SOCIALIST ALBANIA



Journal of the India-Albania Friendship Association

Socialist Albania: Monthly Journal of the India-Albania Friendship

Association.

Editorial Board: K. R, Kotesh, S. K. Misra, Vijay Singh, C. Subramaniam.

Editorial Address: Socialist Albania, F-13/6, Model Town,

Delhi-110009.

Editorial from Zeri i Popullit:

The Iranian working class came out on the battlefield, overthrew the Shah and shook the capitalist world

In recent months, the attention of world public opinion has been focused on the events in Iran, on the heroic struggle of the Iranian people to overthrow the bloodthirsty regime of the Pahlavi monarchy. Nov/ that the democratic revolution has brought down the medieval feudalism and the fascist monarchy of the Shah, the revolutionaries, patriots and progressive people throughout the world ardently hail and admire the outstanding heroism of Iranian men, women, boys and girls, the determination and courage of the common people.

The Iranian people have achieved a victory of great historic importance. This marks a big stride on their road to freedom and democracy, their rise to a new level of emancipation and progress. It is certain that this victory will have a profound effect and serve as a basis for the battles of the future for the fulfilment of the people's ideals of complete national and social liberation.

The people's uprising in Iran constitutes a heavy blow for all the imperialist powers and especially for American imperialism, which, in practice, has controlled and run the regime of the Shah for the last 25 years. It is a heavy blow also for world capitalism, which up till now has profited from the submission of the Shah to their plunder of the Iranian oil and exploitation of the Iranian people to the bone.

The fact is that the Iranian revolution has put the bourgeois and revisionist world into great disarray. Carter and his administration are upbraiding the CIA and the other intelligence organs because they did not foresee these events in time. The Western bourgeoisie is astonished how a whole people could rise in revolt at the peak of the oil boom. The Chinese social-imperialists are complaining that the Shah allegedly allowed foreign agents to enter the country and to confuse the masses.

The imperialists and the revisionists have not understood the social phenomena and never can they understand and interpret them correctly. They judge things according to rigid schemes created by their own anti-historical, selfish, class concepts. Their counter-revolutionary hatred does not permit them to analyse any social phenomenon objectively or to foresee any situation. Events always burst upon them like bombs going off in their hands.

The revolution in Iran is not and could not be the work of agents as the revisionists from Peking pretend, nor the result of the "modernization", as the Western politicians explain. It is the result of the explosion of many contradictions of the feudal-bourgeois Iranian society, an explosion of the people's indignation and hatred accumulated for scores and scores of years against the tyranny of the Shah and imperialist domination,

and is the result of the determination of the people to change the miserable life, which the ruling and exploiting upper classes have imposed on them.

From various sides efforts are being made to give the Iranian revolution a religious colour. Of course, it is impossible to deny the subjective influence of the Shiite religious sect in the events of Iran, and it has played a positive role in the overthrow of the feudal regime of the Pahlavi empire. But it was not religious ideology which led the broad masses of the people in the uprising and the fight against the Shah. The democratic aspirations of the overwhelmingly secular masses of the people of Iran, the political slogans which aroused the people to fight, the concrete objective for which the masses are fighting, cannot be identified with the ethico-theocratic demands of the Islamic doctrine. In appearance, the people of Iran may seem to be believers, but in action and precisely in this revolution, they showed themselves to be very advanced and very objective. They rose and shed their blood for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a democratic republic in the country, lor the nationalization of the oil and its use on behalf of the development of the national economy and for the people, for putting an end to dependence on foreign capital and the breaking off of all enslaving economic, military and political agreements with foreigners, be they American, Soviet, British or Chinese, for the strengthening of a sovereign, and independent state, for freedom of the press and of assembly, for the elimination of the feudal corruption and the punishment of oppressors and exploiters, for social equality and justice, etc., etc.

It is clear to the peoples of the world that the inspiration of the Iranian revolution is not a religious inspiration. Its inspiration was the powerful democratic and progressive current of the masses, thirsting for a genuine agrarian revolution, for a truly progressive cultural and educational revolution, as well as for profound transformations to eliminate the backwardness of the people. Those courageous women and girls who shed their blood in clashes with the SAVAK and the Imperial Guard came out in the street, not to preserve the veil, nor to defend their domestic prison, hut to eliminate them. Therefore the great problem raised here was that of the liberation of the workers, the peasantry, the women and the youth.

The aim of this hostile campaign is to create the opinion that the events in Iran do not represent a revolution which can serve as an example. International capitalism is trying to present this revolution as a reaction of religious chiefs and "fanatical" masses of believers against the "industrialization" and "modernization" of the life of the country undertaken by the Shah. It is cynically pretending that such revolutions, which it gives the label "Islamic". allegedly hinder, not only the progressive development of countries in which they occur, but also the whole "international society".

World capitalism is insisting strongly on the word "Islamic" and distorting the true character of the revolution in Iran because it wants to set the peoples one against the other, to set the Muslim believers in opposition to the Christian believers. It is labouring to describe the Iranian, Arab and other peoples as backward and fanatical peoples and to give their anti-imperialist liberation struggle a retrogressive tinge. But the Iranian revolution demonstrated clearly that the fundamental questions of the peoples in this zone, that which requires and forms their unity, is the struggle for liberation from the feudal-bourgeois yoke and the domination of American and Soviet superpowers, and from Israel. It is the imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and China which are inciting the division of the Arab and Persian peoples and not permitting them

to gain and safeguard their freedom, independence and sovereignty.

However, the tendentious assessments and base slanders of those who have plundered and oppressed the countries of the Orient cannot deceive anyone. Whatever may be said, the events in Iran are the result of social antagonism and not religious.

Proceeding from the fundamental tendencies of present-day world development, the Party of Labour of Albania has stressed that the question of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a desire, but also a problem taken up for solution. The uprising of the Iranian people is a confirmation of this. But this will not be either the first or the last. The example of Iran will certainly exert an influence and will be followed by other countries. The conditions created in many countries now make revolutionary outbursts inevitable. "In general", Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "the situation today is like a volcano in eruption, a scorching fire, a fire which will destroy the oppressing and exploiting ruling upper classes."

The people's uprising in Iran, in which the broad masses, the working class the progressive youth and the women take part, has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist theses defended by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, in regard to the revolutionary situations today, which are being ceaselessly created in many countries of the world and about the maturing of the objective and subjective factors of the revolution. First of all, the events in Iran showed that the motive force in this revolution of a democratic character was the Iranian proletariat, which came out in the streets and shed its blood in battles with reaction, displaying its own invincible strength not only in the struggle against the Shah, but also against foreign imperialism.

The events in Iran have provided very valuable lessons not only for the people in that country, but also for others. Contrary to the claims of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists they confirmed the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism, strongly defended during all this time by our Party that, in order for the revolution to triumph, for the people to be liberated from national and social bondage, it is categorically indispensable that the working class must come out on the battlefield. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "The working class constitutes the decisive force of the development of society, the leading force for the revolutionary transformation of the world ... it remains the main productive force of society, the most advanced class and more interested than any other in national and social liberation. and socialism, the bearer of the finest traditions of revolutionary organization and struggle "

In Iran it was the working class which faced up to the tanks and the machine guns of the Shah. Above all it was its general strike and especially the strike of the oil workers, which paralyzed the whole life of the country. Demonstrations and manifestations against the Shah had been held before when the trains ceased to run, and the power stations cut off the current, that was when the earthquake shook the foundations of the feudal ruling class, the Shah took off to his friend in Morocco and the Bakhtiar government was overthrown The working class showed that it was the real force in the country and not the Shah's army hundreds of thousands strong, the American weapons and the billions of petrodollars in the banks of Tehran. With its struggle with the decisive leading role which it played in the democratic revolution, it showed that the only social force to which the future belongs is the working class.

The events in Iran also confirmed another important thesis of Marxism-Leninism, that the revolution cannot be carried out without violence and cannot be won without

bloodshed. The regime of the Shah resisted to its last cartridge; the American imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists, the big international monopoly bourgeoisie, the kings and shahs from all over the world supported it up to the last second. If the Iranian people had listened to the sermons about the "peaceful road" trumpeted by the Khrushchevite revisionists, about the structural reforms of the "Eurocommunists", the Chinese theory of "three worlds", etc., the clique of the Shah and the imperialists would have been ruling untroubled just as they are still ruling in many countries of the world. But the people of Iran were not fooled by illusions, were not afraid to rise in revolution, to shed their blood and make every kind of sacrifice to win their freedom and independence, to throw off the heavy yoke they were bearing on their backs. Here lies the great importance which the Iranian revolution has today for all the other peoples who are languishing under the double oppression of the domination of foreigners and reactionary local cliques. The revolution in Iran is a concrete illustration and confirmation of the correctness of the theses which Comrade Enver Hoxha defends in his book Imperialism and the Revolution, that in the present conditions, freedom and independence from imperialist domination cannot be won, neo-colonialism cannot be driven out and complete national sovereignty cannot be established if the internal cliques, too, linked with or sold out to the foreigners, are not fought.

The Iranian people rose in insurrection, ready to lay down their lives to escape from the savage oppression and exploitation and for more freedom and democracy. How far they will advance in this direction, how radical the reforms will be, depends on the genuine revolutionary forces, on how capable these forces will be of keeping the spirit of the revolution ablaze and raising it from a lower stage to a higher stage.

Lenin has stressed that the revolution is a serious matter which-must not be trifled with, that if it is started it must be carried through to the end. The revolution in Iran is still developing and it cannot be said that it has achieved all the objectives which are facing it. The fact is that the forces of internal reaction and the imperialist forces are trying to stage a counter-revolution, either by direct violence from within, by external military intervention or by the peaceful degeneration of the revolution and its gradual transformation into its opposite. Therefore, to carry the revolution through to the end means, for the people of Iran, that they must raise their vigilance to the maximum and must not allow themselves to fall under bondage to foreign imperialists again, either to the Americans the Soviets or others, because by means of manoeuvres and intrigues, compromises, corruption and so on, they will strive to regain their old concessions and positions, of course, in new forms.

Now, following the destruction of the administration of the Shah, new organs of power will be created in Iran. The course on which this process will develop has great importance. It may be progressive, but it may also be regressive; both possibilities exist. In order to take progressive positions, the people of Iran will have to destroy all the structures and superstructures of the feudal monarchy of the Shah and replace them with a new structure and superstructure, appropriate to the country, and not borrowed from the so-called bourgeois democracy which in essence is anti-popular. They will have to make great efforts to take them over themselves and must prevent the feudalists and bourgeoisie from infiltrating all these institutions, but ensure that their most trustworthy representatives will carry out the great social and economic reforms.

Of course, the transition from one stage of the revolution to the other, carrying it

through to the end, is no easy task. But the progressive forces must gain ground step by step, must take sound democratic and progressive positions against those elements that will put up resistance and which are elements of the backward feudalism of the past.

The working class, the poor peasantry, the rank-and-file soldiers will have to steel their Marxist-Leninist Party, the Party of workers, peasants and soldiers. They must take full advantage of the objective and subjective situations created in the country. Thus they will fight ever better against the pseudo-communists sold out to the Soviets, to the "Eurocommunists", to the Maoists, as well as the provocateur "communist parties", which the agencies of American and British imperialism create.

Today, more than ever before, the Marxist-Leninist communists, the genuine revolutionaries must be in the forefront of the struggle against reaction, against the intrigues and interference of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and so on. At these very important moments through which the revolution is passing they must not be sectarian, nor opportunist. In no instance must they play the game of those who might deceive the people with a thousand tricks: or servo the foreign superpowers under whatever disguise they adopt.

Undoubtedly, the working class of Iran, which has shown itself to be so heroic, courageous and mature at this stage of the revolution, will know how to form sound alliances with progressive, democratic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist elements and forces regardless of whether they may be religious, but who have not failed to fight with determination against the monarchy and the Shah,

Among the radical reforms which the Iranian people now require are those in connection with the army, with its social composition, structure and purpose. The army in Iran has been the main support of the monarchist regime, maintained to suppress the people and for the security of the despotic regime of the Shah. However, the events of recent months showed that this army, armed to the teeth and trained by the Americans, melted away like the snow in the sunshine. In the persistence of the people in struggling to win their rights and to overthrow the monarchy, it was seen that the main force of the Pahlavi empire and American imperialism in Iran was only the top military caste. But it turned out that the military caste, fattened on American dollars, was unable to preserve the unity of the army, because the sons of the people did not follow it.

The main strength of any army is the sons of the people, therefore in Iran, too, the new army must be a democratic people's army. The people cannot and must not be disarmed because they have shed their blood and laid down their lives for these weapons. They must not be disarmed without being certain that the army is a people's army and that men of the people command it. This is an experience drawn from history which has been confirmed and applied also by our people's revolution. The army must have progressive people at the head of it, who will guarantee that the reactionary military caste will not be able to load the sons of the people to kill the people.

Such a situation has been seen in many revolutions, indeed since the bourgeoisdemocratic revolution in France in the last century, when the sans-culottes produced outstanding commanders from their ranks and drove the army of kings, the aristocracy and French feudalism before them.

This is characteristic even for the present times, when arms have become the terror of the world. But it depends who is wielding these arms and against whom they are

aimed. When the people rise in revolution, they are able to win over their own sons and to convince them to turn their weapons against those who force them to kill their fathers, mothers and sisters. In this direction, the example of Iran is extremely significant.

The people of Iran have many means in their hands to defend the victories of the revolution and to carry them forward. Above all they have the oil which continues to shake the capitalist world. The politicians and publicists of the West make the question of Iranian oil more dangerous than the war in Vietnam, Korea, etc. They are very worried about the fact that now possibilities are being created for Iran to use the oil to Its own advantage and no longer permit others to get it for a song. It is to be expected that the imperialists and capitalists will play all their cards in order to re-establish the former situation in various ways and forms. But the Iranian people have all the possibilities to resist the interference, intrigues and manoeuvres of imperialists, social-imperialists and anybody else. They will be able to resist them successfully if they become completely conscious of the need to keep a firm grip on the weapon of oil and are determined to defend it to the end, if they are not afraid of the Americans, Soviets, or other coalitions. Always bearing in mind the interests of their own homeland as well as the interests of other peoples of the world who are fighting for freedom they will know how to wisely take advantage of circumstances such as the present ones and those which will be created. A country in revolution, which has such a weapon in its hands as oil, which has such a valiant people that overthrows an old and rotten world to build a new world is able to resist all enemies.

The struggle of the people of Iran which overthrew the despotic rule of the Shah, which dealt a heavy blow to American imperialism and the whole capitalist world, also assists the liberation struggle of all peoples, the cause of democracy and progress throughout the world. Because of this, we Albanians have an exceptionally great respect for the Iranian people and bow in memory of those who fought heroically in the streets of Iran and gave their lives for the triumph of the revolution. We wish that the Iranian people realize all their desires and aspirations and live free, independent and sovereign in their own homeland.

(Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin, February 18, 1979.)

The Albanian Language

A glance over the history of the Albanian language, no matter how hurried and brief, cannot fail to bring out two contradictory aspects: on one hand, a language documented in writing very late (the first book in Albanian is that by Gjon Buzuku in 1555) and on the other, an ancient people autochthonous in the Balkans since the mists of pro-history.

How is this to be explained?

Historically it is a well-known fact the Albanians and the Greeks were the earliest inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. Our people have been living In those parts for well over three thousand years. From one generation to another they have spoken their own language which, with the changes it has undergone in time is spoken today by the Albanians.

Hence, here we have a language so ancient as a spoken language and so recent as a written language. The five hundred-year period of the written Albanian language should be viewed only as a small part of the history of the Albanian language, as the most recent stage of its historical development.

Albanian is a member of the Indo-European languages.

The first to prove scientifically that Albanian is a member of the family of Indo-European languages was the German scholar Franz Bopp. Other scholars before him like Xylander, Rasmus Rask, Schleicher and others had made separate observations regarding the relationship of Albanian to the other Indo-European languages but Bopp dedicated a complete monograph, entitled *On Albanian in Connection With its Affinities*, published in 1854, to this problem. As far back as 1843 Bopp had delivered a dissertation at the Berlin Academy on the numerals and pronouns of the Albanian language claiming with certainty that it belonged to the family of Indo-European languages. But in 1854 he examined a broader range of material. He made a thorough scientific analysis of the Albanian language and arrived at the conclusion that it belonged, incontestably, to the family of Indo-European languages.

As the Albanian Prof. Eqrem Cabej has pointed out, when speaking of the Indo-European character of the Albanian language one should bear in mind that not all its linguistic wealth comes from the ancient Indo-European heritage. With the passage of time Albanian, like any other language, has lost a lot from its autochthonous heritage, due to its continuous contact with the languages of other peoples; on the other hand, it has been enriched with new words, expressions and constructions from its own source and has given to and received from the other languages with which it has been in contact.

The Albanian words having corresponding forms in the other Indo-European languages are ordinary words of day to day use which serve as a basis on which others are built. Here are a few Albanian examples: **ujk**, **ulk** Sanskrit **vrksh**, Latin **lupus**, Greek **Lykos**, Russian **volk**, Albanian **dite**, Sanskrit, **dinam**; Lithuanian **diens**, Latin **dies**, Russian **den**; Albanian **mi**, Sanskrit **muh**. Armenian **mukn**. Greek **mys**, Latin **mus**.

Bopp's assertion that Albanian has no successional connection with the other sister languages of our continent remains correct. The connections it has with other languages are not filial but 0f another character.

In his article "The Place of Albanian Within the Circle of Indo-European Languages", the well-known Albanologist, Gustav Mayer, accurately defined the position of Albanian

in this linguistic family. He places Albanian close to the eastern and northern Indo-European languages. When we say that Albanian pertains to this or that group of languages, we have in mind that in certain features it has followed the same course of development with them in relation to the Indo-European structure. For instance in northern Indo-European languages the short Indo-European "o" has changed to "a", while in the southern ones it is kept as "o". On this point Albanian joins with the first group. Thus we have Albanian **nate**, German **nacht**, Lithuanian **naktis**, while Latin **nox**, **noctis**. The relations of Albanian with these languages have been studied more concretely by other scholars among whom we should mention Holger Petersen and Nobert Jokl, who with their fruitful studies have rendered a valuable contribution to Albanological science.

Following the triumph of the people's revolution, very favourable conditions were created in Albanian for the development of the science of Albanian linguistics, so that Albanian has become the epicentre of studies in this field. Today, tens of Albanian scholars are engaged in studying the problems of the history of the Albanian language. Through many works illuminating various aspects of the historical development of the Albanian language, they are rendering a valuable contribution in this field.

Among other things, new facts and proofs have been brought forth on the Indo-European nature of the Albanian language. A more profound argumentation has been provided for the conclusions reached and perceptible results have been achieved in defining the various laws that have acted in the evolution of the phonetic and morphological structure of the Albanian language in relation to the structure of the other Indo-European languages. Further studies have been conducted on its relations with the other Indo-European languages, on the problems connected with the pro-Balkan cradle of the Albanians, with the origin of the Albanian language with the country of its formation, with the autochthony of the Albanians and so on.

In connection with the origin of the Albanian language, as is known, three different theses have long been advanced, on its Illyrian origin, its Thracian origin or its Illyro-Thracian origin. The theses on the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language is gaining ground thanks to the studies of the Albanian linguists coupled with the results of our archaeology in the material field. More and more convincing proofs are being advanced in favour of this thesis. The fact that the present Albanians dwell where the Illyrian tribes used to dwell, and that the history of our people records no later immigrations into these regions, support the thesis that the Albanians are the descendants of the Illyrians and the Albanian is the offspring of the Illyrian language. On the other hand, those few linguistic elements which modern science has at its disposal about the Illyrian language find their explanation through the Albanian. The Albanian historical toponymy is of special interest in throwing light on such an important problem of the history of our people. The comparison between the ancient forms of place names and the present forms show that the latter are the uninterrupted continuity of the former in line with the historical phonetics of the Albanian language. This proves that the Albanians are natives of their present territories, at least since the Greco-Roman period. And when it is known with certainty that Illyrian tribes inhabited the Albanian territory, this shows that the Albanians are the offspring of the Illyrians and that Albanian is the continuity of the Illyrian language.

It can be said that during these thirty-four years of our people's state power, studies

in the field of the history of the Albanian language have had two main objectives, namely, first to sum up in a creative way what had been achieved by the science of linguistics before liberation from the middle of the 19th century when F. Bopp finally established that the Albanian language is part of the family of "Indo-European languages", second, to make a more thorough examination and analysis of many problems dealt with earlier, as well as to raise and solve series of other problems in this field.

Special care has been devoted to the study of the Albanian language after the 16th century, with the scholars concentrating their efforts on discovering the special phonetic and morphologic features of the language of our authors of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

While giving priority to the study of the internal history of the Albanian language, our linguistics during the years after liberation has not overlooked the study of its external history. It was precisely Albanian linguistics that cleared up and dealt more extensively with the problem of the origin of the Albanian language tant, not only to the history of the Albanian language, but also to the history of the Albanian people and the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. A complete synthesis of the studies in this field was made at the Convention of Illyrian Studies (Tirana 1972) through the report on The Problem of the Place of the Formation of the Albanian Language in which in a very compelling and convincing way it was shown that the Albanians are a people autochthonous on their present territory. In throwing light on such problems, which are as important as they are complicated, Albanian linguistics has aimed to advance with cautious steps and be as objective as possible. It has made a valuable contribution to refuting the views of a certain foreign linguistics expert (G. Weigand) who considered that the Albanians had come from eastern to western regions, where they live today. Bringing forward a series of new arguments from the field of toponymy and naval lexicon of the Albanian language and from the field of its reciprocal relations with ancient Greek and Latin, Albanian linguistics shows that the thesis of Weigand and other of a similar type held by foreign scholars are now obsolete and untenable.

Of special significance in this direction are the articles and studies on the contribution of the Albanian language to the formation of the affinity of the Balkan languages and on the role of Albanian as a contributor to the neighbouring languages.

Another occasion to add contributions in this field was the Conference of Ethnographic Studies (Tirana, June 28 to 29, 1976) at which, in addition to many contributions on the various aspects of the material and social culture of the Albanian people, three papers from the field of linguistics were read, which examined problems mainly of the history of the Albanian language viewed from an ethno-linguistic angle.

The results of the work in the field of studies on the history of the Albanian language make up only one part of the successes attained by Albanian linguistics in the field of Albanological research.

Today, the Albanian language is spoken not only in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania but also beyond its borders. It is spoken by nearly one and a half million Albanians in Yugoslavia and Greece in the parts immediately over the borders. Albanian is spoken also in distant settlements of Albanians who, in various periods, have emigrated from Albania, the majority of them several centuries ago, some of them during the past century and the beginning of our century.

In Yugoslavia, spoken Albanian extends over a large territory of northwestern Macedonia and in the district of Kosova, in the regions of Peshtar, Preshova and Bujanovich, as well as in Montenegro, in the region of Plava, Gucia, Treshi Gruda; in the mountain region of Kraja, in Ulqin and its environs. In Greece, the Albanian spoken in the Cameria district, the southern border of which extends to the Bay of Preveza. It must be said that the Albanian spoken in both Yugoslavia and Greece cannot be separated from the spoken Albanian of the present day Albania because they have not been isolated during their development.

The Albanian language has been maintained and continues to be spoken and, partly written, in old settlements in Greece, Italy and elsewhere. On the islands of Hydra. Poro, Specia, Salamina and the districts of Athens, Euboea, the Peloponnesus and elsewhere, spoken Albanian dates back to the 14th century. Somewhat later is that of the Arbereshi who have settled mainly in the districts of Calabria and Sicily. Most of these settlements dote back to the 15th and 16th centuries.

The most recent are the spoken Albanian of the Albanians in Dalmatia (Arbanas near Zara) formed towards the beginning of the 18th century, the spoken Albanian of Madrica in Bulgaria and the spoken Albanian of the Albanian settlers in the Ukraine, in the districts of Melitopol and of Odessa, which were formed at the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century.

Having been detached for a long time from their motherland, the spoke Albanian of these settlements has been developed and influenced by a foreign environment but most forms of it, especially that of the Arbereshi in Italy, have been very well preserved and on the basis of this language has been built an artistic literature represented by well-known poets and writers like Jeronim de Rada, A. Santori, G. Rada, Z. Serembe, V. Stratigoni, V. Dorsa and many others.

In our days a whole generation of Arbereshi like F. Solano, G. Fareco, U. Giordano, J. Farrari, V. Salvaggi and others are following the path of this pleiad of enlightened Arbereshi, striving to preserve the language and folklore of the Arbereshi and prevent its being lost.

Outside the homeland the Albanian language is spoken also by the Albanian emigrants of the past century and the beginning of this one to Egypt, the USA, Argentina, Australia, Turkey, Rumania, etc.

From: "An Outline of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania", Tirana, 1978.

The Pension System in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

—-by Nesim Canko

In Albania a complete, advanced and unified pension system has been established for the workers, employees and members of the agricultural cooperatives. This is a great victory that our people have achieved under the people's power. Today the pension system is an important political, ideological. economic and social factor in the lives of the workers and peasants This result has born achieved thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of Labour of Albania, which by moans of the pension system for all the working people of town and countryside guarantees the material means of life for old people, invalids and those who have lost their family support.

The law "on state social security" and the law "on pensions for the members of the agricultural cooperatives", lays down that apart from the medical service that is provided, free of charge, for all citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as payments and aid in cases of illness, maternity leave, childbirth benefits, etc., citizens who are in employment and the members of agricultural cooperatives are entitled to old age, invalidity, family, and long service pensions, as well as pensions for special merits.

An important principle of the pension system in our country is that the expenditure for the payment of the pensions is met by the contributions paid in by the enterprises, institutions, organizations and agricultural cooperatives and finance from the state budget. Thus the worker pays nothing from his wages for his insurance.

The worker or employee has the right to receive an old ago pension when he reaches the age and years of service, proscribed according to the category of work he has done. Those employed on heavy or difficult work, who come within the first category, are entitled to a pension at the age of 50 after 20 years work in the case of men or at the age of 45 after 15 years work in the case of women. Those whose work comes within the second category are entitled to a pension at the age of 55 after 25 years work for a man or at the age of 50 after 20 years work for a woman. Workers whose jobs come within the third category receive pensions: at the age of 60 for men and 55 for women after 25 and 20 years work respectively.

Regardless of the category of the work she has done a woman worker or employee who has given birth to 6 or more children and raised them to the age of 8 years, has the right to receive a full old age pension at the age of 50, after 15 years work.

The member of an agricultural cooperative has the right to receive a full old age pension at the age of 65 after 25 years work for a man and at 55 after 20 years work for a women.

The pension is paid at 70 per cent of the average monthly income that the worker has earned for any three successive years during his last ten years' work with the worker nominating the three-year period over which he has earned the most. The old age pension for a worker or employee cannot be less than 350 leks or more than 700 leks per month. Whereas for the member of an agricultural cooperative it cannot be lower than 200 leks or more than 500 leks per month.

The worker or the member of the agricultural cooperative who has reached the age for a pension but has not completed sufficient years of service to be entitled the full old age pension has the right to receive a partial pension provided he has worked not less than 12 and a half years in the case of a man or 10 years in the case of a woman. The partial old age pension is paid in proportion to the years worked.

When the worker has completed the prescribed years of service but has given up work before reaching the minimum age for an old age pension, he will receive the full or partial old age pension when he reaches the proper age.

Workers, employees and members of the agricultural cooperatives are entitled to invalidity pensions if they become invalids at work or within 30 days from the day they ceased working or did not report for work. This pension is granted when the worker has entirely or partly lost the ability to work, according to the group of invalidity which is decided by the joint worker-medical-practitioner commission. When the invalidity is caused by an accident at work, the pension is awarded regardless of the worker's length of service, whereas if the invalidity is caused by illness or accident not connected with the job, then the pension is awarded if the worker has worked for a given number of years in proportion to his age.

The invalidity pension is paid at a rate of 85 per cent for the first group of invalidity, 75 per cent for the second group, 60 per cent for the third group and 40 per cent for the fourth group, calculated on average monthly income over the last year of the last three years' work nominated by the worker himself during which he has earned the highest income.

The worker or the member of the agricultural cooperative who becomes an invalid of the first and second group by an illness or an accident not connected with his job and who has not fulfilled the years of service which are required for a full pension, has the right to receive a partial invalidity pension if he has fulfilled no less than one fourth of the work time required for entitlement to a full pension. This pension is paid in proportion to the number of years he has worked.

As well as this the members of the family who have been incapable of work and have been effectively supported by the worker, employee or member of the agricultural cooperative, receive family pensions if their breadwinner dies during the period he has been in employment, or within two years of having given up work for the worker and thirty days for the cooperativist.

The family pension is calculated on the average monthly pay, differentiated according to the number of the members of the family he has been supporting. Thus for a family of three or more members 65 per cent of the wages, for a family of two 50 per cent and for one 40 per cent. When the worker who dies does not have the years of service required for entitlement to a full family pension the family members who are not able to work, have the right to receive a partial family pension, if the person supporting the family dies during the period he is in employment and has worked no less than one fourth of the period required for the allocation of a full invalidity pension is allocated in proportion to the years of service he has done.

The natural or adopted parent and the surviving spouse who at the day of the death of his or her child or of the other spouse, has not reached the required age and has been capable of working, has the right to receive the family pension when he or she reaches the required age, or becomes incapable of working. The pension can be applied for at any time.

There are also some special workers, who have the right to a pension because of the difficulties of the services they render, regardless of their age provided only that they have completed a given period of service. Permanent members of the armed forces on active service, soloists of the opera dancers of the ballet, soloist singers of the professional variety theatre, soloists and dancers of the State Ensemble and that of the People's army, as well as the acrobats of the circus, who are obliged to give up work because they are no longer capable of continuing their profession, receive this benefit. These pensions are paid at the rate of 30-40 and 60 percent of their average monthly pay.

Persons who have taken part in the National Renaissance and the people's movements in the National Liberation movement, or in the battles outside the state for the anti-fascist cause and have special merits, as well as persons who have been outstanding in the fields of science, technology, culture and art, and in state, social and economic activity have the right to the pension for special merits when they become incapable of work, or when they reach the age of 55 years tor men and 50 for women. The size of the pensions, the awarding or cancellation of these pensions, is by decision of the Council of Ministers.

For the worker official, member of the armed forces, of the member of the agricultural cooperative, who has taken an active part in an organized way prior to the 24th of May 1944 in the National Liberation movement or in the revolutionary movement abroad, the pension laws Include an award of an additional 10o leks over and above the age or Invalidity pension for the groups one and two or the personal pension for special merits. Those who have not been employed and consequently do not receive a pension but who have fulfilled the above conditions, also have the right to receive this 100 lnks.

In the conditions of the construction of socialism in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, man is valued as the most precious capital. That Is why care for the life and health of the working people of town and countryside has been raised to a very high level. To this end large sums are spent every year and measures are taken to protect and strengthen the health of the people. 500 million lnks are spent each year on pensions alone. This care reflects the ultimate aim of the Party of Labour of Albania and the people's state power of the ceaseless raising of material and cultural level of the working masses.

"The Chinese Leadership with Teng Xiaoping at the head has launched a military attack against Vietnam"

—Zeri i Popullit. 21st February 7979

The attack which the Chinese leadership, with Deng Xiaoping at the head, has launched against Vietnam is an event which aggravates still more the complicated and troubled international situation. Therefore what is occurring at present on the Sino-Vietnamese border must be judged cool-headedly openly and without kid-gloves. This must be done for the peoples, in the interests of the peoples and not for those ruling classes, who, in these troubled situations, are manoeuvring behind the backs of the peoples and to their detriment.

Ten years ago, the Soviet revisionist leaders ordered their tank columns to march on Prague. Czechoslovakia was subjected to barbarous aggression which was denounced with great anger and indignation by the whole progressive world. This act of the leaders in the Kremlin demonstrated in practice that the Soviet Union had now been transformed completely into an imperialist superpower. With its brutal and perfidious aggression against Vietnam, revisionist China, too, has acted in the same way as the Soviet Union acted against Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the Chinese revisionists have come out openly before the world as an imperialist superpower, seeking spheres of influence and "vital spaces".

The chiefs of Peking have thrown off their disguise. They have not waited for the year 2000 until they had finished their "modernizations" and transformed China into a great power equal to and capable of competing for world domination with the Soviet Union and the United States. Their dreams of empire, their great power obsession and warmongering ideology has blinded their eyes and obscured their judgement. By sending their troops to attack Vietnam, the rulers of Peking have demonstrated that their policy is a chauvinist and hegemonic policy. The attack on Vietnam is a logical consequence of the social-imperialist line formulated by the Chinese leadership long ago, when Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were alive and now put into practice by Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng.

In an effort to save face as far as possible, the Chinese leadership states that its attack on Vietnam has a "punitive character". This is a typical expression of the old imperialist gunboat policy applied by the colonialists and neo-colonialists.

China has attacked an innocent country and a heroic people who have not done mankind any harm, but on the contrary have served it outstandingly by bearing the brunt of extraordinary sacrifices and sufferings. Vietnam has resisted and defeated American imperialism, the savagest enemy of the peoples and all mankind.'

The people of Vietnam have done no harm to the Chinese peoples either; on the contrary they have always suffered. Even in the war against American imperialism. the Chinese leadership, like the Soviet social-imperialist leadership, irrespective of certain minor aid which it may have given, obstructed and damaged the anti-imperialist war of the people of Vietnam. At a time when all Vietnam, from the south to the north, was being destroyed by bombs from the giant American B-52 bombers, Nixon was welcomed with great honours in Peking and Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai made deals with the President of the United States to the detriment of the Vietnamese people.

The Party of Labour of Albanian has publicly denounced the dangerous policy pursued by China and has warned of the danger which it represents for international peace and security. The analysis which Comrade Enver Hoxha has made in his book, "Imperialism and the Revolution", of the Chinese theory of "three worlds" and its ideological basis, "Mao Zedong thought", of the Chinese plans to turn China into a superpower and of the activities of China in the international arena made clear that it would not be long before China would be making direct armed attacks on the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: "The aim and feverish efforts of China to become a superpower, which will counterbalance both the USA and the Soviet Union cannot fail to lead to new frictions, conflagrations, war, which may have a local character or the character of a general war."

With the open aggression they have undertaken against Vietnam, the Chinese social-imperialist revisionists have exposed themselves even more. Their political hypocrisy and false slogans have come out more clearly. China has posed and still poses as a socialist State. But it turns out that it is a false socialist State just like the Soviet Union, a State which keeps up the socialist disguise in order to fool the peoples. It claims that it is a country of the "Third World", but it turns out that it puts itself in this "world" in order to extend its domination there, and just as American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism act, when it cannot do this in a peaceful way it tries to do it with violence and war. China has claimed all these years through its leaders from Mao-Zedong to Deng Xiaoping, that "It would never seek hegemony", that "it would never be the first to attack", and "no Chinese soldier will ever be found on foreign territories" etc. There is no end to these stale Chinese slogans. But what are the Chinese soldiers doing in Vietnam where they are killing the people and devastating the country with fire and sword just as the American imperialists did only a few years ago?

China launched its military attack against Vietnam because it is guided by the aggressive superpower ideology of "filling the vacuum", by the chauvinist concept that the peoples must live under its shade, that they must submit to its great power dictate, obey the "Middle Kingdom" and pay tribute to it. It attacked Vietnam because it is playing the game of the superpowers and wants to compete with them for spheres of influence.

The fact that the aggressive attack on Vietnam was undertaken immediately after the return of Deng Xiaoping from the United States of America, implies that it has the blessing and support of American imperialism. China's aggression against Vietnam was planned in Peking and approved in Washington.

In his speech in the United States, Deng Xiaoping said openly in the fascist style, that "China would teach Vietnam a good lesson". And none of his official hosts disapproved of or denied this. The benevolent stand which the American imperialists are now taking towards the Chinese aggression Indicates that they have given it the green light. This is also apparent from the fact that the American Government is now trying to put China, which has attacked Vietnam on a par with Vietnam, because it has allegedly attacked Cambodia.

In Cambodia the people, the communists and the Cambodian patriots have risen against the barbarous government of Pol Pot, which was nothing but a group of provocateurs in the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie and specially of the Chinese

revisionists, which had as its aim, to discredit the idea of socialism in the international arena. Prince Sihanouk, who himself was imprisoned for nearly four years in Phnom Penh, has spoken publicly at the UN about the crimes of this clique and its extermination of the Cambodian people. The anti-popular line of this regime is also confirmed by the fact that the Albanian Embassy in the Cambodian capital, the embassy of a country which has given the people of Cambodia every possible aid, was kept isolated, indeed encircled with barbed wire as if it were a concentration camp. Other embassies were also in a similar situation. The Albanian diplomats have seen that the Cambodian people were being treated in an inhuman way by the clique of Pol Pot and leng Sary. Phnom Penh had become a deserted city, empty of people where even for the diplomats it was difficult to secure food, where you couldn't find a doctor or even an aspirin. In our opinion, the people and patriots of Cambodia were a bit slow to overthrow this clique which was completely linked with Peking and in its service.

When the first conflicts occurred on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, the view of socialist Albania was – and the whole world is witness to this – that the disagreements between the two neighbouring countries should be settled through talks and without the interference of the Chinese or the Soviet social-imperialists. On the contrary, the Pol Pot group, on Peking's urging day by day published communiques in Phnom Penh in which it reported that thousands of Vietnamese were being killed by its army on Vietnamese territory.

It was quite clear that this provocative and warmongering activity was supported by and carried out to the advantage of and on behalf of the expansionist aims of the group of Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng. And why should Deng Xiaoping not support and back up the clique of the Pol Pot and leng Sary when he has rehabilitated all the scum of Chinese reaction, when he has returned the property, money and power over plants and factories to the big bourgeoisie, the men of the Kuomintang and all the counter-revolutionaries and has turned China into a social-imperialist capitalist country as our Party has quite correctly called it. The bourgeoisie in the Party and the bourgeois intellectuals are in power in China. There this scum is considered to be elite while the working class is required to bow its head and work for the "modernization". It was precisely these capitalists, the clique of Deng Xiaoping and company who kept Pol Pot in power in Cambodia and now seek in every way to restore him after he was brought down.

The Chinese leadership is trying to cover up the aggressive act it has committed against Vietnam under the absurd pretext that Vietnam is seeking "petty-hegemony", apparently thinking that this is an excuse for China's great hegemony.

But the question must be asked why have the Chinese imperialists allegedly the right to defend the barbarous and fascist group of Pol Pot and Vietnam has not the right to support the revolutionaries and the people of Cambodia to build a free, independent and sovereign country. The Vietnamese Government has officially and publicly denied the Chinese claims that it is allegedly aiming to set up a federation of Indochina and has declared that Vietnam desires that the peoples of this zone should live free in friendship and each independent in its own country.

We Albanians can make this remark to Vietnam which we have expressed to them: neither in the time of the war against the Americans, nor at the present time is an alliance with the social-imperialist Soviet Union or any other imperialist State, or the

joining of Comecon, justifiable. They are harmful and dangerous both to Vietnam itself and to the other peoples.

The Chinese aggression has all the fascist-brand characteristics. The Chinese justifications for the barbarous action undertaken in Vietnam could have been taken word for word from Hitler who in his time claimed that he invaded Czechoslovakia because the Sudeten Germans were being ill-treated, or Poland because people sent by the Poles had carried out sabotage and murders on German territory. But who can believe the leaders of Peking that it was Vietnam that has sent its people to destroy the "peaceful life of villages and towns on the Chinese border" and that "China is compelled to counter-attack". The Chinese pretexts are the same pretexts which all imperialists have used and still use in order to start and justify their aggressions. The objective of subjugating and enslaving the people of Vietnam, of opening the way to the south, to the new Chinese expansionism, cannot be hidden with a fig leaf.

As a result of the aggressive action of China and its expansionist aims, a dangerous hotbed of war has been created in Indochina. Its flames are threatening other peoples and countries.

Our Party has publicly denounced the policy of the Chinese social-imperialists towards Vietnam and has condemned the pressure and interference in its internal affairs and the dangers which this policy represents to the peoples of Asia. In his book, "Imperialism and the Revolution". Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "The Chinese social-imperialists have been interfering seriously in the internal affairs of Vietnam and are fanning up the conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, etc., for their own expansionist objectives. When the Chinese leadership behaves in such a way towards Vietnam, which until yesterday it considered a fraternal country and close friends, what must the Asian countries think about the Chinese policy? Can they trust it?"

The genuine revolutionaries, anti-imperialist patriots and honourable people everywhere in the world, are strongly and very angrily condemning the Chinese leadership which is causing new sufferings and misery for the heroic Vietnamese peoples and understand the great danger which is threatening other countries too. The peoples of Asia must be on their guard lest what China is doing in Vietnam today it might do against them tomorrow.

The aggression which China has undertaken against Vietnam can only end in grave and shameful defeat for China. We are convinced that the Chinese attack will be repelled without any aid from outside and that the Vietnamese people will be vigilant towards the dangers which come not only from Chinese social-imperialism, but also from American imperialism and Soviet social- imperialism

The people of Vietnam have proved that they are a heroic and indomitable people. They are fighting for a just cause and will triumph just as they also triumphed over the United States of America. The fate which the American imperialists suffered in Vietnam awaits the Chinese social-imperialists too. China will become even more exposed and isolated by world public opinion. And those cliques which pose as democratic, and even as communist, which at this juncture and in their own interests do not defend the just cause of Vietnam, will, one day, suffer the same thing. This is what the policy of empty words about "defence of the peoples", and the agreed non-aligned policy leads to. He who does not support Vietnam today, supports the warmongers.

The aggression against Vietnam must make the Chinese people think too. They

must open their eyes and see the disaster to which their revisionist leaders are taking them. The aggression which they have undertaken against Vietnam is directed not only against the people of that country, but against the Chinese people themselves.

A great people, like the Chinese people, have allowed a chauvinist leadership to attack a friendly and fraternal people at a time when it is trying to heal the grave wounds and build the country devastated by thirty years of war. We call on the fraternal Chinese people to consider and to refuse to allow the adventurers. who are now at the head of them, to lead them into imperialist wars against other peoples, to refuse to allow them to incite world war. We have hopes that the Chinese people will not permit such a thing, that they will not allow themselves to become answerable to history for such a thing.

The Albanian people who have always stood beside the Vietnamese people, who have assisted them wholeheartedly and have sincerely wished them well, protest against the criminal act undertaken against them by the Chinese social-imperialists and demand that this criminal aggression must be ceased immediately.

The Albanian people are and will be with the heroic Vietnamese people and will defend their just cause. We are completely confident that just as they have resisted and triumphed over other colonialists and imperialists, the fraternal Vietnamese people will again emerge triumphant over the perfidious attack by the Chinese social-imperialists.

Correspondence

June 26th, 1979

We have interest to read your journal SOCIALIST ALBANIA/ But we cannot pay the subscription as our financial position is poor because of languishing in jail since 1970. So we hope you can understand our condition. We request you to please send us your monthly free of cost.

Inthararhana Reddy, Naxsaite Political Prisoner, Central Jail, Visakhapatnam-4, Andhra Pradesh.

2nd July, 1979

We are very happy to know that an association of friendship between India and Albania had been formed. We are also very, very happy to know that you are publishing a monthly journal with the title of SOCIALIST ALBANIA, a country which has always hold aloft the militant banner of the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels Lenin and Stalin. We know that Albania is a country which is ensuring a rapid and uninterrupted development towards socialism.

So we are requesting you to send the journal regularly to the address given below:

P. Chakrapani, Political Prisoner, Central Jail, Visakhapatnam-4, Andhra Pradesh.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that the correspondent has subsequently been acquitted in the Parvathipurani Conspiracy Case. Ed.

11 July, 1979

I have received the April-May Issue of SOCIALIST ALBANIA and please accept my thanks. I am very much interested about Socialist Albania, the great Albanian Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha. In our country the books about Albania and the writings of comrade Enver Hoxha are very rare and it is very difficult to get them. I will be very much obliged if you kindly send the book "Imperialism and the Revolution" written by comrade Hoxha to me by V.P.P.

Sanjoy Sinha, Barganda, Bihar.

Enver Hoxha's work "Imperialism and the Revolution" is available by V.P.P. for Rs. 45–from The English Bookshop,

33-34, Sector 22-D, Chandigarh. A full list of books from Socialist Albania stocked by them may be had on request. Ed.

Qemal Stafa, 1921-1942

Born in 1921, Qemal Stafa became an active Communist in his teens. He was twice imprisoned for political activities in 1937, when he was only sixteen, and in the mass political trial of January 1939 he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment and kept in custody in the village of Breshtan, near Berat.

During the Italian invasion of April, 1939, he managed to escape from prison. In 1941 he took to the mountains and became a close collaborator of Enver Hoxha in uniting the local Communist Groups into a national Party. When the Albanian Communist Party was founded on November 8th, 1941, he was elected a member of its central committee, and on November 23rd he was elected to the post of Political Secretary of the newly-formed Organisation of Communist Youth.

Qemal Stafa was killed in a battle with the Italian army on May 5th 1942, at the age of twenty-one. After the Liberation he was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the People."

Behind Iron Bars

A Poem by Qemal Stafa

A pale face within four black walls: a tortured soul in darkness.

Leaning on a crude table, head in hands, his thoughts fly to the golden kingdom of his memories.

His past is remembered as a time of freedom and happiness: distance makes it all more perfect, more beautiful, brushes aside all the inessentials, all the meaningless and valueless trifles.

Surrounded by his family, amid the laughter of his children, he fondles their golden hair, kisses their rosy cheeks and gives fatherly advice from the head of the table.

A happy father!

In the company of old friends in the coffee house, he laughs at their jokes discusses social problems, admits or opposes their arguments.

A good friend I

He strolls along the street, walking wherever he wishes; he sits in grassy fields, carefree. It is springtime and he is FREE.

He lives over and over again the life that is lit by the bright rays of freedom....

Suddenly, at the height of his dream, a harsh, metallic sound penetrates his fantasy.

The narrow iron grating screeches as a dark hand opens it and drops in a hunk of bread and a cup of water.

The man shudders and looks around; his cell is silent and empty as the tomb.

Instead of the golden hair of his children, he touches the rusty chains of iron fetters.

A pale face within four black walls: a tortured soul in darkness.

Only the tiny barred window throws a dim light into the cell.

He is a man in prison!

I.A.F.A. News

A meeting of the I.A.F.A. (Maharashtra) was held on 9th May, 1979. Ai this meeting it was resolved to assist the journal of the I.A.F.A., SOCIALIST ALBANIA, by raising sales, donations and subscriptions. It was also deeded that I.A.F.A. (Maharashtra) would arrange an exhibition depicting the heroic struggle and achievements of the Albanian people.

The meeting passed a resolution expressing its sympathy with the victims of the earthquake of April 15th. The text of this resolution is given below:

"This meeting expresses its sorrow and sympathy with the Albanian people who have been recently struck by an earthquake. The Albanian people who have heroically fought and overcome all kinds of oppressors, and while successfully building socialism are continuing to fight both its internal and external enemies, will no doubt meet this natural catastrophe with the utmost speed and determination to provide the toiling masses affected with the best relief and compensation. This is not the first time Albania has been hit by a natural calamity at a time of severe economic blockade by the imperialists and revisionists. Like the previous time we are confident that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will overcome all additional difficulties brought about by this calamity mainly relying on its own forces and continue on the road towards socialism.

"On behalf of the workers and toiling masses of India we express our solidarity in their effort and are one with the Albanian people in their long struggle to master the forces of nature and use it for the material and cultural benefit of the toiling masses".

In order to get in touch with the I. A. F. A. in different parts of the country contact the following: **West Bengal**: Bijoy Sarkar, 3-B Gobinda Mandal Lane, Calcutta-700002; **Punjab**: Lashkar Singh, 1668/2, Sector 30-B, Chandigarh; **Delhi**: Vijay Singh, F-13/6, Model Town, Delhi-110009; **Maharashtra**: Jahangir Merwanji, 43 Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay-400005; **Uttar Pradesh**: S. K. Misra, 97 Gandhi Bazar, Pilkhuwa, Dist. Ghaziabad. U. P.