanian worker toiled 12 hours a day and in certain enterprises, such as those of Kuçova and Selenica, 14 to 16 hours a day. Those working in cafés, restaurants, bakeries, etc. far from having fixed working hours did not have even one day off per week.

After Liberation, the right to a fixed working day with reduced hours was sanctioned by law.

The labour legislation fixes the working day at 8 hours and 7 hours without reduction in pay for night shift work; for juvenile workers and certain categories of workers employed underground or in particularly arduous work harmful to the health, as well as those engaged in certain kinds of intellectual work (education, the public health service, etc.) the working day is reduced to 5 hours without reduction in pay.

Workers pursuing their secondary school studies part-time in evening schools work 45 hours a week; those attending evening classes in higher studies work 7 hours a day while those preparing to take a doctorate while continuing on their jobs work only 6 hours a day. A nursing mother is entitled to be absent from work for half an hour each three or four hours to feed her baby until it reaches the age of 9 months. In all these cases, despite the reduced working

hours, the workers receive full pay corresponding to an eight hour working day.

The labour legislation of the P.S.R. of Albania envisages that in special cases, the workers by their own consent may work overtime hours, especially to meet the urgent needs of the enterprise or production. In order to protect the health of the workers, the law sets a limit of 180 hours of overtime work per year.

The legal sanctioning of fixed working hours is aimed, on the one hand, at ensuring that the indispensable social work is done and, on the other hand, at guaranteeing the workers protection at work as well as the necessary conditions for a more active participation in the political, cultural and social life.

Paid holidays for the workers and their families

Along with the right to work, the state guarantees the workers the right to rest. All workers and employees are entitled to days of rest on civil holidays such as the Proclamation of Independence (28 November, 1912), the Proclamation of the Republic (January 11, 1946), May Day, the Day of the Liberation of the Homeland (November 29, 1944) and New Year's Day.

The workers are also entitled to annual leave of 12 working days while juvenile workers, under 16 years of age, are entitled to 24 days annual leave. The workers employed on more than 70 different particularly hazardous jobs, such as miners, steel workers, tannery workers, workers in the tobacco, oil, cement, glass, brick and printing industries, as well as those of the public health service working in establishments for the treatment of infectious or mental diseases, public education, culture and science, etc. are entitled to longer annual holidays ranging from 6 to 36 supplementary days.

The social insurance law envisages aid for people who need to stay for longer periods in the health resorts, sanatoriums, thermal spas, etc. Such aid is granted to people suffering from tuberculosis, mental disorders, rheumatism or renal diseases.

The worker or employee is entitled to his full leave even

when he is transferred from one enterprise or institution to another.

The Albanian workers enjoy the best of conditions to spend the holidays in an active and cultured way. Our country abounds in beauty spots. Amidst some of these beautiful landscapes the state has set up sanatoriums, holiday and tourist resorts and young pioneers' camps, where the workers and their children can pass their holidays.

The number of such resorts, unheard of before Liberation, has increased from year to year. It should be pointed out that the number of people enjoying these facilities has also increased in similar proportions and other rest homes have been built since then.

Each year, thousands of workers, children and retired people pass their annual holidays in the holiday hostels administered by the Trade Unions. For their stay in these places (15 or 25 days depending on the nature of their jobs) the workers pay only one third of the real cost. The remainder is covered by the state. To put this another way, the total sum the worker pays for his holiday is equal to one sixth of his monthly pay (annual holidays are on full pay).

The holiday hostels in Albania are not simply rest homes, but also centres of education and recreation where numerous cultural, sporting and sight-seeing activities are organized. Health clinics attached to each holiday hostel keep the health of adults and children under supervision.

Children may pass their holidays in the young pioneers' camps. Besides this, under the care of the state and the mass organizations, the different enterprises, the agricultural co-operatives, the schools and city quarters, daily holiday centres for children have been set up in appropriate places in town and countryside, where the children can have their lunch and enjoy playground facilities.

Hotels, villas and bungalows have been put at the disposal of the workers in all the health resorts of the country. All workers, even the least qualified, can pass their holidays, alone or with their families, in these centres, which include the numerous hotels of the Durrës beach.

Cultural centres, houses of culture and different clubs, libraries, lecture-halls, cinemas, etc. are at the disposal of the workers in their leisure time. Mass participation is a distinctive feature of the workers' amateur artistic movement in Albania which includes all genres of art. Song festivals,

drama festivals, etc. are organized in all districts of the country and on a national scale.

The Trade Unions are particularly interested in the physical education of the masses and organize mass sporting and physical culture activities. The Trade Unions have established tourist resorts in the most beautiful spots of the country which attract thousands of working people from the cities in all seasons. The right to work and paid holidays is a great victory which the working class has achieved thanks to the establishment of the people's state power.

Labour protection

Before Liberation there was no labour protection legislation in Albania. Accidents were especially frequent and grave in the mines. Many workers were afflicted by tuberculosis or rheumatism only after a short period of employment.

A similar situation exists today in the capitalist countries. There the worker is considered a mechanism, an appendage to the machines, «a living automaton». The speed-up and intensification of work transforms the workers into slaves of the machines. Instead of improving the workers' working and living conditions the mechanization of industry has made them worse.

On the contrary, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, labour protection, safeguarding the life and health of the workers, constitutes one of the essential principles which regulates the socialist organization of labour and is an integral part of the economic plans of the state. The principle is to improve the working conditions, to prevent accidents and occupational diseases. Our state provides the different enterprises or organizations with special funds for labour protection measures. All breaches of the safety regulations on the part of those who have been charged with the task of ensuring their application are punishable by law. The right to work, the Labour Code and other provisions, make it the duty of management to organize production in such a way as to avoid damage to the health of the workers.

The rapid industrialization of the country is carried out according to up-to-date scientific methods and technology, and consequently, all the factories, installations, establishments and other projects already constructed or in the

course of construction are provided with all the necessary equipment for safety at work and labour protection. As regards accidents at work, the situation in Albania is much better than that of many other countries of Europe, and thanks to the measures taken, occupational diseases do not constitute any problem.

Regardless of this progress, with the aim of guaranteeing the appropriate technical and hygienic conditions, the Labour Code stipulates the following provisions:

Enterprises cannot build, bring into service, or alter their premises without the authorization of the State Health Inspectorate, the Labour Inspectorate and the Trade Unions.

The production, sale and commissioning of new machinery and equipment are not authorized if they are not provided with safety devices, do not satisfy the requirements of safety at work or are hazardous to the health of the workers.

The managements of enterprises are obliged to take measures to create good technical and hygienic conditions in their establishments. Thus, they have to take care to eliminate dust and toxic gases, to instal an appropriate ventilation system and to ensure normal temperature and lighting.

Tens of thousands of workers engaged in particularly difficult processes, harmful to their health and causing heavy wear and tear of clothing, receive free working clothes and soap. Thus, workers in the oil industry and the mines, receive issues of special clothing two or three times a year.

Those working in an atmosphere polluted by harmful gases or vapours receive half a litre of milk daily. Those working in very high temperatures are provided with aerated water containing salt.

State organs with wide powers to inspect health and hygiene and safety conditions on the job have been set up to ensure that the provisions on labour protection, safety at work and the health and hygiene regulations are applied. On the other hand, the workers themselves, the mass organizations and the trade unions in particular, have the right and the duty to exercise control over the application of the labour protection regulations and to demand that the persons charged with this task, strictly adhere to the standards laid down.

The protection of Labour in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is characterized by a series of measures taken to make work as light as possible and with the least danger

for the workers. The most important means used to achieve this objective are the mechanization and automation of production.

Remuneration according to work done

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the principle of equal pay for equal work is fully applied for all workers without distinction. This principle is embodied in Article 30 of the Constitution of the Republic: «In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the socialist principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' is implemented.»

The effect of the correct application of the principle of remuneration in proportion to the quality and quantity of work done is to interest the workers in increasing production and improving its quality, in increasing the productivity of labour and reducing its cost, which are the determining factors for the continuous rise in the standard of living of the working masses.

The law of remuneration according to work done is applied mainly through the pay system. In Albania wages and salaries are the monetary expression of the part of the social product distributed to the workers and employees by the state, in conformity with the law of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done, for the satisfaction of their material and cultural needs.

In conformity with the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done, the Albanian state determines the total wages fund and the different pay levels of all categories of workers in the different branches of the economy, in a planned way. The size of this fund for each given period depends on the level achieved in the development of the productive forces and the productivity of social labour. With the increase of the productivity of labour, both the part of total production destined for the expansion of production and the part destined for consumption increase. Thus the level of pay goes up in the same measure as the productivity of labour rises. The increase in the productivity of labour must always be greater than the rise in pay. This is the only way to achieve an increase

in production sufficient to ensure the systematic increase of that part of social production allocated to the satisfaction of the needs of the working masses.

The pay system has been built in such a way as to correspond as exactly as possible to the quantity and quality of the work done by each worker. The method of calculating the pay of workers and employees for the different kinds of work is left to the competence of the government, which takes account not only of the quantity and quality of the work done, but also of the kind, the category and the degree of difficulty of each job, as well as of the level of qualification it calls for. The level of qualification and education of the workers, their active contribution to raising the productivity of labour and their participation in increasing production are likewise taken into account in elaborating the pay system.

The labour legislation envisages special treatment for juveniles under 16 years of age. Besides the pay they earn for the work they do, they are entitled to a supplement equivalent to two working hours.

When the worker or the employee is detached from his place of work for any justifiable reason for a given period, he continues to be paid by the enterprise or organization in which he is normally employed. This right is invoked when he takes part in the meetings of the People's Assembly or the people's council as a representative of the people, when he exercises the function of an assistant judge, when he is called as a witness or expert by a law court or by the organs of justice and when he is a delegate to a congress, conference or plenum. In case the worker or the employee is left without work as a result of the interruption of production, of which he is not the cause, the enterprise, institution or organization that employs him, is obliged to pay him half the usual pay if it does not find him another job according to the provisions in force.

Those sent on service away from their normal places of residence have the right to be reimbursed for this travel expenditure. They also receive another daily allowance to cover board lodging and other costs. In case a worker is unjustly left without employment as a result of a breach of contract on the part of the enterprise or organization to which he is attached, he is entitled to remuneration which must not exceed his normal monthly pay.

The salary, remuneration or any other form of allowance which the worker or the employee receives from the enterprise or organization where he is employed is the fruit of the work he has done to accomplish the task to which he has been assigned and is not subject to any deductions.

The aim of the labour legislation of the P.S.R. of Albania, through the standards which it prescribes setting the payscale for the worker or the employee, is to effectively guarantee the just remuneration of all workers on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to combat in an organized way the petty-bourgeois tendencies to take the maximum from society and contribute the minimum, to combat laziness, hankering after an easy life, and all kinds of formalism and official rigidity in social relations, which hinder the progress of society.

In recent years, many urban and rural enterprises have applied collective production norms. This form represents a more advanced stage in the socialist organization of work, because it develops the collective spirit, enhances the role of the masses in the solution of the organizational, technical and economic problems of production and contributes to the revolutionization of the consciousness of the workers, etc. This form of remuneration favours closer cooperation among the workers, links the individual interest more correctly with the collective interest.

All workers are interested in the growth of production on both the enterprise and the national scale. To the extent that the social wealth increases, the well-being of the working people improves through higher pay and lower prices.

For a more correct ratio between high and average salaries

The establishment of a correct ratio between the salaries of the working people, without absolutely levelling them, is of great importance and a condition for the establishment of correct relations between the workers and the leading cadres. Great inequalities in pay cut the leading cadres and the intelligentsia off from the masses, encourage office work and foster contempt for work in production, revive tendencies to seek personal ease, to put personal interests above the general interest, and create a favourable terrain for bour-

geois and revisionist degeneration. That is why the pay system has been reviewed, completed and improved six times in the period 1947-1967. Consequently a system which exists in no other country without great differentials between high and average salaries has been established in Albania.

However, until recent years certain anomalies which were mainly the result of historical circumstances, still remained in this field.

In order to eliminate these anomalies, a series of measures have been taken to improve the ratio between salaries, by further reducing the differences between high and low salaries and by improving the socialist relations of distribution. To this end, the road of reducing the salaries of the top functionaries, beginning from the leaders of the Party and the state was adopted. At the same time, the low salaries for certain categories of workers and the lowest pensions were raised, the maximum level of pensions was set, etc.

The new pay system which came into force in September 1, 1967, was relieved of certain excesses in incentive payments. The funds saved by the elimination of incentive payments were completely redistributed with the aim of adjusting the salaries of workers of certain branches of the economy and generally speaking, of those branches in which the incentive payments were eliminated. Along with these measures reducing pay differentials and the abolition of taxes, the differences in pay according to the various degrees of qualification and categories of work were also reduced, the pay ratio between the different categories of workers was improved and the wages at the lower end of the pay scales in different branches of the economy were raised. As a result of these measures, the lower wages in Albania were increased 8 per cent, while in certain branches of the economy, this figure was 20 per cent. Thus the ratio between the lowest and highest pay ranged from 1: 2.5 to 1:3. The ratio between the wages of workers of the former and the latter categories varied for workers of different branches from 1:1.55. Likewise, the ratio between the pay of the workers and that of the technical and engineering staff varied, in different branches of the economy, from 1:1.7 and in some cases from 1:1.86.

The pay system in Albania is a powerful factor which stimulates social production and increases productivity of labour, which encourages the workers to constantly raise their level of technical-professional qualification.

In elaborating and applying the pay system in Albania, the close connections between the political, economic, technical, organizational and social factors which impel and directly influence the planned distribution, the organization of work, its productive potential, the development of the productive forces, as well as the orientations on raising the well-being of the people and the extent to which this is affected, have always been taken into consideration. This system is founded on the Marxist-Leninist principles and responds to the requirements of the objective economic law of distribution according to work done.

The people's state power does not proceed from egalitarian tendencies in dealing with the problem of the liquidation of anomalies in the pay system. In the first place the different rates of pay permit an acceptable differentiation between the pay for an arduous job and that for an easy job. Likewise, work in difficult conditions, (underground, in wet places or high-temperatures, etc.) is better paid than work in more or less normal conditions. Particular care is taken to have a fair differentiation in pay for work of greater responsibility and requiring a higher level of qualification. Thus a job which calls for a higher level of qualification, which is particularly complex, entails great responsibility and demands a great concentration of the intellectual capacities, is better paid than a simple job requiring lower qualifications. At the same time, in drawing up and applying the salary scales, the practice has been followed that, in general, jobs in the most important branches and sectors of the national economy are better paid than those in the other sectors and branches of the economy. Parallel with this, the pay system in Albania is guided by the principle that the raising of the well-being of each member of the socialist society is the result of the rise in the general well-being and is totally dependent on it.

So, without falling into the equalization of salaries, great differences were eliminated and the socialist law of remuneration according to work done is applied.

The real wages of the workers in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have been increasing as a result of the successive reductions of prices, the abolition of taxes, the liquidation of unemployment, etc. So if we take the index of average wages as 100 in 1950, in 1969 it had mounted to 163. Today it is much higher.

Wages and allowances do not constitute the only source of income for the workers. The state ensures them other advantages through different channels, for example social insurance benefits, bursaries, paid holidays, educational services and the health service, all of which function free of charge to their advantage.

These benefits represent an effective addition to their wages of nearly one third.

To end this chapter, let us remind the reader of the decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the P.S.R. of Albania, published on April 1, 1976 *«On the reduction of high salaries, on some improvements in the pay system of working people and the further narrowing of differences between town and countryside»*, which we mentioned in the chapter concerning agriculture and the cooperativist peasantry.

In the space of about one decade, from September 1, 1967, the day when the new pay system came into force, up till April 1, 1976, Albania has realized deep-going revolutionary transformations in every field of life. Taking account of the fact that in the present stage of the struggle for the complete construction of socialism the perfecting and constant revolutionization of socialist relations of distribution are of great importance, the Party, without ever deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concept of the role and importance of these relations, has followed the line of the gradual narrowing of differences between the levels of income and the ways of life of the working class and cooperativist peasantry and among the different categories within each of these classes, while simultaneously waging a ceaseless fight against tendencies to petty-bourgeois equalitarianism in this field.

To further develop this correct Marxist-Leninist line, and in conformity with the directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as supporting and approving the revolutionary initiatives of the working people for the improvement of the system of pay and remuneration for work done, to further narrow the differences between mental and physical labour and between town and countryside according to the conditions and possibilities which the socialist development of the people's economy has created, the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the P.S.R. of Albania took the

historic decision, the essential provisions of which follow:

1. «...to reduce the high salaries of leading cadres, the intelligentsia, and cadres of the armed forces, in excess of 900 leks per month, without affecting low and medium wages, except in certain cases, in order to preserve the necessary proportions. The reductions of high salaries will be from 4 to 25 per cent of the present salaries...»

2. «...to reduce the salaries of teaching staff and scientific workers of the higher schools and scientific research institutions from 14 to 22 per cent, to reduce the bonuses for scientific titles and degrees up to 50 per cent and the bonuses for creative literary, artistic and scientific works 30-50 per cent, and in certain branches of the economy to abolish a number of bonuses and other extra payments which are unjustifiable in the present conditions...»

3. «To raise the wages of the workers of agriculture and fruit-growing on the state farms, by linking the rewards for their work with realization of the targets of the production plan.»

4. «To achieve an even better appreciation of the jobs where material blessings are produced, so that people work and live wherever the interests of the Homeland require and to combat any manifestation of careerism and bureaucracy, the salaries of specialists working in the same economic branch will be unified, irrespective of the category of the district or enterprise where they work. Likewise, these measures are aimed at unifying the salaries of specialists working in production with those of specialists in the administration of enterprises and cooperatives of the same economic branch or the apparatus of the executive committees of the district people's councils.

«For the purpose of improving the ratio between the salaries of higher and middle specialists with those of the most highly qualified workers with long working experience, beginning from April 1, 1976, the young specialists, after graduating from the higher schools, for the first two years at work will receive a salary close to that of the workers with the highest level of qualification in the same branch, while the young specialists trained in the vocational middle schools and appointed as staff officials will, as a rule, receive a salary one grade lower down the scale.

5. «To further stimulate the interest of the workers and specialists of enterprises, executive committees of the district

people's councils, ministries and other central institutions, in raising their ideological, cultural and technical-professional level, a system of determining the level of qualification of the workers and specialists through cultural-professional certification will be applied.

«This system is designed to respond to the vital necessity that the working class must not only produce material goods ever more abundantly and of better quality, but first and foremost, as the class in power it must ceaselessly raise its level of qualification, so that under the leadership of the Party, it will play its role more actively in running the entire life of the country. The cultural-professional certification should also help to bring about that the workers and specialists respond better to the tasks incumbent on them for the development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, by applying science and technology more extensively in production and placing the organization and management of the people's economy on a sounder scientific basis».

6. «To improve the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to quantity and quality of the work done, as well as the socialist organization of the work, changes will be effected in the classification of work processes and jobs and the practice of payment on the basis of the category of the job will be extended.»

7. «To further improve the proportions between the wages of workers in different branches of the economy, certain disproportions which have been observed in the wages of workers in the fishing industry and those of maritime transport will be adjusted.»

8. «Parallel with the changes and improvements in the system of wages and remuneration, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers recommend that high retirement, invalidity and long-service pensions for militarymen, should be reduced proportionately with the reduction of high salaries.

«Thus fairer proportions will be established between the remuneration of the working people employed in production and other social activities, on the one hand, and old age or other pensions which the working people enjoy, on the other hand. This is also aimed at narrowing differences in incomes between various categories of pensioners.

9. «It is recommended to the agricultural cooperatives

that they, too, should apply the above measures in the field of the organization and remuneration of work.»

In the final part of this decision, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania express their full conviction that the measures adopted «express the desires, will, and interests of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. These measures,» says the document, «will give a new impulse to the revolutionization of the life of our country and will become a fresh source of inspiration to achieve further, even greater victories in all fields of socialist construction.»

Thus, in our country today, the ratio between the average pay of the workers of a given branch, and the salary of a director of an enterprise is 1:1.7; the ratio between the average pay of the workers in general and the salary of a director of a ministry is 1:2; the ratio between the lowest and the highest wages of the workers in a given branch, is about 1.5:1.65, etc.

«Zëri i popullit», in its editorial of April 2, 1976 entitled, «A new victory of the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for raising the general well-being of the people», stresses the great political, ideological and social importance of this decision: «The classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the distribution of the product in socialism should be based on the principles, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work', and 'equal pay for equal work'. However, they have also pointed out that the differences in pay should be as small as possible, so that the pay of an official, as Lenin said, 'should not be higher than the average pay of a good worker'!... Thus, in our country the ratio between the average pay of the workers and the higher salaries of officials at the moment is 1:2.5. The new decision of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the P.S.R. of Albania brings this ratio down to 1:2... Our course,» says «Zëri i popullit», «it is diametrically opposed to that of the revisionists. At the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party they openly declared that their policy in the field of incomes and consumption, is based as in the past, on the principle that the main way to increase revenues is to increase salaries, in the first place to increase the salaries of leading cadres and specialists, who have already degenerated into bourgeois of the new type.

In the revisionist countries, where savage oppression and exploitation reign and where the class polarization is becoming more and more marked, those of the revisionist caste, through their salaries and legal bonuses alone, secure incomes 20 and more times greater than those of the workers, without counting what they get by other speculative methods... The measures which the decisions envisage are an expression of the superiority of our socialist economic and social system and of the rapid and continuous progress of our planned economy.»

«Zëri i popullit» then goes on to quote figures to show the rise in the well-being of the people in the P.S.R. of Albania: «What a great contrast between the situation of the working people in our country and that of the workers in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where unemployment is hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles! In these countries today, there are about 20 million such people, deprived of the necessary means of livelihood. But this is not all. An unbridled and unprecedented inflation is rampaging throughout the entire capitalist-revisionist world. The prices of consumer goods had increased last year (1975) as compared with 1970, as follows: In the USA 140 per cent, Britain 190.5 per cent, Italy 171.4 per cent, Greece 182.5 per cent, and Yugoslavia 252.1 per cent. A similar situation prevails in the other revisionist countries. Let us take as an example Poland, where large-scale strikes and demonstrations by the workers erupted in July 1975 against the rise in prices of consumer goods.

«The gloomy picture of the reality of the 'consumer society'», continues «Zëri i popullit», «becomes still more complete if account is taken of the fact that in those countries, 60 per cent of the family income goes to pay house rent, rates and taxes, the consumption of electric power, insurance, medical expenses and other things of this nature. The working people of our country are the first in the world who pay no taxes or levies. A working man's income for 1-2 days work is sufficient to pay his house rent for one month. The charges for drinking water, light and other services of this category are extremely modest if not merely symbolic. Thus the working people of our country have almost all their income available to fulfill their needs for food, clothing and household equipment at stable or downward-moving prices. This is why the standard of living in our country is rising steadily.»

Chapter Four

SOCIAL SECURITY

In the Albania of the past, there was no greater misfortune for a worker than to lose his ability to work because of advanced age or sickness. He may have toiled all his life and created the most valuable things with his own hands, but he was condemned to pass his last years in poverty and suffering. He became a heavy burden even for his own family.

Before Liberation, Albania was the only country in Europe without any system of social insurance. In case of illness or accident at work, far from receiving any compensation, the worker had to pay all the costs of treatment in hospital or any other health establishment out of his own pocket. His family was left without any assistance. Regardless of his years of service, the worker received not the slightest compensation when he was old or no longer fit to work.

A social insurance system was established in Albania immediately after the Liberation of the country. This system developed along with the development and strengthening of the national economy and today constitutes one of the world's most complete and diversified systems in this field.

The social insurance system in Albania is based on the principles of socialist humanism and it contributes to the development of the productive activity of the working people.

All working people are ensured

The state social insurance system of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is explicitly sanctioned in the Constitution, and its application is compulsory to all wage and salary earners without exception or limitation, regardless of

the branch of the economy or sector in which they work, whether their jobs are of a permanent or seasonal nature and regardless of the method of paying them or the form of the payment they receive.

The worker has the right to benefit from social insurance as soon as he has a job.

This right cannot be denied to the worker or employee for any reason while he is working and it is retained for a certain period even after his employment has ended.

The insured person who has stopped work to attend school, a qualification course or a higher education institution retains all his rights to insurance benefits during the whole period of his studies as well as for a certain period after he has completed his military service or his studies.

The law on state social insurance of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania envisages the payment of various indemnities not only to the insured person himself, but also to the members of his family, who are also entitled to an allowance in case of death of the family's breadwinner. According to this disposition those who are entitled to this allowance are the children, the grandchildren, the brothers and sisters, the spouse, the parents, or adoptive parents, the grandparents, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law (joined by a new marriage of the father or mother), the children from a first marriage or those from the second one.

Retired persons and their families are also entitled to social insurance benefits, irrespective of the pension they receive.

The working people benefit from the social insurance without paying any premiums

The Albanian workers have no financial obligation as regards social insurance; no deductions are made from their incomes and they pay no kind of contributions towards their retirement pensions. The pensions the insured persons benefit from are drawn from the social insurance fund. In the terms of law No. 4171 of September 13, 1966, which is still in force, the social insurance fund is built up from the contribution paid by the state and social enterprises, institutions and organizations as well as from the state budget. If the fund created is inadequate, then, under Article 3 of

the law, the state defrays the cost of social insurance benefits. Thus, the rights of the insured persons are fully guaranteed.

Each year the expenditure on social insurance increases by 10 per cent. This is the result not only of the increase of the number of insured persons and the constant rise of their salaries, but also of the increases in allowances and pensions as well as of the intensification and extension of preventive measures taken for the protection of the people's health, the extension of the network of holiday homes for workers and young pioneers, health resorts and other such centres.

Social security funds increased 43 times in 1979 as against 1945 while the number of retired persons has increased 108 times.

The benefits available to workers under social insurance

Social insurance in Albania constitutes an important factor for raising the material and cultural well-being of the people of town and countryside as well as for the protection of their health. The law on the social insurance reflects the great concern of the people's state power to create for the working people the necessary conditions for the most prosperous and cultivated existence possible.

The social insurance system is distinguished by its many forms of insurance, allowances, pensions and various services to the benefit of the insured and their families. Under Article 2 of the legislation, besides the free medical service which is guaranteed to all citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the insured is entitled to:

- a) allowances for temporary incapacity to work, in cases of illness, quarantine accident, maternity or childbirth leave;
- b) aid in the form of treatment in the sanatoriums or prophylactic establishments, special care in the health resorts or spas, and in the form of diets provided in special restaurants; holidays for the insured person himself and children in the holiday hostels and camps, help for the development of physical culture and tourism, as well as allowances for occupational retraining for the partially disabled, for childbirth and funeral expenses.
- c) retirement pensions, pensions for invalidity, long service and special services, as well as family pensions.

The allowances paid by the social insurance take into account the average monthly pay of the insured person over a given period, length of service at work, the degree of difficulty of the job, age and sex. More favourable conditions are envisaged for miners who work underground, for those employed in specially arduous jobs, for working women during their maternity leave, for juveniles under 20 years of age, for those who have taken part in the National Liberation War or have played a role in the National Renaissance, etc.

Social security is managed by the working people themselves

The state social insurance in Albania has a thoroughly democratic character which is a reflection of the extent to which it is managed by the workers themselves.

The management of social insurance by the masses is reflected in three principal aspects:

First of all in the fact that it is under the control of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labour, for which the supreme law is the fulfilment of the ever growing material and cultural needs of the working people. On the other hand, the workers themselves have the right to make criticisms and suggestions, to present claims and complaints. Whenever they consider that their rights are infringed, they can appeal directly to the organs of social insurance or to the organs which uphold the law. These organs are obliged to carefully examine all the complaints of the workers, to gather all the relevant information, and reply to their appeals within a prescribed period. Third, the trade unions and the other mass organizations led by the Party of Labour, have the full right to take part actively in drafting the provisions of the law and other judicial provisions, and checking up on their application, as well as in the activity of the state organs of social insurance; they make criticisms and suggestions to improve the services to the benefit of the insured, and if necessary, intervene through administrative or judicial channels to put right any violation of the law to the detriment of the insured.

Thus, the thoroughly democratic and humanitarian character of the social insurance is preserved in the field of

administration too, and the power of the workers and the trade unions to control and protect their rights is increased.

Allowances for temporary incapacity to work

In case of illness or accident causing a temporary interruption of the work of the insured, apart from free medical treatment, the social insurance guarantees this person the necessary means of subsistence. Disability allowances are fixed on the basis of the average daily pay received in the month preceding the occurrence of disability and length of service at work. The entire working period of the insured person, regardless of the temporary interruptions that may have occurred, is taken into account in calculating length of service. This period of service concretely reflects the contribution of each person to the socialist construction of the country.

Those who have been less than 10 years at work are paid at a rate equal to 70 per cent of their average daily pay in the last month preceding their disability, while the rate for those with more than 10 years at work is 85 per cent.

Miners working full-time underground, who have less than 5 years of service, get 80 per cent of their average pay in cases of temporary disability while for those with more than 5 years of service, the rate is 95 per cent of their normal pay.

When the temporary disability is caused by an accident at work or an occupational disease, the disability allowance goes up to 95 per cent of the average pay of the insured person and 100 per cent for underground miners, regardless of their length of service. Invalids are divided into four groups on the basis of the degree of their incapacity. For invalids of the third and fourth groups whose incapacity arises from service in the National Liberation War, the disability allowance is 95 per cent of their average pay, regardless of their length of service at work.

Allowances in cases of illness or accident are paid from the first day of the occurrence of the disability up to the day of complete recovery or until the insured is declared permanently incapacitated, when he receives a pension. Payment of social insurance benefits is granted on presentation of a

medical certificate issued by doctors or state health institutions. When temporary work incapacity exceeds 6 months in a year or 3 months for invalids, the worker must be examined by an expert medical commission (KEMP), which has the right to extend the period of incapacity until it estimates that the insured will have recovered his capacity to work. In case of permanent disability, it determines the degree of loss of capacity to work and the invalidity group. Thus, the worker has complete insurance cover in case of illness from beginning to end of his illness.

Social insurance payments are made even when the insured person is hospitalized, regardless of the fact that he receives his treatment and food free of charge.

The social insurance law protects and helps working mothers in particular. Maternity leave is paid at the rate of 80 per cent of their pay in the month preceding the interruption of their work. Normal maternity leave extends over 24 weeks, 35 days before the birth and 135 days after it. If, at the end of the leave, the doctors consider that the mother needs a longer period to recover her capacity to work, they issue a medical certificate on the basis of which she receives an allowance from the social insurance for a further period. The mother who has a sick child, on the presentation of a medical certificate, has the right to stay at home for a certain period to take care of her child. During this period she is paid by the social insurance.

Mothers who do not work themselves, but whose husbands are insured, receive from the social insurance, through their insured husbands, an allowance for the layette and other expenditure.

Mothers of big families receive an allowance for child-birth and a monthly allowance. These rights apply equally to mothers in the countryside.

Thus, the working people in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have their future secured, they have no worries about their livelihood in case of illness or accident.

The system of pensions

Longevity is one of the greatest aspirations of man.

After a lifetime devoted to labour, to long years of fruitful activity, time comes when a man has the right to be

respected for his age. When the younger generation bows respectfully to his white hair, this is in honour of the contribution he has made to society and the vast experience he has acquired.

In the Albania of the past, far from being a privilege, old age was a misfortune, as it is today in many capitalist countries. The feudal-bourgeois regime considered man a source of profit until he gave way under the burden of his years and then it threw him out in the street after having squeezed him dry. The worker had no help in the way of a pension in the last years of his life. So, in that epoch, old age was regarded with trepidation.

The people's state power in Albania has set up a complete system of pensions very advantageous to the workers, which guarantees retirement pensions, invalidity pensions and family pensions to those entitled to them. The system of pensions demonstrates the great concern of the people's state power for man and his work, as well as its high regard of the worth and dignity of man.

The pensions system includes:

- retirement pensions;
- invalidity pensions;
- family pensions;
- pensions for meritorious services;
- pensions for militarymen in permanent active service.

The pensions system covers everyone eligible for the state social insurance, as well as invalids from the National Liberation War and the families of the martyrs of this war; militarymen in permanent service, people charged with special missions by the state organs or social organizations, or who have done their duty for the protection of the socialist order, the saving of human life, the protection of socialist property or any other contribution to the construction of socialism in the country, and students who have become invalids in the course of their studies.

Retirement pensions

Under the law, workers or employees who have attained the specified age and completed the prescribed period of employment, both of these conditions varying with the cate-

gory of employment of the given person, are entitled to a retirement pension. In this respect, the different kinds of work are divided into three categories:

The first category includes workers employed in the mines (underground workers), in aviation, divers, foundry workers, radiologists and other workers engaged in particularly arduous jobs. Workers of this category are eligible for a retirement pension when they reach 50 years of age (45 years for women) and after a working life of 20 years (15 years for women).

The second category includes mine workers employed on the surface, workers in the oil industry, in the cement, ceramics, glass and rubber industries as well as those engaged in education and numerous other professions.

The workers of this category are entitled to a retirement pension when they have completed 55 years of age and 25 years of service for men, and 50 years of age and 20 years of service for women.

The third category comprises all the remaining workers. They are entitled to a retirement pension when they have completed 60 years of age and 25 years of service at work for men and 55 years of age and 20 years of service for women.

Women who have raised 6 or more children to 8 years of age enjoy more favourable conditions. They are entitled to a retirement pension at 50 years of age after 15 years of work.

The blind, deafmutes, and all those who have fulfilled the conditions of the 1st and 2nd invalidity groups before being employed, are entitled to a retirement pension at 50 years of age after 14 years of work for men, and at 40 years of age after 10 years of work for women.

The retirement pension is fixed at 70 per cent of the average monthly pay of the insured person. The insured person may have his average pay calculated on his last working year or on any three successive years from his last ten years at work.

The retirement pension cannot be lower than 350 leks or higher than 700 leks a month.

In fixing this pension, employment over the entire period since November 28, 1912 is taken into account, regardless of the fact that the given person was not insured before Liberation. Time spent in political exile, in prison or in intern-

ment for patriotic activity is also counted. The period of the National Liberation War counts double for those who fought in the partisan units or worked in the organs of the people's power, who acted in the liberated zones or in the occupied cities.

Invalidity pensions

Invalidity pensions are granted to all those who partially or totally lose their capacity to work.

Invalids are divided into four groups according to the degree of their incapacity to work.

The first two groups comprise persons who are totally incapacitated for any kind of work; the other two comprise those capable of doing relatively light work under the conditions laid down by a competent medical commission.

Invalidity pensions are granted regardless of length of service at work if the invalidity has its origin in the National Liberation War or has been caused by an accident at work or by an occupational disease. Invalids who have lost their capacity to work as a result of a disease not of occupational origin or an accident occurring outside work, are entitled to pensions proportional to their years of service.

The size of the invalidity pension varies according to the invalidity group, being 85 per cent, 70 per cent, 60 per cent and 40 per cent of the average normal pay for the four groups respectively.

Invalids from the National Liberation War or those who have become so as a result of an accident at work or an occupational disease receive a supplement of 10 per cent on their invalidity pensions. The invalidity pension is granted not only to workers and employees who have become invalids during a period of employment, but also to all workers whose invalidity has commenced less than thirty days after the cessation of employment or even in less than two years when the invalidity is the consequence of an accident at work or an occupational disease which occurred before the given person ceased his employment.

Certain persons who become invalids before commencing employment while accomplishing a socially useful task, are entitled to an invalidity pension the rate of which is fixed

according to the invalidity group they belong to. According to the law on social insurance, this category comprises school pupils and students of higher educational institutions who become invalids in the course of their studies; those who become invalids while accomplishing special missions with which they have been charged by the organs of the state or the social organizations, or in performing their duty for the defence of the socialist order, and those who become invalids during their military service or a course of military training.

All possibilities are provided for invalids to recover their physical and vocational capacity and to be retrained for appropriate jobs. They receive their vocational training in special schools and courses. They are provided with the necessary means for readaptation such as artificial limbs, means of locomotion, hearing aids, etc. They are given priority on the granting of bursaries for studies of different kinds.

On the basis of recommendations of competent medical commissions, invalids are guaranteed light jobs, which are reserved for them by special decision of the government.

The invalidity pensions are not only an important material help for these people, but also a prophylactic measure, because they contribute significantly to improving the workers' health and to the readaptation of invalids to work and daily life.

Family pensions

Family pensions occupy an important place in the system of state social insurance. The members of the family of a deceased worker or employee, who have not yet reached working age or who are regularly attending school, benefit from this kind of pension.

Also entitled to this kind of pension are the children and grandchildren of the insured person, his adoptive children and the children of the latter under 16 years of age, under 19 years of age if they are attending secondary school or under 25 years of age if they are engaged in higher schooling and even later, if they are incapable of working; the parents or the spouse of the deceased insured person, who have reached 60 years of age for men and 55 years of age for women, and even under this age if they are incapable

to work; the second spouse of either the father or mother of the insured person, if he or she has been dependent on him for at least ten years; the grand-parents of the insured person if there is no other person legally obliged to provide for them.

Besides this, one of the parents or the spouse of the deceased person, regardless of age and capacity to work, is entitled to a family pension, if he or she is not employed and is in charge of one or more children or grand-children, adoptive children, or children of the latter, or the brothers or sisters of the deceased, under 8 years of age.

The family pension is granted under the same conditions as the invalidity pension. When the death of the insured person is the result of an accident at work or an occupational disease or of service during the National Liberation War, the family pension is granted regardless of the length of employment of the insured person. When the death of the insured person is caused by sickness or accident unrelated to his work, the family pension is granted to those who have a right to it, on a scale related to the length of service of the bread-winner of the family at the time of his death.

The child is entitled to a pension in case of death of one of his parents even if the other parent is employed. The pension granted to children who have lost both parents is calculated on the basis of the total pay of both parents.

The pension for those eligible, is calculated at the following rate:

for families comprised of three or more members, 65 per cent of the average pay of the insured person;

for families comprised of two members, 50 per cent of this pay;

for families of one member, 40 per cent of this pay.

The pensions available and the other social benefits for persons deprived of support, as well as the care of the state for orphans, widows and old people without support, ensures them the material conditions to lead a dignified life.

Pension for meritorious services

This kind of pension is granted by decision of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to those persons or their families who have fought, arms

in hand, for the liberation and independence of the Homeland, for the national honour, for democracy and socialism, for the flourishing of Albania, or who have made an outstanding contribution to this struggle.

Those entitled to this kind of pension are the eminent patriots of the National Renaissance and the people's movements for freedom and the land, for social rights, those who braving difficulties and sacrifices in an unequal fight against countless ferocious internal or external enemies have never ceased fighting for the cause of the people; all those who have taken part in the movement of the National Renaissance, in the people's movements and the national liberation movement or in anti-fascist movements abroad.

The pension for meritorious services is also granted to persons who are distinguished themselves in various fields of socialist construction, science, technology, culture and art, as well as to those who, in their state, social and economic activity, have made an important contribution to strengthening the people's power and the construction of the country.

The extension of the system of pensions and social security to the countryside

From July 1, 1972, the system of pensions and social security was extended to cover the members of the agricultural cooperatives too. This is a great victory of the policy of the people's power, an economic, political, ideological and social act of vital importance; this measure constitutes a new step forward of great significance for the development of the Albanian countryside, for narrowing the essential differences between city and countryside. From the aspect of the relations of production, this decision raises the cooperativist peasant to a higher level which is close to that of the worker. This decision further strengthened the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry.

The institution of the system of pensions and social security is an objective measure which fully responds to the requirement of the fundamental law of socialism which aims at the continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses. It represents a further important

advance toward perfecting the relations of distribution and redistribution of the national income. From the economic viewpoint, the extension of the system of pensions and social insurance to the countryside too, improves the material living conditions of the cooperative members and strengthens the peasant family.

Certain agricultural cooperatives on their own initiative and relying on their own means, had introduced rudimentary forms of pensions in order to help their members in old age or in cases of incapacity to work. Many cooperatives had created different forms of social insurance to provide for temporary disability and particularly for maternity and childbirth leave. Now these benefits have been extended to all the agricultural cooperatives. This new measure in favour of the working peasantry shows that the great contribution that it made to the National Liberation War yesterday and is making to the socialist construction today, is properly appreciated.

The system of pensions in the countryside has a centralized character. The resources necessary to provide the pensions come mainly from the cooperatives themselves, without affecting the accumulated funds destined for the extended reproduction in agriculture. The pensions provided for members of the agricultural cooperatives constitute a redistribution within the framework of the fund of consumption of the cooperative population, to the advantage of persons incapable of working, they are a right which stems from the work and contribution these people have made to the strengthening and development of the cooperative economy when they were fit to work. Being based on the dynamics of the growth of agricultural and livestock production, the contribution of the agricultural cooperatives to the centralized pensions fund does not diminish the level of the cooperativists' income per work-day; on the contrary, the value of the work-day is growing from year to year.

The state budget also contributes directly to the central pensions fund, covering part of the costs for the extension of pensions to the cooperative members for the work they have done in the state enterprises, for their participation in the national liberation movement, for their period of service in the armed forces, etc. The contribution from the state is a concrete expression of its great concern for the continuous improvement of living standards in the countryside, for the

strengthening of the solidarity of all the working people, and first of all, of the working class with the peasantry, so they advance shoulder to shoulder towards the complete construction of socialist society in Albania.

Apart from the pensions fund, the agricultural cooperatives allocate from their own income an auxiliary fund which is utilized to pay insurance and indemnities to their members, on the basis of special unified criteria.

Retirement pensions, invalidity and family pensions are granted by the state social security organs, while all other allowances for incapacity to work, maternity and childbirth leave etc. are granted by the cooperatives themselves which apply the same criteria to all the cooperativists.

The pensions system for the cooperative members includes retirement, invalidity and family pensions. In all three cases, the pension may be complete or partial according to the conditions that the given person fulfils. The criterion for the granting of a retirement pension is age and length of service at work. This age is 65 for men and 55 for women. All male cooperative members must have 25 years of service to receive a retirement pension, while women are entitled to a full pension after 20 years of work. A partial pension is granted to men who have worked at least 12 and a half years. Women are entitled to partial pensions after 10 years of work.

The amount of the retirement pension is equal to half the average annual income of the cooperative member during his last three years of work.

The invalidity pension is accorded to peasants who lose their capacity to work as a result of an accident or disease. Pensions of this category are divided into two groups according to the degree of incapacity. In fixing the pensions for persons of this category, the elements taken into consideration are age and years of service, with the exception of those whose invalidity is caused by an accident at work. In such cases the pension is accorded regardless of length of service. For the first group this pension is equal to 60 per cent of the average annual pay of the cooperativist during his last three working years, while for the second group it is 50 per cent. Complete and partial pensions are envisaged for persons of this category, too.

On the basis of the law, the family pension is accorded to those members of a cooperative who are incapable of

working when the cooperative member who was supporting them has died. The members of the family of the cooperativist who benefit from this pension are his children, his grandchildren, his adoptive children and their children, up to the age of 15, his brothers and sisters under 15 years or 25 years of age if they are attending school without a state bursary.

Illiteracy liquidated in Albania

More than forty years ago, in the course of a debate of the state budget, the former minister of Zog's cabinet and one of the most influential deputies in the Parliament, Fejzi Alizoti, declared: «Albania today has three gymnasiums, and a quick reckoning shows that within ten years we shall have about 500 to 600 candidates for functionaries. Thus, a time will come when students will have to become shop-assistants... In view of the program discussed here, I am convinced that the expense for education is a waste.» Opposing himself to the opening of schools in the villages, this big land-owner raised the question: If the children of the farmers and shepherds go to school, who will work the fields, who will tend the livestock?

The Italian adviser at the Ministry of the Interior, Montanelli, suggested to King Zog: «If the middle schools are in excess of the needs of the country, they produce intellectual unemployment, which is the most dangerous form of unemployment to the states which prefer order and national solidarity to bolshevik wreckage.» To give strength to his argument on the need of reducing professional schools, he wrote: «Up to day, the conditions to start work for industrialization on a large scale do not exist, and this, perhaps, is to the advantage of Albania, because the people in the most industrialized countries or those who try to become such, are generally in greater trouble.» The fascist adviser told King Zog that, with the one million inhabitants it had,

900 elementary schools were enough. This had to be the 'ceiling' which would keep the Albanian people in a state of eternal illiteracy and ignorance.

As a result of this policy, more than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, whereas in the regions inhabited mostly by rural population, this figure reached 90 or even 95 per cent.

Illiteracy was more widespread among women. In scores of villages of the country not a single woman knew to read and write, and only a couple of men could spell the letters intelligibly. In this situation, all technical or social progress was impossible.

In face of all this, the people's power had to launch the cultural revolution, first of all, for the liquidation of illiteracy.

In fact, the campaign against illiteracy had started as early as the beginnings of the National Liberation War, in the ranks of partisan units and in the liberated villages and zones.

The resolution of the National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania (March 1943) instructed the communists «to promote cultural life in the villages, by setting up courses against illiteracy and by other means, so as to enable the peasants to get schooling, which the former regimes had denied them.» After Liberation, the struggle against illiteracy became one of the vastest movements organized by the Party at that time. The government, the state organs and public opinion simultaneously made great efforts to carry out this action with success. A special law passed by the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania laid down that every one under forty years of age who did not know to read and write, must attend these courses, that were especially set up for the unlettered. To this end, inspectors of educational sectors were sent to work centres, in order to engage in the solution of this problem. The slogan «In order to build we must know, and in order to know we must learn», was issued country-wide.

The struggle against illiteracy was waged on two fronts: first, the objective was to teach all men and women aged under forty to read write, and second, to set up a network of centres to prevent the creation of new masses of illiterate people.

This was an unprecedented offensive launched for the

schooling and enlightenment of the masses. Courses against illiteracy were opened in enterprises, schools, culture clubs, city quarters, all over the country, in which hundreds of thousands of people began to learn.

Three or four times a week people gathered together to learn the ABC, figures, etc. Almost all the teachers of the country were in charge of one or two courses. And this was not all: all those who were in a position to teach the alphabet were put at the head of a course. Young people, pupils and students played an important role in this major undertaking. The slogan of the youth organizations was: «All young men and women must know to read and write. The trade union organizations did a great work among the working class. Not less important was the activity of the women's organizations in this direction. Special programs of study and text-books were compiled for this purpose. Thus, the struggle against illiteracy became a great problem of the entire people.

People learned to read and write and at the same time acquired the first notions of arithmetics, thus preparing themselves to attend higher courses, or to attend correspondence courses of the elementary school. Thousands upon thousands of former illiterate people attended the evening schools for workers, going through the primary cycle and then the 7 year course; a number of them carried on to the middle school and higher school, too.

Thanks to an intensive work over the period 1955-1956 illiteracy was liquidated among all people aged under forty. In some cases illiterate people aged above forty also learned to read and write. In order to prevent the danger that those who had gone through the courses should not fall back into their former condition because of interrupted study, the social organizations, on their own, set up reading groups attached to the various educational institutions. Conscious of the importance of this problem, the state took measures for the setting up and expansion of the primary evening schools for adults.

Albania has closed for ever the chapter of illiteracy, which remains a bitter aftertaste, a tarnish of the feudal-bourgeois regimes of the past.

The campaign for the spread of education and culture

In the field of education and culture, the Albania of the pre-Liberation period was a country of ignorance and darkness. At that time, the question of an educational system, complete with schools organized according to scientific criteria, was not even raised. The school system was downright anti-popular.

Under the people's power, education has undergone radical changes, both in form and in content. During this period a complete and single system of popular education has been set up.

The vigorous development of education in Albania has gone through several main stages. In the first years following Liberation, the main concern of the people's power was to make education as popular as possible, to make it the patrimony of the broad masses of the people, to create an educational system with all the cycles necessary for our socialist society and to adapt the content of education to the spirit of the popular revolution, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The educational reform enacted in 1946 served as the fundamental ground-work for the attainment of this objective.

In August 1949, the People's Assembly passed the law on the educational reform in the PR of Albania, under which the structure of the educational system for all its levels was defined, and the main orientations for the working out of new programs and textbooks, and for the introduction of radical ideological and scientific transformations into the content of education, were laid down.

The educational reform of 1946 and the many measures to ensure its implementation, paved the way for the fundamental democratization of the educational system in Albania.

Among the most important measures for the realization of this program of democratization, were:

- the realization of compulsory education, at first through the 4-years elementary school, and, later, the creation of the conditions that would permit its extension with higher cycles, that is, the 7-year school;
- the realization of education free of charge for all chil-

dren in all the categories of schools, and the abolishment of all school taxes and fees for all levels of education;

- the creation of a single school system, including the seven-year school and the secondary schools of general or professional education, after the liquidation of closed-cycle schools, like the former elementary agricultural schools, of a seasonal character, the various complementary schools, the incomplete secondary schools, the work-schools, etc. as well as the establishment of the system of free promotion through the suppression of preliminary examinations, competitions and so on;

- the reduction of the school term of the second cycle from 13 to 11 years, since this was advantageous both for the state and society as well as for the workers, the parents of the school children;

- the extension of the school system through opening new schools everywhere; there are children enough to form a class;

- the gradual extension of dormitories and the system of bursaries for the children of workers, and above all, peasants.

The school reform laid down a number of other democratic and socialist principles for popular education, with the aim of ensuring the popular, secular, and unified character of the school, of ensuring the complete equality of the two sexes in educational matters, of strengthening the national character of the school, of ensuring the right to education in the national language, etc.

It paved the road for the creation of a complete single school system, with all the forms and categories, including superior education which did not exist before, and which was crystallized a few years after, in the beginning of the fifties.

Besides, it opened the way for the creation of a new popular, democratic and social school in content. Radical changes were made in teaching plans, programs and text-books, as well as in all the process of the teaching and educational work.

In this period, education developed vigorously. Two examples illustrate this quite amply. In the 1938-1939 school-year Albania had 643 elementary schools with 1,349 teachers, whereas in the 1944-1945 school-year, the first year following Liberation, when the country had just emerged from the war

and a great number of schools had been burned down, damaged, closed down, or abandoned, the number of elementary schools increased to 928 and that of teachers working in them to 1,743. In 1945-1946 there were 1,097 schools, whereas one year later their number reached 1,609. As can be seen, the number of elementary schools increased by 512 within a single year.

In this period the first steps towards the setting up of higher education were taken. A two-year teacher training school for the seven-year schools was set up. Five years later, the Teachers Training Institute, the Higher Institute of Agronomy, and the Higher Polytechnical School were set up. In 1952, to these higher schools were added the Higher Institute of Medicine and the Higher School of Economics, whereas in 1954 the Higher Juridical Institute was opened. In 1957 all these institutes and higher schools, with the exception of the Higher Institute of Agronomy, merged to form the University of Tirana. During the same period, the State Conservatory, the Higher School of Dramatic Art and the Higher School of Figurative Arts (which have now been grouped together to form the Higher Institute of Arts), the Institute of Physical Culture and Sports, the Three-year Teacher Training Institute in Shkodra as well as a number of filials of the University of Tirana and higher institutes were set up.

Likewise, the elementary school was made compulsory in 1951-1952 and efforts were made towards the development of the 7-year school, which, in turn, became compulsory in 1952; a complete system of technical-vocational schools was also set up.

The decade 1955-1965 marked a further qualitative and, especially, ideological improvement in the field of education. In 1960, the school system was reorganized, with important improvements made both in the content of school and the methods of teaching; considerable changes were made in the programs with the aim of raising their scientific level, effective measures were adopted to link school with life, teaching with practical work, according to the concrete possibilities of each district and each town; physical work as well as a number of new subjects of polytechnical character were introduced. The secondary schools were predominantly industrial and agricultural. At this time, the term of study for the 7-year schools of general education was extended to 8 years.

As a result of these measures, education in Albania assumed an unprecedented extension. The network of elementary schools extended all over the country, obligatory 8-year education was rigorously applied, secondary education extended rapidly and higher education marked further development. Our school system as a whole advanced on the revolutionary socialist road. It adapted and enriched the best patriotic traditions, the secular, democratic and revolutionary character of the Albanian school.

However, in spite of all these results, the Albanian school still had shortcomings impairing its development and the effective discharge of its new tasks which were set to it in conformity with the stage of the country's development. The old educational system, especially in the secondary and higher schools, did not quite sufficiently link up teaching with production work and prevent the development of petty-bourgeois intellectualism. The massive character of education in these two forms of schools was not broad enough. It did not sufficiently include people from the production sector. The old system did not contribute enough to the narrowing of the distinctions between physical and mental work, between town and countryside. Finally it did not combine satisfactorily lessons with manual work and with physical and military training.

The elimination of these shortcomings called for a recast of the entire educational system. The question of the revolutionization of education became a problem in which the entire public opinion participated. Responding to the call of the Party, a great popular discussion, the first of the kind in the history of our school, was initiated all over the country. It was a broad discussion of a massive character unseen before. Hundreds of thousands of people, teachers and students, cadres of the educational system, of the sectors of culture and production, parents and workers of all walks of life, participated in the discussion which took place in all the schools, enterprises and state institutions, as well as in the agricultural cooperatives, in every party organization and the mass organizations, in every city quarter and hamlet. Besides the great public discussion which was opened in the press, more than 21,000 meetings and consultative groups, with the participation of about 600,000 people, or more than half of the adult population of the country, at which 160,000

people contributed to the discussion, took place all over the country. This is fresh evidence of the fact that the education in Albania is a major question of concern to the Party, the people's power, the entire people and society.

It is a living example of genuine democracy in action, which grows and extends in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and which has created boundless possibilities for the voice of the broad masses of working people to be heard, analysed and summed up.

In the course of this popular discussion, the whole of the educational system was brought under criticism. This criticism was not a partial or marginal one, which dealt with only one aspect or some sector of school work. On the contrary, its objective was to bring about the general and radical revolutionization of the school, and in the first place, its contents, the revolutionization of the system of teaching and the structure of the school, of teaching methods, the method of direction, of education and of the work at school. It bore on the fundamental concepts of the role of school in our socialist society, the communist education of the younger generations and all the masses, as well as the very essence of the process of communist education, its contents and main aspects. So the criticism in this field was a powerful and all-round attack on the whole of the old school system. It was not limited only to political and ideological considerations, but also covered concrete pedagogical problems. In the course of the popular discussion the tendencies of making a fetish of the role of school, considering it as the only source of culture, were attacked and the thesis according to which learning is acquired not only at school but also in life, that the school is a component part of life itself and that life is the greatest school, a permanent school, was expounded. This conclusion has great theoretical and practical importance, since it helps understand the place and role of the school and education in social activities, and the fact that the revolutionary practice, political, social, productive, and other activities coupled with the organized and systematic education at school, play a decisive role in the communist education of the younger generation and the working masses. From the practical standpoint, this conclusion has a decisive importance for the fight against the tendencies of stuffing school programs with superfluous erudition of an

encyclopaedic character, of overloading programs and text-books with notions remotely connected with practice and life, of overestimating the knowledge gained from books and of underestimating the knowledge and education acquired through political and social activities, in the course of the ideological class struggle, in the productive work and scientific experimentation by the masses, and in the course of life and practice.

During the popular discussion the large masses made many valuable suggestions as to the revolutionization of the contents, methods, and structure of the school. Many contributions to the discussion raised the need for placing physical and military training along with and on the same level as lessons, and for building school work on the basis of the following three elements: lessons, production work and physical and military training. They also underlined the necessity and usefulness of the existence of a variety of schools, beginning from the 8-year school, and of giving them a mass character. Many ideas were put forward for the improvement of the contents of lessons, above all, for the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis and for the further improvement of the teaching and education methods.

As the great popular discussion developed, important ideas were put forward for the further extension of the school. New secondary schools were opened in the villages, whereas in some cities and important work centres university branches and filials of higher schools were opened. In this manner, branches of the Pedagogical Institute, the Institute of Agronomy and others were opened in some cities, and branches of the university in some of the largest industrial centres.

The criticism of the old system was conducted parallel with a systematic work for finding the most appropriate forms of assisting the progress of education. To this end, the teachers together with their students and pupils worked to discover new forms and methods of linking lessons with practice. So schools have been transformed into experimentation centres alive with the creative thinking of the masses. Scientific experimentation and research for the most rational forms of school work have become a method of all the teachers, old and young, without exception. Every school, big or small, has become a centre of study of these problems, with almost

all the teaching staff, with the participation of students and pupils, working on studies and theses, many of them extending over 2 or 3 years. The studies and theses are examined by special commissions and the pedagogical councils of each school.

The problems of the method and style of work have aroused the interest of the students, pupils and their parents, who have encouraged these experiments, too. The fact that the students and their parents are aware of the benefit accruing from experimentation work, and the periodical analysis of the results obtained in it, has raised their ideological formation to a high level, has increased their sense of duty towards all the problems of the school, and their ability to participate in and contribute to the practical solution of the many and great problems which our school faces today.

Every school has its own experience, which grows richer and is spread to the others. The experience gained in the course of the revolutionary movements and actions of the masses is analysed and summed up in conferences and sessions, and considered something of extremely great value for the progress of the work at the school. To this end museums have been set up at schools, which carefully preserve documents connected with the revolutionary movements and all important documents of the school which have to do with its experience.

During the popular discussion for the revolutionization of the school, the text-books of all subjects were analysed thoroughly. Most valuable opinions for the improvement of text-books, in conformity with the new demands, were advanced by the participants in the discussion who were guided by the principle that the contents of the text-books is one of the principal elements on which the educational work is based and that, without relying on correct ideological, scientific and pedagogical principles, it is impossible to achieve the communist education of the younger generation. Editing groups, comprising teachers, pedagogues, professors, scientific workers and production workers of all the regions of the country were set up in order to compile about 500 new text-books for all the categories of 8-year and secondary schools.

The line of the masses was the guiding line in the process of the compilation of text-books, it enabled the teachers,

students and pupils and their parents to control all the work done and to make their contribution. Every single chapter of the new text-books was subjected to detailed analyses by the teachers and other working people, open discussions were organized on this subject, and the compilers reflected all the valuable suggestions and criticisms on the new text-books. Beside, every new text-book, before being submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture for final approval, was given for discussion to a large circle of specialists and teachers. They are constantly improved and checked up against the latest achievements. Discussion of text-books continues uninterruptedly in the press and in the various meetings even after they are published.

The new text-books have a national character, reflect the Albanian life, the democratic and revolutionary traditions of the Albanian people.

They have been so written as to connect theoretical knowledge with the practice of production. To this end, various concepts, theories and laws in scientific and technical text-books have been treated in close connection with the field of their application in life, practice, and production. On the other hand, text-books, and in particular those on technology, illustrate problems of production, the socialist industry and agriculture, and at the same time political, technical and technological problems, the successes achieved in these fields and the development of the technical-scientific revolution in Albania, etc.

So, the organization of this popular discussion was an effective way of drawing the opinion of the large masses of the people on the problems of the school. Apart from this, the conclusions of the popular discussion were taken up for analysis in one of the special plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, in which the relevant decisions were taken. At the end of 1969 the law on the new educational system was approved. This law is a summing-up and concentrated expression of the farsightedness and experience of the working people, which were manifested during this popular discussion.

The new educational system — a complete and advanced system

The educational system approved in November 1969, as a complete and advanced system, is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class for the formation of a people's intelligentsia loyal to socialism and for the education of the younger generation, which will carry the revolution through to its final and complete triumph.

Based on the principles of socialist democracy, it is permeated through and through by the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis and develops on the basis of the organic link of lessons with production work and physical and military training.

The school system includes the pre-school education forms, the general 8-year education, the secondary education and the higher education schools.

The school system in Albania comprises the general education for the school youth and the education for the workers and peasants. It is given through a complete system of schools of different categories, which are connected with one another and extend constantly.

Under the law on the new educational system, the pre-school education is an organic link of the educational system; it has become general, but not obligatory.

Development of pre-school education

Years	1938	1960	1970	1979
Number of kindergartens	23	434	1,423	2,541
Children	24,34	23,085	47,524	83,697
Teachers	40	1,004	2,440	3,920

The final objective of the pre-school educational system is to achieve the social education of the children of the 3-6 years age-group; it ensures their physical and intellectual development, endows them with the elements of communist morality and prepares them to enter school. The pre-school

education is given through the network of kindergartens and orphanages.

The 8-year education is the basic level of the educational system; it is general and obligatory for all the children of 6 years of age. The 8-year school, in general, is different and divided from the secondary school. It comprises all the classes, from the first to the eighth, whereas the primary school no longer exists as such. This category of school imparts the elementary notions of ideology, politics and morality of aesthetics and physics to the school children, giving at the same time a general culture to them, cultivating in them the love and habits of work. Its aim is to enable them to pursue the secondary school and to participate in the social life and the socialist production. It implants in them the first notions and elements of military training.

In comparison with the situation existing in 1938, the number of pupils in the 8-year schools increased 10.3 fold, and that of teachers in them increased 18 fold.

The lower technical-professional education and the secondary education are built, on the basis of the 8-year education. The former comprises the lower technical vocational schools, national and local, full-time and part-time, the various schools and courses of a mass character, apart from the regular educational system. These schools, which have been opened in town and countryside, train workers for the needs of the country. The aim of the lower technical-vocational schools is to ensure the widespread of the elements of technical science, as the most appropriate form of raising the technical and vocational level of the workers and peasants. In the part-time schools of this category the courses last two years and give elements of theoretical knowledge to the pupils.

The lower vocational schools, both full-time and part-time, are as a general rule, characterized by a relatively narrow specialization. The training of qualified workers is thus realized in the form of paid apprenticeship, a practice which is becoming more and more widespread in the country not only as a component part of the regular system of education, but also as a suitable form of ensuring the new qualified work force.

The setting up of the full-time lower technical vocational schools and the admission to a probation period, the training

of the new work force, are realized according to a state plan, on the basis of the needs of the country's economy.

Secondary education is realized through the vocational schools of different profiles and the secondary schools of general education. However, all the secondary vocational and general schools have the same duration. The level of general knowledge envisaged under the programs of the secondary vocational schools is more or less of the same level as that of the secondary schools of general education. A new feature of this category is the marked polytechnical character of the secondary school of general education and its linking with the productive work.

The new system encourages the extension of the professional secondary schools, the industrial, agricultural and construction schools and other vocational schools of the socio-cultural fields, the pedagogical, economic, financial, medical, art, and other schools. They train middle cadres of about 70 specialities including mechanics, electricity, radio and TV repair, building, economics, medical service, theatre, music, teaching, foreign languages, etc. And this at a time when before Liberation the few existing secondary schools trained pupils only for 7 specialities.

The new educational system promotes the development of the part-time schools for workers and peasants, which have been set up at the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, or on a district level. Such 4-year secondary schools have only a narrow specialization, and train pupils in one or more branches.

The secondary school of general education relies on three components: lessons — productive work — physical and military training. The tendency is to increase its polytechnical character, to link it closely with production, and make it distinctly different from the old gymnasium, inherited from bourgeois society, which was only for a privileged élite, fostered intellectualism and careerism, the tendency to go through to the higher studies at all costs, regarding this as the only means to dodge the direct work in production and to do only office work. By finally and definitely eliminating these shortcomings of the old school, the new school trains young revolutionaries ready to do any job for the good of the Homeland and socialism.

The secondary school of general education retains from the former programs the main subjects of general culture. At

the same time it has realized the linking up of the lessons with work on the theoretical and practical plane for many professions which have become widespread, and there where it is not possible, for one single profession, always in conformity with the concrete conditions of the place where the school is situated.

The productive work has been organized in all schools of general education of the country. In the schools which do not possess their own production base the students carry out their productive work in an enterprise. They sit for examinations both for the subjects of general culture and for their period of practice in production. At the same time as the diploma the students receive a document which states their qualification level as workers. The enterprises are supposed to give them a job once they have finished the school.

Compared with 1938, in the school-year 1978-1979 Albania had about 24.1 times as many secondary schools and 84.6 times as many students in them.

The structure of the school year in all the secondary schools is as follows: six months and a half of studies (including two weeks of physical education), two months and a half of productive work, one month of military training and two months of holidays (the first two grades have two months of productive work and two months and a half holidays).

The creation of a single structure of the school year for all the types of secondary schools, the tendency to raise the level of general culture in the professional secondary schools, the emphasis on the polytechnical character of the secondary schools of general education and their ever closer linking with the productive work, all these are important innovations which, without affecting the diversity of the secondary schools, on the whole, constitute an improvement in the essence of the secondary education as a system, in the contents of the teaching and educative work of our secondary school, in its structure and its methods.

In the secondary school the students acquire a solid Marxist-Leninist formation, scientific and polytechnical knowledge, and on the basis of the organic unity of lessons with productive work and physical and military training, reach a theoretical level and gain practical habits which enable them to participate directly in social production, in the defence of the Homeland, and to pursue higher studies.

The students, boys and girls, who finish the full-time se-

condary schools of general or professional education, in town and countryside, have to go through an obligatory period of one year probation in production work before they can pursue higher studies. With the introduction of the period of probation in production, our socialist pedagogy has opened a new page in the world pedagogical thinking.

The first place and the greatest part of the time of study at school is justly devoted to the teaching of theory and the acquiring of the fundamentals of science. It is only on this basis that the younger generations can gain solid scientific and professional knowledge. Apart from this, in the course of the four years of school, the linking of theory with practice, of lessons with productive work, is realized according to the program and structure of the school. This connection becomes still more complete with the introduction of the probation period in production, which is not just an appendage to but an integral part of the theoretical formation of the younger generation.

During the probation period, the students do manual work side by side with the workers and peasants, on any front of production, but as a rule, in the sectors which correspond to the activity to which they are destined in the future.

The one-year probation, beginning from the graduation from the secondary school, is necessary because it is the only way of educating and tempering the school boys and girls in the spirit of the working class and cooperative peasantry. In this manner, the students are moulded as revolutionaries and imbued with the qualities of the working class, they become aware of the great importance of social production, accept the rule and discipline of production, take an active part in all the political, ideological and cultural activities of the working people. Thus, the one-year probation in production is a real sieve through which pass all those who aspire to pursuing higher studies, because the working class does not permit those who have not shown their revolutionary qualities to become cadres and leaders. The probation in production is a period during which the boys and girls from secondary schools submit themselves to the direct control of the working class, through which and with whose permission alone they can pursue higher studies.

The objective of the Albanian school is to train a stratum of intelligentsia which does not aspire to commanding posts, but only to serving the ideology of the working class and

its state power with great devotion. During the probation period of the students, the working class has its say with great authority and with a great sense of duty about who amongst the probationists is worth militating in the ranks of the people's intelligentsia, who is most loyal to the Party, the people, and socialism.

The probation period is a brilliant expression of the proletarian democracy in action, it enables the workers and peasants, as the real masters of the country, to choose for themselves the future higher cadres.

From the desks of the secondary and higher schools come out thousands of specialists who have their say in the work for the direction and management of the economy and in the socialist organization of labour. However, this cannot be achieved inside of the laboratories and theatres of higher schools. During the period of probation in production the pupil and student acquires the qualities of the leader and organizer which he will need in his future work as a medium or higher cadre. In this context, the period of probation constitutes an important indispensable link in the general formation of the specialists who will carry on the work of socialist production.

The probation is an essential link which connects school still more closely with the economic activity of enterprises, with the needs and demands of production. It is an important historical factor in the development of education in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the further revolutionization of the school.

Higher education is given at the University and the other full-time and part-time educational institutes. Part-time school is one of the essential forms which makes this type of education more massive and raises the theoretical and scientific level of the workers and peasants. Admission to this category of higher school is free for all those who along with their regular work carry on studies, for those who have finished secondary school and who have done at least one year of work in production.

The workers who graduate from the part-time schools must, as a general rule, complete one year of preparatory studies in order to raise their scientific and technical level to that required for admission to the corresponding higher schools.

Before Liberation no higher schools existed in Albania, whereas today the country has the University of Tirana, seven different faculties (for the arts, agriculture, pedagogy, etc.) and branches of these faculties in various cities and districts so that the schools are as close to work and residential centres as possible. Higher education has reached such a level of development that today it is in a position to fulfil all the needs of the country for higher cadres. In fact, in the system of higher education cadres in more than 60 different specialities are trained.

The aim of the system of higher education is to form revolutionary specialists, imbued with the spirit of proletarian revolutionaries, who are ideologically and politically moulded to respond to the demands of modern science and technique and the development of the economy and culture in Albania, and able, on the theoretical and practical plane, to work for society and to guarantee the defence of the Homeland.

The courses of study in the higher schools last 3, 4 and 5 years. At the present stage these are the most suitable terms, which enable most workers and peasants, and especially the students of worker and peasant origin, to enrol in the higher studies. The cycle of higher studies in the part-time system is, as a rule, one year longer than those of the corresponding branches of the full-time system.

The structure of the school-year in all the higher schools and in their branches is the same: 7 months of lessons, 2 months of productive work, one month of military training and 2 months of holidays.

Admission of students to higher schools is made on the basis of the following fundamental criteria: political record, progress in studies, result of probation in production, and conduct. As for the admission of students to the schools of the ideological specialities, the political criterion is rigorously applied.

In order to be admitted to the higher schools, the students must have the recommendation of the school collective (including the teaching staff, the youth organization), and the favourable opinion of the working collective at which the student has done his probation work. This is indispensable and decisive for admission to higher schools, part-time and full-time.

The new system lays a strong emphasis on the mass character of our educational system. This is achieved in two ways: first, by increasing the number of students in the

existing branches of the full-time education system, as well as by setting up new branches and specialities; and second, by extending part-time school at the existing higher schools, as well as by creating branches of the university and the faculties in the districts where there are no higher schools.

The further qualification of higher cadres is carried out through the qualification and specialization courses which are attended by those who have finished their higher studies and have worked in production. In the future these courses will be further extended. In these courses the cadres of different specialities deepen their knowledge.

Albania today trains in one year 12 times as many higher cadres as it had in 1938. In 1980 the country had over 46,000 higher cadres.

The popular character of the educational system in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The popular character of the Albanian school is expressed in the tasks and the role it has in the social, economic and cultural life, and in its revolutionary contents and form. It makes a primary contribution to moulding and educating the new man with communist ideals, making him loyal to the end to the cause of the Party, closely linked with the working people, an unwavering fighter for the construction of socialism and the defence of Marxism-Leninism. Man is the decisive factor in all activities, however, the extent of his role depends largely on his world outlook, his level of consciousness, his cultural horizon and his technical-professional abilities. These are different aspects of the same process of education; however priority is given to the ideological, political and moral education of the new man.

The new school plays a great active role in the struggle for the economic and cultural development of the country. In the conditions of the increasing mechanization and automation of production, our schools train enough workers and cadres who are in a position to meet the expansion of production and capable of satisfying the needs of all the branches of the economy and culture. It ensures the continuous raising of the theoretical, scientific and cultural level of the working masses and the working class in particular, making them ever better prepared for playing a leading role in our socialist

society and for exercising an effective and decisive control in all fields of activity. From this viewpoint our school makes a growing contribution to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensuring the complete and final triumph of socialism, in our country.

The new school plays an equally important role in the progressive reduction and subsequent elimination of the essential differences between intellectual and manual work so that this old division of labour ceases to exist and is replaced by the form of organization of production in which every one takes part in productive activities, and that work in production serves each member of society and allows him to develop his own physical and mental capacities in all directions and to use them to the best advantage of society. Of course, the essential distinctions between mental and manual work will be altogether liquidated with the transition to communist society. However, in Albania, even at the present stage, effective measures have been taken in order to narrow down these distinctions, and school is one of the powerful levers to attain this objective. In fact, the school serves the constant raising of the level of education and culture of the large masses, contributing, at the same time, to linking the school youth with manual work, the integrating of the masses of school youth with the masses of workers and peasants.

The new school serves the progressive reduction, and subsequently, the liquidation of the distinctions between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, between the working class and cooperativist peasantry; it enables the younger generation to assimilate rapidly in practice a given system of production and then to go over successively, according to the needs of society and the abilities of each, from one branch of production to the other, from industrial activities to agricultural ones, and vice-versa, instead of reserving these sectors exclusively to the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, two different categories of people: townspeople and peasants.

The new school plays an important role in making the defence of the Homeland and the gains of socialism secure against the threat of local enemies and against the danger of foreign aggression. It educates the younger generation with the spirit of patriotism, so as to make great sacrifices, even the supreme sacrifice, for the defence of the Homeland

and socialism, while tempering them to grow physically strong and militarily prepared. The realization of the three components of our new school: lesson — productive work — physical and military training, constitutes one of the essential means for ensuring the linking of the school closely with social and political life, creates the conditions for the participation of the school youth in all the revolutionary movements and initiatives of the masses which continuously invigorate the whole life of the country, and constitutes the implementation of the militant slogan «We must think, work and live like revolutionaries», in the educative work of the school youth.

The new educational system endows the school youth with a sound cultural, scientific and polytechnical general formation. In the Albanian school the organic link of lessons with manual work, of theory with practice, is realized on the basis of the priority of theory over the work in production, which, as an auxiliary factor, ensures the ideo-political tempering of the pupil and the student in the course of productive work, helps him to grow morally inflexible and physically strong and healthy, and enables him to assimilate the style and method of work of the working class, and its spirit of discipline. At school, without in the least underrating the value of practice and the indispensability of the linking of theory with practice, the greatest part of the time is devoted to the study of theory, science; the tendencies of self contentment, practicism and narrow professionalism, which lead to the underrating of the theory, the vulgar tendencies leading to abstract and empty politicism, as well as the conservative attitudes towards the achievements of science and modern technique are combated, and ways and means are sought to liquidate them.

The combination of lessons with productive work constitutes an important means of education and revolutionary ideological and moral tempering of the youth. The old bourgeois concept, according to which the school is exclusively a place of instruction and education, has been fully rejected and replaced by a new socialist concept, according to which the school is a place of education and work.

The combination of lessons with work, of theory with practice, gradually lead to the polytechnization of the school, and together, contribute to the narrowing of the essential distinctions between mental and manual work, to the constant raising of the cultural, technical and scientific level of the

working people and the staff of engineers and technicians. The gradual polytechnization of the school also serves the development of the technical-scientific revolution, the complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism in Albania. In this manner the distinctions in the vocational, cultural and scientific and technical levels of the workers of these categories, are reduced.

The third component of the new school, following the implementation of the new system of education, consists in the physical and military training of the pupils and students. The Albanian school, as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an element of the superstructure, has the task of defending the Homeland. The school youth are trained to handle weapons and become able soldiers ready to defend the Homeland in all circumstances.

The mass character of the school

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania more than one fourth of the population attends school. During the school-year 1979-1980 about 722,000 people, or 30 per cent of the total population of the country, attended various schools. This figure is 12.4 times greater than that of the year 1938. If before Liberation only 5.6 per cent of the population went to school, this figure today has reached 30 per cent. Almost every family has one or more of its members going to school.

If the country continued to train its higher cadres at the rates reached in King Zog's regime, it would have taken Albania more than 80 years to train the number of cadres who now graduate from the higher schools in one year.

The universities of a number of European countries have centuries of history, whereas the University of Tirana has only two decades of experience on its record. However, Albania has surpassed a number of «advanced» countries as to the number of students in relation to its population.

The mass character of the Albanian school is even more striking in the new system of education, which lays greater stress on the mass character of education. With this new system the whole of the country has been transformed into a school, into a great centre of study and education. It creates favourable conditions for all the working people to go to

school, to study and experiment, to develop production abreast with the achievements of science. This is a cultural and educational revolution, which covers all walks of life.

The pronounced mass character of the Albanian school is a phenomenon unseen before, as regards extension and range of its objectives. It will gradually raise the cultural, scientific, technical and professional level of all the masses of the working people and the cooperativists to the level of secondary and higher cadres; it will bring about the further extension of secondary schools to the countryside, and finally include the greatest possible number of girls in the secondary and higher schools, which will help in the work for their further emancipation.

The mass character of the school, as an important question of principle, is connected with ideological, political and social questions. It is directed towards the constant increase of the participation of the whole people in the complex political and social life of the country, the deepening of proletarian democracy, the uprooting of the dangerous ills of bureaucracy, the gradual reduction of the distinctions between town and countryside, mental and manual work, the prevention of the creation of an élite of the «privileged», which is the cause and source of the emergence of revisionism.

In order to make education the real patrimony of the workers, peasants and their children, discrepancies in the level of general culture given in the secondary schools of various orientations have been eliminated, the practice of competition for admission to higher schools has been abolished. In Albania the schools are interconnected, and from the social viewpoint, there is no discrimination in the educational system. Pupils and students are not divided into categories: some destined to remain workers or simple technicians and some, the elected, the most capable, destined to become intellectuals and specialists of the higher skills. By rapidly imparting a mass character to secondary education, and later to the higher education, by creating secondary schools of different types, by ensuring a basic scientific level for all the secondary schools of general education and for the professional schools, by considerably extending the secondary schools and, hand in hand with this, the higher institutes for part-time studies, all the barriers which impeded the workers, peasants and their children from attending the schools of their choice have been overcome.

The part-time vocational schools at the enterprises, and the part-time evening schools at the agricultural cooperatives enable people of different professions and ages, young and grown-ups, all those who for different reasons have not been able to attend and finish full-time school, to attend courses in these schools.

Education for the adult population was set up as early as the first months after the liberation of the country, and became definite in the 1946-1947 school-year when evening courses for adult workers were first opened. Later correspondence courses were also set up as a system. At the present time, this type of education has grown extensively with schools of different categories functioning regularly at every enterprise.

Facilities for school attendance by the working people are envisaged in a number of dispositions and special decisions. The part-time schools and courses co-ordinate their time-table with the working hours, so that the workers can attend studies without harming their jobs. The evening or correspondence courses are open three times a week.

By decision of the Council of Ministers, February 20, 1970, for the revision and amendment of the previous dispositions, the workers and employees, who attend evening courses or correspondence courses in the secondary and higher schools, work reduced hours — a 6-hours work-day without reduction of pay, whereas those who attend the 8-year schools have a weekly reduction of 3 hours' work.

The workers have the right to an extra paid leave to sit for examinations:

— 3 days to sit for an examination for each subject of the 8-year and secondary schools; the total leave cannot be extended beyond 15 days a year;

— 20 days to sit for examinations in the higher evening schools, 8 days to sit for final examinations at the end of the 8-year school (both the outside candidate and the pupils of the evening courses);

— 25 days to sit for examinations at the end of the year of higher studies (correspondence courses);

— 8 days to sit for all the final examinations of the 8-year school evening course;

— 25 days to sit for the state examinations and bachelor's examinations in the higher evening schools, and 30 days for the defence of a thesis.

In the context of the measures for the strengthening of the mass character of the school, great efforts are made to train thousands of teachers.

Favourable conditions of study

The socialist state gives all the possibilities for the working people and their children to go to school. Education in Albania is free of charge for all categories of schools. The state invests considerable funds in this sector. In fact, at the present stage the state spends in four days as much as was spent for the same purpose in the whole year in 1938. The training of a cadre costs the state more than 24,000 leks in the four years of his studies in the faculty.

The pupils and students pay no fees of any kind, on the contrary, many of them have state bursaries.

Under the anti-popular regimes of the past, the state accorded just a ridiculous number of bursaries, and those who benefited from them were, in general, the sons of the rich, beys, aghas, big merchants. Only in extremely rare cases could the sons of the workers, or peasants benefit state bursaries.

After Liberation, the socialist state, in its efforts to promote education and to encourage the broad masses to attend schools, has continuously extended the system of bursaries, so that at present thousands of higher school students and about just as many pupils of other schools benefit state bursaries.

In a number of cities and work centres there are hostels in which the children of workers' and peasants' large families live and study. The hostels offer all the possibilities for the physical and moral development of children: boarding, lodging, cultural and sports facilities, etc.

Amongst other things, the hostels cultivate the love of work among the school children who carry out themselves all the services in the dormitories and dining-halls.

In the distribution of bursaries, especially in the agricultural specialities, priority is given to the children of the peasants, especially to the young girls, and, above all to the children of the peasants living in the remote zones of the country. After finishing school, they return to their villages and work in the profession for which they have studied.

Besides this, the state has opened catering and other units, such as baths, laundries, etc free of charge for pupils and students. Pupils and students benefit price reductions also for cultural activities. Apart from the bursary, which guarantees food and lodging for the students and pupils, the state provides a certain category of them with books and clothing free of charge.

Great attention is attached to the cultured recreation of the pupils and students, through the organization of various activities for the ideological, cultural, artistic and scientific educations of the youth.

On the green hills commanding the capital is nestled the student town, with the cinema palace, a spacious modern building at the foot of the hill. It has a rich library, halls for conferences and in-doors sports activities as well as a bar. The students organize discussions and meetings on social and scientific problems there. The students' artistic groups carry on their regular activities. The «Student» sports club, which has a membership of hundreds of sportsmen and sportswomen, has frequently been honoured with medals and diplomas in the various national sports activities.

The development of socialist democracy in the Albanian school

The revolutionization of the school is connected with the method of direction of all school activities. In Albania the bureaucratic and technocratic concept that the education and school are the exclusive field of the teaching staff has been replaced with the concept that the problems of the school concern the entire society and people. This principle is realized in practice through the application of the worker control and the line of the masses and the principle of socialist democracy in handling all the questions related with the popular education, not only inside the school, but also in society. In this manner the effective control of the working class is ensured in this field, too.

The Albanian school is guided by the principle of democratic centralism. The strengthening of centralized state direction of the educational system and the direction of the school by a single body does not exclude the line of the masses in

this field, on the contrary, it emphasizes the broad implementation of the line of the masses; it requires a broad participation of the school and student youth together with the working masses in the management of the school. This is realized according to democratic methods which make school discipline a conscious discipline.

The deepening of socialist democracy in the Albanian school is reflected in the measures for the democratization of the internal school life, the revolutionization of the relations between teachers and students, the enhancement of the role of youth and young pioneers' organizations in the school, the adoption of the mass labour actions as a method of education. These measures, which go beyond the framework of the school, make the school and student youth a revolutionary motive force in the whole life of the country. The internal life in the Albanian school is directed by the norms of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the proletarian discipline, and the spirit of initiative of the pupils and students, by the revolutionary collaboration between them and the teaching staff. In this field, the establishment of correct relations between the pupils and students, on the one hand, and their teachers, on the other, has great importance. The pupil at school is not regarded only as a simple object to be taught, but rather as the subject of the whole process of study and education. Between the teachers and their pupils exist new work relations, free from the bureaucratic and formalist spirit. The class-rooms and auditoriums are common places of debate and discussion. The solution of many important problems concerning the teachers and the students, such as the program of studies, individual work, examinations, etc is found through common efforts.

Debates, often originating from a wall-poster, get underway in an animated spirit in the enlarged meetings with the participation of the teachers and pupils and students, and often with guests invited to participate and contribute in the discussions.

All the old programs of the higher schools of the country were taken up for discussion and minute examination by the collectives of students and their youth organizations. So, the programs bear the stamp of the suggestions and requirements of the students.

The pupils and students, together with their teachers, discuss the methods of teaching and control of their knowledge

in a spirit of collaboration. After the classes, the teachers usually draw the opinion of the pupils and students as to the method of the explanation of the new lesson, etc. Special consultations are organized and the suggestions of the pupils and students are readily reflected on the work of teachers.

From time to time the students make criticisms of the conservative methods of teaching, the lectures written and read in a stereotyped manner. Revolutionary, advanced suggestions and proposals have been advanced by the students in connection with the criteria of the control of knowledge. Old forms of control, which only skim over phenomena, which fail to assess the fundamental knowledge acquired by the students and pupils, but which only serve to overload their mind with futile and negligible facts, have been discarded.

The organization and orientation of the school life, mainly in the secondary and higher schools, is based on the spirit of initiative of the pupils and students. They express this concretely during the classes and after classes at the hostel and outside school, in all their school activities. It is they who organize control of school attendance, who ensure the cleanliness of the school and its environment, care for the common property of the school, organize cultural, artistic and sports activities, etc. The school life is organized on the basis of the initiative of the pupils and students in a sound revolutionary spirit of cooperation, unity and solidarity, communist friendship among them, and between them and all the teaching and administrative staff of the school.

The principle of initiative is expressed in the fact that the pupils and students themselves elect their representatives to the different levels of school life on an organizational, pedagogical, cultural and political plane, without encroaching on the attributes of the state organs. This increases the role and activity of the youth and pioneers' organization in the school. An example that illustrates this phenomenon is the University of Tirana.

The «Student Town» attached to the University is administered by the central council of students, which is a representative body of the students of each department of the University. Its duty is to raise the problems of the students and to take back to them the important decisions taken by the council of the department. As a general rule, the secretary of the committee of the youth organization of the department participates, in the quality of the representative of the youth,

in all the meetings of the department. Frequently the department takes important decisions on the basis of proposals made by the students in the meetings of the youth organization.

The goal of all these measures and innovations is to raise the level of the students' formation, to raise still higher the level of consciousness of the students, their self-control and discipline in the work for the acquisition of knowledge.

The deepening of democracy presupposes the strengthening of proletarian discipline at work both on the part of the teachers and the pupils and students. The introduction and strengthening of such discipline requires the development, in the highest level possible, of criticism and self-criticism in the masses of teachers, pupils and students, as well as the strengthening of general control on the school work.

In this context, strengthening of the links between the school and the parents of pupils and students is of great importance. Parents are invited to take active part in the discussion of various problems. They make their contribution to the various fields of school life, to make sure that the school advances, and their children make progress.

In Albania all the problems of the students and the youth, in general, are solved in the conditions of the complete harmonization of the social interests with the individual interests of the students and the youth.

The Albanian students, after graduating have no problem of employment. They are often given a job even before having definitively graduated, because the needs of the people's economy for qualified cadres are continuously increasing. Construction work is going on all over the country. The insecurity about the possibility of finding a job at the end of their studies which torments all young people and students in the capitalist countries, is an unknown phenomenon in Albania.

During the 5th Five-year Plan education has further developed, about 30 inhabitants in every 1,000 attended school in 1975, the class proletarian spirit and the revolutionary education of the school youth have been strengthened through the implementation of the three components of the new system of education: lessons, productive work, physical and military training.

In the years of the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1978) a new and important step forward was made in the development of education. The number of pupils and students, of kindergart-

ens and schools increased. The deepening of the process of the revolutionization of the school, according to the line of the Party, for the formation of the new revolutionary man, endowed with a Marxist-Leninist materialist outlook, devoted to the cause of the revolution and socialism and ready to serve the people and the Homeland everywhere he is needed and called upon, has been the main task of our school.

In the 6th Five-year Plan the mass character of the school was further deepened. As for the 8-year school, the objective has been to ensure its regular attendance by the pupils and at the same time to raise its qualitative level. The secondary school, especially the vocational one, has assumed a more extensive character. Lower vocational school and qualification courses witnessed further development, training more qualified workers needed in the different branches of the economy, especially in agriculture, the mines, the oil industry, geological services and construction. Apart from this, the training of the higher cadres has been realized in conformity with the needs of the present and future in the various branches of the economy and culture and dependent on the possibilities of the state.

CULTURE

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Culture is the total pattern of material and spiritual values created and developed by mankind over its history. Every people, regardless of numbers, contribute to the treasury of world culture. In the course of their existence and development in the centuries, our people, small in numbers as they are, still have written indelible pages in the great book of the material and spiritual culture of the peoples, which is preserved and enriched by the generations.

The ancestors of the Albanians and those peoples who inhabited the territories which from ancient times were the cradle of world culture, used their cultural patrimony as a means of communication with the neighbouring peoples. Plying the seas on their light crafts, the Illyrians exchanged with them not only material values but also their songs and dances, all the great patrimony which permitted them to be understood by them and to form links of friendship with them.

In the Balkans and beyond its territory there are numerous elements coming from the culture of the ancient inhabitants of this territory. And inversely, the Albanian culture has borrowed many motives from the culture of other peoples.

The exchange of cultural values, the reciprocal loans of the best realizations of the progressive peoples' culture, a conveyer of lofty social ideals, is a process inherent in the development of culture. Culture, its most remarkable achievements in the material and spiritual fields, cannot remain a monopoly of some people; they are always put in the service of mankind and contribute to its progress.

Today, nearly four decades after the overthrow of the exploiting classes, the Albanian people have been working for the building of socialism, the creation of a new culture, the great art of socialist realism, of a national form and socialist content. This opens great perspectives of cultural exchanges between our people and the progressive peoples all over the world. And this not only because of the favourable political and social conditions that have been created after the popular revolution, which have given a powerful impulse to the creative genius of the masses, to the qualitative and quantitative development of culture, but also because of its contents. Our socialist culture is imbued with the progressive ideals of our epoch, the ideals of the liberation of human society of all oppression and exploitation, the ideals of the construction of a classless society, which opens infinite horizons to the all-round development of society and the individual. Socialist culture in Albania has a profound class and internationalist character. Its ideological base is Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is very close to the broad masses of working people all over the world and very easy for all of them to grasp.

Besides, the Albanian socialist culture, in the course of its development, has relied on the achievements of the past generations and their contribution to the treasury of the progressive national and world culture. It appropriates the best cultural and artistic creations, those which, from progressive and democratic positions, express the aspirations and dreams of the many generations of our country and those of the other peoples. These borrowings, of course, are not decisive in determining the features of our new culture, or its existence, they only make it richer.

However, these favourable premises to the extension of cultural exchanges between the Albanian people and the other peoples of the world, have been darkened by the social, political and ideological aims of the reactionary classes and groups in power in the other countries. Their aims are opposed to the internationalist character which the cultural contacts amongst various peoples must have. Behind the slogan of the «free circulation of cultures» are hidden old ambitions, plans of assimilation, which the reactionary circles concoct against Albania, and which are combined with the anti-socialist plans aimed at turning the wheel of history backwards. This is why, in its policy of cultural exchanges, the people's power in the PSR of Albania has always been

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guided by the class principles and has never opened its doors to the penetration of the decadent modern culture and art. On the contrary, it has declared war on them all, and this is part of the uninterrupted ideological struggle which Marxism-Leninism wages against its enemies on the ideological front.

In the report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The Party has shown constant care that culture, literature and art develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features... True art strengthens its innovative features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. Therefore, the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and art, for their advance on the road of socialism... With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our arts of socialist realism towers above the degenerate decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and the arts in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective, are characteristic of the revisionist literature and the arts...

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture, and on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, it has been and is close to other peoples as well.»

Spiritual culture is always the culture of a given epoch, of a given people and a given class in a given social environment. In the society with antagonistic classes, a single, common culture has not and could not have existed. Being the reflection of the various conditions of the life and class struggle, culture inevitably has a class character. Therefore,

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in every state with antagonistic classes there exist two cultures: on the one hand, the culture of the oppressed and the exploited who aspire towards freedom and progress and who fight for the ideals enunciated by the culture to which the future belongs, and on the other hand, the culture which expresses the ideas of the ruling classes and which, as such, has an anti-humanitarian and anti-popular character. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Not only have we nothing to learn from this culture, not only have we no reason to introduce it into the masses and the youth, but also we must reject it with scorn and fight it with determination.»

«We have always appreciated the revolutionary, progressive and revolutionary art of other peoples,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «both of the past and of the current century. We shall also profit from it in a critical manner, because this is useful to the cultural development of the masses, to their ideological and aesthetic education and to the formation in them of tastes that resist the degenerate and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influences. Only the revolutionary progressive and democratic culture and art should be the object of cultural exchanges between peoples.»

The cultural exchanges between the PSR of Albania and the other countries and peoples are the object of the activity of a number of organizations and state and social institutions in Albania.

The Albanian people, small in numbers, but great in spiritual wealth, after centuries of oppression and exploitation and a life of poverty, always encircled by enemies but ready to defend at the cost of their blood their honour, freedom and independence, their cultural and spiritual patrimony, have known how to break the defying silence with which they have been surrounded, and they have succeeded in making themselves heard in the history of mankind.

Thanks to the far-sighted policy of the PLA, Albania today enjoys a great prestige in the international arena; it has friends and well-wishers all over the world; friends who respect it and extend to it the hand of militant friendship and revolutionary solidarity.

The development of education, culture, science, the arts and sports in the PSR of Albania has created ever better conditions for the uninterrupted development of cultural relations with other countries.

As an active member of the great international com-

munity, the Albanian people are interested in the development of the creative thought in the field of art, culture and science; they benefit from the development of world culture in order to enrich the fund of their national culture and with their talent and work they make their own contribution to the treasury of world culture.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania develops cultural exchanges with a number of countries.

The ancient cultural traditions of the Albanian people

The archaeological finds in Albania are used not just to add to the list of catalogues. On the first place, they serve to confirm the inexhaustible talent and genius of the people in the past, to give fresh proof of the existence of the Albanian national traditions, they are ever fresh testimony to the originality of our people's culture.

For a long time in the past and even today in its efforts to negate all merit to Albanian people, bourgeois science has belittled the history of the Albanian people and ignored the resolute struggle they have waged in the centuries for independence and freedom. For centuries on end reactionary circles have denied Albania the right of existence as a state, and have disregarded the spiritual and cultural patrimony of its people. In the opinion of the bourgeois authors Albania is a region peopled by ignorant and savage mountain tribes.

These absurd theories were concocted in order to justify and «argue» the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers towards Albania, «to prove» the need for them to impose their tutelage on Albania in order to encourage its development and progress. All this was a desperate effort to replace the Albanian national patrimony with an alien way of life, to assimilate the Albanians as a nation. This is quite apparent in the work of a number of foreign archaeological expeditions during the obscurantist regime of Ahmet Zog. Facts show that the Italian expeditions were guided by political aims rather than scientific motives.

The Italian fascist archaeologists did nothing to show to the world the beauty of the ancient monuments conserved

in the Illyrian territory, but only sent them stealthily to Italy to fill their museums and to give more credibility to their utterly erroneous thesis about «the Roman origin of the culture of the Albanian people». Their aim was to make the others believe that, if the Albanian territory had valuable monuments of ancient culture, this was only an imported culture. Misinterpreting the results of the various finds, the official propaganda of Mussolini tried to prove that the Illyrian tribes were culturally backward, that only the Romans had brought to their territory a real culture, and that following the example of ancient Rome and later Venice, the allegedly only promoters of progress in this «primitive land», fascist Italy undertook the «salvation» of Albania.

The inflexible resistance to the ideological pressure of the imperialist powers, as well as the struggle for the preservation and development of national traditions and culture, have always been linked with the movement for national and social liberation. In the course of centuries of struggle for freedom and independence, the Albanian has used the sword and the pen, the rifle and the book.

The walls of ancient castles, amphitheatres, and temples are not only wonderful tourist sites. They bear witness to the development of the arts and culture during the years of the people's power, and reject all attempts on the part of foreign occupiers to negate the Albanian people's contribution to the treasury of world culture. These traces of ancient culture stand in strong defiance to all the attempts of the imperialist powers at assimilating the Albanian people who have resisted them successfully and have completely rejected the myth of the incapacity of the Albanians to develop independently. They are also a source of inspiration, which strengthens their confidence in their own forces for the development of their creative faculties. The struggle against the harmful foreign influences is an indispensable condition for the existence and development of national culture, because the spread of these influences creates a smothering atmosphere for the development of the national arts and culture. Vice-versa, the strengthening of the national character helps resist harmful foreign influences, impedes their spread and bars the road to their penetration, excludes the possibility of the development of decadent modernist trends. Hence, great importance is attached to the safeguarding of the cultural traditions and to the raising of the socialist and national spirit of

our art and literature higher. In Albania this question is seen not only as a simple problem of methods, but also as an important political question, which directly concerns the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and the development of a profoundly socialist culture and art.

Archaeological finds

Archaeological finds, especially those of the more recent date, are testimony to the ancient cultural traditions of the Albanian people, whose material culture is just as ancient and rich as their centuries-long history. The most influential types of culture of antiquity have developed on the territory of Albania and have left their traces on it.

The territory of Albania has been inhabited from the palaeolithic, and its inhabitants have lived through the events that have taken place in the Balkans and South-eastern Europe. The Illyrians had seen times of economic and cultural prosperity. From ancient times the cities of Buthroton, Apollonia, Aulon, Dyrrachium, Onchesmos, etc in the maritime regions and the cities of Scodrinon, Lissus, Phoinike, Amanthia, etc in the interior, prospered on Albanian territory. The excavations made so far have brought to light numerous monuments, temples with statues and columns with chapels of different styles, theatres and stadiums which could accommodate thousands of spectators, gymnasiums, public places, libraries, etc. A great number of inscriptions, bearing various names, and other objects of Illyrian origin have been unearthed. All this proves the existence of an Illyrian culture older than the Greek and Roman cultures, and having an indisputable influence on them.

In the recent years, besides the prehistoric site of Maliq, which is situated in the South-eastern Albania, other inhabited centres, one in the Tren village, on the edge of the Prespa e Vogël Lake, another in Kamnik, in the Kolonja region, have been discovered. At Tren the archaeologists have found traces of life from the Bronze Age up till the Early Middle Ages. Painted vases of terracota found in these sites prove this quite amply. The manufacture of vases was the main trade of the Dassaretas, an Illyrian tribe peopling this region. At Kamnik, the recent excavations have thrown light on the links between this settlement and that of Maliq. And again

it was the Dassaretas who set up the Lin settlement on the west coast of the Ohri Lake near Pogradec. Built in the beginning of the 1st millennium before our era, it was inhabited up till the Early Middle Ages. Amongst other finds, worth mentioning are eight mosaic floors of great artistic value discovered in a palaeo-Christian basilica.

North-west of Pogradec, in the outskirts of the Selca village, numerous traces of another ancient Illyrian settlement have been found. Numerous archaeological objects, consisting mainly of fragments of vases of the various historical periods, whole vessels, craters, amphoras, bronze objects, fibulae, iron spear-heads, as well as coins minted in Dyrrachium and Macedonia, dating from the 3rd and 2nd centuries before our era have been discovered. Other decorative objects, manufactured with skill and taste, which speak of the development of handicrafts in this region, were also found there. Besides, five tombs have been discovered, amongst them the most important is that known as number 4 tomb, which is completely hewn in the rock. The exterior of the tomb is decorated with eight Ionic columns with capitals. On the right-hand side, in the space between the first and the second column, there is a relief casque under a bull head, and to the left, between the first and the second column, a typically Illyrian shield. The name of the new settlement has not yet been identified, but there is every indication to believe that this settlement must be the Illyrian city of Pelion.

In the vicinities of Petrela, situated a few kilometres south of Tirana, tracts of the walls of another unidentified Illyrian settlement show above the ground. Besides the ancient encircling walls, other important objects, foundations of houses with several divisions, the hearth of a chimney piece and a monumental fountain have been found.

The best conserved parts of the encircling wall consist of two towers situated at the south and north extremities of the city. The south tower, 58 metres long and 12 metres wide, represents the most important construction standing in the citadel. The walls reach as high as 7 metres and have been built of 10 rows of stone blocks 0.85 metres high, and 2.30 metres long. These blocks have been so perfectly arranged that in many cases it is very difficult to distinguish the connection.

Excavations have been going on for several years in a cemetery in the region of Kukës, in North-eastern Albania,

Two 34 will be paper in the second

→ newly seen, very interesting, west of Ohri Lake, and settlement with the name of Selca 1 to my Illyrian culture

a region which in the ancient time was part of the territory of the Illyrian tribe of the Dardanians. The archaeologists have found that the tumuli of this region, judging from the manner of construction, the interment and funeral objects, have everything in common with the other monuments of this kind discovered in Albania. This proves the cultural and ethnical peculiarity and unity of the Illyrians, and shows the futility of the efforts of some foreign archaeologists to present the Illyrians as a population of heterogenous ethnical and cultural composition.

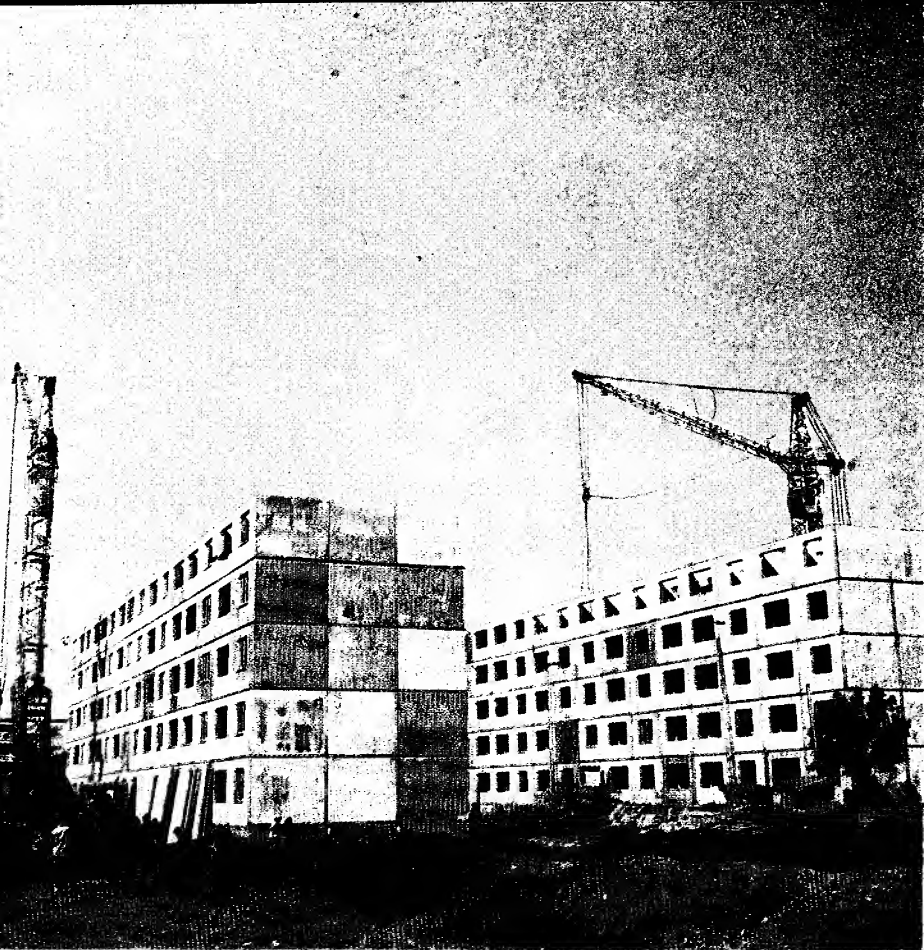
The excavations made in the course of years in the ruins of the ancient city of Jerma, in the vicinity of the Saraqinisht village, in the region of Gjirokastra, call special attention. Research and the finds made in this village permit the archaeologists to identify the name of this ancient city: Antigonea. It is situated on two hillocks, which constitutes a particularity in the fortified settlements of the Illyrian cities. The work carried out in this place shows that this city of South Illyria has also had a great economic, social and cultural development from the 6th to the 2nd century. Extending over 45 hectares, this city must have been one of the principal centres of the region.

The ruins of another city, the mediaeval centre of Darda, situated in the valley of lower Drin River, east of Shkodra, have become an important excavation site. Two concentric walls, which encircled the city, still subsist in a clear tract, and buildings and streets, although ravaged by the five centuries of Ottoman occupation, can be seen clearly. The excavations have also brought to light other objects, such as vases of terracota, decorative objects, work tools, coins, etc.

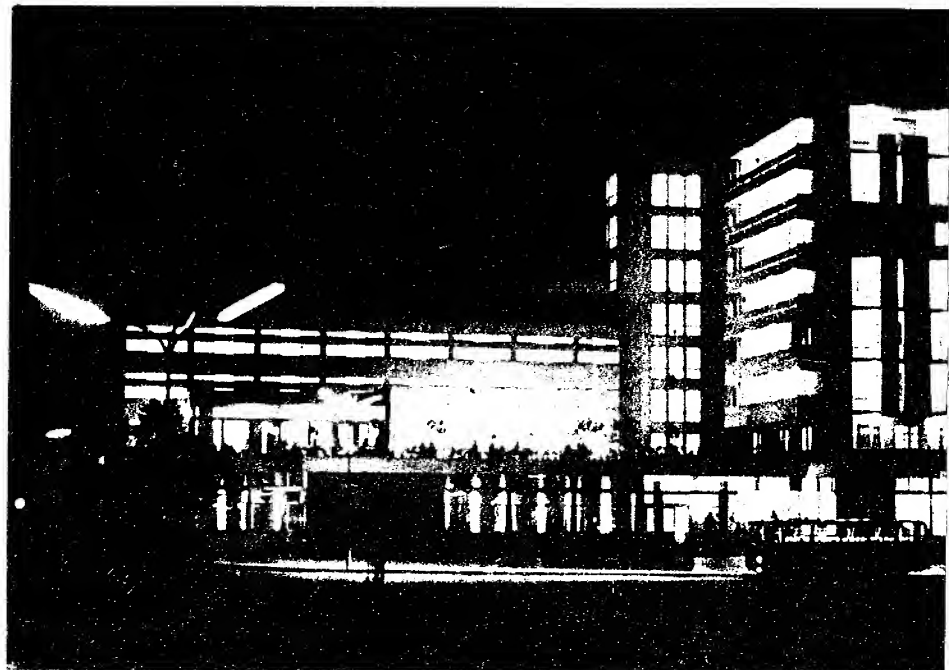
Next in importance to the objects found in Maliq, the archaeological finds of Tren are substantial support for the thesis according to which the Illyrians are autochthonous in the Balkans. New data confirm that the Illyrians had settled in the Albanian territory during the first millennium before our era and, above all, that their urban culture must be regarded as the superstructure of a slave-owning society. All these elements are new proof that the Illyrians were never Romanized, that the Albanians are the descendants of the Illyrians and have inhabited this territory without interruption.



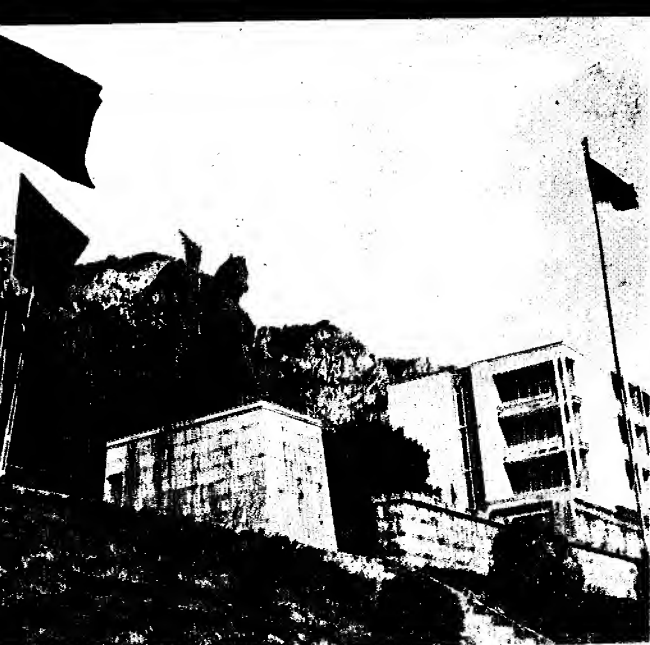
Tirana, the Capital of our socialist Homeland.



Thousands of new dwelling houses are built every year in city and country.



A new hotel in Korça.



Kruja, monument dedicated to Skanderbeg, our National Hero, who in the 15th century organized in Kruja the legendary struggle of the Albanian people against the Ottoman invaders.

Pogradec, a picturesque health resort on the shore of the Ohri Lake over 700 metres above sea level.



Outstanding figures

The Albanian people, like all the other peoples, by developing their national culture and art, have made their contribution to the treasury of world culture. Though relatively small in numbers, they have produced many people who have distinguished themselves in the field of arts and letters, in science and philosophy.

In the conditions of foreign occupation, a number of outstanding men, in whom Albania takes pride, were forced to emigrate to foreign countries, where they have left immortal works testifying to their talent and skill.

The Early Middle Ages in Albania was characterized by a vigorous development of cities. Many castles, palaces, towers and fortified works were built at that time. Albania was the birthplace of distinguished master builders. Architecture and, parallel with it, sculpture and painting, which, as in the other countries of Europe, were complementary to it, rose to new heights. The renown of the Albanian master builders spread beyond the borders of the country, they were much sought after in the Balkans for the construction of churches, monasteries, bridges and fortresses.

The names of many ancient Albanian masters have remained unknown, because at that time works of art were generally unsigned. However, the names of certain Albanian artists who excelled in their activity, have survived. In 1295 master Progon Zguri supervised the building of the churches of Saint Clement and Saint Mary in Ochrid. By the end of the 14th century Pjetër Dahni directed the construction of several monumental buildings in Shkodra. The archives of this period make mention of the outstanding masters Radovani and Vladanji, who worked on several buildings which are still standing on the coast of Dalmatia.

Among the many Albanian masters of this time, the architect Miho Tivarasi and the sculptor Andrea Aleksii were most remarkable.

Information about the life and work of Miho Tivarasi is very scanty and insufficient to construct his biography. He lived in the 14th Century and the only sure thing that can be said of him is his origin, which the Dalmatian historians themselves admit to be Albanian, and his burial place.

Miho Tivarasi is the architect of the monastery of Ragusa,

which is considered among the finest specimens of architecture in Dalmatia.

For many years Andrea Aleksì collaborated with the Italian master Nicola Fiorentini. Traces of this fruitful collaboration have been discovered in Zara, in some portals of great beauty, as well as in Tremiti, where the statues, lunettes, reliefs and festoons of the facade of the church of Saint Mary are said to be his work.

The activity of Andrea Aleksì, stretching over a period of sixty years, proves that he is not a figure in vogue for a given period but one who has made himself a place in history. Five centuries after this artist adorned these regions of Dalmatia and Italy with his works, his name has survived and his glory has not diminished.

The list of the Albanian artists and masters of this epoch is not limited to the above mentioned names. According to the Dalmatian historian, Professor Gelečić, only in the 14th Century one region of Northern Albania produced more than forty remarkable painters. «Many are the works,» he says, «which today are attributed to the Dalmatians, but which in fact have been produced by the Albanian masters.»

All these Albanian artists did not emerge from nothing, they were not the product of accident, but were formed in the local tradition. Their great numbers testify to the flourishing of the arts in Albania during this epoch. The struggle of the Albanian people against the Ottoman hordes, which went on for about one hundred years (1385-1479) ruined the prosperous towns and nearly all the monuments of the country.

After the occupation of the country by the Ottomans, most of those Albanian artists who could not emigrate, were taken to Constantinople to rebuild the ruined city. Among them was the master Kristodoklo from Berat, who was surnamed Sinan Aga. The sources of the time make mention of him as being the architect in charge of the construction work of the «Yeni-djami» and of the buildings around it. In this epoch, Hoxha Kasem distinguished himself, too. Helped by his assistant and fellow-countryman Meremtçi Mustafa Aga, he built the grand monument of «Valide Sultaniye» near the Galata Bridge. Sedef Qar Mehmet (Biçakçi), from Elbasan, is the author of the mosque near the splendid fountain of the Hippodrome («Atmeydan») square and of many remarkable buildings in Mecca.

The Albanian masters built many hydraulic works in various regions of the Balkans. As the prince of Moldavia Dimitri Cantemir writes, «a glance at the aqueducts of Istanbul is enough to convince one of the skill of the Albanian masters».

After the occupation of the country, a number of outstanding Albanians left their country to settle in Dalmatia or Italy. Three generations of Albanian artists distinguished themselves in the «golden age» of Venetian architecture and sculpture and among them «the dynasty of the Albanesi of Urbini» played a very important role in the intellectual, artistic and political life of Italy for more than two centuries. Into this family were born several renowned sculptors and architects, such as Francesco Albanese and his sons Giovanni and Gerolamo, and his grandson Francesco, who embellished Vicenza, Padova and Venice with their works.

There are no reliable data about the life and activity of Francesco. Giovanni was born in 1573, and received his first lessons from his father. In the beginning of his career he worked with the celebrated Palladio. He finished the works of his master, the splendid statues which adorn the lodges of the Palladian basilica, as well as the staircase leading up to it. Giovanni produced the statues of the Capella del Rosario di Corona and the statue St. Joseph for the altar of «Saint Lawrence» in the cathedral, as well as two stone columns with the coat of Venice on the great square. Among the numerous Venetian constructions of Giovanni, worth mentioning are the Oratory of the Servites, the arch of triumph at the feet of the staircase leading to Mt. Bericho. In 1619, again in Venice, he carved five statues for the facade of the cathedral of Saint George.

Gerolamo worked on a series of sculptures of a mythological and religious character, most of them in the palaces of Vicenza, and others in the Palladian basilica modelled after the image of classical temples on the top of a hill in the outskirts of the town. Besides sculptural ornaments, Gerolamo designed the Oratory of the Gonfalonieri in the cathedral, which he decorated with various reliefs.

The inhabitants of Venice highly appraise the work of these remarkable artists. They compare them to Phidias and Polycletes. On their sarcophagi in the cathedral of San Lorenzo, where the most illustrious citizens of the town were buried, there is the epitaph «Ille alter Phidias; hic Policletus

erat» (One was another Phidias, the other was another Polykletes).

Among the sculptors of Albanian origin worth mentioning is also Aleks Tarketa, who in 1480 carved one of the altars of the cathedral of Milan («Altare albanese»).

In the art galleries of Italy there are numerous paintings of another Francesco Albanese (16th century) from Kelmend (Northern Albanian — a master surnamed «the Anacreon of painting»).

It is during this epoch that many Albanian humanists carried out their activity in several European cities; they distinguished themselves in different fields of literature and science. Let us mention among the others, Marin Barleti, the first known biographer of Skanderbeg; Marin Beçikemi (1468-1526), still known as «Marino di Scutari», author of numerous Latin works and treatises, professor of rhetoric and literature in Venice, Brescia, Padova and Ragusa. Another Albanian humanist, Gjon Gazulli, won renown in Ragusa as a cultural and political figure, as well as a mathematician and astronomer. After graduating the faculty of «liberal arts» in Padova, he maintained his thesis for doctorship before a jury including two Albanians, Gjergj Gaspari and Friar Andrea of Durrës. He won great fame in Dalmatia, Italy and Hungary. Among the Albanian humanists, the name of Leonik Tomeu (1456-1531), titular of the chair of philology in Padova, draws particular attention. He produced a great number of literary, philosophic, historical and other works, which show the breadth and depth of his knowledge. His compatriot Maksim Artioti also distinguished himself among the students of the same faculty. After a temporary residence in several Italian towns, at the invitation of Ivan the Terrible he settled in Moscow, where he excelled as a journalist, writer, Latinist, and Hellenist, as translator of numerous philosophical, theological and other writings.

The Turkish occupation brought about a break in all the artistic and cultural life of the country, although it did not succeed in stifling the artistic talent and the creative capacity of the Albanians. Little by little, the Albanian towns rose from their ruins. In the 16th century remarkable works of medieval art were still being produced. Such are, for example, the paintings of Onufri of Elbasan, those of Nikolla, his son, and of his collaborator Gjon. Worth mentioning are also the paintings of Dhimitri of Lin, of Mihal of Jerma (1662), and

later, the paintings of David Selenica and his assistant, Kristo (1726), as well as those of the brothers Kostandin and Athanas Zografi (1744-1783), who, at the same time as the other artists, kept alive the ancient tradition of Albanian wall painting in churches, not only in their own country but also abroad. Sculpture and architecture developed rapidly along with painting; let us mention here the master of carving Andon Korfuzani (1758) and the master builders Gega and Themel.

In the field of music, a name, that of Jan Kukuzeli, renowned master of the Byzantine music, imposed itself. With his activity as a composer, singer, theoretician and reformer of music, he made a considerable contribution to the musical treasury of the epoch and paved the way for its further development. His contemporaries surnamed him «the second source of our music».

Jan Kukuzeli was born in Durrës between 1070 and 1075. His excellent voice and his musical talent attracted attention, and as a child, he was sent to the school of the imperial palace of Constantinople. Later, he was made «Master of the Imperial Chapel», a high position in the Byzantine Church hierarchy, being a conductor of the most important choir and organ ensemble of the Middle Ages. This title was given only to eminent artists. This post enabled Kukuzeli to reveal the full scope of his extraordinary talent. As the Rumanian writer Jean Creoncou writes, he was a «pearl» capable to «bring a stony heart to tears». However the atmosphere of the palace was stifling to him. He left furtively and settled in a monastery at Mount Athos, where he devoted himself entirely to his art.

The little that is left from the heritage of Kukuzeli in the libraries of the East and West, testifies to his artistic genius and the richness of his talent.

Jan Kukuzeli devoted himself to theoretical questions, too. Relying on the study of the works of earlier scholars on the rules of acoustics and musical esthetics, and of the previous systems of musical notation, he invented a new system, called the «Kukuzeli system». This achievement alone was enough to perpetuate his name.

Jan Kukuzeli is also known as the author of many important works of the history of music, which place him at the same level as the earliest teachers of this art. These works were very instructive about the theory of Byzantine music,

therefore they were distributed in many copies throughout the Eastern churches. Copies of them are still extant in the archives and libraries of Italy, Austria, Germany, etc.

The Byzantine musical art is indebted to Jan Kukuzeli for «the system of musical circles», the important invention which represents the harmony relations of the various scales. As a composer, Kukuzeli produced a number of unforgettable pieces, which, due to their great beauty and power of inspiration, were taken as models by the later hymnographers, and sung for many centuries in the Orthodox monasteries, churches and chapels of many countries. The Byzantine documents attribute to him the music of the biblical psalm No. 117, of the glorias No. 148, 149 and 150 and many musical innovations in religious services. He wrote the words for many of his songs.

The works of Kukuzeli occupy an important place in the history of art and culture of Albania, although the political circumstances of the time compelled him to write in a foreign language and work on a foreign soil, devoting himself mostly to church music, because, like most artists of the epoch, he was not expected to display his talent in other domains. Nevertheless, Kukuzeli was a progressive in the full meaning of the word, be it only in his important contribution to the development of music.

Among the figures towering over 19th century life in Albania the most important is, indisputably, the renowned patriot Sami Frashëri, also known as the most brilliant Turkologist of his epoch. He was born on June, 5, 1850 in the village of Frashëri, east of the town of Përmet. He received his elementary education in his native village in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. In 1871 he graduated from the «Zosimea» gymnasium of Janina, where he acquired a classical education. He devoted himself particularly to sciences and the study of Latin, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Persian and French.

At the age of 23 he directed the progressive review of Istanbul «Hadika» and the journal «The East Interpreter», and published two plays which met with wide response, especially among the youth. In 1875 he founded «Sabah», the first Turkish daily.

He never ceased his activity until he died on June 18, 1904 at his desk.

Sami Frashëri is the author of numerous political, phi-

losophical, literary and scientific works, school manuals, dictionaries and translations apart from a great number of articles. Six of his works, besides an unpublished manuscript, are written in Albanian, forty-five in Turkish, Arabic and French. He translated into Turkish «A brief history of France», «Les Misérables» of Victor Hugo, and other works.

This ardent patriot was one of the main ideologists and leaders of the Albania National Renaissance movement. He distinguished himself equally through his invaluable contribution in the domain of Turkish and Arabic culture and science, as a playwright, novelist and writer, journalist and philosopher, teacher and linguist, encyclopaedist and vulgarizer of science. His first works in Turkish and Arabic appeared in the year 1885, and culminated with his dictionary «Kamusi Turki», first published in 1901.

In 1889 he began the publication of «Kamul'ul Alam», one of the most important works in the Turkish language of the 19th century, a biographical and geographical dictionary in six volumes, the last of which appeared in 1899.

Besides his published works, Sami Frashëri is said to have left numerous manuscripts, literary and scientific essays, which he did not live to see printed.

Sami Frashëri distinguished the Turkish invaders of Albania from the Turkish people. None of his numerous works served the occupier. On the contrary, because of his progressive ideas he was constantly persecuted by the Sublime Porte. In 1874 he was interned in Tripoli, under the constant surveillance of the police. After the publication of his book «Albania, What It Was, Is and Will Be» in Albanian he was confined to his residence and virtually under house arrest.

The progressive elements in Turkey estimated him highly. The Turkish writer Ahmet Ihsan, in a necrology entitled «A Cruel Loss», describes Sami Frashëri as a «great master». «Sami Frashëri is the only Ottoman writer whose scientific works have won the admiration of everyone.»

Among the eminent figures of Albanian culture, who with their talent contributed to the treasury of world culture, a place of honour belongs to the actor Aleksandër Moisiu, who won great fame throughout the world.

The Turkish occupation and the economic difficulties forced the father of Aleksandër Moisiu, like many of his compatriots, to emigrate to Trieste, where Aleksandër was born on April 2, 1880. In 1884, all the family returned to

Albania. Little Aleksandër attended a primary school in Durrës. In 1890 the family left Albania for Trieste, and thence to Graz, in Austria. Aleksandër finished the secondary school and then for some time attended courses at the Conservatory of Vienna.

Aleksandër Moisiu devoted all his life, all his genius, to world art and mankind.

With the modulations of his voice, his perfect mimicry, his gestures, etc., his roles represent a comprehensive school of acting. He was greatly admired by the representatives of the main theatrical schools of our century.

As an artist, he had universal influence, and his interpretations are an invaluable treasury for both the foreign and the Albanian actors of all times. He played a multitude of roles in plays of all countries, interpreting with originality and truthfulness some of the most celebrated characters of Aeschulus, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller. He played the comic roles in the comedies of Molière and Shakespeare with the same skill as he played the tragic characterers, and passed with ease from characters of the classical theatre to those of the contemporary theatre, such as those of the plays of Ibsen, Chekov, Shaw, Pirandello, etc.

For eleven years in succession Moisiu was the most celebrated actor of the Great Theatre of Berlin, directed by Max Reinhardt, under whose guidance his genius shone with great splendour.

After enthusing the theatre-goers of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Germany, Moisiu conquered the public of Moscow, Leningrad, Bucharest, Milan, Rome, Florence, New York, Chicago, Istanbul, Mexico and of many other big cities of the world. To the German audience he spoke in the language of Goethe, to the English in the language of Shakespeare, to the Parisians in the language of Molière.

Though he did not perform for Albanian audiences, Aleksandër Moisiu never forgot Albania and the Albanians. Everywhere he spoke with pride about his country. With joy he met the Albanian emigrants in Vienna and Bucharest. «I do not want,» he said, «to die a German artist.» In April 1934, a year before he died, he regained Albanian citizenship.

Today the Albanian people remember this great artist with love and respect. To perpetuate his memory, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania awarded him the posthumous title of the «People's Artist» in

1961. The Higher School of Dramatic Art in Tirana, the Palace of Culture and the professional theatre of Durrës bear his name.

The work of Aleksandër Moisiu has been highly appreciated by thinkers and artists all over the world, such as Anatoly Lunacharsky, Luigi Pirandello, Stefan Zweig, Max Brod and others.

The «People's Artist» Tefta Tashko Koço, an outstanding figure of scenic vocal art, was born on November 10, 1910 in Fayum, near Cairo, where her father had emigrated some years before. Like Aleksandër Moisiu, Tefta Tashko developed her talent on the stage of foreign theatres, playing the main roles of the most celebrated operas of the time.

When a school girl, she was marked for her intelligence and her talent. At the National Conservatory of Paris, she soon won the sympathy and respect of her teachers, due to her talent and tireless and persevering work to acquire the culture and technique of singing. Her teacher of singing Gres presented her to Maurice Ravel in these words, «She is not only a good singer but also an excellent musician.»

The «Nightingale of Albania» soon became known in the musical circles of Paris. Still a student, she shone in the interpretation of the role of Violet in «Traviata» and especially in the main role of «Madame Butterfly», with which she won the final contest at the conservatory. «Le Figaro» and other Parisian papers highly assessed her interpretation, describing her as a veritable «Japanese». With emotion and realism she sung the solo of Leli of «Les Pecheurs de Perles».

The Italian audience also heard her melodious voice in «Il Barbiere di Seviglia», «La Bohème» and «La Traviata».

From 1936 to 1939 she made great efforts to spread musical culture in Albania, giving a series of concerts in the main towns of the country. During this period, she also studied Albanian folk music and its interpretation.

After Liberation, Tefta Tashko Koço carried out an intensive activity, but her untimely death (December 1947) interrupted her brilliant career. She has been awarded the title of the «People's Artist» posthumously.

Victor Eftimiu, outstanding Rumanian writer of Albanian origin, member of the Academy of Sciences of the

SR of Rumania, honorary member of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, has made a remarkable contribution to the treasury of Rumanian and world literature. Born in 1889 at Boboshtica, in the region of Korça (Albania), at the age of 9 he left the school and followed his parents to Rumania. He completed his higher education in France where he wrote also one of his masterpieces, the dramatic poem «Once Upon a Time», which ever since has been performed more than 1,000 times on the stages of the Rumanian theatres. He wrote numerous novels, plays, short stories, travel notes, drama criticisms, poems, etc., many of which have been translated in foreign languages.

All his works are imbued with progressive ideas, which cost him a term in the concentration camp of Tergu-Jiu in 1943.

In many of his short stories he evokes characters and the milieu of his native soil, Albania.

Victor Eftimiu visited Albania twice, in 1971 and 1972. On the first occasion, in July 1971, he wrote: «I am going with the deepest impressions from this land of rare beauty and of great projects created by the hands of the people... I am deeply moved to see my native village, Boboshtica, again. I have joy in my heart and great faith in the future of my country, which was so poor and in darkness, but which I discover now so completely changed, with its people full of confidence in their own forces.»

He died in Bucharest in December 1972, a little after his last visit to Albania.

Indisputably the greatest figure of Albanian science, literature and art, Fan S. Noli, was born on January 6, 1882 in the hamlet of Qyteza (Ibrik Tepe), inhabited by Albanians in the region of Andrianople (Turkey). He finished his primary and secondary school in Turkey and did part of his university studies in Athens. Compelled by economic difficulties, he turned to many trades in Greece, Turkey and Egypt, until in 1905 he went to the United States where he took an active part, along with many Albanian emigrants, in the patriotic movement for the independence of Albania. He continued his political activity in Europe, to defend the interests of Albania against the ambitions of the neighbouring states and the predatory plans of the great powers; and in Albania, to defend democracy against reaction.

As the head of the government formed after the triumph of the democratic-bourgeois revolution (1924), he left the country in the same year when the revolution was suppressed by the combined forces of internal reaction and the foreign beyonets. Nevertheless, he continued his political activity abroad.

Fan S. Noli became known as a great orator and the poet of democratic ideas, as an excellent translator into Albanian of the masterpieces of world literature: «Othello», «Macbeth», «Julius Caesar», and «Hamlet» of Shakespeare; «Don Quixote» of Cervantes; «The Cabin of Blasco Ibanez»; «An Enemy of the People» and «Madame Inger d'Ostreat» of Ibsen; «The Rubaiyat» of Omer Khayyam, «Scanderbeg» of Longfellow, «Annabel Lee» of Edgar Poe, and others.

Besides the poems, articles and the «introductions» to his translations, which are models of literary criticism, Fan S. Noli wrote «The History of Scanderbeg» and «Beethoven and the French Revolution». This last work was highly appreciated by eminent personalities of art and culture such as George Bernard Shaw, Jan Sibelius, Ernest Newman, Thomas Mann, etc.

A statesman, historian, man of letters, musicologist and composer, Fan S. Noli occupies a particular place among the most eminent figures of the Albanian world. He died on March 13, 1965.

Before concluding we may add that other Albanians, too, have distinguished themselves in various fields of art and culture, but their merits cannot be illustrated within the limits of this work.

The monuments of culture

An important cultural centre, the modern palace of culture «Aleksandër Moisiu», was inaugurated in 1965, in Durrës.

While digging the foundations, the remains of an ancient building, a thermal establishment, were discovered. In order to preserve it the project of the construction of the palace was modified, which necessitated an additional 10 million leks above the initial fund of expenditure. The ancient public baths have been carefully preserved, they are a few steps away from a modern palace, a significant combination of the

ancient tradition with the vigorous development of art and culture today.

However this is not a unique case in our country. Archaeological finds of this order prove that Albania is the land of a rich and ancient culture. In regard to its surface it is one of richest countries of Europe in monuments of culture. Today it has 8 ancient towns, 75 old citadels, more than old 115 churches, monasteries and mosques, hundreds of establishments, bridges and other characteristic constructions of great historical value in a satisfactory state of preservation, which constitute a precious fund of archaeological, architectural and historical monuments. Hundreds of important monuments of art and culture are under state protection. They constitute a rich legacy of the past which testifies to the creative abilities of the Albanian people and their contribution to the treasury of world culture. These invaluable monuments, the work of many generations, are only a fraction of the history of the Albanian art and culture.

Many foreigners, scholars and tourists, who have visited the historic monuments of Albania, have found them extremely interesting. Among these monuments, the ruins of Illyrian towns scattered throughout the country occupy first place. Within their thick encircling walls built of big unhewn stones put together without mortar, they occupy strategic positions commanding the surrounding plains and valleys. The economic development of the Illyrian state and the increase of its power were accompanied with the fortification of towns, which were encircled with hewn stone walls, complete with towers, gates, etc.

The renowned Albanian centres of ancient culture, such as Dyrrachium (present-day Durrës), Buthroton (Butrint), Apollonia (Pojan, near Fier), Lissus (Lezha) are of particular interest, because of their many still standing monuments, buildings, (mosaics and sculptures). Whole tracts of high town walls, imposing city gates, remarkable constructions, remains of public or private buildings, temples, theatres, stadiums thermal establishments, dwelling houses, monumental sculptures, reliefs and inscriptions, polychrome mosaics, ancient coins, objects of Illyrian craftsmanship, as well as weapons and ornaments, have withstood the destructions wrought by the times and the elements of nature.

In the archaeological centre of Butrint, in Southern Albania, there is a masterpiece of palaeochristian architecture,

the baptistry, built during the 6th century of our era. It is composed of a layer of polychrome mosaics and six granite columns arranged on two concentric circles.

In 1928, a marble head of Apollo, a genuine masterpiece, was discovered in Butrint. Ex-King Zog gave it to the Italian fascist leaders. Today this sculpture of rare value is in Italy.

In the years of the people's power, excavations in Apollonia have brought to light, among others, 29 sculptures of particular interest of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era. Numerous mosaics, the most interesting of which are those of Butrint, Pojan, Durrës, Saranda and Lin (Pogradec), have also been discovered.

The most important of them, which represents a woman's face with floral decorations, has been found in Durrës. It is laid on a mortar layer about six centimetres thick, with stone fragments of various colours: white, black, red, orange, etc. The face is worked with great skill. The mass of hair, especially, makes a striking effect with its shades and the vivid colours of the hairpins. Two long flowered branches form the colorful background of this work of rare perfection.

Besides its monuments of classical culture and its fortifications, Albania boasts a number of religious buildings of great value for their architecture and wall paintings. The foreign and Albanian experts greatly appreciate the icons dating from the Byzantine or post-Byzantine period and which in their importance exceed the limits of the Albanian national culture. Certain churches of Middle Albania are decorated with wall paintings by the Albanian painters of the 16th century, Onufri, and his son, Nikolla. Other frescoes are the work of a talent of the 18th century, David Selenica.

Town and country dwelling houses represent another important group of monuments. A most interesting type of construction is, undisputably, the «kulla», a fortified dwelling which is mainly a tradition of Northern Albania. But Berat and Gjirokastra also have their particular type of this dwelling house. Unity of style and harmony of conception are characteristic of them.

Few countries in the world have suffered so great and, at times, irreparable damage of material culture through the centuries, as Albania. The anti-popular regimes neglected those cultural values which had survived the devastating fury of foreign invasions and the destructions wrought by

Direct and Poland
overview

natural elements. They were left to the mercy of fate or in the case of archaeological sites, given in concession to the imperialist states, which pillaged them.

Only after Liberation was the law «On the Protection of the Monuments of Culture and the Environments» promulgated, thus putting an end to their degradation and plunder and proclaiming them common property of the entire people. By special decision of the Council of Ministers, Berat and Gjirokastra, the subsoil of the ancient city of Durrës as well as the old market of Kruja were proclaimed museum-towns. These government acts and other decisions of the same order constitute the juridical basis of all work concerning the protection of monuments.

The «Institute of the Monuments of Culture», which is responsible for the protection, preservation and restoration of the monuments of culture, carries out a broad activity to prevent the monuments from degrading, to discover new monuments and protect them, and has laid the foundations of a new scientific discipline. Consequently, a great number of monuments, damaged in the course of centuries, have been saved from complete destruction and, in the present state, retain a historical, cultural and artistic value.

The nymphaeum of Apollonia has been restored and work is going on for the restoration of big architectural ensembles. The «Kala» and «Mangalem» quarters in Berat, the bazaar and the fortress in Gjirokastra, the bazaar in Kruja, etc. have been repaired or restored.

As regards religious buildings, a selection has been made preserving those which present a historical and artistic interest. On the other hand, studies have been carried out, as a result of which another 250 important historical monuments, especially those connected with historical events, have been put under state protection.

However, the broad working masses, aware of the value and importance of this patrimony, guarantee the best protection of the monuments of culture. The Institute of the Monuments of Culture, among other things, works to make the masses even more conscious of the value of this patrimony which belongs to them.

The folklore

«Albania is announced. The curtain goes up: the wonder repeats itself, it is the great hour for the Festival! A powerful choir, an orchestra of virtuosi, superb dances executed by splendid dancers in gorgeous costumes... This is the laureate of 1970.» This is how «Les dépêches» described the premiere of the Folk Ensemble of Tirana at the International Festival of Dijon, «Under their heavy woollen clothes the dancers master so perfectly their own bodies that they seem to ignore the laws of gravitation. Their dances, so light and vertiginous, seem to give them the supreme joy... What airy ease! And yet how the ground thunders under the frenetic beat of their feet! The tambourine bursts in rumbles, the sounds of the accordeon, clarinette, flute, and violin flow in, the girls, in colourful costumes, the men in tight breeches of white wool, with the astounding rapidity of the movements of hands and feet, adding to the even more astounding rhythm, express the joys of the pastoral and popular life of indomitable Albania.»

At the festival of Dijon, the Albanian folk ensemble won the first prize, the «Golden Necklace of the Year 1970» competing with 30 folklore ensembles from many countries of Europe, Asia, Latin America. This is only one of the many successes of the Albanian folklore in the international arena. The performances of this ensemble and of other folklore groups have been followed with great interest at international festivals and during tours abroad, making a splendid show of our folk art, dances and musical instruments. After the establishment of the people's power, the great wealth of our folk art the most varied melodies and dances came out of the narrow circle of specialists and became widely known throughout the country.

The Albanian folklore has drawn the attention of many scholars. In the 19th century, some foreign scholars, although more interested in linguistics, also studied the Albanian folklore. The balad of Doruntina was the object of an important study by the German poet Bürger, and constituted one of the elements of a social study by Paul Lafargue. In an album dedicated to Jenny, besides songs of the other peoples of Europe, Karl Marx, who appreciated folk songs, also copied some Albanian songs.

Albania has an inexhaustible treasury of folk songs and dances, created through the centuries. Their original music of an ever changing variety of tonalities, the beauty and warmth of their melodies, their freshness and charm, make them quite distinct from the songs of the neighbouring peoples. Folk songs are the history of the Albanian people in music. Each of their historical song is an expression of their confidence in victory. These songs, the war cry of our forefathers, are still alive among our highlanders in the North and the South. In the North they are sung in one voice, in the South in two, three or four voices. Compared with the polyphonic songs of the other peoples, Albanian choral singing is more compact, more varied. They stand at a high level of perfection, which explains their considerable influence on the development of this genre.

Lyrical, love, ritual and allegorical songs constitute the fund of the Albanian musical folklore. Wedding songs, both in the North and in the South, stand out for their joyous lyricism and optimism. The Albanian people sing to pure and sincere love with great depth of feeling.

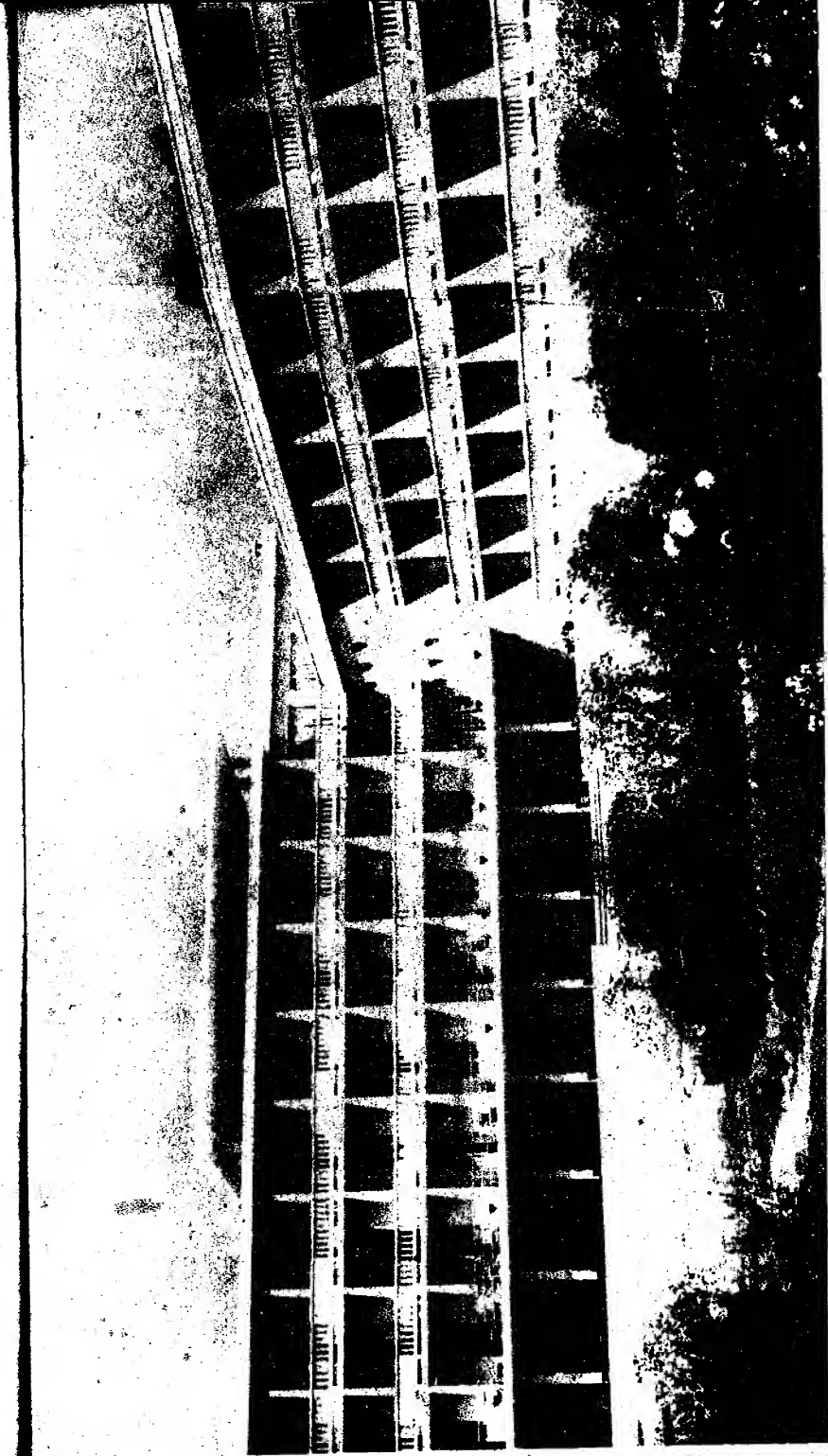
The lively and dynamic Albanian dances, with their great variety of movements, symbolize the valiance of the Albanian. The Hungarian Albanologist Talloczy in one of his studies writes that the «Illyrians danced sword in hand».

Through the centuries the Albanian people have created a multitude of dances, from the most simple to the most complex, which are closely linked with their life, their customs, their labour, their struggle and aspirations, their joys and sorrows.

The Albanian folk dances have attracted the admiration of many great writers and artists, among whom Lord Byron, who in his «Childe Harold» makes a picturesque description of an Albanian dance.

The folk dance vary in form and subject, according to the districts, the sex and age of the participants. Every district, and indeed nearly every village, has its own characteristic dances. Sometimes the same dance is executed differently in the same area. This is explained with their dialectical and ethnographic ramifications.

However, in spite of the great variation of dances of the different districts they also contain common elements deriving from the unity of the Albanian tradition which inspires them.



A rest home for workers on the beach of Durrës.



Cabinet classes help the pupils understand better the various subjects.

At a lesson in a middle school.



National costumes.

Folk dances.





Defence of the socialist Homeland is a duty above all duties for the entire people.

In certain districts in the past, men and women used to dance separately; mixed dances were rare, even within the same clan. Generally, women's dances are easier, slower, lighter, with more gracious movements, whereas men's dances are «grave» and fiery, with abrupt movements that give an impression of strength.

The dances vary according to the age of the participants. In the Labëria region, for example, there are old women's and young brides' dances in which the participants dance in a semi-circle to the accompaniment of polyphonic songs.

In regard to the number of participants, there are solo dances (Northern Albania and Kosova) and duo dances (throughout Albania). As a rule, trio dances are performed by two men and one woman, or vice-versa.

In the more common form of dance the performers move in a straight line, however, there are other forms of dances which, though essentially rectilinear, combine winding movements and pirouettes; there are also dances in double or opposite lines and accompanied by songs. The most current form of dance is the circular one, which is frequently met with both in Albania and among the Albanians beyond its borders.

The inventive spirit of the Albanian people manifests itself in the great variety of folk instruments. There are percussion instruments, such as the drum and the tambourine; wind instruments such as the flute and the bag-pipe, string instruments such as the *lahuta* and the *çiftelia*.

The flute is the most widespread instrument. It is a wooden or metal tube some 42 centimetres long with holes. A very popular instrument is *çiftelia*, a small mandoline with a long neck and, generally, two strings used mostly by the Northern highlanders.

Our oral folklore, comprising birth, marriage, and death rituals, is very rich.

The collection of folklore is a very ancient tradition in our country, but no systematic work was done in this field prior to the liberation of the country. The Institute of Popular Culture has set itself the task of collecting this treasury. The folklore is the patrimony of the entire people, therefore a large number of people of various professions, especially teachers, have been mobilized in this action. Research, collection and study of the creativeness of the people have been organized according to a plan. The Insti-

tute of Popular Culture maintains constant and fruitful links with people all over the country who contribute to the enrichment of its collections. Today they comprise more than one million verses, 7 to 8,000 pages of prose, about 40,000 proverbs and 12,000 puzzles, about 10,000 recordings of homophonic, polyphonic, instrumental and dance music. From this rich material 45 volumes, or a total of about 12,000 pages, have been published.

In 1961 began the publication of the fund of the Albanian folklore. This collection, which may be described as an encyclopaedia of oral folk literature, comprises four series devoted respectively to popular prose, legendary epic, historical epic and lyrical poetry. The three volume series entitled: «The first Collectors of Albanian Folklore» (1635-1912), the four volume series «Popular Prose», and the series «Legendary Epic» have already been published. The Institute has issued specific publications, as, for instance, collections of popular songs and tales on work, the woman, etc., which educate working people with the virtues exalted in our folklore.

The Institute of Popular Culture is organizing the publications of musical and choreographic works. It has already given for publication a collection of books.

The study of the Albanian folklore has already reached the stage of a scientific summing up of the results attained in its research. The publication of 50 volumes of oral, musical and choreographic folklore, and of about 500 scientific studies and papers speaks of the important progress made in this field.

The study of regional folklore and the comparative study of inter-regional folklore will open up a new road to the development of work on a sound scientific basis while at the same time combating the tendency to a generally descriptive study of Albanian folklore, apparent in some works of the years before 1937.

Studies in the Albanian folklore constitute a major contribution to the Balkan folkloric science and have aroused special interest in scientific circles, especially in the Balkan countries.

Thanks to the research work carried out in the field of Albanian folklore it has won the respect of the progressive scholars of this discipline all over the world. Proof of this are the proceedings of the 2nd Congress of Balkan Studies in Athens, the 1st National Conference of Albanian folkloric science,

the National Folkloric Festival in Gjirokastra, etc. Speaking of the festival of Gjirokastra, an English musicologist, Professor Albert Lloyd, said: «What impresses the foreign folklore student most? First, perhaps the fact, what the amateur groups also demonstrate, that Albanian folkloric music is still alive and going strong. The situation here is entirely different from what it is in the West, where we can enjoy only what remains of tradition which used to have a certain grandeur. Second, the fact that Albanian musical folklore is extremely varied in its heroic-narrative songs, powerfully expressive in its songs from the steep mountains of the North and in the vibrating and harmonious romantic choruses of the South sung in various ways and rhythms which defy the most daring modern composers. The instruments themselves greatly attract the musicologist — the powerful sounds of the *lahuta* of the North, the sweet murmur of the double flute of the South, the strange sounds of the *zurla*, the melancholic pastoral melodies of the common flute and of the flute called *kavall*, the pulsating rhythms of the *çifteli*, all these and other instruments expressing the remarkable vigour of the Albanian music make a deep impression on the foreigner. In this festival we had the chance to admire the creativeness of an entire people, energetic and interesting, ardent and thoughtful, militant and friendly, proud of their ancient traditions and eager for innovations. The Western musicologist whose idea of folkloric music is essentially derived from books and not from close contact with people, cannot imagine that folklore can be so intimately linked with the daily problems, as it is in Albania.»

«For an ethnologist of Central Europe», writes the worker of the Archives of Phonograms of the Academy of Sciences of Austria, Dr. Dietrich Schuler, «to attend the National Folklore Festival of Gjirokastra is simply a piece of good luck. I was amazed by the richness of the Albanian folklore, the vitality and spontaneity of the performances based on the forms of an ancient tradition. Unlike other countries where folklore is only a local concern, here we see that folklore is a great concern of the people and the state.

«Besides this, there are also other questions which draw particular attention. Albanian science has the rare possibility of closely following the life and culture of the people, studying them not only in their present stage of evolution and development, but also in their history. Innovation

and transformation and many other problems of interest to ethnologists and sociologists, can be studied here with far greater advantage than in any other country. Problems of the development of culture in general and of the demonstration of hypotheses through the observation of reality, can be dealt with just as profitably. And since research work in the field of folklore occupies an important place in Albania, there is no doubt that this science will make great advance.»

Albanian folklore and folkloric science have earned a well-deserved place in the European and Balkan folkloric science in general.

Ethnographic patrimony

The Albanian people possess an inestimable ethnographic treasury. Gorgeous national costumes, fine silk embroidery rugs and carpets decorated with national motifs, artistic objects in silver filigree and poker-work, dwelling houses of an original architecture, gates and windows chiselled with ornamental motifs, walled-in cupboards, characteristic cornices and chimneys — all this testifies to an original talent and an artistic tradition preserved generation after generation.

In regard to the great wealth of its ethnographic tradition Albania is a country of an ancient culture.

Among the various artistic genres which the Albanian people have cultivated with success, the applied arts occupy first place. Every object of daily use such as costumes, vessels, furniture, work tools, and even dwelling houses bear the imprint of the popular artistic taste.

The Albanian popular art is very rich and varied. Every district and village has its peculiarities. However, in the course of its development, popular art has acquired some common characteristics. There are also elements of culture borrowed, of course, according to the Albanian taste, from the neighbouring countries with which the Albanian people have been in close relationship through all their history.

Weaving, knitting and stitch-work can rightly be considered a popular art. Every Albanian woman is able to do not only simple stitch-work but also sewing of a high artistic level.

The national costumes of Tropoja, Elbasan, Devoll, Gji-

rokastra, etc., the carpets of Kukës, Korça and Labëria, the knapsacks of Zadrime, etc. testify to an ancient tradition.

Knitting which is widely practised both in the South and North, comprises costumes, clothes, vests, shawls, gloves, stockings etc., produced with a great variety of stitch-work. Lacework and knitwear decorated with popular motifs are widespread. This kind of work, both for men's and women's knitwear, is used in Malësia e Madhe and in the remote regions of Kukës for stockings and socks.

The linen and woollen cloth of which the national costumes are tailored, is woven on hand-loom and then decorated and embroidered by the gifted Albanian women. The carpets and thick bedspreads of the South as well as the rugs and decorated lines of the North are also woven on hand-loom, just as the thick woollen fabrics for overcoats, haversacks, etc.

The carpets produced in the region of Korça, as in many other regions of the country, are remarkable for their skilful combination of colours. In the national costumes, rugs and carpets, the art of our ancestors has reached to our days. This ancient tradition has been preserved and further developed by the new masters of Albanian popular art.

The national costumes indicate the high level of culture of the Albanian people, their fine taste. Every region has its own costumes, and frequently every village, or at times even group of families within the same village, have a particular manner of dressing. Costumes differ in their material, their cutting, their predominating colour or combination of colours, their particular ornaments, etc.

Women's costumes are very varied and richly ornamented. Their visible parts, such as collars, bodices, cuffs and skirts etc. are embroidered with silk or cotton thread of various colours, with red and black predominating.

The woollen vest or tunic is edged with red or other colours. Over the vests women wear finely embroidered aprons. The aprons of Shpat, Dumre, Myzeqe and Fushë-Kruja are remarkable for their exquisite taste.

The head-dress is an important garment of Albanian folk costumes. Its dimensions vary, sometimes being quite large, like in Myzeqe, sometimes rather small, but very gracious and elegantly rolled around the head, like in the region of Zadrime.

Like all the Balkan peoples, the Albanians wear sandals

(«opinga») of ox hide, their forms varying according to region. Light and quite suited to the mountainous terrain of our country and elegant, too, they are decorated on the uppers with tresses of leather or multi-coloured hempen strings.

Since times ancient the Albanians have been working the metals. They employ several methods for this purpose: hammering, casting, engraving or filigreeing. Hammering and casting are ancient techniques, as testified by many objects of the Illyrian culture, such as belt buckles, etc. The perfectioning of the technique of hammering led to the manufacture of spears, sabres, yatagans, swords, etc. Cast objects, too, date back to the Illyrian epoch. Numerous objects, weapons and their parts and even women's ornaments, manufactured according to this technique, have been discovered. Weapons and other objects made according to this technique by the metal workers of Berat, Elbasan, Gjirokastra are displayed in the country's museums.

Chiselling has a long-established tradition especially in the towns of Berat, Elbasan, Gjirokastra etc.

The armourers and goldsmiths of South Albania are famous for certain types of weapons and armour plates, buckles and ear-rings, bracelets and buttons as well as numerous other articles completing the ornament of national costumes.

Work in copper is a widespread art of ancient tradition. Excavations in the tumuli of Illyrian settlements have brought to light 40 types of clasps (fibulae), as well as necklaces, diadems, bracelets and bronze defence weapons.

In time, the range of copper or bronze articles of daily use, mainly vessels, has constantly widened.

All objects were chiefly ornamented with geometric motifs, and, more seldom, with local motifs, like stylized cypresses, etc.

Apart from weaving, in which the popular art has attained a high degree of excellence, wood-carving, ordinarily employed in dwelling houses or buildings of the cult (ceilings, cupboards, iconostases, etc.), in furniture and their fittings, work tools, was an unmatched skill of this country. The artistic taste of the Albanians has left its imprint on all kinds of objects of daily use: spoons and bowls, distaffs and pipes, «lahutas» and bride's chests, rockers and looms, etc. Ornamental motifs, whether carved or embroidered, have

the same source of inspiration and reflect the same tradition. The objects of daily use produced by the popular artists, both in the mountains and the plains, preserve the features of our ancient culture in all its originality.

The craftsmen of Dibra have won great fame in the Balkans. Their productions were in great demand as far away as Asia Minor. The masters of South-eastern Albania have left objects of their art everywhere the southern part of the peninsula. The work of the earlier Dibra masters is finer, often with plant motifs, whereas their later successors combined plant and animal motifs.

Woodcarving, as a traditional occupation of the Albanian people, was raised to the level of trade production, which served purposes broader than those of the domestic economy. In the districts enjoying favourable conditions schools of woodcarving were created, the most important being those of Dibra, Berat and South-east Albania. In the 17th and 18th centuries, this art reached its apex, with the Albanian masters attaining such artistic excellence as made them famous even beyond the borders of the country. In the 19th century this art began to decline.

The craftsmen of Dibra and Çermenika used pine wood for the decoration of rooms or dwelling houses in general. The schools of Berat and Shpirag, working on a rather narrower field, became widely known for their carvings on various kinds of wood, the alm-wood being used in preference.

Wood-carving has been raised to new heights after the liberation of the country.

Albanian popular architecture is of particular interest for the great variety of its buildings, the «kulla» of the North, and the characteristic dwelling house of the town and villages.

The *kulla* is a turret-type construction which appeared during the epoch of feudalism in Albania. Today it has remained only in the mountainous regions of North Albania. Its walls, built of big stones, are from 1 m to 1.50 m thick and constitute an effective protection against possible attacks from outside.

The Albanian people stand as a particular ethnic group, due not only to their language and anthropological features but also their ethnographic traditions. Albanian ethnographic material, which is of great scientific and artistic interest, has drawn the attention of many scholars of different times.

Ethnographic information about Albania can be found in various works of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, Byzantine registers and chronicles, in reports of the commercial and political agents who have travelled through Albania, in acts and documents written in different periods, but this information, unfortunately mutilated and superficial, has only the value of an auxiliary material.

Albanian ethnography has attracted the attention of the Albanian patriots, and in particular, of the early writers and students of the Albanian language in the 17th century — Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani, of the members of the Albanian colonies abroad, and moreover of the patriots of the national Renaissance who, in the 19th century, studied the national culture with some success. Compelled to work in difficult conditions, often pursued and persecuted by the foreign occupiers, their work could be but fragmentary, despite their good will.

Only after Liberation work for the collection and study of ethnographic material assumed all the importance it deserved and was raised to a scientific level, especially with the setting up of the Ethnographic Sector in 1947.

Today, in the documentary funds of the Ethnographic Sector there are tens of thousands of objects, photos, designs, charts and sketches, as well as other material objects coming from 300 Albanian settlements in the last two centuries (19th and 20th). These documents are a comprehensive illustration of the way of living of the Albanian people before Liberation. The collection of materials belonging to our present time continues.

The Ethnographic Sector carries out research work in many districts, concentrating on the study of traditional activities, especially agriculture and animal husbandry. Dwelling houses, urban or rural, as well as national costumes, are the object of study of a long series of publications, which shed important light on the material and spiritual culture of the Albanian people. Their materials, collected and published with great care, acquaint the broad masses of the people with a great ethnographic wealth almost totally neglected in the past.

The intensification of the struggle against backward and reactionary customs and concepts degrading woman, against religion and religious prejudices, against the system of patriarchal life, and other such blemishes of the past set new

tasks to Albanian ethnography. It is important to go to the roots of these harmful customs which impede the development of society, and to smash their idealistic reactionary philosophical basis. In the choice of the subjects of their study the Albanian ethnographers are guided by the concern about carrying out the great tasks posed by the development and deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution in Albania.

Ethnographic studies, as part of comparative Balkan studies, show that, in spite of the many-sidedness of the traditional culture of the Albanian people, this culture rests on a common ethnic basis formed in ancient times over all the habitat of the Albanians. This is evident not only in the material culture, national costumes, popular architecture, vessels and furniture in general, but also in the social and spiritual culture of the people, such as the provisions of the Canons and the customs of family life, which reveal a common stratum of tradition.

The Ethnographic Museum of Tirana, set up in 1948, and the many local museums of districts and even villages, play an important role in the collection and preservation of the ethnographic treasury of the country. The Ethnographic Museum of Tirana is visited by all categories of people, especially the young, as well as by intellectuals, people's artists in particular, who are inspired from the artistic traditions of the people. This museum is an interesting visiting place for foreigners.

The Ethnographic Museum maintains relations with many countries of the world, where it organizes exhibitions which enable people abroad to get acquainted with the artistic traditions of the Albanian people.

The road of the development of the Albanian literature

«The General of the Dead Army», a novel by the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare, was published in Paris a few years ago. «This novel,» the «Albin Michel» Publishing House wrote on this occasion, «is the revelation of the Albanian literature, a young literature very little known to us. Its publication gives its author from the very start an enviable

place in world literature.» In his preface to the book, the well-known French writer Robert Escarpit states, «Ismail Kadare gave the French readers a novel of world stature.»

The novel made a deep impression and soon was translated into many languages. It was followed by other novels of the same author: «The Castle», «A Chronicle on Stone», etc.

At the end of 1973, the volume entitled «Ismail Kadare and the New Albanian Poetry», a collection of poems by Kadare, Dritëro Agolli, Natasha Lako and Fatos Arapi, was published in Paris. In its preface Alain Bosquet writes among other things: «The spirit of Albania is in its best poetry... In this century, it acceded to independence, which was a rather poor form of liberty, of which the great Migjeni wrote: 'Misery works day and night'. At last came the People's Republic, the only example of radical transformation in a nation capable of living in the 15th century by imagination and in the 21st century by hope.»

The author of the selection and translation of poems, Michel Métails, in his presentation of the volume entitled «Poets Who speak for an Entire People», writes among other things: «Albanian literature was not born yesterday, and poetry was for a long time its favourite and exclusive means of expression, so much so that the first Albanian novel was written in verse... One is astonished how this poetry could remain altogether unrecognized. After a long period in the dark, it had to speak to itself in order to find itself again, to regain its strength against the deaf ear often turned to it. Today it can speak for itself loud enough even for those who pretend they don't hear.»

These works, warmly welcomed by the public in Europe and on the other continents, were a great success. They prove the emergence of a new, powerful Albanian literature, its development on the road of socialist realism.

Albanian literature is relatively young. The first book in Albanian is Gjon Buzuku's «Missel», which came to light in 1555. During the Ottoman rule, in the course of their wars against foreign occupation and for national independence, the Albanians worked with self-denial to preserve their language, their arts and their culture. Writers and poets made their contribution not only to the enrichment of their national culture, but also to the awakening of the national consciousness of their people, in order to raise them in struggle against the military and feudal regime of the

sultans. One of the most brilliant periods of this struggle is that of the National Renaissance, extending from the second half of the last century to the beginning of this century. It saw the emergence of eminent writers and poets, who, devoting their life and talent to the problems of the time and the life of the people, worked for posterity. Such are, for example, Naim Frashëri, Andon Zako Çajupi, Sami Frashëri, Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Vaso Pasha, Filip Shiroka, Mihal Grameno, Foqion Postoli and dozens of others, who were the forerunners of present-day Albanian literature.

The proclamation of the national independence opened a new period for the Albanian literature, in which critical realism was predominant at that time. This period extends from 1912 to 1940, and its most outstanding representatives are Ndre Mjeda, Fan Noli, Millosh Gjergj Nikolla (Migjeni), Aleksandër Drenova (Asdreni). Their whole literary activity is a stern indictment against the feudal-bourgeois regime, which savagely suppressed all progressive ideas.

Contemporary Albanian literature was born during the National Liberation War. It developed alongside of the great economic, political and social transformations of the last decades. The great value of this literature lies in the fact that it is linked with the interests of the people, serves these interests and militates for them. Its objective is to deal with the great variety of themes of the Albanian socialist reality, to describe the various periods of the struggle of the Albanian people and treat them from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. These ideas have inspired Shefqet Musaraj, Ismail Kadare, Jakov Xoxe, Fatmir Gjata, Anastas Kondo and many other writers.

The revolutionary spirit of the people, their struggle against imperialism and revisionism, their national pride and their lofty principles of proletarian internationalism are the elements which characterize the creative works of the Albanian writers. The method of socialist realism has been the guiding compass in their work; contrary to the claims of the bourgeois esthetes, it does not create stereotypes, but favours the most complete development of individual styles.

The socialist revolutionary content of a literary work depends on the degree of its representation and interpretation of the reality in the development of the class struggle, dealing with its contradictions always according to a definite positive communist ideal, and in the light of historical perspective.

In this regard, socialist art brings the progressive forces to the fore; it describes their struggle and shows the perspective of their development, avoiding all stereotypes or happy endings, or fatalism and hopelessness typical of the decadent trends of today.

The literary works of socialist realism describe characters in their typical milieu, reflect the essence of social life, and the political, ideological, ethical and esthetic attitude of man towards it. The characters of Albanian literature reflect the psychology of different social strata, their level of intellectual and social development, as well as their individual peculiarities. Likewise, the background against which they act and develop, cannot be the same as in other countries, just as literary and artistic tradition, too, differs from one people to the other. It is up to the writer of socialist realism to understand all these elements and strive to create in the national and popular spirit.

The style and manner of writing in Albanian literature are varied, and this is only natural. The principles of socialist realism do not prevent, but, on the contrary, enable the author to make the best and most artistic use of language, to display his personality, his artistic individuality.

The new Albanian literature bears its own national character being the expression of the consciousness of the Albanian people in the great historic moments they have lived and are living through today. The national and popular character of Albanian literature is not a secondary element but an essential feature, a fundamental component of its existence, a principal factor of its vitality and success. The national character of Albanian literature is also manifested in the efforts of the writers to reflect the spiritual world of the Albanian people, their conception of life and death, of freedom and bondage, love, marriage and the family, of work and leisure, their sense of humour confronted with the epical and lyrical aspects of their existence, their attitude to optimism and pessimism, contradictions, etc., etc. Completing the characteristics which make up the originality of this literature, its national character created in the course of historic events, the Albanian authors in their works employ the popular idiom, its intonations, rhythm and phraseology to reveal the inner world of the people in all its magnificence.

In its development on its own soil Albanian literature comes up against alien influences, modernist or conservative

trends which are repressed as the national character of literature grows stronger. Our literature is in opposition to bourgeois and revisionist trends and tendencies, to formalism, to an art which does not serve the people, which is not understood by the people and does not reflect life truthfully, but advocates chaos, the crisis of society and man.

The original national spirit of the new Albanian literature, which puts the stress on the forms and features characteristic of the Albanian spiritual world, on its historical individuality, on the temperament, psychology, way of life and traditions of the Albanian people, does not at all lead to isolation from the world as a whole.

The new Albanian literature has a strong epic flavour deriving from the very epic nature of the life of the Albanian people through the centuries, from the character of the deep-going social revolution they are carrying out. The epoch of socialism, with its unprecedented class struggles, the epoch of tempestuous and dramatic upheavals inevitably leaves deep traces in the development of literature, giving it a pronounced epic colouring and making it, to some extent, an encyclopedia of communism.

The new Albanian literature has made progress in the epic as well as the dramatic and lyrical representation of the reality, seeing the problem of the heroic acts in harmony and relationship with the spiritual world of man, his sentiments, against the background of the development of the past and present society.

The party spirit, the communist content, which lie at the basis of all the Albanian literary creativeness, explain the ideological purity of the Albanian literature, its lofty militant and revolutionary spirit. The literature and art of socialist realism which flourish in Albania truthfully reflect the objective reality and are a powerful means to steel the new man and to revolutionize his consciousness. Our literature and art have a profound popular character, they address themselves to the large masses, and not to an élite, and have become an important lever in the great machine of the revolution.

The Albanian literature plays an active role in the life of the people, not only by educating the readers, but also by inspiring and encouraging them to become hard-working and conscious builders as well as valiant fighters for the defence of the gains of socialism. It does it with warmth of feeling,

with vividness and a great variety of styles. Meditative and «objective» frigidity are alien to the Albanian poetry and prose, which are rich in lyrical passages, contrasts and striking images emanating from the diversity of life itself.

In his historic speech at the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking about literature and art, among other things, stressed, «The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint, and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.»

The close links with folklore, avoiding folklorism, are also typical of numerous works of Albanian literature. In this case it is not a question of imitating the folklore and being content with its level, but of getting acquainted with it and taking advantage of this immense wealth of the popular inspiration. The folklore is a great source of inspiration for the Albanian literature of socialist realism. Born as a necessary expression of the aesthetic attitude of man towards the reality, folklore has a great aesthetic influence on and plays an important role in present-day spiritual life. Folklore is an artistic means which links the present with the past, sings to the present and causes the strings, which were drawn tight in the course of existence of the Albanian, to quiver in his soul, evokes the sounds he has heard in his childhood, and the strength of its word and music is all the more convincing proof of the great mastery of its unequalled creator, the people! Folklore is in constant evolution, it develops through collective creativeness but always on the solid ground of tradition. It is a source of aesthetic pleasure, because it is linked with the joys and sorrows of the Albanian people in the course of their history, because it is an art animated by the people's spirit.

The successes of the new Albanian literature are linked with the description of the heroic, and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people from the time of the National Liberation war to our days, with the truthful portraying of

people, and inspired description of national milieu, with the reflection of the class struggle, of our marvellous reality, with a penetrating analysis of the inner world of the new man, considering him in his links with society, in his concrete actions, in his attitude to the clash between the new and the old, while at the same time not remaining within the framework of man's «consciousness», as happens with the bourgeois and revisionist trends, but studying it in close connection with life and society. The Albanian literature of socialist realism is a militant literature in its substance, it implants in people's minds the communist morality, the love for the Homeland, for the beautiful, for work, for man. It fights for a sound morality and a happy family life, against all dangerous elements, against the open and disguised enemy, against all weaknesses and shortcomings connected with the survivals of the alien ideology of the past and the great pressure exerted today by the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The proceedings and decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on December 20, 1974, and especially his report to the 7th Congress, have given a vigorous impulse to the development of the content and form of literature and art in Albania.

The book — a companion of every Albanian

The book in Albania has become an inseparable companion not only of some «book worms», but also of the masses of the people. It belongs not just to intellectual circles, but also to people working in factories, plants, agricultural cooperatives, to people in the towns and in the remotest mountainous villages. This is achieved not only because of the low price of books, and the exceptional increase of their editions in comparison with the past, but especially because of their content, which responds to the requirements and aspirations of the readers.

In the 13 years from 1945 to 1957, in Albania were published as many books as were published during the last four centuries taken together, i.e., from the publication of the first book in Albanian (1555) up till 1944.

In 1973, 800 new titles were published in Albania.

Editions of books in 1979, as against the pre-war level, increased about 60 fold. In other words, against 183,000 books published in 1938, in 1979 their number increased to 11,000,000, or more than 4 books per inhabitant, which is higher than the world average level.

As against the year 1938, the circulation of newspapers in 1979 increased over 17 fold, that of magazines, reviews and other publications 8 fold.

Radical transformations have also taken place in the content of publications. With their comprehensive character they are in a position to meet the needs of the working people of all categories and all ages. The book is not, as it was in the past, a means of profit-making for the printers and publishers, but a powerful instrument to raise the level of education and culture of the working masses.

Immediately after the liberation of the country, the publication of political and ideological works was considered a major task. At present the Albanian reader has translations of the main works of Marx and Engels, as well as the Complete Works of Lenin and Stalin. In 1969, the «History of the Party of Labour of Albania» was published, followed by the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha in Albanian and his Selected Works in many foreign languages, among which «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «Reflections on China» (in two volumes), «With Stalin» (memoirs), «Eurocommunism is Anti-Communism», «The Khrushchevites», etc.

Among historical publications, whose aim is to throw light on the glorious past of the Albanian people, there are works of capital importance, such as the «History of Albania», the «History of the Albanian Literature» as well as other important studies on particular periods of the history of the Albanian people and mainly the glorious epoch of Skanderbeg. Besides, scores of books on eminent figures of our history or reminiscences of participants in the great epic of the National Liberation War have been published.

The publication of Albanian and foreign literary works has followed up the general increase of publications. The column «literature» in the Albanian book catalogues comprises titles with a total circulation of millions of copies.

The Albanian reader is keenly interested in world progressive literature too. Today, Homer and Aeschylus, Dante and Shakespeare, Cervantes and Goethe, Shaw and Dreiser,

Heine and Byron, Balzac and Tolstoy, Gorky and Mayakovsky, Lu Hsun, Jack London and Whitman, Ibsen and Chekhov, Nexö and Brecht, Fadeyev and Pratolini as well as a great number of contemporary revolutionary writers from the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia, are read in their Albanian translations. Ever greater efforts are being made to create a picture of the present-day world through the books of authors enjoying the sympathy of the masses of the people.

The volume of translations is considerable, covering many countries and writers, because through its best writers each country, big or small, expresses its own individuality, its own national values.

Great work has been done to spread the book among the large masses of the people. At present, there are more than 40 state libraries in the various districts of the country, with their funds exceeding 120 times that of the year 1938. Without counting thousands of personal libraries, there exist also 3,000 libraries in work places, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and schools. Besides, in order to meet the needs of the readers for books which are more difficult to find libraries maintain regular links among themselves and borrow books from each other. This is a current practice especially for the technical and scientific books or for those in foreign languages.

During these last years the network of bookshops has been greatly extended. Today, they number more than 250, half of which in the countryside. Even the remotest mountain zones have their bookshops.

Besides the workers of libraries and bookshops the Writers and Artists' League of Albania and its branches in various districts, the mass organizations and the readers in general do a great work for the spread of the book. Thus, in order to inform the reader about new books, book reports are published and literary sessions and meetings with writers and book traders are organized periodically.

All these achievements show that Albania, once the country of illiteracy where the book was considered a rarity, today is among the advanced countries in regard to the publication and distribution of books.

The theatre

Archeological excavations made in Albania unearthed a number of buildings of public performances. A very beautiful theatre is preserved in the ancient city of Butrint. With its 19 rows of places, its orchestra and stage, it constitutes an architectural monument of admirable beauty on the hill-slope on which it is situated. The small theatre discovered in the town of Orichon is also situated on a hill-slope. Theatrical performances and gladiator fights were organized in these theatres. The theatre discovered in Apollonia is of a different type. It has an open stage for musical performances. Remains of another ancient theatre have been found in the Illyrian city of Bylis.

There is ample evidence that there was a vigorous theatrical life as early as the 4th century before our era in the territory of present day Albania.

Plays on a given subject, complete with characters, costumes, monologues or dialogues and mimics are common in the Albanian folklore, too. Some of these plays, according to all appearances, must be very old. Such is, for example, the play called «The Distribution of Lambs (in the Northern Highlands) which is based on a phallic cult, as practised in the villages of ancient Greece as early as the 6th century before our era, during the festivities organized in the honour of Dionysius, the god of wine. From the 15th century plays became part of the life of the Albanian people who represented in them their victories over the enemy.

During the Ottoman domination, no mention can be made of theatrical life. However, from the year 1874 an amateur movement began to develop, and it played a very important role in the revival of the national spirit, in deepening the love for the Homeland, and in raising the masses of the people in war against the foreign enemy for national and social emancipation. This movement underwent a great development in Korça, especially during the 30's, as well as in other cities - Shkodra, Vlora, Gjirokastra, Elbasan, Tirana, etc.

The amateur theatre has played a particularly great role during the war for national liberation. In these stormy years, in city quarters, in the villages, in the units of the national liberation army, even in the prisons the freedom fighters

carried out a broad legal and underground theatrical activity. The performances given by the partisans, who kept the script in one hand and the rifle in the other, were of great assistance to the political education and mobilization of the masses in the struggle for the liberation of the country. On this basis, in the days of the historic Congress of Përmet, when the people's power was growing ever stronger, the amateur actors of partisan units, celebrating this event, created their permanent theatrical troupe, the first nucleus of the People's Theatre.

The partisans brought a new element to the theatre — the man of the people, a hero until then neglected, oppressed and scorned, who, taking up arms and growing aware of his strength was now becoming the master of his own destiny.

The people's theatre, which was born neither in the limelights of luxurious theatres, nor as the product of a given school or method, but was the direct continuation of the partisan theatre, illustrates and presents with great truthfulness this epoch of the healthy storm of the revolution. It brought to the stage a hero embodying the best qualities of a people who had freed themselves and become conscious of their own strength. The new Albanian theatre exalted the heroic work of the people. Like the partisan theatre, which enflamed the hearts of the fighters and the whole people after the battles waged against the enemy, the contemporary Albanian theatre is the tribune of a dialogue with the working people, a vast amphitheatre breathing the revolutionary spirit of the time. Drawing its inspiration from active life, from the live work of socialist construction, building its characters ever closer to the Albanian reality, the Albanian theatre has acquired new features both in content and form, becoming ever more accessible to and comprehensible for the masses, more democratic and of a more distinctly national character.

The repertoire of the Albanian theatre is mainly made up of works of Albanian contemporary playwrights, dealing with past and present problems of the Albanian people.

In the repertoire of the national theatre, a particular place belongs to the plays devoted to the struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence. Such plays as «The Captain of the Brave» by Sulejman Pitarka, «Halili and Hajria» by Kol Jakova, «The Seven Shalians» by Ndrek Luca, and others, recreate the time of the heroic resistance of the Albanian people to the invasion of the Ottoman hordes.

Our theatre gives an important place to plays which evoke the glorious epic of the National Liberation War, such as «The Prefect» by Besim Levonja, «The General of the Dead Army», a theatrical adaptation by Piro Mani of the novel of the same title by I. Kadare, «The Fisherman's Family» by Sulejman Pitarka, «Dom Gjoni» by Kol Jakova, etc.

Several Albanian plays tackle problems connected with the great social transformations and the popular revolution, the land reform, the great socialist nationalizations, etc. Worth mentioning among others is the play «Our Land» by Kol Jakova. These plays centre on the dramatic conflicts arising from the antagonistic contradictions of the Albanian reality existing in Albania at that time. Family conflicts are subordinated to social conflicts, and plots develop through political decay of the feudal-bourgeois society and its final liquidation.

An important place belongs to the plays which take their subject from the work for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country. The great social transformations, accompanied by transformations in the character of man, gave a new impulse to Albanian drama. Predominant in the plays of this period is the positive hero, who is not an invention of the playwrights, but the product of the socialist reality of this revolutionary period. The struggle for the emancipation of woman has brought to the fore the figure of woman. The characters of young women in the plays «The Highland Girl» by Loni Papa, «The Butlet in the Dowry» by Fadil Kraja, and others, fighting with courage for the triumph of the new, for their rights are drawn very truthfully.

Along with other problems of the theatre of these recent years, the description of the relations between the individual and the collective occupies an important place. Many plays underline the role of the masses in the education and transformation of man, of the individual, whose existence as such is not negated, but on the contrary, is held in high esteem as far as his activity responds to the interests of the collective, society. The plays «The Second Face» by Dritëro Agolli, «The Men of the Rock» by Kadri Piro, «The Lady of the Town» by Ruzhdi Pulaha, and more others, along with major social problems, also treat problems

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of the relations and contradictions emerging in the course of daily life and show the way to overcome them. The introduction of this new element into the Albanian drama is determined by the great role of the collective in society.

The plays of Albanian playwrights, classical or contemporary, put on the stages of our country, testify to the increased creative capacity of actors, producers and decorators. The fact that major works of the world theatre such as «Othello», «Hamlet», «King Lear» by Shakespeare, «Love and Intrigue» by Schiller, «The Auditor» by Gogol, «The Noble Bourgeois», «The Miser», «Tartuff» by Moliere, «The enemies» by Gorki, «Beyond the Horizon» and «The Bells of the Kremlin» by Pogodin, «Arturo Ui» by Brecht, etc. were put on stage, is a great success for the Albanian dramaturgy.

With the spirit which animates it, the Albanian theatre serves the political and aesthetical education of the broad working masses.

In the years after Liberation a number of professional theatrical troops, besides the People's Theatre, have been set up all over the country.

Parallel with this, in work places, villages, schools, army units etc. thousands of amateur artistic groups have been created. They perform regularly before the public especially during theatrical olympiads or other artistic manifestations.

The cinematography

In 1947 a group of Albanian film-makers shot the first Albanian chronicle film, at a time when other countries had years of experience in this field. Thus, the art of film-making, the youngest of the seven arts, began in Albania on virgin soil. Experienced and skilled cadres were lacking, there were only some primitive makeshift appliances.

The films made during the period after Liberation bear the imprint of the new reality of the Albanian life, of the march of the country on the road of the construction of the new socialist society; they are, at the same time, a biography of the «New Albania» Film-studio itself.

Hundreds of documentary and chronicle films illustrate the first mass actions organized to heal the wounds of the war, or the selfless work of the people for the industrialization of the country, the development of the economy and

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culture. Film-making developed in quality and its ideological and artistic level was constantly raised in the process.

The «New Albania» Film-studio, with a number of laboratories and the related equipment, was set up in 1952. After a time the first full-length films were made relying on our own forces and means, among them: «Tana», «Debatik», and others, which were shown with great success.

After the 60's, especially in the more recent years, the Albanian cinematography has increased its production of documentaries and news-reels. The documentaries «The Dance of the Eagles», «Sword in Hand», «The City of a Thousand Windows», «In the Service of Public Health», «Oil-well 542», «Migjeni», «Gjirokastra», «With our Fishermen», «A Significant Silence» and many more, are works of great ideological and artistic value, highly appreciated by both the Albanian and foreign spectators.

The art of film-making has reached higher peaks, has become more mature from the ideological and aesthetic point of view. The number of good films, which make a great contribution to the enrichment of the national artistic treasury, has increased. Films like «A Special Mission», «The Commissar of the Light», «Triumph over Death», «Our Land», «The First Years», «Open Horizons», «The Eighth in Bronze», «Old Wounds», «White Lines», «On the Threshold of Summer», «Narrow Streets Thirsting for Light», «The Highland Girl», «The Guerrilla Unit», «Traces», «Poppies on the Wall», «General Gramophone», «Girls with the Red Ribbon», etc. have met with a warm reception in the country and abroad.

Film production in Albania has increased fivefold in comparison with the beginning of the 60's. The Albanian cinematography has shown itself in a position to produce films of world standards, which have won prizes at international film festivals.

In the last ten years the Albanian cinematography has developed different genres of the art: films for children, including cartoons and animated cartoons, feature films, popular scientific films, etc. The laboratories of the «New Albania» Film-studio have been modernized.

As a genre of popular art, the Albanian film is strongly based on the principles of socialist realism and Marxist-Leninist esthetics. It takes its subjects from the active life of the people, their struggle for the liberation and defence of their

country, the conflicts between new concepts and old backward customs, from the struggle for the revolutionary transformations in the everyday life of the country. The Albanian films reflect the heroic road traversed by the Albanian people, their traditions and noble customs, their desires and aspirations, the historical reality until the liberation of the country and the reality of the struggle and work for the construction of socialism. The heroes of the Albanian films are modest, hardworking people, ordinary workers and peasants, soldiers, and people's intellectuals.

This has nothing in common with degenerate eroticism, the cult of murder and violence, which are so widespread in the decadent Western and revisionist cinematography. In Albania all paths are blocked to degeneration and confusion in social life, and among the youth in particular, to the development of prostitution and crime.

A large number of film specialists have been trained in the course of work. Every new film comes out with new names, young talents that continue to swell the ranks of Albanian film-makers.

The film has become a powerful means for the education and recreation of the masses of working people. Instead of 17 small cinemas which existed before liberation, in the end of 1975 there were 410 motion-picture houses, autocinemas and ambulant cinema sets in the cities, villages and production centres.

The film has broad perspectives of development in Albania; in 1980 the «New Albania» Film-studio produced 40 documentary films, 26 newsreels, 10 animated cartoons and 14 full-length feature films. In the meantime, new sections for filming, screening, film processing, a new film archive, all complete with modern technique, have been built.

Revival of the figurative arts

The first national exhibition of the figurative arts was opened in Tirana in 1945, i.e., only one year after the country's liberation. Twenty-two painters and sculptors participated with portraits, landscapes, drawings, compositions, all on a reduced scale. This was the beginning of a series of annual exhibitions which reflect the development of the figurative arts as an integral part of the development of the

new Albanian culture. Since then the number of painters and sculptors has increased, various genres of the figurative arts have developed, many large-scale compositions, monumental paintings and sculptural groups have been produced. Imposing busts and monuments, memorial plaques and statues have been put up in public squares, gardens and historic places. Along with national exhibitions, local exhibitions or exhibitions of works of individual artists are often organized. As against one exhibition in 1945, scores of exhibitions are organized every year in the cities and even in the agricultural cooperatives. As against 22 artists exhibiting their works in 1945, the names of hundreds of professional and amateur artists figure in the national exhibition today. Exhibitions of works of Albanian painters and sculptors have also been opened in many foreign countries, arousing the interest and admiration of the visitors with the militant spirit of their works as well as with their healthy content and artistic realism.

These achievements speak clearly of the development and revival of the arts in our country. As is known, under Ottoman domination, Islamic religion prohibited the expression of the human figure in painting whereas Christian orthodox rules prohibited its expression in sculpture. The figurative arts completely declined in the long period of the Middle Ages. Under the regime of King Zog, the arts were neither encouraged nor supported. In the years of the people's power, however, all the conditions have been created for the broadest possible development of the figurative arts.

In Albania today there are quite a few painters who have given proof of their outstanding creative abilities. Besides them, an army of amateur artists make their contribution to the new socialist art, to the revolutionary education of the working masses and the formation of the new man. The main concern of the artists is to reflect the many aspects of the socialist reality, like the other kinds of art do.

During the first decades since 1944 great efforts were made to capture and reproduce the heroic spirit of the socialist life in general and of the new man in particular. This element is evident in a good number of paintings, «The Proclamation of the Republic» (by F. Haxhiu), «Assembly Workers» (Sh. Hysa), «Our Land» (Z. Shoshi), «The Land Reform» (G. Madhi), etc. The heroic character of the time is revealed in the realistic portraits of heroes or in compositions

illustrating the selfless work and efforts of the sons and daughters of the people. The way they choose their subjects and the creative manner in which they treat them enable the artists to reproduce the characteristic Albanian way of thinking, the characteristic Albanian world, in all its national colouring.

The Albanian painters draw inspiration from life, from the work and of the working class of Albania. Large-size paintings of a monumental character portray the typical worker in typical moments of life and work at the plant or factory. This type of painting reached its maturity in the 50's. Though fewer in numbers and not always successful artistically, the works of this period have their value in the fact that they reflect the growing interest of the artists in active life and their adoption of the method of socialist realism. The ambition to create works illustrating the life and action of the great working masses is one of the positive tendencies of the 50's.

In the 60's the figure of the worker is treated more extensively and more thoroughly. Advancing with the years, the artists achieve a greater degree of ideological and political insight into the phenomena of reality. The theme of the working class is treated with greater variety and vitality. The painting which has the worker as its main figure develops along several lines. In the beginning the portrait of the worker is predominant. Later, in the second half of the 60's, the figure of the worker is represented in close connection with the environment. This figure, however, is represented more completely in larger compositions, which begin to predominate in this genre. Its development in the 60's is due to the close links of the painters with life, to their richer experience of the active life for the socialist transformation of the country, and their higher degree of ideological maturity and professional skill.

In the recent times among the Albanian painters predominates the tendency to the treatment of the theme of the working class on a monumental scale, realized in terse artistic language.

The new socialist life in the village occupies an important place in Albanian painting. From the 50's this theme has been treated with ever new methods, according to each phase of the historical development of the country. The great revolutionary transformations in the countryside have

become a source of inspiration for the painters, who concentrate on the portraying of the positive figure of the peasant. But it is only in the 60's that the rural theme in painting gains new depth accompanied with a rise of its ideological and artistic level. The painters try to bring into relief the new which the socialist transformation of the countryside has brought about in the peasant's life in general, in his daily work and inner world; they emphasize the growing role of the ordinary man as an active participant in the construction of the new life. After 1966 the rural theme in painting finds its vivid material in the mass labour actions. Depending on the individuality of each artist, the stress is put on this or that distinguishing feature of the new socialist man.

The Albanian sculpture today is in a certain sense, a continuation of the best traditions of the past, developed in and enriched with the spirit of patriotism and the popular character of the new times.

Qualitative changes appear in the new interpretation of phenomena by the sculptors whose activity begins in the period before the liberation of the country. People's Artist, Odhise Paskali has created a number of busts in which the search for the Albanian type is a predominant feature of his art. In the bust of People's Hero Vojo Kushi the courage and fearlessness of the staunch fighter for the revolution is embodied. Janaq Paço also departs from the established classical norms in presenting the inner world of the communist fighter Qemal Stafa.

Albanian sculpture is acquiring ever new features, which manifest themselves not only in its growing interest in actual problems, but also in its rising skill of artistic execution, its healthy spirit of innovation which every day adds to the old tradition. The tendency today is towards increasing diversity of forms and means, and individuality of styles. The creative activity of the Albanian sculptors shows that socialist realism, as a method, enables them to enrich their means of expression.

The Albanian sculpture today has acquired a new dimension in the realistic reflection of life and the revolution in the conditions of our country, which is the essence of the movement for innovation in the Albanian arts. This new background engenders new forms of artistic expression. Original composition, plasticity and clarity of forms, dynamism, as well as a marked tendency towards the monumental, as

dictated by the very nature of the ideas and emotional world which it reproduces, are the main features of this new tendency in sculpture.

The striving to represent the reality in its wide diversity has added to the freshness, vividness and truthfulness of Albanian sculpture. The attraction by themes from actual life is seen in the development of major genres, in the creation of a considerable number of monumental sculptural groups.

Decadent currents and different «isms» in vogue in many countries of the world are alien to the Albanian artists.

Development of music

The nature of the Albanian music is optimistic. It can draw on the rich treasury of the folk music to sing to the joy of life and work, to the glory of the battles won, to the present and the future. The Albanian folk artist has immortalized the memory of his heroes fallen in battle in all kind of melodies and songs. Nevertheless, the anti-popular regimes of the past, neglectful of the culture of our people in general, were an impediment to all progress, so much so that outstanding figures of Albanian music, the brilliant soprano Tefta Tashko, the outstanding tenor Kristaq Antoniu and others were forced to develop their talents abroad.

Albanian musical art proper was born in the mountains as a call for national liberation. To the melodies and songs that the partisan fighters brought with them from the mountains were added the melodies and songs of the new life, the songs of the joy of work. New talents emerged, the ranks of composers increased. Besides songs, romances, rhapsodies and ballads, the repertoires of our musical groups and orchestras were enriched with oratorios, musical tableaux and other major genres, which brought a new element to the Albanian musical world. In this manner, the Albanian operetta, opera and ballet came into being. Overtures, concertos for piano, violin, flute, etc., chamber music, suites and symphonies are now performed in concert halls all over Albania.

One of the major works of Albanian music was the operetta «Agimi» by Kristo Kono, who also wrote the vocal-symphonic poem «The Martyrs of Borova». Later came the

oratorios by Kostandin Trako, the first symphony by Çesk Zadeja, etc.

The first Albanian opera, «Mrika» by Preng Jakova, was put on stage in 1954. It was followed by «The Spring» by Tish Daija, «The Flower of Memory» by Kristo Kono, «The Heroines» by Vangjo Nova, and others. In 1963 the Albanian public were given the first national ballet, «Halili and Hajria» by Tish Daija. Later, the ballets «Delina» by Çesk Zadeja, «The Partisan» by Kozma Lara, «The Highland Girl» by Nikolla Zaraq, «The Fisherman's Family» by Tish Daija, etc., were produced.

In 1968, on the 500th anniversary of the death of the National Hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, the operas «Skanderbeg» by Preng Jakova and «From the Mists» by Pjetër Gaci were produced.

The musical life of the country has been enriched with thousands of songs which are sung all over the country, with a number of operas, operettas, musical comedies, etc., as well as with musical plays for children. To all this should be added the ballets and concerts of the May Decade, song festivals and the frequent symphonic concerts.

One can say without hesitation that today the Albanians have their own music, not only because musical works have their libretos and words in Albanian, but also, and above all, because they have a deeply Albanian character, develop according to the great laws of the true proletarian art, and the method of socialist realism.

The radio and television

After the establishment of the people's power the radio underwent great development. The number of broadcasting stations increased beyond comparison with the period before liberation. The main radio station is Radio Tirana. The total power of the Albanian radio stations is about 650 times as great as that of the period before the War. The Albanian television, with its centre in Tirana, is modernly equipped and together with the radio stations of the country, constitutes the material base for carrying out the cultural and political-ideological propaganda of the Party. They make the voice of the Albanian people heard all over the world.

With the complete electrification of the country almost

every Albanian family can listen to the radio and watch TV programs, through which the broad masses of working people are educated with the Marxist-Leninist spirit of the Party, are tempered ideologically and politically and given the possibility to broaden the horizons of their knowledge. The number of radio and TV sets has increased incalculably in comparison with the recent past.

The many and diversified radio and TV programs are suited to a vast auditorium, to all categories of people, ages, and professions. There are broadcasts for workers, cooperativists, students, women, young people and little children. About 30-40 per cent of the broadcasts of Radio Tirana and the Albanian television are devoted to spoken programs. Information occupies the greatest part of radio programs. Short condensed information, full of figures and facts, chronicles, reports and interviews, telephone conversations and correspondence, all this has introduced into every house the everyday life of the country in all its diversity, along with the word of the Party addressed to the working masses.

Part of the programs of the radio and television is set aside for talks of an ideological character, which contribute to the education of the masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the uprooting of the hangovers of the reactionary ideology of the overthrown classes and alien influences to socialism, the discarding of retrogressive mouldy customs and rites, the tempering of the new man.

Numerous broadcasts addressed to the peasants and the townspeople illustrate the successes achieved in the work for the socialist construction in the country. Through these programs the radio and television propagate advanced experience, the innovations and rationalizations made by the advanced workers, the recent discoveries in science and technology, the major contribution made to the development of the people's economy.

Through the radio and television programs the working people follow the development of the arts, literature and cinema, gain a better knowledge of the works of the best progressive writers and artists of the world.

Musical programs also occupy an important place in the radio and television broadcasts. They make people acquainted with folk music and the works of our composers. Part of the programs is devoted to operas, fragments of classical or contemporary music by foreign composers.

The protagonists of the programs of the radio and television are mainly working people, who, through these powerful means of communication, show their successes, exchange their experience, express their opinions about the problems which preoccupy them. The spoken programs, to mention only them, call before the microphone or the TV camera tens of hundreds of workers and intellectuals. In this manner, the radio and television have become a real school, a tribune from which the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the technical, scientific, cultural and artistic thought is spread all over the country.

Radio Tirana broadcasts 80 hours regular programs in 19 languages for foreign listeners each day. Many of these programs are intended to acquaint the foreign listener with Albania, with the historical past of the Albanian people, with their struggle against their many enemies for their national and social liberation, their experience of the construction of socialism, their achievements in industry, agriculture, education and culture, as well as in all the other fields of everyday life. Part of the programs is devoted to news and commentaries on international events, which analyse the international situation in the Marxist-Leninist spirit, point out the stand of socialist Albania towards international events, expose the aggressive policy of the superpowers and other reactionary forces, lay bare the main contradictions of our epoch, illustrate and encourage the class struggle of the proletariat and the movement for the national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples and countries.

Culture — the patrimony of the entire people

The cultural institutions in pre-liberated Albania could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The whole country could boast only a few cinemas, two museums and 5 public libraries. The theatre, the opera, the circus, the variety theatre, the house or hearth of culture, etc were unknown. And even those few existing cultural institutions were frequented only by a handful of people.

After the establishment of the people's state power a broad and unified system of cultural and artistic institutions was set up. During this period the first professional artistic

institutions — the drama theatre, the puppet theatre, the opera troupe, several circuses, variety show theatres, etc. were set up. In 1979 the country had 26 professional theatre troupes, 1,900 museums, museum-houses or rooms, 1,751 of which in the countryside. Of 5 public libraries with 13,000 books the country had in 1938, in 1979 their number increased to 47 with 3,700,000 books. At its present stage of development Albania has one cultural-artistic institution for every 600 inhabitants.

More important still is the fact that favourable conditions have been created for the masses to pursue various cultural and artistic activities. The number of books in libraries has increased over 100 times against the pre-war period, without including here the many libraries of production centres, schools and other institutions which are open to everyone. Services in them are free of charge.

The cultural artistic institutions, including the Opera and Ballet Theatre, organize tours, not only in towns but also in the countryside, in different work places, construction sites, army units, hospitals, schools, etc.

In order to enable all the working people to participate in the cultural life of the country, ticket charges for cultural artistic performances are very low. In this case, too, the state defrays most of the expenditure for the development of art and culture. Cinema tickets cost 1.5 or 2 leks, and for organized groups only 0.5 leks; tickets for professional artistic performances, including those of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, cost from 2 to 3 leks.

The Albanian working people are not only spectators, but also creators of art and culture. It is only after Liberation that a new type of cultural institution — the palace of culture, the cultural club, the house and hearth of culture, began to carry out its political and cultural activity among the masses of working people. In 1973 there were 2,000 houses and hearths of culture, without speaking of the thousands of «red-stands» set up at work places all over the country.

This extensive development of cultural and educational institutions speaks of the great work done for the ideological and cultural revolution. In these institutions the working people read, listen to concerts, conferences and discussions, work in literary or artistic circles, visit exhibitions, in general spend their leisure time in a cultured manner. There

are special instructors attached to the above-mentioned institutions.

Education of children and cultivation of new talents are the main concern of young pioneers' palaces and houses, comprising various sections and circles, sports grounds, cinemas, etc. All the schools of the country also run various circles of young talents.

Economic enterprises and cultural institutions in town and countryside, schools and army units have an organized system for the study of Marxism-Leninism and for the propagation of innovations and inventions, for the dissemination of scientific ideas, as well as circles dealing with problems of hygiene and health protection.

The popular character of culture in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is also manifested in its profoundly revolutionary ideological content and spirit which reflect the interests and aspirations of the broad masses, their efforts for the construction of a new life. All artistic activities are pervaded by the strong revolutionary feelings of the masses.

The popular character of our art is also reflected in the composition of the large army of Albanian artists. They are the sons and daughters of the people, workers and peasants, for whom the people's power has created all the possibilities to develop their talent. Therefore, they spare nothing to serve the people.

The ideal of a life of luxury and isolation from the masses of the people is alien to the Albanian artists. They are one with the masses, live and work with them. Like all our people's intelligentsia, they take direct part in productive work in order to be able to know better all aspects of life, the difficulties of the masses of working people, in order to link themselves better with the masses and to inspire themselves from their heroic spirit. From time to time Albanian writers and artists leave their studios and ateliers and go to work and live in the countryside, at construction sites and industrial centres where they find the material for their realistic works.

For the discovery and encouragement of new talents, artistic festivals and «decades», competitions of amateur groups of enterprises, schools, army units, agricultural cooperatives, etc. are organized by the state on a national or local scale.

People of the different branches of literature, the fine

arts and music, participate in the discussion of their works by the broad masses. Frequently, after a performance, theatres become places of heated discussion of the work which has just been put on stage. Public meetings with the participation of the authors are organized to discuss new literary works.

Thanks to these achievements the arts and culture in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have become a real patrimony of the broad masses of the people. Today they serve the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses and contribute directly to the construction of socialism in Albania.

The road of Albanian science

In the centuries the Albanian people have defended their native land and their national dignity not only by the force of their arms but also by the vitality of their culture and knowledge. From among their ranks have emerged many unnamed talents, creators of monumental works of architecture and painting, of magnificent rhapsodies which have defied the centuries, eminent men who belong to both the national and world history — statesmen, generals and humanists of world stature. However, the activity of our men of letters in the past never went beyond the limits of individual initiatives, despite their love of the language, folklore, literature and history of their people. The feudal-bourgeois regime of Zog, which tried to foil all progressive initiative, abandoned all the fundamental problems of our national life and culture to foreign students and scientists. Therefore, before the liberation of the country, the dream of the Albanian patriots to see their country with an academy, university, scientific research institutions, remained a utopia.

The triumph of the people's revolution paved the way for the Albanian people to develop their culture, to extend their knowledge, to make progress. In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the creative forces of the talented Albanian people were given, for the first time in their history, all the possibilities of development.

The socialist regime cannot be conceived without a culture, education and science of its own, because it is the most

advanced order, founded on the knowledge and implementation of the laws of nature and society for the well-being of the people. Therefore, the very first steps taken after Liberation were accompanied with important measures for the development of science at rates unknown in the past history of Albania and of many countries which boast great traditions in the field of science.

Under the people's power, all the branches of the Albanian economy have developed at rapid rates. The Albanian economy relies on the achievements of modern science and technology and introduces them into production and other economic activities. Assessing the great role and importance of science for the development of the economy and culture, the Party of Labour of Albania and the people's power encourage scientific-research activities, taking organizational, technical and material measures for the training of the cadres necessary for the development of research work, which will enable Albanian scientific thought to reach new heights. Science, from the concern of a narrow circle of people, has been transformed into a broad, organized and planned activity of the state. Today it is carried on by many institutes in the centre and in the districts, by scientific groups and councils, technical and technological bureaus, the chairs of the higher schools and the institutions under the Academy of Sciences.

The broad masses of working people participate extensively in the scientific life of the country. With their activity they help the extension of scientific work in the great production centres. They carry out thousands of experiments in agriculture, work in scores of technical and technological bureaus set up in all production centres, are active in experimental schools, scientific circles and associations, where they learn new things and sum up what they have learned.

In recent years, and especially after the founding of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, many conferences, sessions and congresses on scientific problems have been organized with the participation of many foreign scholars.

The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania

Relying on the work done in the course of more than a quarter of a century for the consolidation of socialist culture, the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania held on June 20, 1972, adopted the decision on the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which was sanctioned by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of October 10, 1972. This date marks the founding of the Academy.

The first session of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Albania was held on January 25, 1973. The founding of this institution is the result of the all-round material and spiritual development of the country, as well as a necessity dictated by the great tasks set by the construction of socialism at that stage and by the brilliant perspectives opened to our country in the future. Albania has already embarked on the road of intensive socialist development, which calls for most rational utilization of material and human resources, higher productivity of labour and more qualified management in all spheres of socialist activity. The present stage of the economic and cultural development of the country makes necessary more profound and comprehensive studies for a further improvement of the method of direction of scientific work, a better co-ordination of scientific activities on a national scale, so that scientific and technical forces and means are employed in a more rational and profitable manner and the qualification of cadres is carried on sounder scientific bases.

Through its leading body and its various sections, the scientific institutions attached to it, and their special commissions, the Academy of Sciences plays an important role in the solution of problems connected with the organization of scientific activities, and, in particular, with their co-ordination on a national scale. The Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has the primary task of developing research and study on the scientific criteria of the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the sciences which come within the domain of activity of the institutions attached to it, of co-ordinating the scientific research of the various institutions depending on it, of submitting to the competent organs the more important problems of the de-

velopment of new branches and disciplines of science and technique, of introducing the new methods into production and scientific research, as well as studying all questions connected with the training of new scientific cadres. The academy ensures the co-ordination of the work of all the institutions attached to it, as well as of all the other scientific institutions depending on the ministries.

The Academy of Sciences directs the work of a number of scientific research centres, such as the Institute of History, the Institute of Philology and Literature, the Institute of Popular Culture, the Institute of Economic Studies, the Institute of Nuclear Physics, the Institute of Hydrometeorology, the Computer Centre, the Hydraulic Laboratory and the Seismological Centre. Other institutions, serving the further development of the economy and culture, will be set up in the future. Their activities will cover general theoretical problems, as well as the applied sciences. The Assembly of the Academy of Sciences has three large sections: social sciences, natural sciences, and technical sciences, which cover all the disciplines and studies.

The Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, either on its own or in co-ordination with the University of Tirana and other scientific and educational institutions, organizes national conferences and congresses, frequently with the participation of foreign guests.

All the scientific activity of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. This is one of the superiorities of science in our socialist order, which enables it always to find its bearings in the labyrinth of the unknown, of making correct interpretations of facts and phenomena, of drawing correct theoretical and practical conclusions, while at the same time waging a stern struggle of principle against idealism, metaphysics and theology, which are the enemies of genuine science and inhibit progress. The proletarian party spirit is a constant feature of Albanian science.

Science in Albania is not and never will be the privilege of an élite. In the address of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania to the first meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences, it is said among other things: «The people and science, these two great historical forces, which until yesterday were divided and divorced from each

other, today, in the conditions of socialism, operate together, multiplying their forces to speed up the process of development of society. In our country, scientific thought is ever more becoming the patrimony of the masses of the people and enriching their creative activities.»

Scientific activity in Albania is not a question of personal preference or choice, or the domain of a given group or collective. It is a very important sphere of state activity, which develops according to a plan and in the interest of the state, society and science itself. The social responsibility of science does not in the least restrict the individual scientific freedom of the scientist. On the contrary, it illuminates the road for the man of science, increases the value of his work for society, enables him to tackle important theoretical and practical problems of the present and the future.

The progress of Albanian science is not unconnected with the development of world science. Though it is a small country with limited possibilities, Albania is extremely interested in the new acquisitions of world progressive science, and tries to appropriate rapidly and with effectiveness the achievements of modern science and technique. This is one of the important tasks of the Academy of Sciences.

The Academy of Sciences represents Albania in the international arena, making its voice heard in scientific associations and congresses abroad. The links of Albanian science with world science do not develop in one way only. Albanian science also contributes to world science by publishing the results it has achieved; it has its say in the field of scientific research, especially in those sciences which are more immediately linked with the specific problems of Albania.

Towards the brilliant peaks of science

In the course of the years under the people's power Albanian scientific thought has made great strides ahead. Freed from spontaneity and subjectivism, the new Albanian science has orientated itself towards the fundamental problems of economic and cultural development, towards the bolder perspectives which are opened by the new socialist order. Here finds its embodiment the Marxist-Leninist concept of the social role of knowledge and science as a means

to study and transform the reality. The results achieved in the natural and technical sciences, the activities carried out in this field enable a better utilization of the natural assets of the country, its mineral ores, its water resources, its useful plants, etc. in the interest of the development of the economy. Intensive work is being done to resolve many important scientific questions connected with the different sectors of the socialist economy, agriculture, construction, industry, health service, defence, etc. for designing and building complex hydro-electric plants of world standards, for discovering and mining the riches of the subsoil, for constructing farming machinery, industrial equipment, etc.

Many studies are of special theoretical and practical interest. Such are, amongst others, the study of the geological structure and nature of the mineral deposits of the country, of its hydro-electric resources, of the productivity of field crops, of the improvement of breeds of livestock, etc. The new Albanian science makes its contribution to the continuous modernization and mechanization of the processes of production, the construction of new technological lines and new plants relying on the internal material and human resources.

The Institute of Hydrometeorology, by improving the quality of observations and their interpretation, has largely met the urgent demands of the economy with useful data connected with the construction of the projects of the five-year plans; it has carried out a series of studies in the field of meteorology, hydrology and hydro-chemistry for the assessment of climatic conditions and hydraulic resources of the country, and for their large-scale utilization in the related sectors of the people's economy.

The Seismological Centre, besides the recording of seismic phenomena, has compiled the catalogue of earthquakes of Albania for the period 1800-1970 and completed an interesting study on the seismological map of Albania.

The Institute of Nuclear Physics has applied advanced biophysical methods in various sectors of production and research, in collaboration with different institutes and scientific centres of production. The Computer Centre applies with success new computer methods for the study and solution of important problems of many branches: in geology, electric power, construction, agriculture, planning, statistics, mechanical-engineering industry, etc.

In the field of social studies an important place is oc-

cupied by problems of socialist construction, which are seen from a broad economic, socio-political, ideological and cultural angle and in the context of the history of the Albanian people.

Our social sciences base themselves on the rich experience created by the Party of Labour of Albania, which has resolved many complex problems of the socialist revolution and development of the country in a creative manner and on a Marxist-Leninist scientific basis, making a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism on an international plane as well.

In its principled struggle against modern revisionism and imperialism, the PLA has firmly defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory, making a major contribution to the treatment of many problems of current world development, and especially the strategy and tactics of the international revolutionary worker movement. The scientific workers of the research institutes and of the higher schools, together with a great number of cadres of other sectors, play a great role in this outstanding work of the Party.

Very positive results have been achieved in the field of Albanological studies. In the struggle of principle against distorted, anti-scientific and reactionary views of foreign scholars, which formerly prevailed in the Albanological studies, a new Albanological science, with many branches based on a scientific materialistic methodology, has been created in struggle against all pressure exercised today by the bourgeois and revisionist science in this field of social studies. In the process of its consolidation it has resolved a series of problems of Albanian material and spiritual culture, thus becoming an authority in questions of Albanian history, language and letters.

The Institute of Language and Literature has published the «Orthography of the Albanian Language», the «Grammar of the Albanian Language», the «Dictionary of Current Albanian», the «History of the Albanian Literature», etc. «Orthography of the Albanian Language», based on sound scientific criteria and published for the first time in the history of the literary Albanian language, has solved at a high scientific level the problem of the unification of orthography at the present stage of development of the Albanian language.

One of the great successes of the Institute of History is the writing of the «History of Albania» in three volumes.

The collective of the Institute of Popular Culture is devoting its attention to the study of the major problems of tradition and innovation in the field of folklore.

Fruitful scientific research work is being carried out by the Institute of Economic Studies. This Institute studies important problems of the relations of distribution and redistribution of income, of the productivity of agricultural production, of the perfecting of the system of prices in the people's economy, etc.

The plans of the scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences comprise a series of important problems. The Institute of Hydrometeorology is working on the «Hydrology of Albania». On the basis of syntheses of the applied climatology, it is working to finish studies on the main climatic phenomena. The Seismological Centre has finished the compilation of the seismological map of Albania on the scale 1:500,000, the study of the seismicity of the Drin River basin, and is working for better utilization of seismological data. The Institute of Nuclear Physics studies a series of important problems of production in collaboration with the other institutes which do not depend on the Academy. The Computer Centre is dealing with a number of complex problems of mechanical engineering, geology, construction, electric power, agriculture, forestry, planning, hydrometeorological statistics, etc.

The Institute of Economic Studies deals with problems of distribution, organization and management of the economy and of the critique of bourgeois and revisionist views and theories.

The Academy of Sciences promotes scientific work and strengthens scientific discipline. A broad organized work has been done for the qualification of cadres and for the deepening of the line of the masses in scientific work.

The setting up of the Academy of Sciences, the progress made by Albanian scientific thought and the perspectives of its development have contributed to the refutation of anti-popular and reactionary views according to which small peoples and developing countries cannot bridge the gap created by their technical and scientific backwardness, and, therefore, cannot develop without foreign technical and scientific aid; that they are doomed to live under political, economic and scientific tutelage of the «great», without which they cannot make progress.

The 8th Congress of the PLA set very important tasks to our science.

The main objective of all the scientific study work is to give the 7th Five-year Plan the necessary support to ensure its complete fulfilment. Along with this, an important task and objective of our science is to begin immediately to carry out studies in regard to the next five-year plan (1986-1990). Great attention will be paid to the assimilation of contemporary achievements and the study of those sciences which are applied in the fields of vital importance to us, on which the rapid progress of the country depends and which strengthen its complete independence.

The main forces and means will be concentrated on studying our natural assets and, in the first place, in prospecting for and the discovery of useful minerals. An important objective of the scientific work will be the extension of studies in the field of machine building, the perfecting of the technology of production and the mechanization of the work processes, in the field of designing and construction of different industrial, hydro-technical, civic and other projects. Of special importance are the studies in the field of agriculture, especially those which have to do with the protection, increase and improvement of the land, increase of the genetic capacities of seeds and breeds, the improvement of agro-technique and the protection of plants and animals.

Because of the conditions of our country, we must persist in application. This is the field on which scientific research work must be concentrated, first of all.

Importance will also be attached to the fundamental sciences, which are the theoretical foundation of the applied sciences and modern technique. The task laid down is that the advanced results and methods of these sciences must be known and mastered in order to put them as fully as possible in the service of production.

The 8th Congress of the PLA pointed out that the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields has set great masses of people in motion, has encouraged real interest in mastering scientific knowledge more thoroughly and in conducting experiments. The possibilities have now been created to go over gradually to a wider front of greater improvement and transformations, which will bring about more radical changes to the benefit of production, technical equipment, technological concepts or organizational forms, not

only in individual workshops and factories, but also in entire branches. To this end, the active role and effectiveness of science must be further increased, and it must not be developed only in the scientific-research institutions, but must be developed and applied extensively in the concrete terrain, in the plants, the combines, the fields, wherever material blessings are produced.

The creation of the Committee of Science and Technology under the Council of Ministers was an important measure to ensure better direction and organization of the scientific study work.

Chapter seven

PUBLIC HEALTH

The struggle for people's health

The example of Albania shows that only socialism creates the conditions needed for a radical improvement of the people's health. In the past Albania was one of the most backward countries of Europe in this important field. It is enough to mention that expenditure for the maintenance of all the health institutions of the country at the time of King Zog was almost equal to the pay roll of the King's courtiers. Expenditure for public health covered only 1 per cent of the budget, whereas the royal court alone absorbed 3.7 per cent of it. Medical examination cost from 5 to 10 gold francs, without speaking of medicines, which cost scores of gold francs. The workers could not afford such expenses and, therefore, very rarely went to see a doctor. According to pre-Liberation statistics the average Albanian underwent a medical examination once in seven years.

After Liberation the situation changed completely. The state power never separated the improvement of the well-being of the masses from the protection and strengthening of their health, which in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is considered an important duty of the state. Numerous health institutions, a vast network of hospitals and clinics and a whole army of physicians fight on all fronts for the protection of people's health.

In the years of the people's power, important transformations have been made in the public health service, which has become socialist in content, comprising a whole system for the protection and strengthening of the health of the people,

for the development of their physical and mental energies, for the increase of their work capability, for the prevention of diseases, for a longer life expectancy. In socialist Albania, where exploitation of man by man does not exist, the social reasons for the existence of a private medical service have been eliminated. The physician-patient relations are no longer relations of exploitation which lead to the enrichment of the former at the expense of the latter. Physicians, just like all the other working people, are paid by the state. Curing the sick for personal profit is alien to the physician of our socialist society.

Public health, as it is organized in Albania, has an important characteristic; it develops according to a plan, which facilitates its activities. The institutions of public health grow and develop side by side with the harmonious development of the whole country, relying on the constant increase of its economic potential. The socialist state invests considerable sums for the setting up of new institutions of public health.

In 1938 the funds for public health totalled 440,000 leks, or only 1 per cent of the budgetary expenditure of the country. In comparison with the pre-war level, now expenditure for each inhabitant in this field has increased over 100 times.

Hospitals

Year	1938	1950	1960	1970	1978
Number of hospitals	10	69	134	375	763
Number of beds	1000	5300	8600	15100	17000

With the ceaseless increase of the health personnel, Albania today has several times more physicians and dentists than in the period before Liberation.

Number of physicians

Year	1938	1950	1960	1970	1978	1980
Number of physicians and dentists	122	149	477	1808	3738	4400
Number of inhabitants per physician and dentist	8527	8154	3360	1180	687	579

Not only have health institutions extended all over the country, but also constant progress has been made in the specialization and qualification of their services. Before Liberation the whole capital had only one specialized service. Today the situation has changed completely. Clinics of pathology, pediatrics, surgery and psychiatry have been set up in all the districts of the country. In many districts other specialized services have also been organized.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, all health services, from simple dressing to the most complex operations, from the ordinary medical examination to long-term treatments, lasting often for years on end in the sanatoriums or hospitals, are free of charge. No matter how long the period of hospitalization and how great the expenses incurred, the patient pays nothing. All expenditure is defrayed by the state. This aspect of the health service in Albania is evidence of the socialist humanism, which characterizes the people's power, of the reality of Albania where man is considered the most precious capital.

All the citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are entitled to medical assistance free of charge. The same applies to the foreign residents, foreign consorts of Albanian citizens, as well as the foreigners employed at various institutions, enterprises and organizations, provided no contrary stipulation exists.

Treatment of patients and the distribution of medicines are under no restriction whatsoever. The physicians think rather of how to cure the patient than of the cost of the treatment. Thus, in certain cases the treatment of patients has cost the state tens of thousands of leks.

All this stems from the very character of the health service in Albania. This is an important achievement of the Albanian people, which speaks of the unprecedented strengthening of the people's economy. No capitalist country, however powerful economically, has or can put into practice such a humanitarian system, because this would run counter to the selfish interests of a handful of people. The cost of medical care and treatment is very high there. As to the «free of charge» medical care in certain bourgeois states, in fact, it is based on the funds of «social insurance» created through the contributions of the workers themselves so it is not at all gratuitous, on the contrary, it is conditional on a number of factors.

Medical care in Albania tends to be as close to the people as possible. This is illustrated by the fact that health institutions function even in the most remote corners of the country. The network of outpatient clinics and dental clinics covers all the inhabited centres of the country.

Outpatient clinics

Year	1938	1950	1960	1970	1978
Total number of outpatient clinics	40	362	629	1283	3028
Number of visits in thousands	159	746	1962	4748	6926
Number of visits per 10,000 inhabitants	153	614	1206	2223	2695

First medical assistance is given in outpatient clinics.

The clinics of city quarters, complete with sections of pathology, pediatry, radiology and minor surgery and injections, have all the inhabitants of the related quarters under constant control. On first examination the physician fills the personal file of the patient, recording the diagnosis and treatment prescribed. If hospital treatment is needed, the patient is admitted to the respective hospital ward on the recommendation of the physician in charge of the case. In locality centres the hospital carries out both outpatient and hospital treatment. Protection of workers' health is not the exclusive concern of health institutions. Many economic enterprises have their own health centres, in which workers are given medical aid. Every town and major work centre, as well as most of the villages have emergency stations working round the clock.

Physicians are present wherever the life of man is exposed to danger. In emergency cases they stand ready to fly on helicopter to remote or isolated places to save people's lives.

Extension of the health service to the Albanian village

The health service in the rural areas of the country was almost non-existent in the past. For all the villages of the country, with 90 per cent of the population, there were all in all 14 outpatient clinics with one nurse each. Malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis, trachoma, etc. took a heavy toll of the rural population. The peasants of the remote zones never saw a doctor in their life.

Immediately after Liberation, the people's power made every effort to improve the health service in the countryside, by ensuring medical care free of charge for the peasantry and setting up health institutions as close to the peasants' homes as possible.

In these years of the people's power, the number of health institutions has increased more than 20 times. Every united village today has one health centre, including an outpatient clinic, a maternity home, a dentist's clinic, or a rural hospital. Every village has an outpatient clinic, with a mother and child consultant section, and one or more crèches.

Prophylaxy — a fundamental characteristic of the health service in Albania

It is easier to prevent than to cure. Therefore, prophylaxy, prevention of disease, has been the main concern of the public health service in Albania since the creation of the new socialist state. Here lies the essential difference between the concepts of people's health, as it exists today in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and as it existed in Albania in the period before Liberation, or in the capitalist countries where the physicians themselves are not interested in such measures.

Prophylactic service was set up in Albania immediately after Liberation, with the adoption of a series of important measures to stop the spread of diseases by means of the preventive vaccination of the population free of charge. In spite of the great shortage in medical cadres, systematic exam-

ination of all the working people was carried out as early as the period 1946-1947.

Parallel with hospitals and polyclinics, a large network of prophylactic establishments, clinics, laboratories, etc. has been set up in our country, and is ever better being completed with cadres, whose experience and professional skill are constantly growing. Gradually, the prophylactic network has branched off over the whole country, reaching the most remote villages.

Instead of one single hygienic centre, which existed before Liberation, today the country has 26 such centres, with all the necessary cadres and equipment. Likewise, instead of one bacteriological laboratory with three higher cadres and five medium cadres in 1944, today the country has 25 bacteriological laboratories, with scores of cadres of different specialities. Today there are 25 bromatological laboratories against none in the period before Liberation.

Besides, sanitary education has become widespread, comprising sanitary houses and cabinets on a district level. These institutions carry out intensive propaganda work among the population, especially on problems of hygiene and prophylaxy.

In order to put the activity of the prophylactic institutions of all levels on a sound scientific basis, to consolidate them and to raise the study and treatment of the problems of hygiene and epidemiology to a higher level, to strengthen prophylactic services, the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology was set up in Tirana in 1969. It deals with the scientific study of the hygienic-sanitary conditions of work, the hygiene of nutrition and housing, and takes measures to improve them; it tracks down contagious diseases and assists the training and specialization of cadres engaged in the sector of hygiene and prophylaxy. Besides, it gives direct and active assistance to the base whenever unexpected problems arise, problems which require the application of most advanced technical methods. It has become an important centre of manufacturing immunological medicaments. The people working at this institute study the working conditions in the mines, industrial centres etc., detect the causes that effect the health of the workers and suggest measures to improve the situation.

This institute controls the nutritive value of the food products, detects the sources of deterioration and infection of food, and suggests methods and measures to preserve the

nutritive qualities of food products at every stage of their production, canning or transport.

Measures are taken in all work and production centres in order to create the best possible hygienic and sanitary conditions for the working people. A worker is employed only after undergoing an obligatory medical examination. The workers of some categories of heavy jobs, which might impair their health, are examined more frequently. By special decision of the government, a health centre, with one physician, one dentist, one assistant physician and one nurse, is set up in the major work centres.

Besides work places, prophylactic medicine covers the institutes for children of pre-school and school age, in order to ensure that the norms of hygiene and cleanliness are rigorously observed there. Particular attention is attached to the physical development of pupils and students, who are examined at regular intervals.

Prophylactic medicine plays an important role in working out the general plan of cities and villages. All construction designs are executed only after the sanitary inspector has given his approval. This criterion of work, this control by the sanitary organs, applies also to rural construction.

These prophylactic measures have resulted in the protection of people from epidemic diseases, especially contagious diseases of the intestines, in the elimination of malaria, syphilis, trachoma, etc. and in circumscribing tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, etc. as much as possible.

Prophylactic measures are taken by sanitary organs and institutions as well as other state organs. These measures are put into practice according to rules on work safety, the protection of mother and child, the mechanization of work in agriculture, industry, etc.

Medical science and the protection of people's health

Since the establishment of the people's power public health services have extended and greatly improved their quality; they have been brought closer to the masses of the people; scientific work has also been carried out over major problems of people's health. With the health service network already

extended to the remotest villages of the country, now the raising of its scientific level has been given top priority.

Scientific work in medicine is aimed at strengthening the prophylactic service through increasing the number of sanitary institutions, equipping them with modern apparatuses, and raising the professional and scientific level of the medical personnel. The scientific activity in this field mainly comprises the study, planning and execution, on well-founded scientific bases, of measures for the protection of people's health, the utilization of new methods and means of prevention, diagnostication and treatment, the further improvement of the organization and increased effectiveness of the health service.

The studies carried out in this field, just as in all other activities, are conducted according to plan. The Faculty of Medicine and the Sanitary Centre, the University clinics, as well as the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology, in co-ordination with the Ministry of Health and after consulting the workers' collectives, have drafted five-year plans in which the problems of preventive medicine, in particular those linked with the protection of the health of mother and child and of the workers, are given particular attention. These plans foresee the study of the more widespread diseases, such as hypertension, certain liver disorders, biliary calculus, some disorders of the stomach and the intestines, rheumatismal polyarthritis, epilepsy, dental caries, etc. Extensive studies connected with the introduction of the new achievements of medical science, such as isotopes, surgical treatment of heart diseases, etc., as well as a number of studies on experimental medicine, have raised the level of scientific and practical activity. The importance attached to the study of the popular medicine is noteworthy. The Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology carries out major studies in the field of hygiene, epidemiology and immunology.

These scientific studies are free of all academism, because they are founded on the necessities of everyday life and connected with the problems of the practical activity of our medicine.

The distinguishing feature of the development of Albanian medical science is its mass character. The work of the specialists is directly combined with the activity of all the mass of people engaged in the health sector. The development of medicine in depth, the raising of medical assistance to a

higher qualitative level cannot be realized by a handful of specialists alone. However great their talents and qualified the aid they give, all this cannot be made without raising the professional level of all the people working in this sector, without their broad participation in scientific research work. In our country, not only the central institutions, but also the health organs in the villages, have all the possibilities of engaging in scientific research and study. In fact, the health institutions in the districts, just like the central institutions, have their own plans of scientific study. The number of people engaged in scientific study is growing ceaselessly, along with the increasing frequency of scientific sessions organized everywhere, including the smaller districts.

In order to encourage people's participation in scientific activities, the work they do to extend their knowledge and to raise their professional level is followed with particular care. Various forms of activities, which have as their objective the raising of the professional level of medical cadres, their specialization and post-graduate qualification, are organized both in the centre and in the districts. At regular intervals, cadres from the districts come to the capital to attend qualification courses according to a definite program.

In the conditions of the great development of medical science in the world today it is impossible for a physician, however capable he may be, to undertake scientific studies alone, as his work would be incomplete, not to say fruitless. The solution of complex problems exacts complex scientific studies. Therefore it is necessary that studies should be carried out by groups of physicians specialized in different sectors.

In the debating of different problems, as well as in the encouragement of scientific work, an important role is played by the Scientific Association of Physicians, which has its branches in all the districts. The leading organ of the association comprises physicians engaged in scientific work and interested in stimulating scientific thought among their colleagues.

The mass character of scientific work is directly linked with the efforts to raise the scientific level of the health service in all the country. This creates the conditions for reducing the differences of level still existing between the centre and the districts. The government organs assist this scientific activity and co-ordinate it on a national level, see

to it that the scientific workers do not lack the materials they need and the publications they have to consult. The results of scientific work are not kept locked up in drawers, they do not become the property of a narrow circle of specialists, on the contrary they are published and made known so as to be applied by all the physicians of the country.

Public health — the concern of the entire people

The successes achieved in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the protection of the health of the people, are due to the considerable funds allocated for prophylactic measures and to a radical rebuilding of the whole structure of the health service. These successes are connected with the higher level of socialist consciousness of the masses, of their sanitary education and their broad and active participation in the great struggle for the protection of the people's health. Collaboration between the health institutions, the Democratic Front and the mass organizations over problems of the protection of health, the improvement of the living and working conditions of the masses, the education of mothers to rear healthy children, etc., is ever better organized.

In the cities, the organizations of the Democratic Front have set up hygiene commissions in all blocks of buildings. Through various forms of sanitary education and propaganda, the level of sanitary culture of the masses has been raised to the degree that they participate actively in the work for the protection of the people's health. The organizations of the Party, of the masses, the teachers, workers of public health institutions, etc., explain to the masses the importance of rigorously observing hygienic rules. The struggle for radical transformations in the hygienization of the country, in general, and of the village, in particular, is not reduced to the adoption of a series of technical and material measures, necessary as they may be in themselves, but above all is a struggle against backward concepts and customs, for raising the cultural level of the working masses, in general, and their sanitary culture in particular.

This, especially in the countryside, is ensured through special courses for sanitary activists, who are chosen from among the young peasant girls. These courses, set up under

the solicitude of the people's power and the mass organizations in schools, production centres and agricultural cooperatives, give these young girls the rudiments of first medical aid. The sanitary activists, trained in these courses carry out this duty after their normal work on a voluntary basis. In this manner, every village, or every family in the village, has its own sanitary activists, who with their example help spread the new in the countryside, giving valuable aid to the masses to acquire the first notions of hygiene and sanitation.

Worker control and the control organized by the working masses in general on the sanitary institutions is another important form of participation of the working masses in the solution of problems of public health; these forms of work help improve the quality of care for the patients in the hospitals, instil the revolutionary spirit of the working class into the people working in these institutions, and revolutionize them further.

Decrease and Liquidation of endemic diseases

Before Liberation endemic diseases such as malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, etc., took a heavy toll of the population. This was due to the favourable terrain for the spread of these diseases, above all the socio-economic and political situation of the country, and last but not least, to the shortcomings and ineffectiveness of the health service. Ordinary people could not afford to pay the heavy expenses required for the long treatment of such ailments as tuberculosis, syphilis, etc.

As a result, almost the whole of the population living in the marshlands was affected by malaria. Tropical malaria, which is the most acute form of this disease, was widespread. In 1940 about 54 per cent of the cases examined showed symptoms of this disease. Such a grave situation existed only in Albania of all the European countries.

Syphilis was another open sore for the country. Under the regime of Zog, and especially in the period of occupation, the spread of prostitution, a characteristic phenomenon of the capitalist socio-economic system, brought about a recrudescence of this disease. In many districts, endemic syphilis,

neglected for centuries, was rampant, and no studies had been made so far in this field.

Other contagious diseases were widespread, especially the acute forms of intestinal infections, dyspepsia, gastroenteritis, as well as dysentery, typhoid fever, diphtheria and other diseases which were the cause of a high death-rate, especially among small children.

Immediately after Liberation, the most urgent task was to check the spread of the epidemic typhoid fever, to put under control malaria and other epidemic diseases, etc., while organizing against syphilis a campaign, which, with the overthrow of the exploiting classes, could be waged in more favourable conditions. In this first phase, work was concentrated on the diseases which were responsible for the highest number of deaths and which could be combated with success with the knowledge available at that time. When the foundations of this service were laid, and rules and laws approved, work began for the training of cadres needed to carry out this campaign. An anti-epidemic centre was set up — an important measure in the context of other measures adopted for the protection of the health of working people. In 1947 the Law «On the Struggle against Infectious Diseases» was promulgated, in 1949 the Decree on «Declaration, Examination and Obligatory Treatment of Syphilis Free of Charge», and the Government Ordinance for the «Campaign against Malaria» was issued; all this served as a basis on which the struggle against these diseases was to begin. In 1949 the government took the decision on the gratuitous treatment of tuberculosis. In 1949 large-scale vaccination began against diphtheria and later against typhoid fever in the principal centres of these diseases. In 1947 the problem of the local production of vaccines against typhoid fever was finally solved.

Thanks to these measures rapid progress was made in the liquidation of epidemic diseases. Malaria was put under control, syphilis was almost totally wiped out and the campaign against tuberculosis was organized on the basis of the new achievements of medical science, while attaching all the necessary importance to the prophylactic measures against it. In 1952, with the setting up of epidemiological centres, with their extension and strengthening in the years that followed, the activity of the anti-epidemiological service has become more and more concrete.

Priority was given to the struggle for the liquidation of malaria. In 1950 declaration and treatment of malaria, and later hospitalization of malaria cases, were made compulsory. Other measures concerning the prophylaxy and liquidation of infection centres played an important role in this field.

The struggle against malaria, which continued till the complete liquidation of the disease, went through two stages: the first, from 1946 to 1957, had as its objective the reduction of the infection to the level that it no longer posed a threat; the second, from 1958 to 1967, marked the complete liquidation of the disease. This is a great success of the health service in the PSR of Albania. In the recent years no case of malaria has been reported.

The radical transformations carried out after the triumph of the people's power had created the necessary conditions for the rapid liquidation of syphilis, too. A campaign was organized in order to detect and eliminate the centres of endemic syphilis. In 1950 there were 34 anti-venereal clinics and 8 laboratories specialized in this field, whereas in 1958 the number of anti-venereal clinics and sanitary centres increased to 77 and that of seriological laboratories to 34. These institutions carried out a broad activity for the tracking down and treatment of syphilis and other venereal diseases. From 1947 to 1968 they had made 2,322,356 seriological examinations, all the detected cases were obligatorily subjected to proper treatment, with the result that 99.4 per cent of them were thoroughly cured.

The successes achieved in combating syphilis in Albania are unprecedented in many countries, where syphilis, like other venereal diseases, is constantly operating. From 1961 to 1965 the number of syphilitics has increased from 10.7 to 11.7 per 100,000 inhabitants in the USA, from 7.6 to 9.6 in France, from 16.6 to 23.6 in Poland, from 0.3 to 10.0 in Hungary, from 29.9 to 30.3 in Yugoslavia. As early as 25 years ago syphilis contracted through sexual intercourse has disappeared in Albania. Likewise, no case with tertiary clinical symptoms of endemic syphilis has been reported; in fact, the last of these cases, was observed in 1960.

In Albania today, with the elimination of the basis on which syphilis may develop, this disease is considered to be liquidated once and for all, which is a success still unmatched by any country of the world. Thanks to these measures many

venereal and other diseases have disappeared, like typhus and trachoma, while others have been considerably restricted, like typhoid fever, dysentery, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, etc.

Recession of tuberculosis

Tuberculosis, which was most widespread amongst the masses of the poor, especially workers and peasants, is one of the dark stains on the medical history of our country. Lacking almost all medical assistance, the sick languished uncared for until they died.

The primary forms of consumption are in decline today and the most serious cases are met with more and more infrequently. The struggle against this disease in Albania is organized in a centralized manner on the basis of prophylactic medicine. During the first phase, when the country had a shortage of physicians, efforts were made to increase the number of beds, with the aim of isolating and curing the sick.

During this period anti-TBC sanatoria were set up in Tirana, Korça, Shkodra and other cities. A large network of clinics for the prevention of tuberculosis was also set up. Today all the cities of Albania have one such clinic.

Anti-tubercular establishments

Year	1938	1950	1960	1970	1975*
TBC sanatoria	—	4	5	4	3
number of beds	—	1075	1541	1585	1100
TBC clinics	—	8	15	15	4
number of beds	—	145	331	448	40
preventoria	—	5	—	1	—
number of beds	—	520	—	100	—

Prophylactic measures comprised also vaccination with BCG. All the population under 20 years old was vaccinated with BCG and in certain cases this measure comprised people of the age group of 30 years.

* The fall in 1975 shows the regression of the disease

Chemoprophylaxy — the administration of nicotibine to children and adults who have contact with people affected by tuberculosis, is another measure of defence adopted since 1962.

The duty of the anti-tubercular service is to detect the symptoms of the disease at the earliest stage by means of mass examination of people at work and production centres, in city quarters and villages.

Apart from the purely medical aspects of this work, the struggle against this disease is made much easier thanks to the constant raising of the standard of living of the masses of the people.

Anti-tubercular sanatoria and clinics can accommodate all the cases of consumption in a condition requiring clinical treatment. Hospitalization and treatment is free of charge in spite of the fact that the treatment of this disease requires considerable funds.

Mother and child care

The position of social inequality in which the Albanian woman lived before Liberation was reflected most clearly in the lack of all care for the protection of her health. At that time the whole country had one maternity ward in all with 15 beds, in the hospital of Tirana. The personnel for the whole of Albania consisted of one gynaecologist and 32 midwives working mainly in the cities, and assisting only the wives of the rich, while most of the wives of the poor laboured in dangerously anti-hygienic conditions, with a high frequency of accidents to the mother and the newborn. Consultation clinics for pregnant women were unknown just as sanitary propaganda for the protection of the health of mother and child. Cases of death during delivery and in the first days after child-birth were numerous. This accounted mainly for the very slow increase of the population of the country.

This state of things has been changed in Albania today. The protection of the health of mother and child is one of the primary duties of the state and an integral part of the policy for the complete emancipation of woman. Today every village has its own sanitary unit with an ambulance, consultation house, maternity house and crèche. In this manner, all the births in the cities and more than 95 per cent of births in the villages are assisted by a gynaecologist and a midwife.

Obstetric and gynaecological assistance in the PSR of Albania is conceived in its two aspects: prophylaxy and treatment. All pregnant women in city quarters or villages have access to consultation facilities under the direction of a physician and a midwife, as well as other specialists, from the beginning of pregnancy up till delivery. The personnel of consultation houses for pregnant women and mothers with children follow up the health situation of their patients by means of regular rounds of inspection in their respective quarters.

Mother and child care consultation houses

1938	1950	1960	1970	1978
1	76	160	1371	4832

A vast work is done in order to spread scientific knowledge for the protection of the health of mother and child. Apart from this, these are special provisions to facilitate the work of working mothers. During pregnancy or breast-feeding they cannot be sent on business outside their residential place, cannot be assigned to night shifts, or to extra time work.

While nursing the infant they have the right to stop work every three hours to go to the infant.

Everyone who refuses a job to or dismisses a woman because she is pregnant, is liable to penal pursuit.

During the period of pregnancy, all women have the right to be transferred to a lighter job, and the management of the enterprise or institution in which they are employed is duty bound to satisfy such a demand. If the pay going with the new job is lower than the average pay of the former job, the difference is made up by Social Insurances.

All women workers and employees during pregnancy and after child-birth have the right to a period of 6 months paid leave, with the payment of 80 per cent of their salary.

The people's power holds in high esteem the mothers who give birth to, rear and educate their children well. The People's Assembly has founded various medals and orders, such as the «Heroine Mother», the «Glory to the Mother» and the «Mother Medal».

Before Liberation, the birth of a child meant increased misery for the families of ordinary workers. Today, on the contrary, children of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are the «privileged». Creches, kindergartens, schools, young pioneer palaces are put at their disposal to grow up healthy in body and mind, to learn, to recreate and temper themselves.

The camps of young pioneers set up at the seaside and in the mountains accommodate thousands of children for the summer vacations. Besides this, during summer vacations all the schools of the country turn into day camps for children. The industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives set up recreation camps for the children of their workers.

Child care is in the centre of attention of the people's power. Before Liberation, pediatric services for the whole of the country comprised one ward with 35 beds in the hospital of Tirana. Because of the lack of a specialized medical service for children, many diseases resulted in a high rate of infantile mortality. Only in the city of Tirana, the average infantile mortality in the period 1933-1940 was 161 per 1,000.

Under the people's power the first pediatric hospital was set up in Tirana, which was followed by those in Shkodra, Korça and other cities, with pediatric wards being opened in every hospital of the country.

Outpatient clinics and polyclinics have their pediatric section, keeping constant control of the children of the respective city quarters. They organize periodic medical examinations in schools, kindergartens and creches, with the aim of taking prophylactic and preventive measures.

Increase of the number of creches

year	1950	1960	1970	1978
number of day creches	17	139	2262	2575
number of beds	760	8975	45339	50327

Child care is organized on solid bases, with the obvious result that contagious diseases such as measles, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, etc., have been greatly reduced. More than

400,000 people in Albania have passed the critical age without contracting measles.

Another important success is the general vaccination against diphtheria and poliomyelitis, which caused a considerable fall in the occurrence of diphtheria whereas poliomyelitis is gradually receding and is no problem.

The campaign organized against infantile diseases and the regular examination of children in schools, kindergartens, and creches, as well as the preventive measures, have resulted in a considerable decrease of mortality caused by the above-mentioned diseases. Rachitis also is in recession, partly due to the progress of health education on the part of parents and to the prophylactic treatment with vitamin D.

Another important measure for child care consists in the organization of sanatorium, anti-dysenteric and anti-dysenteric creches, in which children resume normal development.

Besides this, a great number of seasonal creches function in the countryside. Creches admit children from four months and a half to four years old. The parents pay only for a small part of the expenses, which, depending on the size of the salary and the number of people in charge of the head of the family vary from 20 to 30 per cent of the total expenses. The rest is covered by the state.

Pharmacy in the service of the people

A considerable part of the successes achieved by public health in Albania is due to the role of pharmaceutical services. Before Liberation, the country depended on import for all kinds of medicaments, which were sold to the population at speculative prices.

After 1944, pharmacies were nationalized and put entirely in the service of the people, thus putting an end to all possibilities of speculation. With this measure the state was in a position to unify prices for medicaments and even to reduce them periodically. Prices for them sometimes are lower than the cost of production. Only in the course of the 4th Five-year Plan, in 1966 and in 1969, two great price reductions have been made for a long list of pharmaceutical articles, covering mainly medicaments of great consumption, especially antibiotics, vitamins, cortisones, analgesics, etc.

All medicaments for infants under one year of age, which is 10 per cent of all the medicaments sold in the pharmacies of the country, are given free of charge.

The citizens of the PSR of Albania receive the medicaments they need, when treated in hospitals and other health institutions of the country, free of charge.

The network of pharmacies has so extended that each group village has its own pharmacy.

Important steps have been taken in the production of medicaments in the country, using mainly the local primary materials. In 1948 the first pharmaceutical laboratory was set up; in the beginning the list of its production consisted of a few items. Later it grew into an industrial enterprise producing 1,000 pharmaceutical and cosmetic articles, which meet the greatest part of the demands of the population and of the health institutions for them. Each year, production is enriched with new articles and quality is improved. This enterprise has a modern laboratory, in which a great number of higher cadres and specialists work.

The control of medicaments is done at the state control laboratory of medicaments, both for the local and imported products, for the finished product and the primary materials.

The Albanian pharmaceutical industry will develop further in the future.

Sports for the masses

From a privilege of the upper strata, the sports and physical culture today have become the patrimony of the broad working masses and of the younger generations, an important means of communist education and revolutionary tempering.

In 1938, 1,200 people in all went in for sports and physical culture. After Liberation the graph showing the increase of participation in sports activities rises in a very significant manner. In 1959 the number of people participating in sports activities was 150,000, in 1964 this figure reached to 200,000, in 1969 more than 260,000, and in 1973 more than 300,000. In the 1st National Spartakiad, organized in 1959, the number of participants was more than 200,000 young sportsmen from all over the country, in the

3rd National Spartakiad, organized in 1974, participation increased to more than 300,000, whereas in the 4th National Spartakiad, in 1979, participation of young sportsmen from various work centres, cooperatives, military units and the schools of the country, was more than 500,000 people.

Before Liberation only males took part in sports activities. The rules and norms of conduct of the time prohibited girls from appearing in sports costume, from running or playing in public. The situation changed radically after November 1944, when the Albanian woman, with her latent dynamism, made a place for herself in sports, too. The number of girls going in for physical culture and sports has reached to 100,000. Only the 4th National Spartakiad for young girls saw the participation of about 90,000 females in various activities.

Massive sports activities, such as cross-country races, athletic events and swimming, as well as long marches, games for students and other manifestations of this are very popular in Albania. The physical culture and sports movement consist in national spartakiads, gymnastic manifestations, championships and other activities.

Only four decades ago three or four sports activities had some popularity, while today their number has increased to about 20, including mountaineering, excursions, cross-country races, various competitions, athletics, football, various other sports and the popular games. The traditional festival of popular games was organized in Durrës recently with the participation of 1,200 pupils of 8-year schools.

Before Liberation, the country had 27 cadres for physical cultural training, 50 arbiters and not a single coach, whereas today it has 1,300 higher cadres without speaking of more than 1,000 arbiters for different sports.

In Albania there are 5,200 teams for different sports and ages — young pioneers, juniors, adults (male and female) which take part in different local and national activities, championships, cups, spartakiads, etc.

In the years of the people's state power, the material base necessary for sports activities, installation and equipment has increased beyond comparison with the period before Liberation when there were only 15 sports grounds against 12 stadiums and 90 sports centres, 5 sports palaces (without including those which are still under construction), 36 shooting ranges, 3,145 sports grounds, of which 972 classes, etc.

This material base has been set up and is maintained entirely with state expenditure. The masses engage in sports activities without paying anything. The state guarantees not only the material means but also the cadres for them to carry on the sports pursuits.

Increased participation has brought about a qualitative rise in sports. Today the country counts scores of sports masters, merited masters and athletes of high quality.

HOUSING — A GENERAL CONCERN

History knows of utopian schemes on the manner of solving the problem of housing, which, however, remains as acute as ever. Cities grow, so does the industry, but the problem of housing remains open. This is because the measures taken for the solution of this problem have a strong class character. «Capital will not remedy the shortage of housing, even if it is in a position to do it,» said Engels, and this is valid even today. The shortage of houses, in fact, is an excuse for tenants to raise the rents, whereas the solution of the problem would cut their profits. This is why in the capitalist world today a great number of workers have so much difficulty in finding a house.

In Albania housing was just as grave a problem in the past, with the majority of population, especially the working people in town and countryside, living in huts without ceiling and with a smoke-hole instead of a chimney. In Myzeqe only the rich, that is, the beys and aghas, had the right to put up a proper chimney, a sign of social rank, whereas the peasants had no right to build a chimney. This was a sort of unwritten law which compelled the peasants to live in huts, or worse still, in stalls and barns. This already lamentable situation was made still worse by the ravages caused by the war. The nazi-fascist occupiers burned down, destroyed or damaged 62,475 houses in town and countryside.

After Liberation, the working masses, through mass labour actions, set out to repair the damages caused by the war. The problem of housing was in the centre of attention of the people's state power. In the first years following Liberation work was concentrated on the reconstruction of the destroyed houses and on the construction of thousands of new flats.

The fund allocated to the construction of dwelling-houses has increased steadily with the result that from Liberation up till 1979, the state and the population have built about 300,000 flats on credits, in which 70 per cent of the population has been accommodated. Against the 24 towns which the whole country counted before Liberation, today there are 32 new towns.

The Albanian towns and villages have totally changed their aspect; they have grown into beautiful modern towns and villages, built according to well-studied plans.

Architecture has developed in step with the transformation of the objective reality, and has managed the difficult problems with the aid of the masses and the specialists. This process is realized in consultations, debates, inquiries, etc., organized in city quarters, villages and districts, as well as in the contacts with the mass organizations, the construction workers, etc.

In spite of the rapid rates of construction, the problem of housing could not be solved in the ordinary way, because of the rapid increase of population, the more so since large-scale projects, which required considerable amounts of material and as much work force, were under construction all over the country. In these conditions, the problem of housing could not be solved except in a revolutionary manner. The Party and the state summed up the experience gained in the work for the reconstruction of the country after the war, and above all, the experience gained in the course of the labour action for the liquidation of the material damage caused by the November 30, 1967 earthquake, when in 29 days, relying mainly on volunteer work, 6,048 houses and flats and socio-cultural buildings were rebuilt or repaired, and the experience of the work for the liquidation of the material damage caused by the April 15, 1979 earthquake in Northern Albania, during which 14,522 houses and other buildings were repaired and 2,441 houses and flats were built to accommodate 100,000 people, 165 socio-economic buildings were repaired or built anew.

Specialized organisms direct the work, draw the blueprints, set the location of the new building, ensure the materials and work tools needed in the district, enterprise or city quarter.

The inhabitants of the city quarter, the collective of the economic enterprise, the office workers of the administration,

the mass organizations, the army units and the schools all are engaged in this great labour action and, without neglecting their primary tasks, make their contribution to the solution of this problem. The peasantry, too, makes an important contribution in the constructions put up through voluntary work.

Voluntary work is organized on the principle of self-reliance. Building materials, such as stone, sand, gravel, timber, bricks, tiles, limestone, etc., are ensured through voluntary contribution.

The rates of construction for dwelling-houses achieved through voluntary work by the citizens are incomparable with the former rates of construction.

In a great number of cities an important volume of constructions has been realized through voluntary contribution, and it is foreseen that the problem of housing will be solved on a national scale in the near future.

Revolutionary action on such scale is possible only in a socialist country like Albania, where the principle «one for all and all for one» has replaced the bourgeois principle «man for man is a wolf». All this testifies to the fact that the problem of housing in Albania is on the right road of solution, for the benefit of the working people, who regard this question as their own concern.

In Albania dwelling-houses are property of the state which rents them to the working people without discrimination. The flats are distributed by the people's councils of the city quarter on the basis of the demands and needs of the population. The fund of dwelling-houses is distributed on the basis of definite criteria, depending on the number of persons making up a family, etc.

Rents in Albania are very low, not to say the lowest in the world. They represent 3-4 per cent of worker's monthly pay. Individuals possessing their own houses can rent them, provided the size of the rent remains within the limits set by the state.

Great construction work has been done in the villages. The measures have been adopted by the Party and the Government to raise the standard of living in the countryside, and considerable funds have been allocated to building new houses for the peasants as well as for the citizens who go to live and work in the countryside for the promotion of agricultural production.

Chapter Nine

NARROWING OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

Socialist and communist society cannot be built without first solving the problem of narrowing the essential distinctions between town and countryside. This can be achieved through the solution of a number of contradictions of an antagonistic and non-antagonistic character. It goes through three phases: the first phase is that of the revolutionary transformations which lead to the liquidation of the centuries-old antagonistic contradiction between town and countryside — this phase has been overcome; the second has as its main objective the overcoming of the backwardness in the countryside and the narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside (Albania is going through this second phase at present — the narrowing of distinctions constitutes one of the essential tasks of the present phase of the construction of complete socialist society); the third phase is that of the complete liquidation of all distinctions between town and countryside. This task remains to be carried out in the future.

The narrowing, and later the complete liquidation, of these distinctions is a historic necessity for the building of socialism and communism. Any deviation from this principle leads to the establishment of incorrect relations between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry.

In order to bring about the narrowing of differences three main problems must be solved: first, the development of productive forces, the raising of the degree of mechaniza-

tion, the electrification and intensification of work in the countryside to make it similar to work in the town; second, the perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside, through the gradual creation of conditions suitable for the transformation of the cooperativist property into the property of the entire people; third, the raising of the cultural, ideological and political level of the peasantry, and the efforts to break with old norms and traditions alien to the socialist ideology, and the affirmation of the new norms and customs.

The process of the liquidation of contrasts and distinctions between town and countryside is long and continuous. The consolidation of the cooperativist system, the embarkment of agriculture on the road of the intensive exploitation, the completion of collectivization even in the remote villages of the mountainous areas, the great investments envisaged for the mechanization of agricultural work, for land improvement schemes and the increase of the acreage of land under irrigation, the important state aid to the peasantry through credits, selected seeds and chemical fertilizers, the creation of a large army of agricultural specialists trained in the secondary and higher schools, the building of new roads, the electrification of the countryside, the spread of educational and cultural institutions, the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and the many other measures for the benefit of the countryside, all this has greatly promoted the economic, social and cultural development in the countryside. Besides, the harmonization of the development rates in industry and agriculture, as well as the gradual narrowing of pay and income differentials between the peasantry and the working class have contributed in the solution of this problem.

With these transformations new relations between town and countryside have been established, old antagonisms, which existed between them, have been liquidated and the great centuries-old backwardness, which the Albanian countryside inherited from the past, has been overcome.

However, distinctions between town and countryside still subsist in social distinctions, which are manifested in the relatively slow development of the productive forces and the relations of production in the countryside, in the differences of the level of education, culture and technical-professional training between the urban and rural and technical-professional workers, in the inferior income of the peasantry, especially in mountain-

ous areas, in the standard and the way of life etc.; distinctions of a natural order, which are manifested mainly in the differences existing in the process of production in agriculture and in industry, the organization of work, etc. The distinctions of the first type, i.e., those of the social order, grow more and more insignificant in the course of the complete construction of socialism and will be completely wiped out in communism; those of the natural order tend to diminish until they become quite negligible with the progress of science and technique, the extension of mechanization, the electrification and chemization of agriculture.

Distinctions exist not only between town and countryside, but also among villages, between those of the lowlands and those of the hilly and mountainous regions. These distinctions, the social and economic source of which should be sought in the past, manifest themselves mainly in the manner in which incomes are distributed in the different zones and cooperatives. The exemption of the mountainous zones from the obligation to hand in to the state the dues in bread grain, the remission of the tax on income and its utilization for the extension of their material and technical base, the differentiation of tariffs for machine and tractor stations' work to the advantage of the cooperatives, the electrification of the countryside with the material and financial assistance by the state, the state aid for irrigation works, the priority of the mountainous cooperatives in receiving agricultural credits, the help of the town for the countryside, the help of the cooperatives in the plains for those of the mountains, and many other provisions, which have played an important role in this direction, are essential in the narrowing of distinctions.

The reduction of essential distinctions between the urban and rural zones, between the plains and mountainous zones, is not a purely economic matter. It involves profound problems of a political, ideological and strategic character.

It is ensured through the vigorous increase of agricultural production in all the branches and sectors, with the aim of increasing the incomes and reducing disproportions in the distribution of incomes. Along with other measures for the intensification of agriculture, the opening up of new land and the putting under irrigation of large tracts of agricultural land so far little exploited, the construction of embank-

ments, dams and terraces, are important factors of the development of the agricultural economy.

In the mountainous areas the work for the extension of the irrigated acreage is continuing in many agricultural cooperatives, which with their own means and with joint efforts of the zone or the district have built many irrigation works, mainly canals on the hillsides, even in rocky ground, and large reservoirs. The state assists this work with material and technical aid.

In these conditions all the countryside, including the mountainous areas, today is in a position to ensure all the bread grain they need.

The consolidation of the hilly and mountainous cooperatives in particular, necessitates the development of animal husbandry, especially cattle, the development of fruit growing, etc. Large tracts of hilly and mountainous land in every agricultural cooperative are allocated to blocks of olive-groves, vine-yards, etc.

Auxiliary activities connected with production proper, even though indirectly, are encouraged especially in the hilly and mountainous villages. Such activities include the production of construction materials with the means and forces of the cooperative, the processing of vegetable and animal products and other activities of this order, which are extended by putting up small factories for the processing of milk, fruit, vegetables, wool, timber, as well as for the production of bricks and tiles, earthenware, etc.; work is going on for the development of the sector of handicrafts services such as sewing, shoe-repair, etc.

The struggle for the narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside, between the villages in the plains and those in the mountainous zones, is connected, besides the above-mentioned factors, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, with the radical transformations of the world outlook of the peasant, with the creation of a new concept of life, with the raising of his political and ideological, educational and cultural level, without which the large-scale development and progress in the rural regions is a utopia.

Particular importance assume the movements and initiatives for putting the general interest above the personal interest. Among the initiatives taken by the cooperativist peasantry, many have to do with the progressive reduction of

the personal plot of the cooperativist, the herding up of all the personal livestock for management by the cooperative, the handing in of the organic manure, the help of cooperatives in the plains and the state farms to the mountainous cooperatives with cattle and sheep, the exchange of experience between the cooperatives of the south and those of the north, as well as the direct participation of the leading cadres in production work, the construction of socio-cultural buildings in the countryside, etc.

Besides, the revolutionary initiatives taken by the working class and the people's intelligentsia for specialists and intellectuals to work and live for a period of one to three years in the countryside or to settle there permanently, especially in the mountainous zones, the contribution of the working class and the youth to the reclamation of new land, the material and technical aid to the electrification of the countryside, etc., play an important role in the life of the whole country.

These and many other initiatives have strengthened the revolutionary consciousness of the working people, the alliance of the working class and working peasantry, the consolidation and development of the socialist economy and the dictatorship of the proletariat; they assist the ideological work for wiping out the blemishes left over from the past in the consciousness of the working people, for implanting the socialist ideology and the norms of proletarian morality in their consciousness, for raising the class spirit and awareness, and for barring the road to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country.

The struggle for narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside depends on the struggle against the backward customs and religious beliefs, against conservatism and patriarchalism, on the relentless struggle against bureaucracy, which consists in the rigorous implementation of democratic principles and the line of the masses, for a better organized collective work on the part of the leadership of the cooperatives and field teams, against manifestations of commandeering, arrogance, etc., so that all the members of the cooperative become aware that the cooperative is their own and that not only the leadership of the cooperative or the team leaders, but they, too, must be informed of the state of affairs in their cooperative.

In the context of the measures taken to narrow the distinctions between town and countryside, the process of socialization of household work, with a view to easing the burden of women and improving the way of life in the countryside in general, has been stepped up. These recent years the number of bakeries, creches and kindergartens, dining halls, public baths and laundries, clinics, maternity houses, hearths of culture in the countryside have increased.

The electrification of the countryside created all the premises necessary for the further development of the productive forces in agriculture, which constitutes a great step forward in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism; it created the possibilities for the increase of the productivity of social labour by raising the degree of mechanization of farm work.

The electrification of all the villages has raised the standard of living to a higher level. It is a great progress towards the liquidation of the distinctions between town and countryside.

In the end of 1973 all the villages of the country were linked by telephone, thus facilitating communication between the working people in the countryside with those of the town and opening new perspectives to the further spread of the telegraph services there.

The revolutionization of the school, which involved the implementation of the obligatory 8-year school system in the countryside, as well as the extension of the network of schools and courses, are other favourable elements which bring the village closer to the town. Most of the new kindergartens and 8-year and middle schools have been opened in the countryside. In the 1978-1979 school year, the number of peasants attending vocational middle schools, especially agricultural ones, accounted for 63.2 per cent of the total number of students.

As is shown above, the many constructions put up by the state and the cooperatives themselves have transformed the face of the Albanian countryside. Today every new village is built according to plan with streets, sewers, green spaces, the necessary socio-economic buildings such as creches, kindergartens, shops and stores, schools, hearths of culture, etc.

The building of roads, even of a seasonal character, the regular maintenance of roads and water supply system, the improvement of the green space, plus constructions of all

kinds, the introduction of radio and TV sets, have given an unprecedented impulse to the material well-being and cultured life in the socialist countryside. They have raised the mobilization of the peasantry and of the whole of socialist society to achieve this important goal.

The working class helps the peasantry by mass labour actions, or by the initiative of the workers to go and work for various periods of time in the countryside, especially in the mountain zones, by the assistance they give in the peak of field work, the material and technical aid for the electrification and hygienization of the villages, the fulfilment of the plans which have to do with meeting the needs of the countryside, the raising of the vanguard role of the workers of the machine and tractor stations and the workers who live in the village. Many other forms of assistance on the part of enterprises and institutions of all sectors, such as sponsoring of the cooperatives by the enterprises and institutions of the same district, or of the cooperatives in the less developed regions, and especially in the mountainous regions, by the cooperatives which have a more developed material and technical base, have been used with success.

The cooperativists of the plains, who have better conditions of economic development, unreservedly contribute to the development of the hilly and mountainous zones. They help their comrades in the mountains in a constant and organized manner with their relatively rich experience in organization of work and the application of the rules of modern agronomy, by exchanging cadres, etc. Besides, they give them valuable aid in selected seeds and other facilities for the benefit of the mountainous zones. Another form of assistance consists in the merger of the cooperatives in the plains with those of the hilly and mountainous zones, when they border on each other.

The intelligentsia, on its part, plays an important role in the spread of education, culture, the scientific knowledge of farming and livestock raising, and raising of the ideological level of the cooperativist peasantry.

Part Five

**ALBANIA
IN THE INTERNATIONAL
ARENA**

The foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania — a consistent policy in conformity with the revolutionary principles

The foreign policy of the state determines its attitude towards important international problems and towards the other countries, it reflects the objectives the state sets for itself, the essential features it has. It is a concrete manifestation of the class nature of the state. The foreign policy is always built to suit the interests of the classes in power, the social and economic regime in power.

The foreign policy of the Albanian state comprises definite objectives which correspond to the interests of the working class and the working masses of the country. The foreign policy of the PSR of Albania, as worked out by the Party of Labour of Albania, is an independent, consistent policy, in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles. It has a pronounced class character. This policy relies on the revolutionary home policy of our state, on the socialist regime, and defends the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and the revolution on an international scale. The independence of the Albanian state in the choice and elaboration of its foreign policy shows clearly that Albania is absolutely free and sovereign and regulates its internal affairs and external connections according to its own will.

The fundamental principles and essential features of the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania are determined by the socialist character of the relations of production.

In the elaboration and successful implementation of its foreign policy, the Albanian government is always guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, by the laws of dialectical and historical materialism. In its scientific analysis of the events and phenomena in the world, it has revealed the essence of the principal contradictions of our epoch and the real motives of the aggravation of the international situation, of the social, political and economic crises, the conflicts amongst states and the wars of aggression. In the implementation of its foreign policy, the Albanian government always is guided by the essence of things, not the superficial aspect of events and phenomena, and in all the circumstances has drawn correct conclusions. The foreign policy of the PSR of Albania has been constantly characterized by a class spirit, by a revolutionary foresight to uncover and strike at the opportune moment all disguised plans and schemes of the enemies.

The foreign policy of the PSR of Albania has a profoundly popular character, expresses the interests of the masses, and as such, has become the concern of the working people, who give their all-out support for it. The Albanian people watch with great attention the developments of international policy and are informed of all actions taken by their state in the international arena.

As is known, the construction of socialism in Albania, the struggle of our people for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland, their efforts to build a secure future cannot be separated from the international situation in which we live.

Our Party has always followed with great attention and analysed the events and the creation of new situations, the directions and intentions of the various political forces that are active in the international arena, and has always maintained a correct and principled stand in complete accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our national interests, the interests of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The present international situation in general appears turbulent and very tense. It is full of great contradictions and confrontations that have embraced the whole globe and all aspects of human society today.

Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror, with multiplied forces stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples who are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism.

In his report at the 8th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Everything shows that the present world situation is full of general and local wars, just as it is fraught with liberation wars and the revolution.» «In this situation the struggle of the peoples and the revolution are on the agenda not only as an aspiration and immediate task for their liberation from capitalist oppression and imperialist yoke, but also as a historical necessity to destroy the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.»

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always consistently followed an open, principled and independent foreign policy which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, defends the supreme interests of our socialist Homeland, supports the revolutionary movements of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The fact that our country develops and advances steadily relying on its own forces, without asking anybody for credits and hand-outs and resolutely follows its independent policy and courageously voices its opinion on all the major political and ideological problems, has created a still more favourable situation for the development of the international relations of our socialist Albania.

In his report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that imperialism has been and still is the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the source of all the disasters and sufferings which have existed and exist in the world. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. The two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and other capitalist powers, are striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. This rivalry, this super-

power policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations. While we observe that the rivalry between the superpowers and the sharpening of contradictions between them constitute the main source of present-day international conflicts and the danger of war, we cannot fail to notice also their efforts to reach compromises and agreements and even temporary alliances. Due to their aggressive nature, they are bound to act against one another openly and secretly. Now the two superpowers have been caught up in the fevers of unrestrained armament. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Comrade Enver Hoxha continued: *«In one way or the other, in this or that form, all the peoples encounter the interference of and are threatened by the aggressive policy of American imperialism, which represents the greatest capitalist power of our time and the main defender of the bourgeois-imperialist system.»*

From the end of the Second World War to this day, American imperialism has caused misery and suffering to the many peoples it has attacked, either directly or by means of its obedient tools. In every counter-revolutionary process which has occurred in the world, in every fascist putsch and overthrow of democracy, in every attack on the revolution and socialism, the hand of American imperialism has always been present.

American imperialism, the greatest plunderer that history has ever known, has extended its tentacles all over the globe and has covered it with military bases which are the main outposts for its war and aggression. Consideration of nearly all the zones from which oil and all the main raw materials are extracted, of all the sea routes and all the strategic points of the globe as «zones of American interests», the unprecedented build-up of various weapons, the incitement of the militarist spirit, the total mobilization to achieve military superiority over the Soviet rival at any cost and the ever stronger reliance on military strength, show that the world will be faced with an intensification of the aggressive policy of American imperialism, an increase in its interference in internal affairs of other countries and especially in the use of its military force.

«Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course

for the preparation and incitement of war.» Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, *«also characterize Soviet social-imperialism, the global strategy of which and especially the ways in which it is applied have likewise become more aggressive.»*

Soviet military interventions have followed one another. After Czechoslovakia where they intervened directly, came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea into which they intervened by third parties. Finally came Afghanistan.

The policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, expansionist, war-mongering features as those of the United States of America. The Soviet Union, too, is seeking military bases in foreign countries and creating political-military alliances with other countries, it has a huge military arsenal which it is constantly building up and perfecting; its militarized economy has been placed in the service of realizing its plans of aggressions.

However, the imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. Today the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital, has assumed wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before.

The workers' struggle is directed especially against the consequences of the economic crisis the burden of which has been shifted on their backs. The increasingly acute contradictions between labour and capital and the capitalist and imperialist oppression in general are accelerating the rise in the political and class consciousness of the proletariat and making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.

Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The peoples' liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his mediaeval regime and threw out his American patrons, dealt a heavy blow to imperialism. The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and inten-

sity. In the center of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people. The people of Afghanistan are fighting valiantly and boldly against the Soviet social-imperialists and the local lackeys to regain their national independence.

The peoples of Latin America are shedding their blood in the fight against the fascist dictatorships, which are kept in power with the direct aid of American imperialism. The liberation and revolutionary movement there is growing and deepening. The most recent evidence of this is the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua, the outbreak of the revolution in Salvador, etc.

The African continent, is not passive, either. Thanks to a long and persistent struggle, the overwhelming majority of the African countries won their state independence. However, the people of Namibia and South Africa are still continuing their struggle.

The international situation and the danger of war, Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his Report, are becoming even more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world today.

The class and liberation struggles, the general weakening of the positions of imperialism, which came about as a result of the destruction of the colonial system and the emergence of scores of new states, which to this or that extent, are fighting to achieve complete political and economic independence, have exerted an influence, indeed a great decisive influence, on the birth and development of the present crisis.

The present crisis, which is one of over-production is different from those of the past because it is continuing for a long time and there is no sign of emerging from it. Exports are declining on a world scale, the productive capacities of the big industrialized countries are being utilized less and less. Unemployment and inflation in those countries are rising continuously.

The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism, which has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. With the present crisis, the model of the capitalist «consumer» society and the economic theories of present-day capitalism received a crushing blow.

The present crisis also has clearly shown the decay of the capitalist system in the form of capitalism which prevails

in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries. This has brought about disturbances in the economy, the disorganization of the productive forces, the decline in production, the fall in the standard of living of the working masses and the spread of ills which bourgeois society creates.

The present-day capitalist and revisionist economy is in a state of stagnation which is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states. There is an intensification of the general attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. In almost all countries, expenditure on health, education, aid for children, pensions, etc. is being cut drastically.

In most of the capitalist countries there are mounting demands for «strong» government, with the purpose of imposing anti-worker measures on the population and keeping in check the mounting class struggle. In some countries military putsches are carried out, there is terrorism and anarchy, organized by the bourgeois capitalist governments in power, there is illegal trafficking on a colossal scale, robbery organized on a national and international scale, and heinous, unlimited development of physical, moral and political corruption. Fascism is knocking at the gates of many countries.

The economic crisis and the aggressive course of the superpowers; Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in his Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, have made all the contradictions between the imperialist powers more acute and struck heavy blows at their blocs and alliances. The members of Western and Eastern groupings are trying to exploit various splits and to find excuses for not abiding by the commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them. This is more obvious especially in the Western bloc.

Today the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and Japan has become very powerful and threatening. The tendency of the European Common Market is to oppose American dictate as much as it can and to extend its own markets. Each of the big states of Western Europe has begun to recreate and strengthen its own spheres of influence on an extensive scale. The strategy of the European monopolies is aimed at the transformation of Europe, first into an economic superpower, then into a political superpower, and later still into a military superpower.

Already a new imperialist alliance between the United States, Japan and China has taken form in the Far East, and this constitutes another danger that local wars, or a general war, will break out. Apart from American imperialism, which has considered the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean as its indisputable spheres of influence, now Japan, too, an economic superpower with new imperial ambitions, has emerged with hegemonic pretensions. China on its part, dreams of becoming the sole ruler of Asia and Oceania.

The Soviet Union is making every effort to weaken the encirclement on its two flanks — in Europe and Asia, and to secure dominant strategic positions for an eventual war.

The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also, within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficulties that it is no longer able to fulfil the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. The tendency is observed in these satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West. The Soviet Union tries to hinder this rapprochement and to keep the countries of Eastern Europe bound to it with chains. The best evidence of the grave situation in the «socialist community» and of the deep contradictions eroding it, are the recent events in Poland, which have led that country to the brink of economic catastrophe and to major social and political upheavals.

The way for the working class and people of Poland and of all the other revisionist countries to escape capitalist exploitation and foreign oppression is through the open and resolute struggle against the revisionist regime in power, against enslavement by Soviet social-imperialism, against Western capital and reaction.

The sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, as well as with their partners within their military and economic blocs, is increasingly leading to new tensions and conflicts, to wars of a local and general character for the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is a law of the development of capitalism.

«However,» Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in his Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, «the inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts also cause the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole and of its individual links. It is up to the conscious revolutionary forces to know how to utilize the

situations created by these contradictions in order to mobilize the masses, to make them conscious and engage them in struggle and revolution.»

The neo-colonialist system is also in a grave crisis at present. In order to retain their political and economic domination, to ensure the maximum exploitation of the wealth of former colonial countries, to restrain the growth of the liberation movements of the freedom-loving peoples, the imperialists have tried to find and employ new forms of oppression and enslavement, ever more deceptive and sophisticated by means of the system of credits, loans, aid and various funds. But besides the savage exploitation, certain changes of the economic and social structures have occurred in the former colonial countries, which are the result of investments, the introduction of new technique and technology, the extension of communications, etc. This brought about the creation of new local social strata such as the national bourgeoisie, workers of various categories and a new intelligentsia, who, the latter in particular, no longer reconcile themselves to the forms and methods which are used for the oppression and exploitation of their peoples. National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. The movement for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, re-evaluation of raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual benefit in international trade, etc. has been extended. This movement has deepened the existing economic crisis, and especially the energy and raw materials crisis which has gripped the capitalist revisionist world. The resistance and struggle of peoples dominated by neo-colonialism in defence of their rights, assets and national sovereignty is an irresistible process which will increase and develop further in the future.

Imperialism and its system of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation is profoundly aware of this threat. Therefore, it is making every effort, using demagoguery and deception here and force there to suppress this movement.

Imperialism stimulated and encouraged the emergence of various movements and theories such as the «non-aligned» movement. Now however, when the rivalry between the superpowers has increased, when the crisis has narrowed the fields for manoeuvre, a large number of «non-aligned» countries are uniting with one or the other superpower.

Along with the splitting of the movement and the many

conflicts between different so-called non-aligned countries, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in his Report, the demagogic theories so painstakingly concocted by the different leaders, especially the Yugoslavs, who have wanted to become the leaders and ideologists of this group, collapsed, too. Now it has ended up as an ill-defined, fluid and fickle movement which flares up and dies down according to the situations which are created and the interests of the superpowers.

The Chinese theory of «three worlds» emerged as a theory in defence of neo-colonialism and especially of the American domination of the world, but melted away like salt crystals in water.

In recent years there has been a great deal of propaganda about what is called the «new international economic order» which is supposed to solve the great tangle of problems that are worrying the economically undeveloped countries. Around this «new order» various theories have been created, complete schemes and projects have been presented, however, nothing will be achieved because the imperialists do not renounce the privileges and dominant positions. The correct course is the struggle of the peoples to defend their rights to the end, resolute opposition to the neo-colonialist plunder, the taking over and sovereign administration of the national assets.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.

In order to escape once and for all capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the domination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

The foreign policy of Albania, as the policy of a socialist state, is an open, principled, independent revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is led by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, it defends the supreme interests of our socialist Homeland, supports the re-

volutionary movements of the working class and the struggles of the peoples for freedom, independence and sovereignty. As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice. The policy of socialist Albania has been for strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialism.

The fact that socialist Albania bases its development and progress on its own forces, that it consistently adheres to its independent policy and boldly voices its opinion on all major political and ideological questions, has created a favourable situation for the development of its international relations. Nowadays, our socialist country is recognized and respected in the international arena as a sovereign state which is distinguished for its determined struggle against the superpowers, for the preservation of peace and international security, for adherence to the fundamental principles regulating relations between sovereign states, for its wise policy and constructive efforts for the development of relations and exchanges in different fields on the basis of mutual benefit and interest. The diplomatic relations of Albania have been extending from year to year; in 1981 it maintained diplomatic relations with 95 states and commercial and cultural relations with an even greater number of states.

Our state has devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. It holds that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and political blocs of the superpowers, which do not defend but sacrifice them, is the cause of the divisions and splits in Europe, of the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent. Socialist Albania has clearly expressed its attitude towards the Helsinki Conference and the so-called European security. Socialist Albania did not take part in it and denounced it as a farce hatched up by the two superpowers with the objective of guaranteeing and strengthening their respective spheres of influence in Europe, of legalizing and perpetuating their domination in this continent.

The events that have occurred in Europe and around it since the Helsinki Conference have completely corroborated and justified the stand of Albania. Time has shown that the so-called «Helsinki spirit», «peaceful collaboration», «the free

circulation of people and ideas», etc. were nothing but hollow-sounding slogans to deceive the European peoples, to arouse the illusion in them that the danger of war is allegedly being removed and that the maintenance of the imperialist status quo in Europe is their salvation.

The view of socialist Albania is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure the peace in Europe.

Because of the strategic position which the Balkan Peninsula occupies and the old feuds, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his Report to the Congress, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater in this region. The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their own interests, are trying to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, that some countries of this region participate in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, foreign military bases exist in their territories and they permit the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Our socialist state upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, the peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive measures for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. In the future too, socialist Albania will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Albania has been guided by these principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. The policy of socialist Albania towards Yugoslavia has always been constant, unaltered in its foundations and principles, and the attitudes and behaviour of the Yugoslavs towards it will not make it waver from them. The desire of socialist Albania is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in the 8th Congress of PLA, that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians in Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia which constitute an entity of nearly 2 million people.

The tragic events in Kosova in 1981 are the result of the chauvinist policy followed towards the Albanian population, the result of the denial of the political, economic and national rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The people of Kosova have never been reconciled to this situation and have persistently fought for the rights due to them, for the independent development of the economy, for the right to have their own republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, the right to develop their national art and culture, to become acquainted with their own history, etc.

Socialist Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but it has defended and will defend the rights of its Albanians brothers in Yugoslavia with all its might.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields.

Our state is ready to work with Italy for the further development of normal relations in the interests of our two peoples and for further progress of the existing relations.

The relations of the PSR of Albania with Turkey have developed and are developing more and more in the spirit of friendship and collaboration.

Positive steps have been made in our country's friendly relations with the French Republic. Our state has sincerely expressed the desire that its relations with Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Portugal should be further developed and extended.

The post-Second World War British governments have adopted hostile, anti-democratic stands towards new Albania. Apart from this, they seized the Albanian gold plundered by the Hitlerites and to this day are still exploiting it in their own interests. In these circumstances there can be no talk of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The British government must immediately return the gold to Albania together with the interests accrued from the arbitrary exploitation of it. The PSR of Albania will fight against the injustices which have been or are being done to it.

The PSR of Albania is of the opinion that in regard to the Federal Republic of Germany, with understanding on the part of both sides over certain questions that remain

suspended since the Second World War, difficulties to the establishment of diplomatic relations can be surmounted.

The profound principled ideological and political disagreements of our Party and state with the countries of Eastern Europe are well-known. Without relinquishing the struggle against modern revisionism, our state is for the normal development of relations, for trade exchanges on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit with Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Our state has supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors. Our state desires that there is a further development of the friendly relations of our country with Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries.

Our state maintains friendly relations with a number of African countries such as Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe and is for the further development of these relations.

Our country has good relations also with a number of countries of Asia. With the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our relations are developing in a friendly way. Our state has condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists and it hopes that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering and decide their own fate and future.

As a result of the hostile, anti Albanian activity of the Chinese leadership, apart from formal diplomatic relations, there are no other concrete relations between our country and China.

The Chinese social-imperialists have lined up against our Party, our people and our country. But their activities and aims have been exposed in the face of the firm Marxist-Leninist principled stand of our Party. The letter of July 29, 1978 of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PSR of Albania to the Chinese revisionist leadership, which expresses the political and ideological line of the Party of Labour, is courageous exposure of the reactionary aims and activities of the Chinese revisionists. This letter and the subsequent

documents of the Party, as well as the works of great theoretical and practical value of Comrade Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution» and Reflection on China» throw light, with many facts and documents of irrefutable strength, on the anti-Marxist line of the CP of China, revealing the real motifs that have prompted the social-imperialist leadership of that country into infamous and hostile actions against socialist Albania, into the violation of the official agreements and protocols, into trumped-up accusations of all kinds.

The correct and resolute stand of our socialist country towards the aims and actions of the Chinese revisionists have had wide, far-reaching response all over the world. They have been welcomed and powerfully supported by the true Marxists and the progressive people who express their support for the Party of Labour of Albania, and their profound aversion to the Chinese social-imperialists, as the traitors they are and lackeys in the pay of imperialism, and of American imperialism in particular.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan creates the conditions and paves the way for the development of trade between the two countries.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has normal relations with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Panama and other countries of Latin America. It is ready to establish such relations also with other countries of this continent which are for friendly relations and commercial and cultural exchanges with our country.

With the United States and the Soviet Union, which are the most savage enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, of peace and security in the world, our country has and will have no relations. Just as in the past, it will resolutely continue its struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemony-seeking policy and activity.

In the future, too, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will work for the development of international relations in a positive direction. In this spirit, it will spare no efforts in the United Nations Organization and other international organizations so as to make its contribution to the defence of the interests and aspirations of the peoples.

The foreign policy of the Albanian state, a policy architected by the Party of Labour of Albania, is an open policy, a consistently principled policy. This policy is aimed at further

strengthening freedom and independence of the Homeland, safeguarding and consolidating the gains we have made on the road of socialism, guaranteeing the communist future of our country, a policy which contributes to the triumph of the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The correct and principled stands socialist Albania assumes on the international plane, our people's successful construction and defence of socialism relying entirely on their own forces, have won our free and independent socialist country the deserved sympathy and respect of millions of people all over the world. This is the independent political and ideological course resolutely followed by socialist Albania. This course is expressed in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and in the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania which complies with its own fundamental interests and those of the freedom and independence of the peoples, of the international proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

CONCLUSION

This book is an effort to throw light on the true portrait of Albania in a most objective approach.

The informed reader certainly knows that the enemies of Albania, and in the first place the spokesmen of the imperialist powers, plot in silence against Albania, and even if sometimes they mention it, they endeavour to present it in an entirely false light. Today the same attitude is adopted by the scribes of imperialism and modern revisionism. However, in spite of this silent conspiracy, in spite of the lies and falsifications, the blockade and the plots concocted, in the first place, by the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Chinese revisionists, the voice of small Albania has been heard all over the world.

The millions of honest people with democratic and progressive ideas, the millions of the revolutionaries all over the world, who have seen how the Albanian reality has torn the dense fog spread by the enemies of democracy, progress and socialism, lend a more attentive ear to the voice of Albania, try to know better the reality of this small country in the Balkans, of this small people who have blazed the trail of history sword in hand, who have dispelled the centuries-old darkness and have embarked on the broad road of socialism and communism — the future of all mankind, with confidence and determination.

After the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists and their flunkies, Albania, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism, continues with success the work for the building of socialism. Our country is a brilliant example that socialism and communism are not a utopian dream, as the ideologists of the

bourgeoisie and modern revisionism try to make out, but a reality, an objective necessity, an unavoidable historical stage, through which all the countries will pass sooner or later.

In the first years after Liberation from the nazi-fascist bondage and from the local traitors, it was a great joy to see the first electric power plant, the first university, the first professional theatre, the first railroad, the promulgation of the first law on social insurances, the creation of the first agricultural cooperative, etc. These were great victories for a people who emerged from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial state and set out on the road of material and spiritual progress. The word «first» was mentioned in a sense of triumph. The same can be said today, but in another sense. Socialist Albania is the first country in the world which abolished taxes, wiped out malaria, and the opium of religion. Albania has the most progressive Constitution in the world. To these successes must be added the complete electrification of the country, the remarkable development of the popular education and a long series of victories, which have transformed Albania into a country towards which the millions of the revolutionaries in the world have directed their eyes.

Socialist Albania, a backward country only 38 years ago, is a brilliant example, its experience is studied everywhere. Socialist Albania has attracted the hatred of the imperialists, the revisionists and reactionaries of all colours. And it deems this an honour. On the other hand, socialist Albania has the friendship, sympathy and support of all the revolutionary people of the world. And again it deems this an honour. Albania marches ahead on its road, making an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of the revolution.

Always loyal to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, socialist Albania, under the leadership of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will hold high the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and will advance on the brilliant road of socialism and communism.

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