

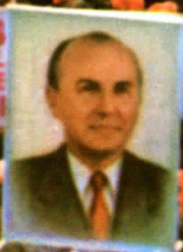
Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 2 (99) / 1988



FORÇA E SHQIPERIS
QENDRON NE POPUL
FORÇA E POPULLIT NE
BEKIMIN RRI



PUSHTETI POPULLOR
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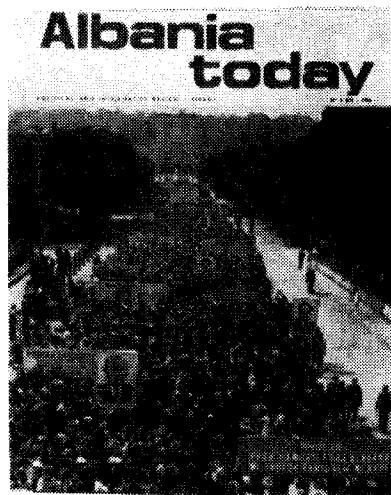


Përkrahë vigjentesë
partizane në punë e të shtëm
PËR TË MARRKËTUR SHËR PËR TË LIRIA
DËR TË TËRROREKËT E SHQIPERIS



RROFTE
PPSH, KOMITETI I SAJ QENDROR
ME SHOKUN RAMIZ ALIA NE KRYE





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RAMIZ ALIA

**SOCIALIST CULTURE - A
THE ADVANCE**

SPEECH AT THE 5th PLENUM

On March 1 and 2, 1988, the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA was convened under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania. Foto Çami, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, delivered the report of the Political Bureau «For an all-round development of socialist culture and the enhancement of its role in the whole life of the country».

A broad discussion took place about this problem. Workers of propaganda, art, culture and science attended the proceedings of the Plenum as guests.

In conclusion of the Plenum, the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia, delivered an important speech.

COMRADES,

THE REPORT WHICH WAS DELIVERED HERE, AS WELL AS THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE COMRADES TO THE DISCUSSION REFLECTED THE ACHIEVEMENTS MADE IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE AND EXPRESSED VALUABLE OPINIONS ON ITS FURTHER ADVANCE.

WITHOUT CLAIMING TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS FROM EVERYTHING THAT WAS SAID AT THIS MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, I WILL ONLY EXPRESS SOME OPINIONS ABOUT CULTURE AND ITS VERY IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

REAT ACTIVE FORCE FOR F THE COUNTRY

OF THE CC OF THE PLA

IMMEDIATELY AFTER LIBERATION, OUR PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAVE PAID VERY GREAT ATTENTION TO THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY. THEY CONSIDERED THE RAISING OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING PEOPLE A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE VIGOROUS ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW ALBANIA. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT CULTURED PEOPLE, WITHOUT SCHOOLED AND SKILLED WORKERS, WITHOUT SPECIALISTS AND LEARNED MEN. EXPERIENCE UP TO NOW HAS FULLY BORNE OUT THIS.

IN THE YEARS OF SOCIALISM THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY HAS TAKEN PLACE AT A VERY RAPID RATE. IT IS EXPRESSED IN THE MASS SCHOOLING OF THE POPULATION, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARTS, SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS, THE EXTENSION OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS TO EVERY INHABITED CENTRE OF THE COUNTRY, IN THE TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MODE OF LIVING AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF PEOPLE. COLOSSAL RESULTS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED IN ALL FIELDS. THEY ARE NOT INFERIOR TO THOSE ACHIEVED IN THE MATERIAL FIELD, INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, BUILDING, ETC.

WE FREQUENTLY MENTION AND POINT OUT AT THESE RESULTS, AS WE DID AT THIS PLENUM, TOO, NOT IN ORDER TO MAKE A HISTORICAL RESUMÉ, OR TO EXPRESS OUR SELF-SATISFACTION AND FLATTER OUR LEGITIMATE PRIDE. NO. WE DO THIS, BECAUSE THESE RESULTS ARE INSPIRING, BECAUSE THEY PROMPT US TO MARCH WITH DETERMINATION AND SELF-CONFIDENCE ON OUR TESTED ROAD, BECAUSE THEY ENCOURAGE US TO WORK AND STRUGGLE WITH EVER GREATER PERSISTENCE FOR THE SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLE.



Our successes have been made possible by our revolution which opened up the road to socialist construction, by our deep-going social transformations which changed relations among people and their mentality, by the especially great and constant concern of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, and by the tireless work of the people's state power which, with dedication and persistence, has carried out its directives and orientations.

These results have also been the fruit of the great efforts of our people who have never spared themselves for the development of culture, of their inextinguishable thirst for knowledge, and their not small sacrifice for the education of their sons and daughters. Without these efforts and sacrifices a whole generation of educated and schooled men and women, and an army of learned and qualified men and women, who with the level of their formation at present determine also the cultural level of our society, could not have emerged, as it did.

In the preoccupations and sacrifices our people were not prompted merely by the motives and interests that usually make the parents concern themselves about the cultural and vocational progress of their sons and daughters and their advance in life. They have also been and are expressions of the patriotism and ardent desire of the Albanian people to see their country advanced and cultured, to see Albania ranking among the civilized nations, to make its name known in the world not only for the struggles and bravery of its people, but also for their culture and knowledge.

These yearnings, dreams and sacrifices of the new men and women of the new Albania are justifying with each passing day through their work and enthusiasm in the building and advancement of our socialist Homeland, through the cultural values which they have created and continue to create and which now are more and more going beyond the bounds of the country as well.

At present we have entered a new phase of socialist development. In industry and agriculture,

transport and building, education and art, in every field of social activity there is a need for both quantitative and qualitative developments which cannot be secured without raising the knowledge of people to a higher level, without implementing the achievements of science in all fields, and without walking in step with the time.

According to these requirements we must also see the place and role of culture in its broadest meaning. With the prospects of our development are also linked the decisions of this Plenum, and the tasks it sets to pave the road for resolving current problems and, especially, coping with the demands of the future.

Our people's revolution in general, and our ideological and cultural revolution in particular, created what we call the new, or socialist, culture. This does not mean that our people in the past were without a culture of their own. On the contrary, it is known that the Albanian people had inherited one of the most ancient cultures in the Balkans. Our revolution not only created the conditions for and gave an unprecedented drive to the all-round development of cultural life, but also endowed our culture with new qualities bearing mainly on its content, liberated it from many influences of the aristocratic, cosmopolitan, conservative and decadent type, which, although without deep roots, still impeded its progressive development. This epuration which affected not only the spheres of creativeness, but also the whole spiritual life and the mode of living, opened up a broad road for the development of the popular, democratic and socialist culture. It is important to emphasize that these processes were led by the new Marxist-Leninist aesthetic and ideological concepts, which also guaranteed their success.

Proceeding from the teachings of the Party, we have achieved another great victory in the field of culture. We have succeeded in creating unified aesthetical concepts not only in the assessment of the national and world cultural legacy, which constitutes a key problem, because it determines the starting-point, as well as the road of the further development of culture. All this

represents a rare achievement and a great force for the advancement of the culture as a whole, as well as a factor which links the men of culture with the masses and puts them under their control. Here lies the secret of the fact that both the intellectual and the worker, both the common man and the cadre are in a position to speak and judge about a poem or story, about a film or novel, about a painting or song, proceeding from sound ideo-aesthetic positions.

When we talk about unified aesthetic concepts we do not mean some kind of uniformity in creativeness, nor a uniform conception of it, nor levelling out the individualities of those who create cultural values and consume them. Were it so, this would lead to a low, not to say almost primitive, degree of culture.

The Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles are not some unchangeable moulds which give their form to the cultural creations which are cast in them. Art, in particular, cannot be created with unchangeable patterns and prefabricated elements. Being a spiritual product and the reflection of reality, its expressions are endless, just as the breadth and depth of the human mind and social relations themselves are endless. In the creative practice of our country, and in the more outstanding works of our literature and arts of socialist realism, it has been proved that unified aesthetic concepts lead not to schematism, but to innovation, not to rigidity and one-sidedness of themes, but to a profusion of themes and variety of styles. Uniformity and schematism do not originate from the method of socialist realism. Nor do weak and worthless artistic works with us come about as a result of some bureaucratic support. They are merely the product of the unsatisfactory ideo-cultural level and creative incapability of their authors. Hence, the Party has insisted and continues to insist that the road for overcoming these shortcomings is that of the ever better assimilation of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, the persistent study and the constant cultural and professional qualification of the authors themselves.

Aesthetic principles are a question of world

outlook, a summing-up of the inner laws of art and its links with life, society and nature. Certainly, their knowledge and implementation is a necessity for every author, if he does not want to slide into spontaneity, if he knows where he wants to go and what he wants to achieve, if he wishes to be original and not a servile imitator. However, when it comes to aesthetic principles, these are very easy to learn from school textbooks and very difficult to apply in concrete creative activity. Not infrequently people think that it is enough for them to choose a theme which is in order from the class stand-point, to find the characters from among the people, to dress them in national costumes, and the success of the work is guaranteed. This vulgarization of the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles and the art itself must be combated with determination, otherwise the door is left open to weak and worthless works. A work which only narrates, but makes no analysis, which only declaims but carries no information, which speaks but says nothing, can be anything but not a work of art. Mankind has invented art in their efforts to know themselves and the surrounding world, to know their present and, especially, to understand their future. This great philosophical concept, this persistent search, keep artistic creativeness alive and develop it further. There would be no art without it.

The party organizations, the Writers' League, the cultural and publishing institutions face great tasks in the education of the workers of the cultural front in this spirit. They must find the most suitable forms for the writers and artists, all our men and women engaged in artistic creativeness, to master the line and teachings of the Party, and the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles. However, the struggle for a militant art of high quality cannot be successful without knowledge of life. This is a permanent demand on art and culture. At present, with the deepening of the processes of socialist development in all fields of social activity, it assumes special importance. All the workers of the cultural front must live intensively, in the most various ways, with the pro-

blems of the time, with the concern of the Party about production, the education and life of the people, with the creative activity and struggle of the working masses for the socialist construction and the defence of the country. Life must be known scientifically, not superficially. In the broad meaning of the word, the logics of life, not some episodic and isolated fact of it, must predominate in artistic creativeness.

It often occurs in everyday practice that the various party and state organisms have correct concepts about culture and its developments, but not so much about the worker of culture and the cultured man. In general, these are identified according to school attestations and, especially, university attestations. For a certain time, especially taking account of the condition in which our country has been in the past, this may be explained and understood. However, for the stage at which we are now and for the levels we have reached, these attestations are not enough and cannot be used as the only and absolute criteria and measures for the evaluation of the cultured man.

It is known that the concept of the cultured man has evolved and changed a great deal according to the stages of the development of human society, being seen and treated both in an idealistic and materialistic manner, and measured by different criteria, but his characterization as an advanced man who tries to understand and influence social phenomena with his knowledge and conscious activities, and a man which illuminates the minds of people and struggles to make their life better, has remained constantly valid.

In its evaluation of the cultured man socialist society proceeds from a broader and more complex idea of him. It does not measure and value him only by the sum total of his knowledge, but also by his stand and behaviour, the contribution he makes to the advance of the country, and his constant concern about the fate of the Homeland and the people. If we consider him in this light, we must not look for the cultured and advanced man only in the stratum of schooled people, or

among those who have gone through a certain education, but also in the mass of common men and women of the people, workers and peasants, also shepherds who have never come down from their mountains, also among housewives but who work and struggle with a high sense of duty, full of dedication and enthusiasm for the increase of production and enrichment of life.

A new man liberated from the preconceptions of the past and endowed with noble feelings and thoughts has been created in the time of the Party. Productive activity itself has a summed and broad creative character. High aesthetic and cultural demands now are made not only on artistic creativeness proper, but also on production, building and agriculture. If we see things from this stand-point, the builders of hydro-power stations, whether they are engineers, specialists or common workers, the builders of the terraces of Lukova, the raisers of hybrid maize or wheat strains, the many innovators of production and the innumerable cooperativists who take in yields of world levels, do not do less creative work than the artists, professors and workers of scientific institutions.

A correct broad concept about the cultured man brings about the raising of the demands on the work and behaviour of everybody, calls for production to be of high quality, buildings to be both low-cost and beautiful, rational solutions to be found, and all the energies of the masses to be utilized for the good of socialism. This would help us also to combat those manifestations which, in their essence, express only lack of culture. These are apparent in production, especially in the low quality of goods and services, just as they make themselves felt in the treatment of people. There are some civil servants and employees who call themselves servants of the people, while they behave with them as if these people were indebted to them. Neither intellectual conceit, arbitrariness or arrogance in dealing with people are expressions of culture, nor unseemingly behaviour and all other deeds which leave people with a bad feeling and come up against the morality of our socialist society.

Formation of a broad concept about the cultured man is a great task of the Party. The struggle for socialist construction presupposes not only the creation of a new social order without exploiting classes and exploitation, but also the transformation of the way of thinking and behaving of people, their relations in the family and society, and their stand at work and out of work, according to the ethics and morality of the communist civilization.

Identification of the cultured man with a school certificate, especially when the question is about people involved in artistic creativeness, journalism, philosophy, science and other intellectual pursuits, brings along also another evil which must not be undervalued. Such an identification would lead, and to a certain extent it has led, to an equalization of cultural values. It is known, however, that equalization of values kills culture.

There is a tendency for social equality, which exists with us and which represents an achievement of socialism, to be mechanically transplanted to the field of creativeness. As a consequence, this tendency tries to bring down creative individualities, talents in art, science, engineering, architecture, agronomy, etc., the genuine intellectuals, to level them out, to make them the equals of those who have the same school certificate, who work in the same field, but not with the same results. One dare not assess, honour or reward an outstanding personality of science and culture without a chorus of voices clamouring: «Are we not all equal? What do you think we are? Have not we produced that and that many works?», although it is known that not every printed paper is a book, not every song is music, and not every painted cloth is painting.

Equalization of values comes about also because of lack of depth of literary or art criticism and its very superficial assessments. For evidence of this you have only to read the «Drita» newspaper on Sundays, which is full of endless lists of writers' names, with great inflation of praise to them. Publishing institutions find themselves under the

constant pressure of the less gifted authors who want, they, too, the complete collection of their works.

If our newspapers, television, publishing houses, theatres, etc., went about it as the masses do, which make their own selection of artistic works by buying or not buying them, by applauding a song or keeping silent to it, by switching on or off the tv-set, they would be making commendable work. However, this, too, would not be enough. The masses often act intuitively and proceed more by sentiment, while the organs and organisms that manage culture must proceed from conscious criteria of assessment, because it is their duty and mission to tell the masses what book they should read, what broadcast they should follow, and what spectacle they should see. They have a great moral and social responsibility for the aesthetic education of the masses. Responsibility for the quality of artistic works cannot fall on their authors only, but also on those who publish them, advertise them, execute and distribute them.

There is nothing worse than an art which, from a passion and struggle, has turned for somebody into a routine and trade. Art cannot be left to vegetate. Hence, pruning the forest of creativeness not only is all to its good, but also an indispensable operation.

It is frequently said that more material means and possibilities are needed for the development of culture. No doubt this is true, and, within our possibilities, we must do more. But I want to stress that, what is more needed, is a better and more effective use of the means at our disposal. Our Film Studio produces an average of more than one film a month. This is a commendable thing. But what is more needed is that among all these films there should be not only one or two, but more films of high and very high quality. We publish books translated from foreign literatures. But are the authors of these books the more representative of the present-day world literature? Would the edition and re-edition of the masterpieces of great writers

not raise more the cultural level of our youth than the translation and publishing of no few books of limited artistic value? The same can also be said about the buying of television and other films. Let them be fewer, but better and more representative of our time. At present in culture as in all other fields we need higher quality, more works that educate and recreate people and not eat up their time. Gifted people, outstanding scientists, musicians and artists must be encouraged, and more conference halls and stages, more rooms for spectacles, talks and lectures should be put at their disposal.

Equalization of values is often justified with the affirmation that we are not for an élite in culture, but for its massive character, that we have not a limited number, but a whole army of writers and artists, etc. Certainly we are against bourgeois élitist concepts, but this does not mean that socialist society must not encourage its creative individualities and personalities. This has to do not only with the arts, but with all sectors of social activity.

In every field there are and must be banner-bearers, people who stand out for their creative work and very good results, people who pull others to follow them and set the example for thousands and hundreds of thousands of others. With us the question is not about the creation of a «privileged stratum» of people, but about the creation of an as favourable climate as possible for a broader and more advanced literary and artistic creativeness and about encouraging talents which should have all the possibilities to work to the benefit of socialism and the Homeland.

The problem of artistic individualities was correctly and timely raised at one of the recent plenums of the Writers and Artists' League which dealt with poetry, although the question was confined to this field only. It is true that culture is made by the masses, but it is the outstanding individuals that sum it up, carry it on and express it.

Even in Naim Frashëri's time and before him there were many people who made verses, but

only he was able to express the character and aspirations of his people so well and so beautifully and thereby became an obligatory point of reference for the history of Albanian literature and our national culture at all times.

With their work, outstanding personalities in the field of culture, science, technique and other fields create an epoch, they leave indelible imprints on the road on which the country has advanced and continues to advance, they turn into a source of national pride, and admiration for them becomes an inspiring example for the coming generations.

A correct understanding of the policy of the Party in valuing outstanding people in all fields of social activity means neither satisfying different whims nor encouraging bourgeois individualism. The Party must have it clear that overevaluation of talents and an uncritical stand on their limitations is harmful.

Our advance in the field of education is great. It represents our main achievement in the field of culture and speaks very clearly about the correctness of the road followed by the Party. However, there are and will be problems in this field, too. These are problems of growth, development and perfection. The Party and the state are constantly involved in these problems and concern themselves persistently about the progress of our school. I want to dwell here on one of its problems which is both old and new, and in which we have been involved in the past and shall also be involved in the future. We have said, and this is quite right, that the mission of our socialist school is the ideological, cultural-vocational and physical-military formation of the youth. Our whole educational system, its structures, teaching programs, etc., have been built on this basis. Results have been good. However, we must be permanently concerned about these problems, because times change, the country develops, and new problems emerge and must be coped with. Proceeding from this, we must pose the question and find the reply as to what people

of our school should train, and what should be their formation.

Of course, it is known that the school trains the new generation for the future, for the tasks that await it in the coming days. However, the important is not only that this mission should be known. The main thing consists in understanding and defining this future so that school programs are built in accordance with it, so that the new generation is taught and educated to be fully prepared for the future. If we must always look up to the future, then we must have a clear vision of future developments.

The coming years, and the trend is already apparent, will be characterized by a great role of science in all the sectors of life. Certainly, the task of the school is not to talk about this feature and make its forecasts, but to give the students the necessary knowledge and the method of study and work so as to enable them to cope with this new stage, to arouse creative enthusiasm in them, to teach them to look far ahead and not run after some small mean interests which are encouraged by old ideologies, especially the petty-bourgeois ideology, and the pressure of consumer ideologies which come from abroad and which, likewise, do not pass by without leaving their traces.

The young man that graduates from the school must be full of ideals and aspirations, full of hopes and dreams for himself and society, but also convinced that all these can be achieved. When he enters life, he must be prepared in mind and spirit to struggle for the highest peaks of science and culture, to strive for the moral perfection and enhancement of his personality as a revolutionary and a patriot. The young man or woman must enter the long struggle that await them with the desire and conviction that their and the entire society's life can be made better if everybody fights and works with dedication and determination, that the challenges of the future, whether they be political or ideological, economic or cultural, can and must be coped with. The school which should impart this spirit to its students, must have it as a distinctive characteristic

itself, in the first place. The student is the mirror of his teacher. Hence, teachers should think about these challenges that must be coped with, and the answers they should give their students about why and how they learn.

As the question here is about the school, I will dwell on another problem, too. Under the direct care of the Party a whole educational system which we call post-university educational system, has been set up, and the number of works for scientific degrees has greatly increased. This indicates the rising of the qualification of our specialists to a higher degree and an apparent qualitative progress of our sciences. However, like in any other social, educational or cultural activity, there is always need for constant deepening and perfection. I think that special attention must be paid to the content of programs of post-university courses, especially their physiognomy and purpose. In most cases, the level of information of the knowledge transmitted through these courses is not higher than that of the last university term, although this information is given in somewhat more concentrated and more unified form and its assimilation on the part of the students is more intensive.

However, if we remain at this level, if students are not acquainted and equipped with the latest achievements of the sciences they are interested in, with the newest methods of their application, and the best methods of scientific research, results will be meagre as compared with the expenditure made. There is a whole world experience about the organization of post-university courses from which we may profit. The university itself and its teaching staff would profit greatly from a higher level of scientific knowledge at post-university courses, because they would not only be obliged to follow and assimilate the advanced knowledge, technique and scientific and pedagogical methodologies, but would also get acquainted directly with the increasing demands posed by the economic and cultural development of the country. In this way the high school would not only put itself in the van of scientific thought, but also transform itself into a true centre of scientific

consultation about the problems put forth by life in fields of production, technique and technology.

A well-studied programming and efficient organization must be thought for the post-university courses of the specialists of social sciences. Here routine and spontaneity is greater, because difficulties, which is understandable, are greater. However, while accepting so much, we must not allow the formalism that exists at present. We must overcome this stage, and the sooner the better. The institutions involved in this question should not discharge all their burden on the University and then complain about the unsatisfactory professional and cultural level of those who graduate from post-university courses.

Also, there should be more concern about the preparation of those who intend to obtain scientific degrees. It is important here that better rules should be established in the assignment of themes so that this is not left to spontaneity of the desires of individuals. We must be very attentive that works for scientific degrees stand at as high a level as possible. There should be a higher sense of responsibility on the part of candidates' guides and the different attestation boards so as not to allow concessions or compromises.

The assessments of these boards must be indisputable not only in regard to their functional competences, but also their scientific and intellectual personality, the mandate society and the state have given them to verify and guarantee the attestations they issue. The value of these works must be gauged, in the first place, by their applicative benefits for the technical sciences, and by the entirely new information they bring, the theoretical problems they solve and the original interpretations of phenomena they present for the social sciences.

The problems of culture should occupy a greater place in the work of the Party. I emphasize this because at times this sector is not given its due. Not infrequently some managers, under the pretext of the struggle for fulfilment of production plans, do not pay due attention to cultural activities, and do not concern themselves about literature and art, books and films, science and music.

By means of its policy, the Party must en-

sure, as it has done up to now, an all-round and harmonious development of the country. This, however, cannot be done if there is no proper appreciation of this or that sphere on the part of the party and state organs. No field of social activity, and even less, culture, should remain outside the attention of the Party.

We know Comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions about the cultural work to be done by party district committees, which he gave the first secretary of the Korça district at a talk he had with him at Drilon. There Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the concern of the Party about culture, the treatment of artists and talents, the need for improving quality in art and culture and the responsibility of the party organs for the state of things in this field. His instructions must be considered permanent directives for the Party, which were valid yesterday, are valid today and will be valid in the future.

When cultural life of an environment is lukewarm, the theatre and variety show are little heard and artistic activities take place once in a blue moon, this means that the Party does not work well on this front. Today we have everywhere gifted people who can give beautiful works to the public. The task of the Party, however, is to encourage and inspire them, and prompt them to new achievements. The leading role of the Party on the cultural front also presupposes its direct responsibility for this front.

These were, comrades, the problems I intended to deal with at this meeting. Of course, a talk about culture may be broader and longer, because culture itself is endless. However, the questions I mentioned above, the problems that were raised in the report and those dealt with in the contributions to the discussion are requirements of the time. Our cultural, scientific and state organisms, the workers of the front of culture, writers and artists, scientists and students, with their creative powers, their talents and organization capacities have all the possibilities to raise the quality of cultural work to a higher level. In this noble and very important activity for the cause of socialism they will have the constant backing and assistance of the Party and our socialist state.

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!

FOR AN ALL-ROUNDED OF SOCIALIST CULTURE OF ITS ROLE IN THE WORKING CLASS

- FROM THE REPORT DELIVERED
AT THE 5th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE YEARS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION HAVE BEEN THE YEARS OF A PROFOUND CULTURAL REVOLUTION, OF THE LIQUIDATION OF BACKWARDNESS AND OF THE CREATION OF A NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE AND OF ITS RAPID AND ALL-ROUND ADVANCE. THE DEEP-GOING CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN CULTURE HAVE THOROUGHLY AFFECTED THE FOUNDATIONS AND THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL CULTURE, THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE NATION. OUR COUNTRY TODAY HAS A DEMOCRATIC AND MODERN SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, IN WHICH THE NEW GENERATIONS, THE CADRES AND SPECIALISTS FOR VARIOUS PROFILES, CAPABLE OF COPING WITH ALL THE NEEDS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, ARE TRAINED. THERE IS A BROAD NETWORK OF SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC INSTITUTIONS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY WHICH CARRY OUT A FRUITFUL ACTIVITY AT AN EVER HIGHER LEVEL IN THE SERVICE OF PRODUCTION, EDUCATION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND. A SIGNIFICANT EXPRESSION OF THE CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS IS THE CHANGE IN THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE BROAD MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE, THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, THE WIPING OUT OF THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE RURAL AREA AND THE CITY, AND THE NARROWING OF THE ESSENTIAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THEM. THE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, COMBINED WITH THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, DEALT A DECISIVE BLOW AT THE OLD FEUDAL, BOURGEOIS AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS, IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGIES, AND AFFIRMED THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AS THE DOMINATING IDEOLOGY OF OUR SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

Cultural transformations have not resulted from spontaneous processes but from conscious development, which has been inspired and led by the Party. They have been and are carried out on a broad and solid theoretical basis, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The Party has mapped out the platform, the programme, the whole policy for the cultural development and has led the struggle of the masses for the transformation of the old world and for the creation of the new socialist culture. This road has always been illuminated by Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical work, which is em-

bodied in all the cultural achievements of the new Albania.

Achievements in the field of culture are really majestic. But we must see the situation and the development, not only with the eye of what has been achieved, but also with an eye to the new tasks which lie ahead. There are several reasons why the Party is devoting a special meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee to the problems of culture. It demands that the tasks of cultural development should be conceived on the basis of the present stage of development of our society and with a view to the new perspectives

ND DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENHANCEMENT LE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

ED BY COMRADE FOTO ÇAMI
THE CC OF THE PLA-

which were opened by the 9th Congress of the Party. In this process of advance it is important that the material and the spiritual development should go hand in hand with the economic and ideological development, without letting any sector and field of culture lag behind. But because of the complex character of social development, because of the operation of the objective, and sometimes subjective factors, tasks emerge on the order of the day which require that some disproportions between the material and spiritual life, between culture and the other spheres of the social life, should be overcome.

The questions of culture assume great acuity today, also, because the role of culture itself in social life has increased, just as the demands of society on culture have increased, too. Our socialist civilization has reached the stage of development in which uncontainable advance depends more and more on culture. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, socialism is the work of the physical strength and energy of the masses, but *more and more it is also the work of the wisdom, knowledge and the intellectual power, the cultural creativeness of the masses.*

Our new culture constitutes one of the greatest assets of our socialist Homeland. It constitutes a force capable of influencing all aspects of life, the rates and direction of its development, the economy and the ideology, science and technique, production and art, education and defence. Culture has always assisted the masses of working people to continuously extend their mastery over

the nature in order to support the all-round rapid advance of the country. But in the process of development of culture there are new problems which have been accumulated within it and which demand solution in order to help it advance and flourish.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's idea that our whole socialist life is and should be culture, has a special methodological and practical importance for the correct and comprehensive understanding of culture and of its role in our socialist society. Guided by this thesis of principled importance, the Party has fought and fights continuously *against the narrow concept about culture, against the evaluation of culture according to one-sided intellectualist or utilitarian, élitic and vulgar criteria.* Culture is materialized in everything which encourages and stimulates progress, which brings about new developments and ulterior perfection. Therefore, the struggle for the development of culture and the application of its achievements will necessarily be spread everywhere, in every field of life and social activity, both material and spiritual. We are guided by this broad concept on culture and from this angle shall we analyze the problems of culture and its development in this Plenum.

There is a real historical significance not only in the rapid rates and the breadth of achievements made by the cultural revolution, but also in the fact that the cultural development of socialist Albania has always advanced without ever changing colour. By opposing and coping with the

betrayal of the modern revisionists and with the ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie, our culture, under the leadership of the Party, has never swerved from the guidelines of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and has always placed itself completely in the service of the revolution and socialism.

This process, however, is not over. Cultural development is characterized by the ideological class struggle. For this reason the 9th Congress of the Party stressed that *the strengthening of the socialist contents of our culture, the preservation of the Marxist-Leninist ideological purity are the main way of its further development.* In our time, the class struggle in the field of culture is very complicated and severe. It cannot be covered up either with the slogans and efforts for the «deprivation of culture of its ideology» or the «convergence of the bourgeois culture with the socialist culture», which have been revived especially in the framework of the application of the policy of the revisionist «perestrojka»-s, which are nothing but the reconstruction of the revisionist order according to the forms of present-day Western capitalism and a new attack along the whole front against Marxism-Leninism, against scientific socialism and its revolutionary culture.

Intensification of this pressure is a reality. With their degenerate culture, with their decadent art and literature, with their idealist sociological and philosophical, aesthetic and moral concepts, through the radio and television and through other mass media, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists strive to influence our people, in order to sow the seed of degeneration in our country, too, in order to urge socialist Albania to «open up» to the counter-revolutionary ideology and make concessions to it. Therefore, to enhance ideological vigilance, to neutralize the influence of this campaign by strengthening the revolutionary content of our culture, by raising its level and by mobilizing all its ideological potential, and to implant convictions about the superiorities of the socialist ideals and our order still more deeply, these tasks remain always valid for us.

In this spirit it is necessary to always keep ablaze the fire against the remnants of the patriarchal and conservative ideology, as well as against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology in the way of life and in socialist culture, which have a recrudescence whenever our struggle against them is softened. More persistent efforts must be made against the imitation of models from foreign culture and the feeling of inferiority to it, just as it is necessary to raise the level of the work done by the school and the youth organization for the all-round cultural, and especially ethical-moral formation of the younger generation.

We publish a lot of literary books, make films, put plays on the stage, broadcast television pro-

grams, which are outstanding for their emotional power and ideological tendentiousness. Their educative role would be still greater if it were possible to avoid those shortcomings which are noticed in some of them and which persist, to avoid those elements which make no impression on the readers and the viewers, which have the weakness of reflecting our reality in a colourless manner, of treating and solving contradictions in a cut-and-dry manner, and which treat their themes in a narrow and one-sided manner.

These shortcomings can be avoided when the writers and artists master their art, have the artistic skill, and more so, when they have a profound mastery of the Marxist world outlook and the policy of the Party, which assist them to interpret the reality correctly, to reflect it with a realistic and truthful spirit, to place in the centre of their works the major problems which preoccupy the country and the people.

Today it is necessary that the problem of the enhancement of the qualitative level of culture should be placed in the centre of attention. We have succeeded in spreading culture and its means in breadth, in creating a wide network of educational and scientific institutions, of radio-television and publications, of hearths and homes of culture, of libraries and book-shops, of theatres and variety theatres, of cinemas and concert halls, of professional and amateur groups, of art galleries, museums, etc. All this network has assisted positively in the spread of the cultural values among the broad masses at large.

Without neglecting the further quantitative increase, the stress must be put now on quality. The spread of culture in width has, to some extent, brought about a certain undervaluation of the struggle for higher quality. The criticism of the Party about such negative manifestations in the field of literature, such as getting accustomed to books of average or mediocre values, is good for all field of culture.

In order to ensure the qualitative rise of creativeness it is necessary that *the innovatory thinking, the truly creative activities, initiatives and forces, and the new talents in the field of culture should be encouraged and stimulated.* We must attach still greater attention to the generalization and spread of the advanced experience, striving at the same time and with the same intensity to step up the struggle against getting accustomed to outdated forms, to vulgar and used imitations, to levelling up and standardization of cultural values.

The new socialist culture which is developed in our country is outstanding for its *original national character.* In our country there is no contrast between the national character and the socialist character of culture, on the contrary, they grow stronger by reflecting and voicing the inte-

rests of our society which develops as a socialist nation. The national character of culture assumes an historical importance in the present-day struggle against the cultural aggression of the imperialist superpowers and the preachings of their ideologists and other chauvinist forces which defend the «internationalization» of culture, the liquidation of specific national cultural features, especially of the small peoples. Behind these preachings it is not difficult to see the policy of Americanization, Russification, or Slavization of cultures, which constitutes one of the utmost anti-cultural deeds, directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against their national identity.

The strengthening of the socialist and national character by no means shuts our culture within its narrow shell or impedes it from entering into and maintaining contacts with the world culture. The Party sees these relationships from a dialectical angle, not just as relationships of dependence, but as active relationships, in the framework of which our socialist culture appears both as a taker and as a giver. Our culture is closed to anything decadent and reactionary which comes from the degenerated bourgeois and revisionist culture of our time, but it, also, uses and appropriates, in a critical and creative manner, everything positive from the world progressive culture of the past and present. In our country we translate and publish the main works of the world progressive literature, show films in the large and small screens, and put foreign plays on the stages of our theatres, we execute musical works, open art exhibitions, book exhibits, while folk groups, conductors and instrumentists from various countries give their concerts here. Our cultural relations and exchanges with the other countries have been extended. These are useful and of reciprocal benefit. The Party will see to it that these activities continue to develop in the future, but greater care is required in extending them, because from time to time we see commercial and superficial films in our screens, we publish literary works without any real artistic value.

It is obvious that the cultural life, especially the activity of the very cultural and artistic institutions, is also so directed as to ensure a pleasant rest and recreation, a pleasant *free time for the masses*. But reducing this only to the above-mentioned aims is a one-sided and obsolete phenomenon, the more so when in these activities, especially in the sensational shows and spectacles, there are elements of or tendencies to vulgarity, which we notice from time to time in the amateur artistic movement and even in the theatre and variety shows, in the radio and the television. Combating low standards of spectacle, Lenin in his own time pointed out that in socia-

lism the workers have a right to demand real art, rich in content and elevated in form, which has nothing to do with any surrogate. His behest is fully valid for today, and even more now when the bourgeois and revisionist world is wallowing a so-called mass culture and art, which is standardized and vulgar and has a marked commercial character, an art and culture which corrupt good taste and infest the spiritual world of the people. While strenuously fighting vulgar taste and defending the purity of our cultural and artistic activities, we must also enrich these activities, both in content and in form, must raise their level in all aspects, and especially we must strengthen their educational character, introducing a healthy comprehensive spirit also in the concepts connected with the rest and the recreation of the masses, and of the youth, in particular.

The free time of our people would be filled and enriched by involving them in various sports and physical-cultural activities such as cross-country races, excursions, marches, mountain climbing, in the beautiful spots of our country. All the possibilities exist for a greater participation of the masses in various kinds of sports, by using the existing facilities better, but also by building new ones, such as volleyball and basketball grounds, rooms for chess and table-tennis players, etc. Without underrating the efforts to raise the quality of the physical-cultural and sports activities, the Committee of Physical Culture and Sports must direct its attention more and more to those activities which attract the broad sections of the youth and other working people of the city and the rural area.

The development of culture in the present stage cannot be separated from efforts to master the achievements of contemporary technical and scientific progress. In our time we notice a close relationship between culture and the technical and scientific revolution. The struggle for culture today cannot be conceived without the struggle to know, to master and to use the modern sciences and technique. However, the consequences of the technical and scientific progress in culture depend directly on the character of the social order. In the capitalist and revisionist countries the development of the technical and scientific revolution has become the cause of further sharpening of the crisis of the capitalist civilization, which appears as a cultural crisis and a crisis of social ideals. The bourgeois ideologists themselves are not in a position to cover up the widening contrast within the capitalist civilization, both as the embodiment of the technical, material and cultural force, and as the capacity of society for uninterrupted progress. In our country, the values of science and technique are combined harmoniously with the socialist culture, with the ideological and revolutionary formation of the work-

ing people, with the socialist morality and with the ideals of communism. This is one of the superiorities of the socialist order and culture over the bourgeois and revisionist civilization and culture.

The scientific culture today is extremely rich and dynamic. Converging in it are different kinds of knowledge from all fields and sciences, whereas knowledge from the fields of natural sciences and technical sciences are more and more coming to the fore. Their value increases due to the great applicative weight they have in modern production. Today one can hardly be regarded as a cultured man if he lacks an orientation in the elements of the contemporary scientific and technical sciences. That is why the study and spread of this knowledge should be organized better, not only by the school, but also by the many means of social information, of culture and of massive propaganda.

This by no means implies that we will slacken our attention to the inculcation of humanistic culture, especially to the civic formation of the new generations, to equipping them with a broad social culture and especially to arming them with the communist world outlook and ethic. Our Party has always given priority to the ideological and political culture, to the Marxist-Leninist formation of our people, who are outstanding for the high level of their Marxist-Leninist ideological and political consciousness, which is connected also with their all-round, solid scientific and cultural formation. But the task now is that this formation must be more active and effective. Marxist knowledge has a value when it is transformed into a motive force, into a weapon for struggle, when it is used in order to correctly understand and interpret the phenomena of life and see the present and perspective development of the country, when it is embodied in the daily stands and behaviour of the people in all their efforts and work for the construction and defence of socialism. Therefore, what is required is a living and conscious assimilation of this knowledge, with an eye to linking it closely with life, treating it in a creative manner and in the spirit of a militant confrontation and debate, which is absent in a considerable degree not only in our school, but also in all the other means of the propagation and study of Marxism-Leninism, in the press organs and publications, and even in the work carried out within the Party for this purpose.

Another problem which attracts our attention is connected with the fact that *the intellectual and moral culture are not proceeding apace*, the former develops more rapidly, while the latter lags behind. This disproportion is noticed often

in our social milieu, in which we see alien stands towards work and property, brutal behaviour which is unworthy of our society, remnants of backward customs, unfair mediations and partiality, tendencies to hanker after easy gain in life and vulgar taste, to vindicate only one's rights and to shirk one's duties, etc. Therefore, the Party, the school and the family, the cultural institutions and the social organizations must carry out a much more intensive work for the elevation of the moral culture of our people, especially of the youth.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that *the school has been and remains the main hearth of culture*. The Party has worked out and is implementing a wide-ranging programme for the further revolutionization of the school, for the all-round raising of the teaching-educative level in all its processes, for its scientific and pedagogical modernization. Work is continuing especially to enrich and renovate the contents of information given to the pupils and students, with a view to completing them with the cultural and scientific developments of our time, so that the school should not remain at the tail-end of the life, but should precede the present and perspective developments. The school work today cannot be imagined if it is not equipped with contemporary knowledge. But what is more important and difficult is to make the man capable of learning throughout his life in an independent manner.

Better planned work is required to be done with the *book*, with this powerful means of culture, by extending and improving the range and structure of publications — cultural and encyclopaedic, political and social, technical and scientific — or of illustrated books, while at the same time improving the technological basis of the printing industry and the situation of the bookshops and the work of libraries.

Let us not forget that with the great extension of the cultural and artistic institutions, especially of radio and television, we might face a danger, which is beginning to appear, of undervaluing the culture acquired from the books. Even in some districts which have had a tradition in culture, such as Korça, Shkodra and Elbasan, the phenomenon of a declining interest in the book is being noticed. Therefore, it is necessary that the schools, the press organs, the radio and television, the homes and hearths of culture, the bookshops and libraries should carry out a broad propaganda for the book, and should find forms and ways, renewing also some good experience of the past such as the movement «the friend of the book», in order to help everyone, especially the young pioneers, the youth and the adults to love the books, and to encourage their thirst for reading.

The People's Army is a great school of education and culture. Side by side with drilling and training the younger generation for defence, the army carries out a broad and organized cultural and artistic activity which serves the enrichment of the spiritual world of the soldiers and officers, their cultured education and rest. The task is now presented that this work must be further invigorated and raised to a higher level, discarding standard and routine forms of work, activating the organization of the youth itself to guide and carry out these activities according to its own interests and demands.

The culture of a people, especially its result and effect, are manifested in a very obvious and concentrated manner in the work, in the stand towards work, in the manner and the level it is done, in the culture of work, in general. Work has a colossal weight in the cultural and overall development of a society, of a country, of a nation. By overcoming low standards of the culture of work inherited from the past, by striving hard for the creation of a new, communist attitude towards work, major quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place even in this field of vital importance in our country, in the epoch of socialism. Mobilization at work and productivity of work have been transformed into a criterion to gauge the value of the personality and the awareness of the man, his cultural development and the practical effectiveness of this development.

The most neuralgic sphere of the culture of work is *production*. It reflects the level of the productive forces and relations of production on the one hand, and the cultural level and the spiritual world of the new man, on the other. The reciprocal relationship between culture, in general, and the culture of social production has a powerful influence on the entire development of the economy and on the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working people.

Besides the uninterrupted social and economic development of the country on the road of socialism, we have also made major achievements and progress also in the field of the culture of production. The initial material-technical base, as a fundamental precondition for this progress, has been set up and consolidated. The range of articles of our national industry and of all our social production has increased. Continuous improvements are made in the quality of products and in the services for the people. Our man, with the culture he has acquired at school and with the experience he has gained in life, is capable of designing and building big projects according to contemporary technologies, of competently solving most complicated problems of production, of carrying ahead the technical and scientific revolution.

The culture of production is an extremely complex problem. Raising it to ever higher levels has to do with the application of advanced technologies of production, with the degree of mechanization of work, with the introduction of scientific methods and new techniques into production, and with the promotion of the technical and scientific progress, in general, in the national economy as a whole.

The 9th Congress of the Party pointed out that in the present stage *the running of the economy* should be raised to a higher level, in conformity with the requirements of contemporary technique and technology, science and its achievements, because the times are past now when empirical and artisan methods can be used in management. The culture of management is both a science and an art. It requires knowledge, organizational skills, and communist qualities of the personality. Managers who lack these characteristics have a negative influence in the culture of production, in the cultured organization of any work, of any social service at all. The gradual introduction of the contemporary means and technique of management plays its role in all this work.

These tasks are linked closely with the development and improvement of the organization of production and social activities in each link of the economy and in the entire life of the country, for substituting more advanced forms of organization of the social production, by means of concentration, specialization and cooperation — which must always be done in suitable ways and forms to match the requirements of the stage of development achieved and with the new tasks which arise — for those obsolete and outdated forms which are connected with the concepts and manner of carrying out the tasks. Of particular importance in raising the culture of production are, also, the improvement of the socialist organization of work, the work places, the working collectives and units, the degree of qualification of our people, the harmonization of the various interests and incentives of work, as well as the measures which have to do with improving the aesthetic appearance and hygiene of production.

In conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has fought for the construction of socialism, both in city and in the rural area, by liquidating the contrasts between them and by ensuring a relatively even development of them. The profound economic and social transformations, especially the consolidation of the co-operativist order, have brought about radical changes in the life of the peasant masses and have put the village on the road of the flourishing of the new socialist culture. In the rural area now there are 1,442 eight-year schools, 529 full-

time and part-time secondary schools, 457 homes of culture and 1,643 hearths of culture. Only within 20 years (1966-1986), in the countryside, within the cooperativist system, about 139 thousand dwelling-houses have been built by the people on their own. There are hospitals and outpatient clinics, consultation clinics, crechès and kindergartens, homes and hearths of culture, and museum-rooms, which function regularly there. Many and many backward customs and prejudices have been eliminated and the degree of emancipation and of social and spiritual culture has been raised. The electric, motor-road and telephone network covers all the villages. Drinking water is also reaching every village. The death-rate per 1000 inhabitants in the countryside has fallen to 5.8, which is about 41 per cent in 1987, as against 9.8 in 1966. Infant mortality under one year of age per 1000 live births in the countryside in 1987, against 1976, i.e. within the last 11 years, has fallen by more than 60 per cent. Many villages have a new contemporary aspect and have a rich cultural and artistic life.

Nevertheless, in the present conditions, in the new stage of the development of the countryside, the growth of the productive forces and the all-round development of the rural area, the new cultural requirements of the cooperativist masses, on the one hand, and the efforts to overcome a kind of backwardness which can be seen in some zones and in some sectors of culture in the village, on the other hand, raise the need of devoting particular care to the further development of culture. The masses of the cooperativists work with a spirit of sacrifice and enthusiasm in the front of production. They are entitled to a rest and recreation, to a cultured free time and to all the advantages which all the achievements and values of our socialist culture can provide. The problems of culture in the rural area are important also because most of the population of our country lives there.

The objective possibilities of improving the cultural life in the rural area have increased hand in hand with the economic strengthening of most of the cooperatives and with the great contribution made by the state for this purpose.

The main attention should be directed in the future especially to *raising and improving the work of the hearths of culture*. In many villages there is not a single place which can serve as a decent hearth of culture, whereas many of the existing hearths of culture have unsuitable premises. And there are discrepancies among different regions, too. Whereas in such districts as Korça, Fier, Pogradec, and Kolonja there is one hearth or home of culture in almost every village, in the districts of Puka, Mirdita, Kukës, etc., only 50 per cent of the villages have such institutions. Their equipment with the necessary cultural

objects and musical instruments and means is unsatisfactory, too. Even in homes of culture the musical instruments are insufficient and a great deal of them is out of use. Museum sections and rooms in many villages have remained lifeless. The distribution of books, radio and television-sets, too, could have been handled more reasonably if the peculiarities and the needs of each zone were taken into account. Therefore, *the national action which has begun for the improvement of the situation and the extension of cultural institutions and for enlivening the cultural life in the village* are just in time and should be valued in all their importance.

Another problem which calls for our attention is also *the preparation of cadres* who work and must work at the homes and hearths of culture in the rural area. Those who organize cultural work should be cultured, devoted and zealous. Today there are 2500 cultural workers serving in the cultural institutions of the villages. Sixty-two per cent of the people serving in the homes of culture have graduated higher schools, whereas 90 per cent of those working in the hearths of culture have secondary schooling. Nevertheless, there are many shortcomings in the training of cadres for these institutions. Not only the people working in the hearths of culture, but also those in the homes of culture lack the necessary cultural and professional qualifications. The majority of the people working in the hearths of culture come from the agricultural schools and lack the knowledge and habits required for cultural work. Therefore, greater care must be devoted to the training and qualification of them, by drawing greater numbers of them from the village into the art schools.

The front of the struggle for culture in the rural area cannot be reduced only to the activities carried out by the specialized cultural institutions, cannot be limited within the recreative artistic activities. Culture should be spread in breadth and should penetrate all the aspects of life in the rural area, and especially make itself felt in the ulterior improvement of *the way of life*. The economic and social progress, the raising of well-being of the masses of cooperativists and the many cultural means in their service, have introduced many new phenomena in the culture of living in the countryside. In our country there are many villages and whole zones in which the main commodities of life are the same as in the city.

The large-scale agricultural and livestock production and its development, as well as the flourishing of the spiritual life in the countryside, cannot be imagined without relying on a contemporary cultural factor such as *science*, which, in the present stage, should be spread and should penetrate more deeply into the village, too. The ques-

tion is, in the first place, about improving the spread of agrotechnical and zootechnical knowledge, about extending experimental groups and plots, and about drawing the mass of the co-operators, especially the younger generation, into these activities.

The raising of the level of culture in the rural area is a complex issue, involving various and sundry aspects in itself, which can be solved only by combining our forces for action. One of the most important premises for the accomplishment of this task is the existence of a whole army of cadres of *the intelligentsia of the countryside*. In the village schools alone there are 21 thousand teachers and thousands of working people of health and cultural institutions, who have middle or higher training. Eight thousand agricultural specialists have middle or higher training, too. But little is done to uninterruptedly draw the village intelligentsia into broad, interesting cultural activities. This great creative force must be linked more closely with the problems of the village life and must have a greater influence in many directions, in order to enliven the cultural and artistic life in the rural area.

All without exception are integrated into the present-day cultural development: production enterprises and administrative institutions, social organizations and state organs, specialists of the front of culture and working people of every field, adults and young, big and small. Culture is a permanent ingredient of the life of our society, of every cell of it, of every family, of every individual. Therefore, interest in culture should be shown by everyone and in every way.

In order to solve the important problems which we are raising in this Plenum it is necessary, first of all, to ensure better direction of cultural work, to further raise the leading role of the Party in and the responsibility of its organizations for the cultural work.

Depending on their specific nature, *the mass organizations*, too, must enhance their role in the spread of culture. In this field they carry out a broad and fruitful activity. The actions of the trade-unions for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, the actions of the youth organization for civic education and conduct, for encouraging the new talents and for urging the young people to catch up with the advanced, the actions of the women's organization for raising the culture of life, especially in the village, those of the Democratic Front for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses and for a clean environment and hygiene in the city and in the rural area, etc., are of a great cultural value.

It is necessary that all these and similar activities should be continued, their experience further enriched. They must serve as an encouragement for undertaking new actions and initiatives, by avoiding narrow concepts about culture, doing away with work by campaign and outdated forms which inhibit the spread of culture among the masses.

A colossal force for raising the level of culture in all fields of life and the cultural level of the masses is *our new intelligentsia*. Today it has a great and ever growing potential, both intellectual and technical and scientific, which is one of the most important factors of social progress.

Immediately after Liberation, the outstanding leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, launched the call: «More bread, more culture for the people.» In the efforts to carry out his instruction, our Party has done a colossal work for the creation and the all-round flourishing of our socialist culture. Now this culture has been transformed into a great active force of our whole life; it has a broad range of action and plays a role of multiple value in society.

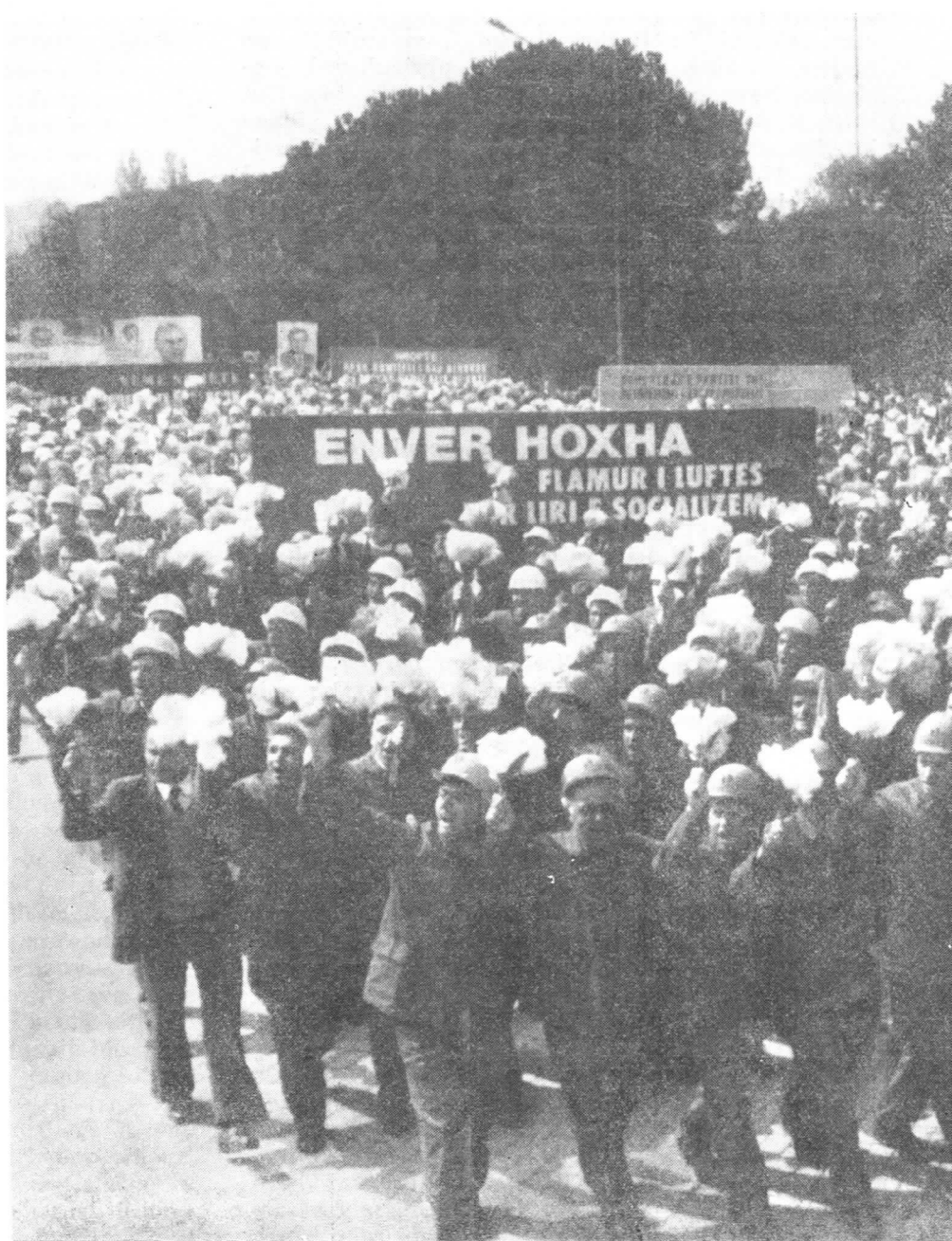
MAJESTIC MAY DAY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

**- COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA
OF THE PARTY AND**

On May 1, the day of international solidarity of workers, thousands of people thronged the streets of Tirana and flowed into the avenue «Dëshmorët e Kombit». Nearly 40 thousand men, women, boys and girls, beautifully dressed and with flowers in their hands, participated in the majestic manifestation. Among them there are miners and builders, textile workers and turners, students and scientists, school boys and girls and even kindergarten children, who powerfully express their love for the Party, the unbreakable unity round it.

At 10.⁰⁰ applause and cheer rise from the crowd to greet the appearance on the central rostrum, in front of the premises of the Council of Ministers, of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Vangjel Çërrava, president of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the People's Assembly and of the government.

Present on the rostrum are also people's heroes and heroes



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**AND OTHER LEADERS
D STATE ATTEND -**



of socialist labour, vanguard workers from industry, agriculture, science and culture, representatives of the organizations of the masses, and others.

On the rostrum there are also foreign guests, titular heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia cordially salutes the group of 2000 students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana in the square in front of the rostrum, who cheer for our glorious Party of Labour.

The brass band executes the National Hymn.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the manifestants are greeted by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi.

Among other things he said: **On the occasion of May Day allow me to greet you, and to congratulate you with all my heart on this celebration.**

The Albanian people come to this marked day with new achievements in all spheres of life, with optimism and resolve to carry ahead the socialist construction of the country, united more than ever before around the Party, the Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

This year is the year of the 80th anniversary of the birth of



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INTERNACIONALIZMI
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our glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose name is connected with all our victories. His teachings lie at the foundations of the line of our Marxist-Leninist Party, show us the road on which we are marching and will march in the future.

In this jubilee year the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth, the women, all the working people of the country are working and striving to implement the historic decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party, the major tasks of the economic and cultural state plan, for the ultimate advance of our beloved Homeland.

In our country, continued Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, there is a sound moral and political atmosphere. The people enjoy democratic freedoms, social equality and justice, which socialism guarantees to them. Their health and well-being, their educational and cultural level are rising continuously.

The Party and the whole people are now involved in a broad activity to carry out in practice the major tasks set by the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for the all-round development of the socialist culture and for the enhancement of its role in the whole life of the country.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always pursued a consistent foreign policy which serves the interests of the people and the Homeland, the preservation and strengthening of peace everywhere in the world. It condemns the aggressive plans and plots of the superpowers and other imperialist powers, supports the revolutionary liberation struggles of the working class and the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress. The position of socialist Albania in the international arena is growing stronger, its prestige higher, and its relations with the other countries

have been extended and consolidated.

Winding up his speech he said: **On this festive day we address our ardent greetings to all our patriotic brothers wherever they live, and to the friends and well-wishers of the Party of Labour of Albania and our socialist Homeland. We ardently greet the working class and the working people of all countries, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces which fight against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against revisionism and reaction for the defence of freedom and independence, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.**

A group of young pioneers of Enver mounts the rostrum and gives bouquets of flowers to Comrade Ramiz Alia and other leaders of the Party and State. Comrade Ramiz Alia embraces them with love.

On the façade of the premises of the Central Committee of the Party there is a large-letter slogan: «Enver Hoxha — banner of the struggle for freedom and socialism.» The only test of the honour for this banner is everyone's daily work. Today, more than ever before, this test has a name: «Banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party»: Confrontation within this movement serves to elevate higher and higher the personality of the beloved and unforgettable leader, the founder of the New Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. His thought is a guide to action, and he is, therefore, alive among workers and cooperativists, office workers and specialists, among the invincible army of the members of the PLA. This gives its significance to this special event in our new history, to the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which all our people and the Party will commemorate this year.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's tea-

chings and the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party cannot be separated, because this Congress remains the Congress of continuity. Through this continuity, the whole army of the banner-bearers of socialism, those who will raise the honoured name of socialist Albania to new heights, will grow and be tempered. That is why the workers raise their hands shouting the slogan of their pledge: «We implement the decisions of the 9th Congress of the PLA.»

«Albania's strength lies in its people and the strength of the people lies in their unity around the Party» is written on another placard carried by the manifestants. This unity has deep roots. It is built on the bastion of the traditions of the people and the nation. These fine centuries-old traditions are supported and nurtured by our order, by socialism.

«We are building socialism relying completely on our own forces.» This slogan is carried aloft by a group of workers, next follows the slogan: «We must combat any bureaucratic and liberal manifestations with a lofty militant spirit. «The cooperativist peasantry comes to this May Day with greater achievements, in a more consolidated solidarity with the working class which is helping in building the water-supply systems for every village. This year, too, the city youth are side by side with the country youth in the great action for the increase of olive production. «Agriculture — the concern of the entire people» — this remains a constant motif of our days. More cadres and Party members have been going to the rural area in order to work in agriculture, considering work in this front as one of primordial importance. They are prepared to go to the 6th Congress of agricultural cooperatives, which will give a fresh impulse to further advance in our agriculture, with new successes.

It is not an accident that most of the manifestants who have fil-

led the whole avenue are young. The vivacity and vitality of the youth are not just qualities of the age. These qualities would wane away and wither if the youth lacked the source of joy and happiness which can be created only in a social order which shows care and love for the youth. This is the merit of socialism, of the time of the Party.

This compact mass of youths parading have a legitimate right to feel unbounded joy and enthusiasm, because they represent, in a symbolical manner, the hundred-thousand strong army of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, because they regard May Day as their own festivity and in full confidence bring the solemn oath of the whole Albanian youth that they are always to go to the first line, whenever the time will require it.

The work of the Party to cre-

ate a soldier-people, for the defence of all the victories achieved, is expressed in the motto: «The defence of the Homeland — a duty above all duties.»

Comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that our whole socialist life is and must be culture, is another great motto, which was further analysed and materialized into a long-term program of work and duties for all the working masses and the people at the 5th Plenum of the CC of the Party. This manifestation of today has been conceived also as a beautiful cultural display, in which many features of our socialist culture are expressed. But this could not have been so finely combined had these qualities not been inherent in these people and in their general cultural formation, had they not been expressed in their daily

life. So, the slogan «Socialist culture — a great strength for the advance of the Homeland», which is carried aloft by two workers, has its well-deserved place in this manifestation. The new demands, which our Party makes today on everyone for a noticeable improvement in all fields of culture, have their source directly from the powerful call issued by the immediately after Liberation: More bread and more culture for the people. In the new historical context of today's Albania the call: more bread for the people, has been made a reality more than a decade ago. The call for more culture is on the order of the day, though with new visions of our time; it is a culture which should precede the well-being our people enjoy today, a culture which should ensure a greater degree of the uti-



lization of modern means of our economy and carry this modernization ahead, a culture which should uninterruptedly enrich the spiritual world of the new man and serve this free time better.

The time has given a special significance to May Day. Whenever it comes it passes from mouth to mouth as an invaluable message of solidarity with all the working people of the world. As always this message has its place in the May Day manifestation of this year. There is a whole square made up of thousands of workers who march past the avenue shouting slogans for Marxism-Leninism, for the genuine parties which march on the road mapped out by the great teachers of the working class—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. «Long live proletarian internationalism!» is the powerful shout which rises from the whole body of the manifestants.

On this day of the brilliant manifestation of the unity of the Party with the people the working people of the capital once again express their confidence in the correct and principled line of the Party, in its foreign policy. «Our foreign policy is a correct and principled policy, a factor of peace and security in the Balkans and in the world» reads one of the slogans borne by the working people of the capital. This policy has its basis on the Marxist-Leninist correct line of our Party, on proletarian inter-

nationalism, on the defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and security in the world. Albania's contribution in this field is very concrete, and this was recently seen in the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries. With this policy the prestige of Albania in the world is growing and its voice is heard with greater respect.

* * *

In the atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm for the accomplishment of the historic decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party, May Day was celebrated with joy in all districts of the country. The working class and all other working people came to this festivity with new successes in all walks of life, with steel unity around the Party, the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, with optimism and determination to carry ahead the successes of this year, which is the year of the 30th anniversary of the birth of the glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On this occasion various activities were organized, including meetings of vanguard workers, topical afternoons, festive concerts, excursions to tourist spots, and visits to the families of veteran and vanguard workers.

* * *

The celebration of May Day in the capital was made still more beautiful by the inauguration of the Sports Grounds of Tirana, a sports complex at the foot of the hills by the artificial lake. Thousands and thousands of people had filled all the lanes, squares and courts of this new place.

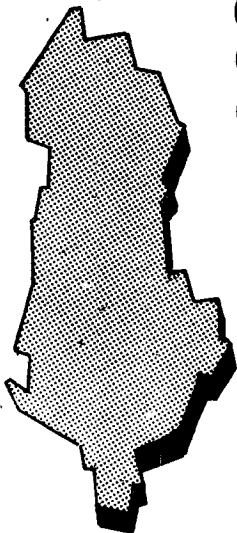
Their enthusiasm reaches its highest when the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other leaders of the Party and State, came to participate in this ceremony.

Comrade Pirro Kondi, first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Tirana, addressed the mass rally organized on this occasion.

Comrade Ramiz Alia cut the inauguration ribbon amidst the great joy of those present.

The premises of the new Sports Grounds cover a territory of 28 hectares, with a water surface of 4 000 sq. m., platforms totalling 8 000 sq. m. and a green area of 40 000 sq. m. The daily capacity of the swimming pools is about 2 000 people, whereas the other premises for various activities can accommodate 3 000 people.

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COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA HAS A CORDIAL MEETING WITH CADRES, COOPERATIVISTS AND WORKERS OF THE VLORA DISTRICT

On March 22 and 23 the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, paid a visit to the Vlora district.

On the first day of his visit, Comrade Ramiz Alia attended the meeting of the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Vlora District, which carried out a broad discussion about the further enhancement of the sense of duty and the militant spirit of the leading cadres at all levels so as to respond better to the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 9th Congress of the Party.

At this meeting Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered an important speech about the creative potential and the moral values of cadres for the good of society.

Our independent development, said Comrade Ramiz Alia among other things, is based on the natural resources and the financial means at our disposal, as well as the work and mind of people. In the process of socialist construction, the Party and Comrade Enver have trained a whole army of cadres and specialists, who play a decisive role in the organization of work, and the management and administration of the whole life of the country. Cadres are the golden fund of our society and one of the main pillars of our independent development. They are imbued with the ideology of the Party, have studied the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and have broad professional knowledge.

Our country today has about 70,000 workers with higher education which cover all the spheres of social activity. Only in your district, as was pointed out in the report, there are almost 4 thousand cadres of higher training. This army of cadres has been trained over a long time, with many sacrifices on the part of the people and the Party.

In our days it is required, and all our struggle is about this, to give the maximum in every field of social activity. Scientific norms are being set everywhere for the consumption of primary materials, and high coefficients for their utilization. It would be a mistake not to set rates for intellectual work, especially that of cadres and specialists.

When we speak about setting rates for intellectual work, we must not understand this too literally. The essence of the problem is how to raise the productivity of mental work, so that cadres and managers work always with full capacity.

The essential is that the charge of cadres and specialists should be reviewed with precision and a critical eye. On a national scale we have not too many schooled people, cadres and managers. Their utilization, however, is not always rational.

Cadres are employed effectively when they are appointed to the work they have been trained for. There is great talk about incapability. It must be admitted that there are people incapable of performing the tasks they have been charged with. However, it is just as true that these same people may do good work on other jobs. Precisely for this reason the leading organs of the Party and State, as well as the organisms involved in the work with cadres, must attentively follow the work of everybody and, when they see that somebody does not cope with tasks that have been set him, must not make a refrain of his incapability but take proper measures by assigning him to a more suitable job, there where he gives his most.

We must not wait for circulation to match up people's capabilities with the requirements of their jobs, nor

allow the rules of cadre shifts, which should be more elastic, to become an obstacle in this direction. If there are specialists working out of their speciality, or people without proper training and, because of this, incapable of carrying out their tasks, they must be transferred to other jobs without hesitation and replaced with people capable of making the most of their jobs.

After criticizing the dangerous phenomenon of monopolization of competences on the part of some people in charge of affairs, thereby encroaching on the fields of activity of their dependents and inhibiting their initiative, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Moral values are and will be the fundamental criterion for the assessment of cadres. With this I do not mean merely political convictions and the devotion to the cause of socialism. Moral values, which in socialism grow ever richer, are the most valuable legacy, the greatest wealth former generations have left us and the people carried over to us. They cannot be created in one day, but in decades and centuries. These values manifest themselves in everyday activity. Moral qualities enhance or lower the figure of the cadre, they strengthen the line of the Party or weaken it.

It is up to the cadres to cultivate these high qualities and manifest them in all their activities. This would give the lie best to those unhealthy opinions which hold in low esteem virtue and give vice a certain positive value. Opinions like those considering the innovator a career-seeker, the disciplined and correct worker an anachronistic creature living out of time and, on the opposite, calling the swindler clever and him who solves problem on tortuous roads capable, must be combated everywhere they crop up.

These opinions foster and justify placing narrow self interests above the interests of society. To encourage them means to leave the road open to the moral distortion of people. The honest,

correct and wise man, who acts according to the party line and the sound sense of morality of the people, must be considered superior in any situation, not he who assumes these attributes from unhealthy opinion.

The propaganda of the Party must make for the exposure of this opinion. However, the best propaganda is the strength of principle of cadres in the treatment of the problems of the people, their honest work and their care in solving people's problems in a spirit of justice.

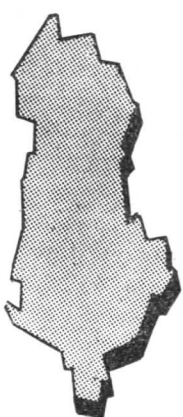
People today are developed culturally and have acquired no little political experience. They know how to assess with precision the value of the opinions of words of this or that director or manager. With them do not go down either abstract moralizing, or bureaucratic prescriptions, or standard phrases taken out of a school lecture. Hence, cadres and leaders must go to the people not in order to make a show of themselves, but to help people and learn from them.

The cadres must be as the masses want them to be, they must be industrious people who do not shirk responsibility, they must solve people's problems and not see them off with beautiful words, they must cope with the problems, tasks and difficulties life puts forth.

The moral values of cadres grow when they live with the pulse of the masses and know to cope with situations on the spot and not from their offices. When the cadres are linked with work and the base they are more under the control of the masses and render regular account to them. His active presence in the heat of work increases the knowledge, strengthens the logic and gives weight to the word of a leader.

Cadres as a component part of the army of the builders of socialism, Comrade Ramiz Alia concluded, can and must contribute more to the strengthening of the economy and the improvement of the quality of culture, the enhancement of the moral values and the implementation of new, socialist norms in the mode of

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living and communication with people, to the encouragement of the initiative of the masses and the utilization of all the potential forces of our society.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's words were listened to with great attention by those present.

In the recess between the two sittings of the Plenum Comrade Ramiz Alia had cordial talks with comrades participating in its proceedings.

During his visit in the Vlora district, Comrade Ramiz Alia went also to see the agricultural cooperative of Sevaster and one of the oil-wells of the oil-prospecting enterprise, and had a meeting with artists and writers, and men of art and culture of the district.

On his way to the city of Vlora, Comrade Ramiz Alia had stop-overs in the districts of Lushnja and Fier, where he met cooperativists and cadres of these districts.

After he enquired about the work done and the results achieved and the initiatives and pledges taken by the workers and cooperativists, Comrade Ramiz Alia exchanged opinions with them and gave them valuable suggestions for the further improvement of work in the sectors of agriculture, livestock-raising, oil-extraction, culture, etc.

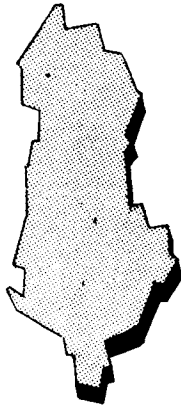
Comrade Ramiz Alia's cordial meeting with the cooperativists of Sevaster, district of Vlora.





THE WHOLE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HONOUR THE MEMORY OF THE UNFORGETTABLE LEADER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

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— COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHER LEADERS
OF THE PARTY AND STATE
PAY HOMAGES AND LAY WREATHS
AT THE GRAVE OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA —

Our whole Party and people honoured with profound respect and gratitude the brilliant and immortal work of the founder and leader of the Party, the heroic leader of the masses and the architect of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On 11 April, on the third anniversary of his death, homages were paid and wreaths were laid at his grave in the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation.

At 10.00 homages were paid at Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party: Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko and Simon Stefani; alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party: Kiço Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi and Vangjel Çërrava; Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the Central Committee of the Party and Pre-

sident of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania; members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government, working people of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, representatives of the central and mass organizations, leading cadres of the organs of the Party and state power of the district of Tirana.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Adil Çarçani laid the wreath in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, carrying the inscription: «To our unforgettable teacher and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha».

In the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, a wreath was laid by Comrades Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu, and in the name of the Council of Ministers by Comrades Hekuran Isai and Manush Myftiu. A wreath was laid by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and her children, too. In the name of the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana, a wreath was laid by Comrades Pirro Kondi and Leandro Zoto.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other leaders of the Party and State observed silence at the grave and gave the raised fist salute to honour the un-



Meetings of the unforgettable leader with the people

forgettable memory of the beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Homages were also paid by members of Comrade Enver Hoxha's family.

During the ceremony the brass band executed funeral marches and the national hymn. Armymen and young pioneers formed the guard of honour.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia warmly saluted the working people from work and production centres, veterans, students and pupils, young pioneers of Enver and kindergarten children who had come to participate in the ceremony, carrying flowers in their hands.

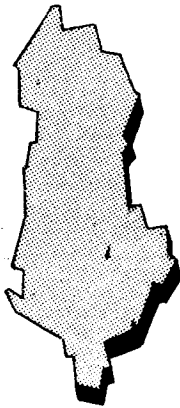
Thousands upon thousands of peo-

ple, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, veterans of the war and work, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, armymen, young men and women, and young pioneers of Enver, who have turned this year, which coincides with the 80th anniversary of the birthday of the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, into a year of assault for new successes on all fronts of the construction of socialism, paid homages and laid bouquets of flowers at the grave of the beloved leader and teacher of the Albanian people.

The working masses all over the country honoured with profound gra-

titude the brilliant work and the unforgettable memory of the beloved and glorious leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. On the third anniversary of his death, homages were paid and wreaths and flowers were laid at his busts in various districts of the country. Political and social activities and topical afternoons were also organized about the life and immortal work of our great leader and teacher, in which the determination was expressed to march always ahead according to Enver's teachings, on the road on which the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head lead us.

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THE GREATEST HONOUR TO COMRADE ENVER IS TO APPLY HIS TEACHINGS AND TO CARRY AHEAD HIS WORK

Three years have been completed from the day when our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was separated from the bosom of the people and the Party. But the love and respect for him are deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of our people and will remain unextinguished. Comrade Enver Hoxha's memory and name are immortal because his work, the Party of Labour which he founded and led and the socialist Albania which he built, are immortal, because his ideas and teachings, which illuminate our future, are an immortal guide.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's name is engraved in the front page of the glorious history of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Albania. He has earned this honoured place with his colossal contribution and activity at the head of the Party and the people for decades on end, with his vital orientations and his tested leadership in all the key moments and historic changes when the destiny of the country was being decided. Everything which our people have achieved in this period of nearly half a century, which marked the most profound change in their historical destiny, carries the indelible

imprint of Enver Hoxha's revolutionary thought and activity.

In the grave years of the fascist occupation it was he who created the Communist Party of Albania — the work of the Albanian communists — which emerged from the bosom of the people and placed itself at the head of them in the moments when they, more than ever before, needed a leadership capable of rousing them one and all in the war against the occupiers and the traitors. The time required a bright and far-seeing mind, like Enver Hoxha's, in order to temper that unique bond of the war for the liberation of the nation through the people's revolution, a bond which characterized our National Liberation War. He is the legendary commander and commissar of the National Liberation War, who, with his role at the head of the Party, the National Liberation Front and the partisan army, brought about the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

Just as the epic of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution are connected with Comrade Enver Hoxha's name, so is the other just as glorious epoch of the construction of socialism connected inex-

trically with his name. He is the architect of the new Albania, the mastermind and the leader of all the major social and cultural transformations in our country. The imprint of Comrade Enver Hoxha's revolutionary thought and activity is seen in the socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization and modernization of agriculture, in the development of the profound ideological and cultural revolution, in the emancipation of the woman and the youth, in the achievements of science and in the steel defence of the Homeland. The revolutionary theoretical and practical work, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us, is a great legacy, it lies at the foundations of the road which the Party and the people follow consistently for the construction of the socialist society.

Enver Hoxha elaborated and guided step by step the principled foreign policy of our socialist state, the policy of the defence of freedom, independence and national sovereignty, the policy of internationalist support for the just revolutionary, liberation and democratic struggles of the peoples, the policy of staunch opposition to imperialism and reaction, and especially, the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the policy of the development of normal friendly relations with all countries, a policy which has led to the strengthening of the international position and the enhancement of the prestige of socialist Albania in the world. The successes achieved in the foreign relations of our country are proof of the correctness of the unchanging, consistent policy worked out by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in this important field.

In the turbid waves caused by the spread of modern revisionism — Titoite, Khrushchevite and other revisionisms — which led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in a series of other former socialist countries and to the bourgeois degeneration of the former communist parties, it was the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade

Enver Hoxha at the head which came out in defence of Marxism-Leninism with all its force, writing a brilliant page in the history of the international workers' and communist movement. The experience and the lessons of this gigantic clash have become a powerful weapon in the present-day ideological struggle against the Gorbachovian theories and practices and the other currents of modern revisionism.

To the Albanian communists and people love and respect for Comrade Enver Hoxha are not just matters of sentiments or feelings of gratitude and honour for everything he has done for our people and Homeland. They are, above all, matters of principle, matters of the active stand towards his ideas and teachings, towards the road he indicates, towards his revolutionary work. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «The greatest honour and respect to Comrade Enver is shown by remaining loyal to his Marxist-Leninist teachings, to the Party which he founded and led for decades on end, by guarding like the apple of our eyes and by carrying always ahead the work he created, our socialist Albania, by strengthening our economy, culture and defence.»

By proceeding on Enver's road according to his teachings, socialist Albania is growing more and more beautiful, waxing stronger with each passing day, just as our unforgettable leader wanted it and fought to make it so. The 9th Congress of the Party was a new historic stage in the life of our Party and people, which opened brilliant prospects and drafted a majestic programme for the ulterior construction of the socialist society. The 8th Five-year Plan, which is in its third year now and which reflects the economic thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha, is strengthening the socialist order and our national economy more and more with each passing day. The moral and political situation is sound and the unity of the people around the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head is more steel-like than ever. In this revolutionary atmosphere the creative

energies of the communists and the working masses which have burst out everywhere and the revolutionary initiatives are an expression of the enthusiasm and the will of the masses to march on the correct road on which our Party leads us.

The revolutionary movement «Banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party» has spread powerfully in all walks of the life of the country, by affirming once more the inexhaustible creative reserves and potential that the socialist order, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the wise and far-sighted policy of the Party can discover in the bosom of the people. To be a member of this movement, which is of a profound ideological and political content, is a great honour and an obligation, because this requires mobilization to be in the lead at work, in the vanguard of the efforts for the fulfilment of obligations day by day, because the struggle for socialism is waged every hour and every day.

Comrade Enver has taught us the great truth that the leadership of the Party and the steel unity of the people around the Party lie at the foundation of all the historic victories of our people and constitute the guarantee for our future on the road of freedom, sovereignty and socialism in our country. Therefore, the unremitting strengthening and safeguarding of the Party, the continuous perfecting of the leading role of the Party in all links, the extension and perfecting of the bonds of the Party with the masses, the strengthening of the unity of the people around it, remain always valid, as one of the most important vital questions. The present moments require that the orientations, organizing and controlling power of the Party organs and organizations, the example and militancy of the communists and cadres should be enhanced more than ever before, that qualified work and leadership by all the organs and links of the Party, the management by the organs of the state and the econo-

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my should be perfected in order to respond properly to the revolutionary enthusiasm and readiness of the masses, in order to fully exploit the great material and human reserves and possibilities of the country.

The great tasks raised by our time are dynamic and they call for Marxist courage and creativeness. The Party and the people have manifested with unusual strength their creative potential in the field of the theory and practice of the socialist construction, as the creative continuation and application of the revolutionary ideas of our beloved and unforgettable leader. In his arduous defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles, Comrade Enver knew how to distinguish what is principled and what is not so, how to combine in a dialectical manner the defence of principles with the revolutionary capacity and courage of forging ahead on new roads and of seeking new solutions. He instructed and told the Party, the communists and the cadres to be dialectical and up to the level of the tasks raised by our time, not to remain slaves to formulations, practices and methods which time has proved worthless, which have been left behind by life and have become an obstacle to further progress.

Illuminated by these teachings, the Party, at its 9th Congress and afterwards, has strongly and continuously raised the imperative need that the party committees and organizations, the central departments, the organs of the state power and the economy, the work centres, the scientific institutions and the schools, should seethe with creative thinking and initiative, should support and spread the new everywhere, should sum up and persistently apply the advanced experience, should open the road to talented people, to the achievements and developments of contemporary science and technique, by combating any bureaucratic procrastination and anything which becomes a stumbling block to the development and advance of socialism.

The Party and Comrade Enver have

devoted continuous attention both to the economic development and to the cultural advance of the country. Our whole life is and should be culture, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, thus giving a comprehensive and all-sided concept on culture in our socialist society. The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee, which was held in the light of this great idea, laid stress on the role of culture as an active force of and a powerful factor for the all-round progress of the country, as a fundamental condition for this advance, especially in the present stage of the socialist construction. The orientations and tasks which the Plenum set have given a fresh impulse to the whole work of the Party and its levers in this field, have encouraged the creative thinking and the promising initiatives for the further extension, enrichment and perfection of culture in content and in form.

The memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha is an encouragement to better work for every working man of our country, for the working class and the working peasantry, for the intelligentsia, for the women of our country, for the armymen and for the young pioneers of Enver. This year, which coincides with the 80th anniversary of the birth of our beloved and unforgettable leader, the mobilization for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan in all the branches of the economy, for new achievements in all fronts of the construction of socialism, will certainly rise to a higher level.

The great work for the good of the Homeland and the people, which lies ahead of us, calls for great commitment and energy, for militancy and revolutionary stand. Our people, tempered at the anvil of the revolution, will carry the torch of the revolution further ahead, in order to make Albania still more prosperous and stronger, as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be and worked for it throughout his whole life of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary.

THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORCE OF STATE SECURITY

On March 19th, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Force of State Security which was created according to the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the heat of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, a thematic afternoon was organized in the Officers' Home of Internal Affairs.

Veterans and cadres of this Force, workers of detachments of internal affairs, working people from centres of work and production and various institutions, young men and women were present at this event.

Attending were also the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Simon Stefani, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Internal Affairs, Com-

rade Hekuran Isai, the Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana District, Comrade Pirro Kondi, the Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chief of the General Staff of the Army, Comrade Kiço Mustaqi, and other comrades.

The secretary of the party committee at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Comrade Koço Orgocka, spoke about the 45 year-long road of the Force of State Security and the efforts of its workers to fulfil the tasks set by the 9th Congress of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

A musical and literary program with songs and recitations was given for

those present, accompanied with fragments of films on the 45th year-long struggle of the Force of State Security, as a component part of the great struggle carried out by our people, under the leadership of the Party, for the liberation of the Homeland and the socialist construction of the country.

In the same context other socio-political, cultural, artistic and sports activities were also carried out in Tirana. At centres of work and production like the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine, the «Martyrs of Freedom» school, etc., talks were held with veterans and cadres of the Force of State Security, a spartakiad of the detachments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for some kinds of sports was also organized. In the meantime, the Museum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was visited by collectives of workers, young and old, and students of the capital and various districts of the country.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Force of State Security thematic afternoons were also organized in the districts of Shkodra, Durrës, Fier, Vlora, etc.

THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BASHKIMI NEWSPAPER

On March 24, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the first issue of the **Bashkimi** newspaper as militant organ of the National Liberation Front (today central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania), a commemorative meeting was organized in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in the capital.

Present at the meeting were journalists of the central press organs, the ATA and Radiotelevision, veterans of this newspaper, voluntary contributors and correspondents, printers and other institutions, as well as many guests.

Attending the meeting were also

the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee for the Tirana District, Comrade Pirro Kondi, the member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the member of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Xhafer Spahiu, the head of the Press Department at the Central Committee of

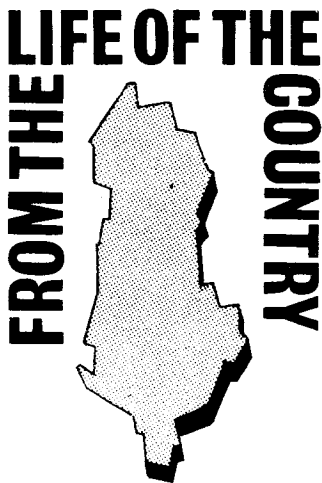
the Party, Comrade Dhimitër Tona, and other comrades.

The editor-in-chief of the **Bashkimi** newspaper, Comrade Hamit Boriçi, spoke about the 45 year-long road of this organ which was published under the direct care of the Party and our unforgettable leader and teacher and founder of our people's press, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Marash Hajati, the head of Journalists' Union of Albania and General Director of the Albanian Radiotelevision, addressed those present. Among other things he spoke about the achievements of the collective of this press organ, as well as their efforts to implement the task set by the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia about raising the qualitative level of our press.

The meeting sent a telegram to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

THE FOLK SONG AND DANCE ENSEMBLE ON ITS 30th ANNIVERSARY



On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the Folk Song and Dance Ensemble, Hero of Socialist Labour, on 31 March, in one of the halls of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the capital, a festive activity to celebrate the event was organized with singers, dancers, instrumentists of this ensemble, old time artists, men of arts and culture, young men and women and other guests.

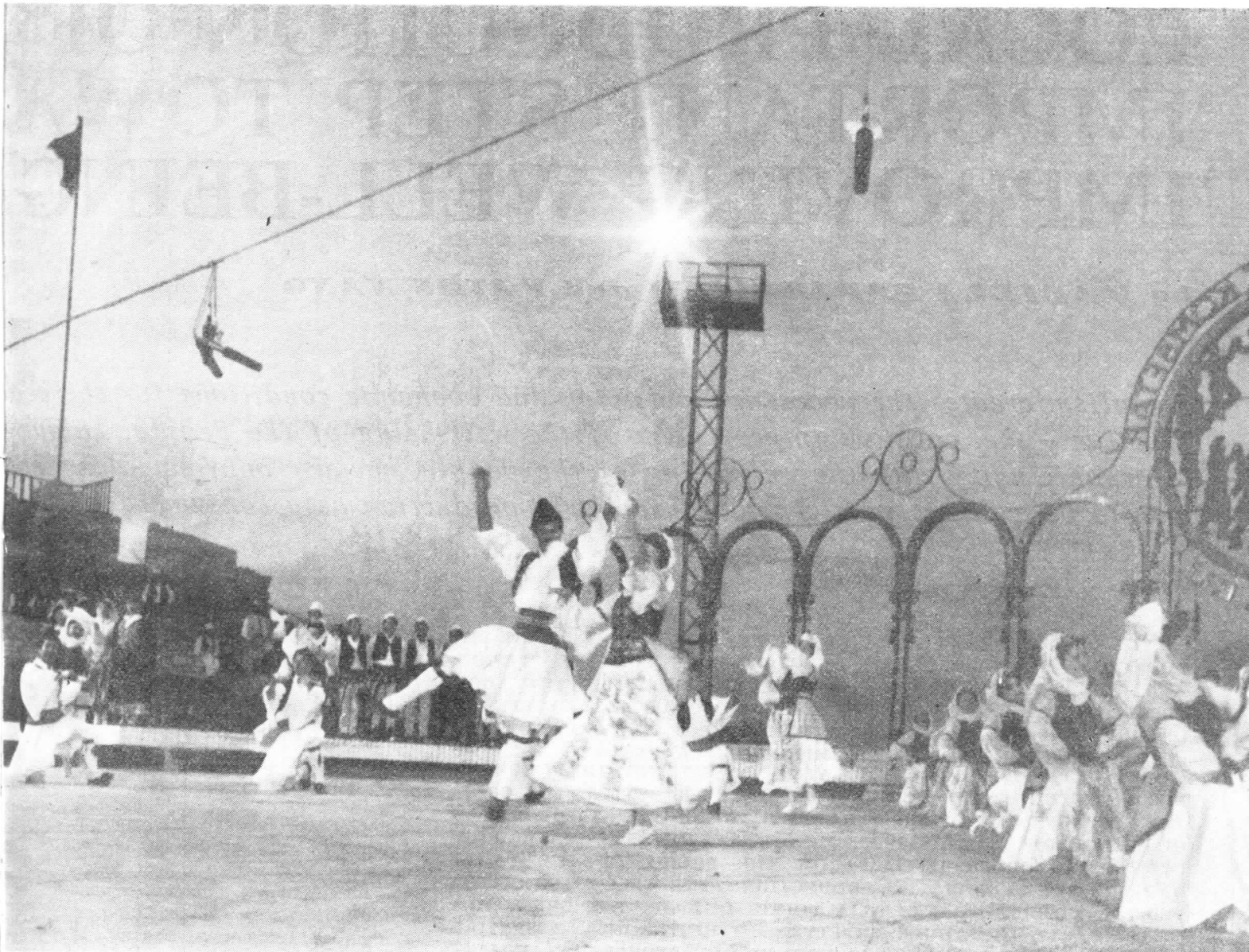
Present, also, were the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana District, Comrade Pirro Kondi, the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uçi, the chairman of the League of Writers and Artists, Dritëro Agolli, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana, Leandro Zoto, and other comrades.

The art director of this ensemble, Merited Artist Limoz Dizdari, spoke of the record of the Folk Song and Dance Ensemble in the 30 years of its existence. During this period the ensemble, created with the solidarity of the Party and the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has made its distingui-

shed contribution to the preservation and development of the cultural legacy and the spiritual wealth of our people. The singers, dancers and instrumentists of this ensemble, with their concerts in the capital and in the districts, as well as at the national festivals, have further enlivened the cultural and artistic life of the country and, with their concerts abroad and at international festivals, have represented the development of the art of socialist realism, the best aspects of our folklore, with dignity. Carrying out the tasks set by the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the instruction of Comrade Ramiz Alia, they have increased their efforts to raise the artistic level of their performances and to compete with success in the national folk festivals of Gjirokastra.

The Folk Song and Dance Ensemble was created in order to throw light on, to elaborate and to bring to the stage our wonderfully rich folklore. On this road, it has become a renowned troupe which is loved by the spectators, which has justified the purpose of its creation: to discover, collect and assimilate the art of the people again.

The Folk Song and Dance Ensemble has been assisted by the creations



Skillful performance of our beautiful folk dances

of our best composers and choreographers, poets, ethnographers and stage directors, scholars and students of folklore and famous folk artists. Likewise, wonderful instrumentists of national renown and highly appreciated in many countries of the world, have also worked in this collective. The People's Artist Vaçe Zela has been likened to Edit Piaff by the Swedish

art critics. In France Ibrahim Tukiqi was called an extraordinary singer, whereas a French newspaper described Ndue Shyti's folk instrument as «a symphonic orchestra on two strings». Similar evaluations have been made about Ibrahim Madhi, Besim Zekthi, Luçie Miloti, and many other artists. In Dijon, our dancers were described with the following words,

«They are light like the wind, but the earth trembles under their feet...»

When the Ensemble returned from the festival of Dijon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the beloved leader of our Party and people, congratulated them, saying that their success showed not only that we have very beautiful songs and dances, but also that they are of the most beautiful in the world.

LOCAL PRODUCTION OF IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD IMPROVING WELL-BEING

by **HARILLA PAPAJORGJI and FATOS NANO**

Socialism creates the necessary political and economic conditions for the correct function — the constant improvement of the well-being of the people. In our country this is linked in organic unity with the well-being of the people, because only socialism creates the conditions for man to be a direct participant of socialist production as a consumer, too.

THE 3rd PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA CONVENED IN APRIL 1987 ADOPTED A MAJOR PROGRAM OF WORK BOTH FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE, FOR ESSENTIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE FOOD SUPPLY OF THE PEOPLE. THE ADDRESS OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE PLA, RAMIZ ALIA, TO THIS PLENUM HAS OPENED UP NEW HORIZONS FOR THE COMMUNISTS, CADRES AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY IN MEETING THE GROWING NEEDS OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES EVER BETTER. THE CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OF THE WELLBEING, WHICH WAS AT THE CENTRE OF ATTENTION OF THIS PLENUM, STEMS FROM THE NATURE OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER ITSELF, FROM THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AND THE AIM OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION. «THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE,» COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTS OUT, «IS THE GREAT AIM OF THE PARTY. THE WHOLE SOCIETY IS INTERESTED IN AN ESSENTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE FOOD SUPPLY OF THE PEOPLE. ATTAINMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE IS NOT EASY; MORE PRODUCTION IS NEEDED AS WELL AS SUPPLIES ALL THE YEAR ROUND. HOWEVER, WITH WORK AND EFFORTS, EVERYTHING CAN BE DONE. HENCE, WE MUST WORK, STRUGGLE, MOBILIZE THE MASSES AND THROW THEM INTO ACTION. THE COMMUNISTS MUST BE EVERYWHERE ON THE FOREFRONT OF THE WORK AND STRUGGLE TO INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION».¹

Socialism creates the necessary political and economic conditions for the ceaseless development of the productive forces to fulfil its social function — the constant improvement of the well-being of the people. In our country the construction of socialism is linked in organic unity with the well-being of the people, because only socialism creates the

HARILLA PAPAJORGJI — Professor
FATOS NANO — Candidate of Sciences

conditions for the working man to be a direct participant in socialist production as a consumer, too. By combining common property with work, socialism closely links the meeting of the needs of man with his active stand on work. For the first time in history, the standard of living is determined by the contribution of each to useful social work. With us the level of production determines the level of well-being.

1. LOCAL PRODUCTION OF PEOPLE'S FOOD — ONE OF THE PILLARS OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY

Securing the necessary food supply constitutes the basis of the program of the Party for the improvement of the well-being of the people, because this is linked with their everyday life. Without a definitive and guaranteed solution to the problem of the food supply of the people there can be no advance on the road to socialism. This problem bears directly on the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance on a national scale. «The local production of the overwhelming part of the food supply of the population,» Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized at the Plenum, «is one of the pillars of the economic and political independence of the country.»²

At all times, the problem of the food supply of the population has been used and continues to be used by the imperialist and revisionist powers as a means of pressure for the submission and colonization of other countries. Well-known is the determined struggle of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha against the

PEOPLE'S FOOD - AN ARDS

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Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists who, with their proposals to plant citrus and fruit-tress, etc., under the pretext of «international specialization and cooperation», aimed at leaving our people without bread, preventing them from producing their own food locally, making them dependent on and submitting them to their imperialist and neo-colonialist aims.

Adhering resolutely to Marxist-Leninist principles, our Party has always had the agrarian problem and the development of agriculture on the road of large-scale socialist production in the centre of its attention. The development of this basic branch of the economy has been carried out in harmony with the development of industry as the leading branch of the economy and all its other branches and sectors.

With particular care, the Party has found a creative and revolutionary solution to the problem of agrarian relations, correctly applying the general laws of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our society. This constitutes a new experience of great value. In these solutions lie the superiority, vitality and inexhaustible possibilities of development of our socialist order in the countryside.

Meeting the needs of the people for cereals for more than a decade and consolidation of this achievement from year to year, as well as local production of the overwhelming part of the food supply, as was emphasized at the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA, shows the vitality of the system of our socialist agriculture, of our agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, the devotion of our patriotic peasantry and the consistent application of the achievements of modern science and technique.

Characteristic of our dynamic development in the last decade is the constant implementation of the law to the effect that the growth-rate of the social product, the national income and the production of the main branches should be 2-3 times as high as the growth-scale of the population. In our country, while the social product doubles every 12-13 years, the population doubles every three decades. Thus, in 1986 compared with 1950, while the population has doubled, the social product has grown more than 13 times over, total agricultural production about 4 times, total industrial production about 40 times, etc. On the basis of the development and growth of production,

in 1986 as against 1950, 3 times as many food-stuffs, 5.5 times as many industrial articles, etc., were produced per head of population. In this manner, on the basis of the balanced and steady expansion of production and consumption, socialism in Albania has at the same time guaranteed the well-being of the present and future generations.

The 8th Five-year Plan, adopted at the 9th Congress of the Party, bearing in mind the same factors as those that have operated with us over four decades of people's power, retains the laws of our dynamic development. Proceeding at high and steady rates in the development of production, which constitutes the main basis for guaranteeing and improving the well-being of the people today and in the future, during the 8th Five-year Plan there will be a further rise of the material and cultural level of the people. The normal fulfilment of the need for food-stuffs of all categories of working people and their families in accordance with their buying power, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, has been and remains the aim of the productive and social activity of the country.

The tasks set at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee consider and back up the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan to the effect that the real income per capita of population in 1990, as against 1985, should increase on an average of 7-9 per cent, with priority being given to the countryside. This enables a more rapid advance on the road of narrowing down differences between city and countryside. Also, in this five-year plan the buying power of the population should be backed up with an increase of 25 per cent in the goods turnover in the state and cooperativist retail trade. This leads to the envisaged increase in the use of the main food-stuffs and industrial articles per capita of population.

The tasks set by the Plenum in this field take account also of the fact that the population of our country grows at relatively high rates and that the farming land per capita shrinks constantly, hence, the problems of food supply become more acute and call for permanent and perspective solutions. The Party puts special stress on the necessity of essential improvements in the food supply of the population, giving ever greater impulse and dynamism to the work for the solution of short- and long-term tasks.

2. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE FOOD-PRODUCTION PROGRAM OF THE PARTY ARE REAL AND MOBILIZING

The food supply of the people is based on local production. Here, although achievements have been ever higher, possibilities and reserves are still great. This is proved also by the work that is being done after the 9th Congress of the Party. Relations of self-supply have become a very important component in all the economic life of the country and they are closely linked with all the work that is done for the implementation of the food-production program of the Party.

«The fundamental task emerging from the assessment of the present situation in the food supply,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the

3rd Plenum of the Central Committee, **«is that within a short time, until the end of the five-year plan at the latest, the value of the fund of food-stuffs on the market on a whole must respond to the basic needs of the working people and be equal to their buying power in all the districts of the country.»**³ At a time when it is known that expenditure for food absorbs the main part of the buying power of the working people, a sound opinion must be created everywhere about the directive of the Party to the effect that we must not limit ourselves to the proportional distribution of products per head of population, but must increase production so as to be able to increase consumption, too, and meet the needs of the people better.

The problem of the food supply, as was pointed out at the Plenum, follows the dynamic of the growing needs of the people. The tasks set in the 8th Five-year Plan is to achieve reasonable rates of consumption, but the Party looks further ahead. Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed. «It considers the building of a nutrition program based totally on scientific consumption norms a not-too-distant objective.»⁴ It must be stressed that improvements in the food supply of the population will be made both in city and countryside, both in the plains and mountains. Hence, at the plenums of the party committees of the districts the tasks of the food-supply program of the Party were more concretely specified for every village and cooperative, for every enterprise and working centre, for agricultural production and the other branches and sectors in its service with the aim, as was emphasized at the Plenum, of creating all the possibilities for a normal supply of the towns through ensuring the supply of the peasantry.

In the organizational field, the orientation is that **the peasantry and the workers of state farms should meet their needs with their own small-scale production in every brigade and every village, without affecting the large-scale concentrated production which is destined to the market.** The self-supply of the peasantry is based on the brigade of the cooperative or

state farm in its two functions: as a production and a supply unit.

Brigades have been and remain the basis for the organization of large-scale collective production in the countryside. They administer the socialist property: the land, livestock and other means of production which employ hundreds of thousands of active forces. On this road state farms and agricultural cooperatives fulfil the tasks of the unified state plan both as regards production for the market and consumption, as well as the increase of reserves and income. In this manner is carried out the orientation of the 9th Congress of the Party to the effect that in our conditions, with a growing peasant population distributed over the whole territory of the country, both production and consumption of a number of agricultural and livestock products must be as near to the consumer as possible.

Hence, the self-supply of the peasantry is inseparable from the supply of the entire population with local production. **Thus, the extended reproduction is advancing at high rates in the countryside.**

For the peasantry to meet its own needs, particular care must be attached also to the land fund and the cattle of the cooperativist's individual plot. On the individual plot, which has the meeting of the personal needs of the cooperativist's family as its sole destination, more vegetables, but also more fodder crops should be raised so as to ensure maximum production both from it and the individual cattle which reach to tens of thousands of head.

Utilization of this experience brings about a better application of some inner laws of agricultural reproduction, too. In this manner agriculture is closely linked with stock-breeding and the land is used for better cooperation between these two branches of the same economic trunk. By bringing more people nearer to stock-breeding, more cattle nearer to inhabited centres and more self-supplying land plots nearer to brigades, these relations, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out also at his meeting with the cooperativists of Bubullima village, meet

in a natural way the demand that every farmer should also be a stock-breeder and production brought nearer to consumption.

Meeting both the needs of the peasantry and the city market is one single objective. At the 3rd Plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized that the increase of large-scale production and the self-supply of the peasantry are two tasks which condition each other and which, in our conditions, can be solved only parallelly. There can be no one-sided solution. Characteristic of our socialist relations is that agricultural cooperatives and state farms develop production as the decisive means to improve their well-being and to meet the needs of the whole population of the country for food-stuffs. So, there must be a constant increase of agricultural and livestock products to supply the cities, industry and export. This is one of the main pillars of the state plan for the strengthening of the economy, the increasing of the national wealth, as well as for consolidating on the right road the relations of exchange and the economic links between city and country, between agriculture and industry.

At the same time production for the market is also an important source of income and accumulation for agricultural cooperatives and state farms. Any self-isolation, the Plenum pointed out, any attempt at fulfilling tasks only to meet the needs of inner consumption, while large-scale production planned only for the market is a return to the natural economy and hampers both the extended socialist reproduction and the intensification of production. Maintaining a correct ratio between production for oneself and production to be sold to the state is a requirement for increasing the effectiveness and productivity of agricultural and livestock production, too. In this manner grow the income per labour unit and per capita in the countryside and differences between city and countryside are narrowed down in this field.

Expansion of production for the market and increasing the buying power of the peasantry will in due course lead to the increase in the turnover

of food products and industrial articles in the city and country through state and cooperativist trade. Money-commodity relations will continue, as hitherto, to develop on the right road as encouraging factors both for production and consumption. In the relations of self-supply with livestock products, beans, potatoes and vegetables, agricultural cooperatives and state farms are applying more favourable prices for the sale of these products in cash. However, in the relations between the state and agricultural economies there is a better incentive, through wholesale prices, for the increase of the market production of meat, wool, hides, tobacco, cotton, beans, etc., especially as regards hilly and mountainous agricultural cooperatives. These and other improvements in the economic levers of redistribution represent important factors for a correct combination of the economic and social interests which link the city with the countryside, and for the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. In these conditions the Party is right in instructing the state and economic organs to support these processes better with such organizational measures as to make their development easier and more rapid.

Achievement of the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan is a decisive condition for the realization of the essential improvements needed for the food supply of the population. Hence, in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Plenum, the struggle for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the five-year plan in all the branches and sectors of the economy has fundamental importance. The expansion of agricultural and industrial production cannot be imagined without increasing the live work of people in agriculture and, especially, stock-breeding. However, for this purpose, it is just as necessary to extend irrigation and the use of fertilizers, to improve mechanization, transport, fuel supply, to increase the income from transport, etc. This means that fulfilment of the good-production program of the Party is a task of all and everybody — the working people of both city and country. It is also important that the existing pro-

duction factors should be constantly strengthened and used with high effectiveness everywhere.

3. PERFECTING ECONOMIC RELATIONS HARMONIZES SOCIAL INTERESTS EVER BETTER

The construction of socialism in our country has gone on expanding and the positions of socialism have constantly strengthened both in city and countryside.

Time advances. Every phase of development has its own problems. The food-production program of the Party is closely linked also with the perfecting of individual aspects of the relations of production. The directives of the Party and the revolutionary initiatives for the self-supply of brigades, application of lower sale prices for milk, vegetables, potatoes and beans produced by the latter, using also voluntary work, development of the state and cooperativist trade which checks speculation and privatization, perfecting of planning and management in agriculture, etc., are nothing other than improvements in the individual links of the system of relations we have built and keep constantly improving. True, these improvements are partial and, at first look, may also seem negligible, but in essence they are of major assistance to increase the active and impulsive role of economic relations, in general, especially at the base, where work is actually done and problems emerge and have to be solved.

The Party teaches us that these improvements have been and continue to be made on a correct road only if some fundamental principles of our social order are abided by such as strengthening of the positions of socialism; strengthening of social property and people's power; better fulfilment of the needs of the people and more correct harmonization of the interests of the working people, with priority given to the general interests; encouraging the spirit of socialist collectivism over individualism; ceaseless strengthening of the independence and defence capacity of the Homeland.

It is in the nature of the develop-

ment of our society that non-antagonistic contradictions that arise in particular aspects of the relations of production are solved in the process so as to encourage the vigorous development of the productive forces further. Here we see the actual dialectics of the development of economic relations. True, some of their elements leave their place to others, but their nature does not change, something is denied and something new is affirmed, but this is always done to the benefit of the constant strengthening of the positions of socialism.

This is also seen in the extension and support of the self-supplying initiatives of the cooperativists on the part of the workers of agriculture who are applying them in the conditions of state farms, taking upon themselves more tasks in food supply, housing and other vital services. Thus, the workers and cadres are encouraged to be more interested in work and production and the concept that the state should do everything in state farms is being abandoned.

In this manner not only cooperatives, but also state farms are encouraged to make more efforts, to use every possibility and reserve to solve with their own forces many problems of their food supply.

Here come also other elements of the relations between state farms and agricultural cooperatives in the field of organization, work remuneration, exchange of productive activities, etc. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the transformation of agricultural cooperatives into state farms and the resulting relations in this field are

not merely «a change of label», but a natural process which should develop without precipitation, through the affirmation and enrichment of the experience gained hitherto. This is an original experience of our Party.

The progress of the cooperatives and the combination of relations of group property with those of state property goes on the road of the constant strengthening of the cooperativist order which does not exhaust, but, on the contrary, increase its possibilities of development and progress. State farms and agricultural cooperatives develop and advance side by side. The workers of agriculture and the cooperativist peasantry exchange the experience of their work. Thus, they strengthen the community of interests in the field of the economy, too, and carry our socialist construction forward. Through production and exchange, through distribution and consumption the needs of the population are fulfilled and the general interests are ever better harmonized with group and individual interests, with the eventual materialization of the socialist relations of production.

The measures that have been taken also discipline the production of the cooperativists' individual plots to meet the needs of family consumption better. The cooperativist has the right to sell the eventual surplus of his production to the state or his cooperative at reasonable prices. This bars the path to any speculation. In this manner only the state or the cooperative has the right to sell on the market of the town or working centre. There is an orientation that prices for the products of cooperatives

or state farms to be sold to the city through their network should be established according to their economic interests while never exceeding state prices.

Realization of the food-supply program of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the Plenum, «...will be the result of the general development of the economy and culture, agrarian and industrial progress, the technical-scientific revolution and the perfecting of economic relations, the vigorous development of material production and the advance of the servicing and socio-cultural sectors. Hence, all and everybody must single out their tasks from the decisions and orientations of this Plenum. Plans are well-based, the possibilities exist, hence it is of decisive importance to speed up work to implement them concretely, with determination and creative initiative.»⁵

As always, the Party has solved the problems, big or small, together with the broad working masses, hence, the tasks for the fulfilment of the food-supply program of the Party will be realized through the struggle and efforts of all our working masses, the communists and cadres, and the entire people under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head

1 Ramiz Alia, *Fulfilment of the Growing Needs of the People — a Major Task of the Party*, Tirana 1987, pp. 3-4, Alb. ed.

2 Ibidem, p. 8.

3 Ibidem, p. 9.

4 Ibidem, p. 19.

5 Ibidem, pp. 19-20.

SOCIAL INSURANCE - ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIALISM ON A NATIONAL SCALE *by HAXHIRE SHEHU*

A socialist achievement on a national scale is the founding, completion and development of the system of social insurance in city and country. This has improved the guarantees for the living of the working people, and become a powerful incentive at work and strengthened social relations in the family.

Our Party has combined the struggle for national liberation with the tasks of social liberation, which during the years of the National Liberation War laid the foundations of the right to social insurance. In the decisions and acts promulgated by the leading organs of the new state power which was emerging from the barrel of the gun we find also some juridical norms which reflect the initial elements of regulation of work relations and assistance of the population in the liberated zones, in which the new state power exercised its functions. Of particular historic importance is the «Declaration on the rights of citizens», promulgated on October 23, 1944 and adopted by the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council at its 2nd Meeting, which set the main constitutional elements of the rights of man. Through these documents the bases were laid for a new legislation built on new concepts which put the working man in the place he deserved.

According to the orientations of the Party and the illuminating teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha, immediately after Liberation the first legislative acts were promulgated on working relations and social insurance. In September 1945 was promulgated the law «On seniority, protection and remuneration of work», which, apart from regulating the working time of 8 hours, compensation according to work, time of rest, period of leave, etc., also defined for the first time the rights of workers in the field of social insurance.

Of historical importance for our socialist state and legislation was the proclamation of our first Constitution, on March 14, 1946. With the adoption of this Constitution the bases were laid for a new development of our whole legislation. This fundamental document also envisaged the rights of workers to social insurance and, among other things, sanctioned that «through social insurance, the State ensures its citizens the material means for a livelihood in old age and in cases of illness and work inability». In implementation of this constitutional principle on August 26 a law was adopted which created for the first time a complete system of social insurance in our country. The Institute of Social Insurance was created by this law.

Creation of this system was one of the major achievements of our people under the leadership of the Party and a concrete expression of our socialist democracy. As an important factor which bears directly on the improvement of the well-being of the working masses, social insurance is one of the forms of the distribution and redistribution of the national income. From the socio-economic stand-point, social insurance in our country have a pronounced humanitarian character, because, as a unified system, it guarantees all the working people of the city and country the means of livelihood down to extreme old age. The sphere of extension of social insurance is very broad, including all the spheres of social life.

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An important event of historic importance was the July 1st decision on pensions for members of agricultural cooperatives, with unified criteria for insurance and aid, as well as pregnancy and child-birth leave for women cooperativists. At the 8th Con-

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gress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «These measures represent another step ahead for the improvement of the well-being of the working people of the cooperatives, for bringing the conditions of life in the countryside nearer to those of the city.» So a unified system of social insurance was definitively established for the whole country.

During these forty years social insurance have been developed and improved and the financial means destined for all kinds of pensions, compensations and aid have constantly increased. The funds expended today for social insurance cannot be compared with those expended in the first years after Liberation both in regard to size and the benefits accruing to all the working people. The funds of social insurance for the working people of city and country account for 12.7 per cent of the expenditure of the state budget and tend to increase, thereby becoming a powerful factor for ensuring and improving the well-being of the working masses.

Proceeding from the constant care for the life of the working people measures have been taken to lower the pensioning age for a considerable number of difficult professions in different branches of the economy. Among these measures is the lowering of the pensioning age for weavers, spinners, turners and others, from which about 30 thousand workers will benefit. The pensioning age in our country is among the lowest, at a time when life expectancy today

has risen to 71 years. Thus the time of enjoying old-age pensions is relatively long and tends to get even longer.

The system of social insurance in our country is among the most advanced both in regard to its content, its extension and the level of its benefits. No comparison can be made between social insurance in our country and those in the capitalist or revisionist countries in which there exist a number of limitations which affect the vital interests of the working people. In some capitalist countries social insurance envisages some small benefits which are only alms, while in some other states social insurance in the true meaning of the word do not exist altogether. In these countries the aged are the poorest stratum of society.

In our country social insurance accompany man throughout his life. They come to his aid in all the circumstances in which he loses his work capability, partly or totally.

During the whole period of the socialist construction of the country the Party has implemented a correct demographic policy, encouraging births and maintaining the population at a young active age, with almost half of the population being of young age. Also, significant is the fact that the birth-rate in our country is among the highest and death-rate among the lowest in Europe. Our legislation envisages aid and many facilities for mother and child, including the

extension of the paid leave for pregnancy and childbirth, as well as a hundred-time increase of the funds earmarked for this purpose as compared with 1950. The dynamic growth of the population is evidence of the strength and happiness socialism ensures for all and everybody. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «When many children are born, this means that people are sure about their future. This shows that our people are certain of their future, content and happy.»

A socialist achievement on a national scale is the founding, completion and development of the system of social insurance in city and country, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, at the meeting of party activists of the Librazhd district during a visit he paid to this district recently. This has improved the guarantees for the living of the working people, and become a powerful incentive at work and strengthened social relations in the family. At the same time we must point out that the budget of social insurance is now in excess of 1,100 million leks, as against only 300 million leks in 1970. There are about 260,000 pensioners today, or more than one fourth of the whole population of the country before Liberation. The product for society created by about 150,000 workers of material production is used to ensure the annual fund of pensions.

CONSIDERATION ON THE POPULAR CULTURE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE *by STEFANAQ POLLO*

In this culture lies the intellectual, moral and artistic treasury of the people, which, with the originality which characterizes it, makes its contribution to the common blessings of mankind. The roots of this originality lie in the ancient history of the Albanians who have lived without interruption on their territories for thousands of years.

POPULAR CULTURE (MATERIAL, ARTISTIC, SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL), AS THE COLLECTIVE CREATIVENESS OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, WHICH IS INHERITED FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER WITH ITS DISTINCT ETHNIC AND NATIONAL FEATURES, IS ONE OF THE MORE PERMANENT EXPRESSIONS OF THE INDIVIDUALITY OF A PEOPLE. THE ALBANIAN POPULAR CULTURE, FORMED IN THE MIDDLE AGES ON ITS ANCIENT ILLYRIAN SUBSTRATUM HAS A COMPONENT PART OF THE ALBANIAN NATIONALITY, UNDERWENT A SLOW EVOLUTION WITH RELATIVELY FEW INFLUENCES FROM OUTSIDE UNDER THE RULE OF FOREIGN STATES, ASSUMED CLEAR COMMON FEATURES AND CONSOLIDATED ITSELF ON A HIGHER LEVEL DURING THE ALMOST A CENTURY-LONG GREAT ANTI-OTTOMAN STRUGGLE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IN THE 15TH CENTURY, DEVELOPED, CHANGED, WHILE ALWAYS PRESERVING ITS AUTOCHTHONOUS FUND INTACT UNDER THE CENTURIES-LONG OTTOMAN OCCUPATION AND TRANSFORMED ITSELF, DURING THE 19TH-20TH CENTURIES, WITH THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN NATION, INTO A POPULAR AND NATIONAL CULTURE. IN THIS CULTURE LIES THE INTELLECTUAL, MORAL AND ARTISTIC TREASURY OF THE PEOPLE, WHICH, WITH THE ORIGINALITY WHICH CHARACTERIZES IT, MAKES ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMON BLESSINGS OF MANKIND. THE ROOTS OF THIS ORIGINALITY LIE IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ALBANIANS WHO HAVE LIVED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION ON THEIR TERRITORIES FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS.

The beginnings of the Middle Ages in the Balkan Peninsula were accompanied, as is known, with deep-going changes in the ethnic composition of populations, brought about by the migrations of the peoples.

Prof. STEFANAQ POLLO — director of the Institute of History

Among them, the migrations of the Slavs had deeper-going consequences, because with their mass settlements in the eastern and northern regions of Illyria in the 7th-8th centuries, they caused, on a whole, the Slavization of these regions. However, the autochthonous Illyrian population,

which lived in the southern region, withstood the Slav colonization and retained its ethnic physiognomy. The Albanian nationality and popular culture developed in this region. The Illyrian-Albanian identity of language and tradition on this territory does not mean that the Albanians are identical with their predecessors. The Albanian people and their culture are the product of a centuries-long historical process during which the Illyrian legacy evolved in form and content on a new economic and social basis. In the course of this process the population of South Illyria acquired features that transformed it into an ethnic community on its own right, with its original culture which distinguished it from that of the neighbouring nationalities.

This historical road was made more difficult through the necessity of the resistance and struggle to defend the self-existence and culture of the Albanian nationality against the assimilating pressure of Empires which, one after the other, occupied the territories of the Albanians. The cultures of the East or West, with their universal languages, the Byzantine Orthodoxy and the Roman Catholicism

which alternated in the process of their protracted struggle for these regions, hampered the unitarian political and cultural development of the Albanians. Under the thin cultural coat of painting of these civilization, however, internal converging factors had a decisive influence from below, such as the community of territory, language and ethnic spiritual traditions, as well as economic and social factors which did not allow the disintegration of the Albanian nationality or its cultural assimilation.

In the course of centuries, the popular culture retained and crystallized its distinguishing features. Its autochthonous fund grew and enriched itself constantly with the development of Albanian society with new elements of its own, as well as with borrowings from contacts with the cultures of the time (the Byzantine civilization and the cultures of the neighbouring regions and populations of the Adriatic and Balkan region). The elements borrowed from foreign cultures were adapted to the traditions, tastes and requirements of the country, becoming a component part of its culture. On the other hand, the Albanian popular culture, in the course of its centuries-long contacts with other peoples, has also given them elements of its material, social and spiritual sphere (dressing, dancing, speech, etc.).

In the material sphere, we see this original culture in work tools, part of which are analogous to those of the Illyrians in characteristic dwellings and furniture, in typically Albanian costumes. To this culture belong ornaments which distinguish themselves both in the typological and decorative aspect. In social and spiritual culture, habits and customs, birth, wedding and death ceremonies, songs about the times of the year and work, different mythologies, etc., the resistance of the autochthonous culture has affirmed itself through the preservation of old pagan along with new Christian elements. In the customary law and its institutions, in the Cycle of the Knights and other epic songs, the ethno-cultural, and ethno-psychological peculiarities of the Albanians have left a deep imprint on their culture. Music and folk songs

are both polyphonic and homophonic, two dialectical variants of ancient origin, while musical instruments are partly similar to those of the Illyrians.

This culture preserved its regional peculiarities determined by the different degrees of development of the different regions, their individual natural conditions, their mutual contacts with foreign ethno-cultural regions, etc. The period of feudalism, with its natural economy and the relative isolation of regions, accentuated these peculiarities. However, along with this variety in the popular culture there existed also common elements which created that cultural unity on which the consciousness of ethnic community would be born. This community expressed itself also in the gradual extension of the tribal name of *arbër*, *arbën* and the place name of *Arbëri*, *Arbëni* to the whole Albanian language space. This awareness rose to a higher degree in the heat of the anti-Ottoman struggle of the 15th century and reflected itself with special strength in the militant unity of the Albanians against the foreign invaders, their determination to defend their country and culture, and their fiery patriotism, a distinctive and constant feature of which was their boundless love of freedom and independence.

With the Ottoman occupation of the country a new period set in also for the popular culture of the Albanian people, which is characterized both by influences of the foreign occupiers and the continuity of the development of its autochthonous and original features. The almost five-centuries long Ottoman occupation exercised a more profound influence especially in the mode of living of the people, not so much through contacts between the Turks and the Albanians, because the occupation of the country was not followed by massive Ottoman colonization, as through Islam religion which was used as a powerful means for the assimilation of the oppressed peoples, because it is known that Moslem religion pervades all the fields of life of its followers. The first wave of individual or group Islamization of the Albanian people involved mainly the feudal families. Islamization

brought about severance of their links with their compatriots and, in general, also changes in their self-awareness. Massive Islamization took place in the 17th century, especially in the northeastern and central zones of the country, under increased political and fiscal pressure. It could not fail to hamper the historical development of the Albanian nation, which now was split into three different religion (Moslem, Greek, Orthodox and Roman-Catholic), the more so as the theocratic Ottoman regime never recognized the Albanian nationality as such. The Sublime Porte identified nationality with religion and recognized only religious communities, which favoured a separate socio-political and cultural development of the three religious communities. This development, which put in question the identity of the Albanian people, came up against the innate patriotism of the Albanians. Islamization did not succeed in changing the language, traditions or ethnic self-awareness of the Albanian nation, just as Christian religion had failed to achieve with the other part of the population, and did not sever the links of the Albanians with the European cultural community. Religious consciousness failed to suppress national self-awareness and the Albanian people were divided, as occurred in some Balkan countries, into so many «nationalities» as there were religions. There are various reasons for this phenomenon. The Ottoman occupation found the Albanians already formed as a nationality, with a crystallized ethno-cultural physiognomy and structure, which was consolidated in their almost century-long struggle against the Empire of the Crescent. The massive Islamization of the 17th century was rapid and, because of this, superficial. As a result, socio-economic and family contacts were preserved among the elements of different religions, and there were no few cases of religious syncretism. The permanent liberation uprisings of regional and inter-regional extension, initially, of the Christian population and later, of the Islamized population as well kept the gap which divided the Albanians from their foreign rulers open and made it ever deeper. That is why

foreign travellers pointed out that the feeling of national identity predominated among the Albanians. Whereas the three religions (Moslem, Greek-Orthodox and Roman-Catholic), irreconcilable enemies of one another, caused division and strife not only among the Balkan peoples, but even among the members of the same nation, as Lord Hobhouse, Byron's companion in Childe Harold's travels through Albania, has it, the Albanian's first answer would be that he was Albanian and then he would add his religious allegiance.

The Turco-Islamic cultural influence reflected itself in the outward view of cities, aspects of material life, the position of woman in family and society, the mode of nutrition, the social etiquette, etc. In the countryside the influence of this culture was weaker than in the city, without mentioning whole zones in the north and south of the country, which with their centuries-long resistance maintained their autonomy untouched.

The constant ethno-cultural factors such as community of territory, language and traditional culture continued to operate also during the Ottoman occupation, stimulating the unitarian development and the struggle for political and cultural emancipation. This found its reflection also in the works of Albanian thinkers such as Buzuku, Matrenga, Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani, who tried to develop the national culture and affirm the national identity of the Albanians by using the Albanian language in religious services and at school, and later, in secular literary works.

Beginning from the 18th century, and, especially, in the 19th century, with the formation of the Albanian nation, in the modern meaning of the word, as a higher national community, the process of the homogenization of the popular culture was speeded up. It assumed a more general national character. This process was the result not only of the expansion and extension of economic, social and cultural links between the Albanian regions, but also of the enrichment of the popular culture with the new democratic cultivated culture of the National Renaissance. The material and artistic culture of the cities reached relatively high levels, especially in handicrafts. The local ethno-cultural elements extended to the whole Albanian territory or larger zones of it. The mutual influence and further cultural coalescence of the two fundamental sectors of popular culture: the rural and urban one increased. To illustrate this process we shall bring a few examples: the parallel link plough became the main implement in the agriculture of all the Albanian-inhabited regions; likewise, the **fustanella**, the men's dress which became the distinguishing feature of the Albanians, as well as the **tirq** and women's long shirts and **xhokas**. Folk customs, habits and arts which were more easily transmitted from one region to another, and from the village to the city or vice versa, were further generalized as an expression of the collective psychology of the nation, while at the same time preserving many of their local peculiarities. Here we find the

unity in the world outlook and a common base of artistic tastes and concepts about such qualities as beauty, virtue, honour, bravery, loyalty, etc.

On the basis of the cultural community, which was consolidated in the 19th century, the national self-awareness of the Albanian nation was strengthened, too. The ancient names of **Arbër** and **Arbëria** began to be replaced with the new names of **shqiptar** for the people and nation and **Albania** for the regions inhabited by the Albanians. These names became generalized in the 19th century, first in the spoken language and then in the written one, with the aim of reaffirming the national identity and expressing, in this field, too, the resistance of the Albanians to the Ottoman attempts at their assimilation, which posed a threat to both the nation and their culture.

The 19th century has been for the Albanians, as well as a number of other peoples, the century of their revival, of their movement for national liberation and unity. This great political, ideological and cultural movement played an important role in strengthening Albanian national unity. Based on popular culture, and inspired by it, it made the positive social and cultural values of this culture a powerful means for the national awakening and self-affirmation of the Albanians, for the organization of their liberation struggle which ended in 1912 with the proclamation of independence and the formation of the Albanian national state.

«RESTRUCTURING» - IDEOLOGICAL MECHANISM TO DECEIVE THE MASSES

by **SERVET PËLLUMBI**

THE RUSSIAN WORD «PERESTROYKA» (RESTRUCTURING) IS BEING USED WITHOUT TRANSLATION IN OTHER LANGUAGES AS A SYNTHETIZED EXPRESSION OF THE REFORMS AND «INNOVATIONS» OF THE HEAD OF SOVIET REVISIONISM, GORBACHOV, AS AN ATTRIBUTE THAT MAKES HIM, AS THE US VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH PUT IT, «A LEADER OF THE WESTERN TYPE». IN THE MANY SPEECHES HE HAS DELIVERED SINCE HE ROSE TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET REVISIONIST PARTY THREE YEARS AGO, INCLUDING HIS SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, OR HIS ADDRESS AT THE WHITE HOUSE DURING HIS TALKS WITH REAGAN, GORBACHOV HIMSELF HAS SEEN TO IT THAT «PERESTROYKA» IS ADVERTISED AS THE CONTINUATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, «A REVOLUTION WITHOUT GUNS» AND A TRANSITION «TO MODERN FORMS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY».

IN ITS ESSENCE, HOWEVER, HIS «RESTRUCTURING» IS AN IDEOLOGICAL MECHANISM INTENDED TO PROLONG THE LIFE OF KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM BY PROMISING TO THE SOVIET WORKING PEOPLE «THE FUTURE THEY YEARN FOR», WHICH IS TO BE REALIZED «THROUGH MORE DEMOCRACY» AND THE REFORMATION OF THE PRESENT-DAY SOVIET REALITY STRUGGLING THROUGH CRISIS AND STAGNATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, ON THE WORLD ARENA, THROUGH HIS «RESTRUCTURING» GORBACHOV TRIES TO PROMOTE «A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF PEACE», BEHIND WHICH LIES THE AIM TO MAKE THE PRESENT-DAY SOVIET SOCIETY COMPETITIVE IN THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST ORDER AND MORE EFFECTIVE IN ITS RIVALRY WITH THE UNITED STATES FOR WORLD DOMINATION.

Gorbachov's democratic program, expressed in the slogan «we need democracy more than air», develops on this plane. But what does this program, which is advertised as «a creative and daring development of

SERVET PËLLUMBI — docent, teacher at the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana

Marxist-Leninist concepts on socialism and democracy», represent?

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The reforms Gorbachov intends to carry out with his «restructuring» are the continuation of the capitalist

which, from now on, will respect human rights, will be «the permanent champion of democracy», and thus, will become more attractive for foreign capital it stands in so much need of.

Through «democratization» and «openness» the Soviet revisionists try to attract the working masses, to exploit their yearning for freedom, equality and social justice in order to combat, in the name of the military caste and the intelligentsia, which they proclaim «the decisive force of restructuring», «the inhibiting mechanism» in which figures a considerable part of the bureaucratized 18.6 million strong state and party apparatus and especially the economic bureaucracy, forces which are opposed to «restructuring». Coming out with the slogan of the struggle against «conservative forces», which in essence are the expressions of the antagonistic contradictions within the groupings of the revisionist bourgeoisie, Gorbachov hopes to draw the masses of the people to himself, because the greatest threat to «restructuring», as Zaslavskaya, one of Gorbachov's adviser, puts it, would be the lack of support on the part of the broad popular strata (*Le Monde*, November 11, 1987).

This enables the Soviet revisionists to present the «Law on enterprises», which fragments the detachments of the working class and sets them in competition against one another in the name of self-administration, makes enterprises «property of working collectives», allows private work and ownership and the open transition to other forms of classical capitalism, as the creation in practice of «a resilient and reliable mechanism» to teach the masses' democracy and implement it in practice. It is clear that the question is about opening up the road to that type of democracy which is characteristic of capitalist society where, in the name of «human rights, the true social rights and freedoms are ignored or, even when they are proclaimed in words, cannot be guaranteed in any capitalist country, like today's Soviet Union, developed though it might be.

reforms the Soviet revisionists have undertaken from time to time since the 20th Congress, which was held in 1956. However, while previous reforms were above all reforms of an economic character and were never carried through to the end, «restructuring» is advertised «as a radical revolution in the whole system of social relations», with both destructive and constructive tasks. Also, Gorbachov tried to distance his «restructuring» from previous reforms, especially those of the years 1965, 1975 and 1979 which ended up in failure, presenting it as an unprecedented development of democracy, a school to teach the Soviet peoples and make them «mature» to live in democracy and use the principle of openness («glasnostj»). According to Soviet propaganda, with the «restructuring» the «optimal combination of centralism with democracy» has at last been found.

The Soviet revisionists need the card of democracy and «openness», which constitutes the political aspect of «restructuring» within the country to cope with problems of social stability, which is gravely affected, as well as to «introduce Russia into Europe», to create, on the international plane, the vision of a country

Thus, by means of the «Law on enterprises», which began to be enforced in the Soviet Union since January 1988, is created the deceptive vision of a direct democracy which is supposed to concentrate all power in the hands of the «Soviet of the working collective», and to realize the transition «from power for the working people to power exercised directly by them» (!). The Soviet propaganda advertises this as a great political change which allegedly enriches the theory on the ways of broadening democracy (See *Kommunist*, 1987, No 12, p. 30). Actually the «Law on enterprises is aimed not at the development of democracy for the working people, but at the strengthening of the representatives of the bourgeoisie in enterprises, and guaranteeing their surplus value and its progressive growth. The right recognized formally to the working people to «elect» their managers once in some years changes nothing in essence, as long as these managers are given unlimited rights on the working people in regard to work, wages, etc.

Yet, of what democracy for the working people can there be question at a time when they have lost their state power, when the «new» reforms will lead to an unprecedented growth of unemployment, insecurity about the future and the further polarization of society? According to forecasts of Soviet economists and sociologists themselves, in 2000 there will be over 16 million «superfluous» workers, that is, unemployed, which is equal to about 14 per cent of the population of working age. Sackings, or as they call it, a «system of discharge from work» are seen as among the fundamental conditions for the «restructuring» of the economic mechanism (See *Kommunist*, 1987, No 14, p. 25). Some others present unemployment as «a redistribution of work reserves», while others still consider the creation of a «small» reserve army of jobless people useful for «disciplining» others. Fear and uncertainty about the future, this is the price of so called direct democracy and the «return to the needs of man».

There is a great deal of talk in

the Soviet revisionist propaganda about «the particular role of the man factor», and one has the impression of a «return» to the interests of the masses, which are supposed to become «the masters» of enterprises. Actually it is not so. The concept of «the man factor» is used to push aside the political and class aspect of the role of the masses, especially the working class, because the man factor is taken in the meaning of work force, a means without which even the most advanced technology would be dead. Man and his rights as an individual are seen by bourgeois democracy precisely on these instrumentalist bases. The Soviet revisionists, too, are in urgent need of this formalist democracy.

By proceeding on this road Gorbachov thinks that he will wrest the banner of human rights from the hands of the international bourgeoisie and make Soviet society more palatable to it. «It has been proved, however,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 9th Congress of the PLA, «that anti-communism has never been a productive ideology. It has led not to the extension of democracy and to the emancipation of the people, but to restriction of them and to fascism» (Ramiz Alia, **Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA**, p. 161, Eng. ed.).

The Soviet revisionists are also trying to make the «new» economic mechanism a function of their formal democracy, telling the masses of the working people that, with its implementation, they would become the «masters» of enterprises and be saved from «the expansion of ministries» (See **Voprosy filosofii**, 1987, No 9, p. 15). But what does the «new» economic mechanism really offer the working people on the plane of the development of «democracy» for them? It offers them equality and justice only formally, equality before the law and the decisions of the «Soviet of the working collective», equality of participation in the «general meeting» and real inequality, which is expressed in the elimina-

tion of working people from power, the ownership and the products of their work. This is the gap which is being constantly deepened, in the social-imperialist Soviet Union, as in any other capitalist country. The «intolerable discrepancy» between the proclamation of democratic rights and their actual realization, of which Gorbachov himself is obliged to speak, cannot be overcome through «restructuring», as long as relations of work are not being perfected in the socialist spirit, as is said, but towards a more developed capitalism of the Western type, as long as democracy is identified with a «democracy» of meetings, conventions, etc.

That is how the modern Soviet revisionists play with the concept of the democracy of production behind which an anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian content lies hidden. Lenin said that the democracy of production is a term which gives cause to wrong interpretations, disregarding the idea of democracy as a political conception and a form of state. Any democracy, said he, just as any political superstructure in general (which is inevitable as long as the elimination of classes has not been accomplished, as long as the classless society has not been created), serves production and is determined, in the last analysis, by the relations of production of the relative society. Hence, to separate «the democracy of production» from any other democracy is meaningless. It is only «a fraud and empty talk», (V.I. Lenin, **Collected Works**, vol. 32, p. 78, Alb. ed.).

The Soviet revisionists need theorizings about democracy in order to justify the measures they are taking to codify everything, to strengthen prosecution, tribunals and other repressive means they are in great need of when the dissatisfaction of the masses has reached explosive levels, when people are profoundly alarmed about «restructuring», as Gorbachov was forced to admit in his speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolu-

tion. In the speech he held to the Plenum of the Central Committee in February this year Gorbachov also expressed his dissatisfaction about some people «who are confused in their opinions» and who resist «restructuring». He called the struggle against them «very acute».

Hiding behind the well-known truth that democracy calls for solid juridical bases, the Soviet revisionists now are calling not only for «respect of Soviet laws», which express the will of the revisionist bourgeoisie in power, but also for «a socialist juridical state», a term which is their favourite, because «the state of the whole people» is already discredited and cannot guarantee even a minimum of democracy for the masses, whereas now, with «restructuring» the revisionist bourgeoisie washes its hands from any involvement in the socio-cultural field, the creation of new relations of work, organization of free time, etc. A miraculous power is attributed to the juridical means of this «socialist juridical state». They are supposed to make radical transformations and renew social life, hence, «a complete juridical reform» is required «for the Soviet juridical system to congrue fully with the policy and practice of restructuring» (See **Kommunist**, 1987, No 15, p. 89). In this manner, under the slogan of democracy and restructuring of legislation, the Soviet revisionists call for the further strengthening of their dictatorship over the working masses, the improvement of the «mechanisms» of the state of the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie which are aimed at the internal social stabilization they are in great need of to open an ever broader road to their expansionist ambitions outside the Soviet Union.

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Faced with a reality that cannot be easily reformed and cleansed of its «negative phenomena», the Soviet revisionists, with Gorbachov at their head, in the name of a «new» thought which they figuratively call «the phi-

philosophical bread», are trying to implant in the consciousness of people an idealist and formal vision of «restructuring» as a mere «change in the system of values of society and the individual» (See *Voprosy filosofii*, 1987, No 7, p. 100). They give the attributes of a dominant factor to the change in the system of values. In other words, they promise «the real solution of social problems», within and outside the country, only by changing the mode of thinking of people, that is, their philosophical orientation. As a consequence, the success of «restructuring» is made dependent on the restructuring of consciousness. So, according to them, a change in consciousness has decisive importance (See *Voprosy filosofii*, 1987, No 3, p. 12).

This enables the Soviet revisionists in the future, too, to set democracy, first of all, on the subjective-ideological plane as a moral self-improvement, a value, hope, aim, euphoric aspiration, etc. Capitalizing on the «long desired future» that supposedly awaits the Soviet peoples with the realization of «restructuring», which by the way reminds us of Khrushchev's promises to go over to communism by one seven-year plan, they try to create the impression as if the ulcer of the negative phenomena accumulated in the course of time, which in fact are the result of the restoration of capitalism, can be easily healed if the broad masses of the people embrace «restructuring», adopt «the new system of values» and learn to live in «Gorbachov's democracy».

Setting the problem on this pragmatic and technocratic plane is aimed at creating among the masses a psychological situation in which they are satisfied with what is promised to them despite the threat of extermination hanging over the whole mankind. It is not accidental that «the philosophy of peace» unfurled by Gorbachov with so much noise is considered as the logical complement of «restructuring». According to revisionist logics, there is no greater value than survival, hence, there

exists no other fundamental problem (!). According to this logics, of decisive importance are not the transformations in the social being, but changes in the system of values, making people aware of the dangers threatening them and «mature for democracy» (!). This philosophy, which is being advertised by the Soviet revisionists, reminds us of the well-known aphorism of the idealist philosopher. J. Mails: «Change your values and the world will change.»

In this aspect the Soviet revisionists are also reviewing, with the intention of renewing them, some propaganda myths by means of which they have kept themselves up but which now have become discredited. It is known, for example, that they have talked and written a great deal about «developed socialism», while now it seems that this is allegedly «a metaphysical conception of socialism» which, if left unchanged, would lead to stagnation. Hence, it must be replaced now with the dialectical concept of «developing socialism» (!).

Up to now the Soviet revisionists presented their «socialism» as a «dialectics of unity», while now they are putting the stress on «the socialist pluralism of views» and «openness», which in the conditions of non-existing opposition is allegedly the means «for the outburst of the wages of sweeping discoveries» which are supposed to decuple forces and help find the ways for the correction of mistakes. According to the academician Abel Agarbegian, Gorbachov's adviser on the economic aspects of «restructuring», «openness» is called on to mobilize opinion in the service of the new cause of the party. Actually, in its essence «openness» is nothing other than a way of settling accounts with Gorbachov's opponents, a form of supervising the everyday life of people, of improving the channels of reception and processing of information so as to have the «state of mind of people» under control and not allow them to take «irregular initiatives». By means

of «openness» the masses are supposedly for the first time recognized the right to make themselves heard in working collectives and «guarantees are created» for them to defend themselves against the revenge of the stiflers of criticism. Hence, we have to do once again with an advertisement of formal democracy, of the right of special, instead of the real democracy for the working people, which cannot exist in the conditions of the capitalism restored in the Soviet Union.

Thus, «openness» is intended as some kind of social contract with the working masses to which «an unprecedented» extension of the right of speech and the «liquidation» of long-since accumulated inequalities are promised on the condition that they should accept the privations such as unemployment, price rises, closure of enterprises, etc., which «restructuring» will bring along.

Also, by means of «openness» the Soviet revisionists call for an intensification of ideological activities, a restructuring of the whole spiritual life so as to make their manipulation of people more effective, and urge them to the achievement of the objectives of «restructuring». For this purpose they need «the competition of free opinions», and «the cleansing of socialist ideals and values from bureaucratic rust», as Gorbachov put it at the Plenum of the Central Committee of February this year. And, as it seems, «openness» is called on to meet these needs.

Innovations are following upon one another in this campaign. Raising profit and the market economy to a pedestal and proclaiming the right of 20 ministries and 70 big enterprises to have relations with foreign firms, and the right to set up shareholders' companies and calling for the figure of 300,000 people engaged in private activities to be raised as quickly as possible, many concepts of the political economy of socialism are being declared «worthless dogmas», although, for demagogical reasons, they were in use hitherto. But the Soviet

revisionists are going even farther. In the context of «openness» there is great talk about the need of revisioning the present form of materialism and demands are made to renounce the classical forms of Marxist philosophy, which is considered among the main causes of the backwardness of social sciences (!) (See **Voprosy filosofii**, 1987, No 6, p. 20).

All these are presented as «demands of the time», «cleansing of rust», and a condition for the improvement of the situation and opening up the road to «the new», which allegedly has been unable to break through the encirclement of the forces of conservatism, dogmatism, voluntarism and the inhibiting mechanism. Thus, they think that they can create within and outside the Soviet Union the illusion that through «restructuring» everything is being changed «to the good». Yet in the socio-economic conditions of capitalism restored in the Soviet Union in which moral values inspired from capitalist motives have taken the upper hand and predominate, in which individualism and egoism have increased, in which the aristocratism of the high strata and the exploitation of the working masses have developed further, in which apoliticism and indifference are widespread, and in which running after

a light life and chance profit has become a common norm, any attempt at finding a solution to the problems arising in people's consciousness through the «restructuring» of values, «openness» and the development of democracy is nothing other than a demagogical campaign aimed at deceiving the Soviet peoples and lulling them to sleep in order to preserve the present bases of the Soviet society which is bourgeoisified in all its pores. This explains both the resistance «restructuring» is coming up against among the masses of the Soviet people and the inevitable failure that awaits the «new strategy» of the Soviet revisionists.

■

The «new» processes that are deepening in the Soviet Union, and the demagogy that accompanies them, which with Gorbachov has reached its highest form, have no socialist or revolutionary features altogether. The new escalation in the continuity, the further and deepening of the revisionist course, expressed in the «theory of restructuring», which is recommended almost as a «social invention of Gorbachov's», is by no means a rejuvenation of socialism or

an attempt at giving it as modern a form as possible. In the contrary, it is an attempt at replacing the present state monopoly capitalist system, wholly bureaucratic, fossilized and inefficient, with a new system just as capitalist, of the Western type, but more liberal, more manoeuvrable, so as to be able to take part in the international division of labour and resources, according to an expression of Gorbachov himself, «in a way that has never been seen». That is why the West, in constant observation, calls Gorbachov the greatest reformer of Russia since Peter the 1st. Actually, there is no place for illusions. «Restructuring» opens up a broader road for the integration of the «eastern countries» into the international division of labour, plunging them deeper in debt to the West, while the bourgeois propaganda finds «new» arguments to continue its campaign about «the failure of the planned economy» and socialism.

All this gives new forms and particular exacerbation to the struggle that is going on today between true socialism, which is being built on the basis of the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and all types of pseudo-socialism of the modern revisionists.

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A VISIT WHICH SERVES THE STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ALBANIA AND GREECE

ZËRI I POPULLIT — organ of the CC of the PLA

The visit of the Albanian delegation, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, to Greece marked another step forward in the strengthening of relations and collaboration between Albania and Greece. Everywhere it went the Albanian delegation was received with a warm and friendly welcome, which expressed the respect and love of the Greek people for the Albanian people. Likewise, all the meetings that the Albanian minister for Foreign Affairs had with senior Greek political personalities such as the President Sartzetachis, the Prime Minister Papandreou, the vice-premier Harallambopulos, the Foreign Minister Papoulias, and others, were pervaded by a spirit of sincere friendship and good understanding. In these meetings the governments of both countries expressed their readiness to further strengthen the collaboration between Greece and Albania in trade, technology, and in other fields of the economy and culture.

The development of friendly relations between Albania and Greece is the result of the goodwill and joint efforts on the part of

the Albanian and the Greek governments. The present friendly relations are developing in the framework of the old historical bonds between our ancient peoples. In their struggles for freedom and independence they have frequently clashed with the same enemies. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «These two autochthonous peoples, the most ancient in the Balkans, have been brought together and made friends through sharing the same historic destiny. Their common struggles in defence of their freedom, independence, culture and identity against foreign invasions, the liberation war against the German nazis and Italian fascists, have created strong bonds of friendship which have stood the test of all times and situations.» The Greek minority people living in Albania have also been a factor of friendship between the Greek and the Albanian peoples. While enjoying the same rights and freedoms as the Albanian people, they serve as a bridge which links Greece and Albania. In his talk with the Albanian minister for Foreign Affairs, the Greek Prime Minister, Papandreou, pointed out: «The very fact that, just as

yesterday in the liberation war, today, in the construction of the country the minority people have fought and have always been working side by side with the Albanians to build Albania, is a factor which brings our two peoples closer.»

The new and ancient bonds have recently become stronger on account of the disposition and goodwill expressed by the governments of our two countries. In the talks between them, the ministers for Foreign Affairs pointed out that these relations and collaboration between Greece and Albania must be raised to a higher level. They also spoke about the concrete possibilities of promoting exchanges between our two countries in trade and in various spheres of the economy, in the cultural relations, in the scientific collaboration, in transport and in other spheres of common interest for the two countries. The agreement on border trade between Albania and Greece signed in Ioannina by the Albanian minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, and the Greek minister for Foreign Affairs, Carolos Papoulias, and the talks between the chairman of the State

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Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli, vice-minister of Foreign Trade, Konstandin Hoxha, and vice-rector of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana, Rolanda Dhimitri, and their Greek counterparts on strengthening collaboration in trade, science, technique, culture, etc., also served this purpose.

The creation of such an atmosphere of collaboration and understanding is a concrete contribution of our two countries to the strengthening of peace and collaboration in the Balkans. The conclusion of bilateral agreements and the strengthening of relations in various fields of mutual interest materializes the readiness displayed by our countries to carry out in practice the ideas of collaboration and understand-

ing in our Peninsula, which were presented in the meeting of ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries. «The concrete steps in the close friendly relations between Albania and Greece serve the interests of our two peoples as well as the strengthening of collaboration in the Balkans and beyond it.» the Albanian minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, pointed out in his talks with Papoulias in Athens. «They are an example showing that through goodwill and a realistic attitude, ways and possibilities can be found to solve the acute problems existing in the relations between the Balkan states in order to turn our Peninsula into a region of genuine collaboration.» While the Greek minister for Foreign

Affairs, Papoulias, for his part, pointed out that «the strengthening of relations between Greece and Albania is a component element of the multilateral relations among the Balkan countries, as well as a concrete contribution to peace and security in our region and in Europe.»

The successful conclusion of the visit of the minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, to Greece is another step towards the strengthening of relations between our two peoples and countries. It will open up new prospects of collaboration between Greece and Albania, will further consolidate the friendly relations between our two peoples, thus setting an example of collaboration and good neighbourliness in the Balkans.

GORBACHOV'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA AND HIS PEACE-LOVING RHETORIC

ZËRI I POPULLIT

In March, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachov, paid a five-day visit to Yugoslavia, where he had intensive talks with the Yugoslav leaders and, among other things, adopted a Soviet-Yugoslav

Declaration, similar to that signed by Khrushchev and Tito thirty and more years ago. Right at the moment of his first declarations on Yugoslav soil, the General Secretary of the Soviet Party repeated over and again that his visit was the continua-

tion of those of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. In the speech he delivered on March 16, at the Yugoslav Assembly, he declared that he held in high esteem «the role and profound thought» of the leaders who drafted the Belgrade Declaration of 1955 and

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the Moscow Declaration of 1956, which, as is known, marked the final and public reconciliation between the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists. As Khrushchev at his time, Gorbachov, too, called the LCY and Yugoslavia «ideal comrades» and considered the laying of wreaths at Tito's grave not only an honour and a personal obligation of his towards the former head of the LCY, but also an «obligation of the Soviet Party» towards the deceased Yugoslav leader.

Gorbachov did not go into detail about this Soviet obligation, but to anyone who knows the history of the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia after the Second World War it is clear that this has to do with the support the Yugoslav revisionists gave Khrushchev in the development of his counter-revolutionary course for the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, in his attacks and campaign of denigration against Stalin and his rapprochement with American imperialism. And as a way of discharging himself of this obligation, Gorbachov deemed it fit to attack from Belgrade Stalin and the Informbureau for their exposure of Yugoslav revisionism 40 years ago. The present Kremlin leader affirmed publicly once more that he was following the same revisionist and anti-Marxist course as Khrushchev's, and that his **peres-**

troyka, which means restoration not of the socialist, but of the capitalist order in the Soviet Union, has the same ideological base as the reforms undertaken by the fathers of modern revisionism in their time.

The «historical» moments of the Soviet-Yugoslav relations from 1948 on, which were recalled with great emotion in those days in Belgrade, shed light also on the character and content of their current relations. There was talk about a «qualitatively new relationship» between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, including ideological, party, state, economic, cultural and other relations. «In our relations with Yugoslavia», said the Soviet leader, «we are ready to go as far as the Yugoslav leadership wishes.» Does Gorbachov's statement in conclusion of his talks with Moiseyev, to the effect that «the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia see eye to eye in their assessment of the present world» and that «their policies on the international arena coincide», mean a new stand towards Yugoslavia's international activity? The time will provide the reply to this question.

As was to be expected, in Yugoslavia Gorbachov talked a great deal about his **perestrojka**, and the Yugoslavs spoke in turn about their self-administration. It is not yet known what **peres-**

troyka and **glasnost** will lead to, but what self-administration gave Yugoslavia, this is now common knowledge. Gorbachov's hosts emphasized the analogy between his **perestrojka** and their self-administration more than he did. Apparently, they did this to indicate their affinity, as well as to boost somewhat Yugoslav self-administration, which even in Yugoslavia now is being criticized as one of the causes for the crisis in the economy, the huge foreign debts and the increasing unemployment, and even for the national crisis.

The Yugoslav propaganda tries to exploit Gorbachov's visit in order to advertize the Yugoslav self-administration, presenting it on an entirely positive plane. Of course, every state has the right to choose its own alliances and friendships. However, things change when this has to do with such superpowers as the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the main factors of world tensions and conflicts. The Soviet Union has big imperialist interests not only in the Balkans, but throughout the world as well. It is in permanent search of means and ways to achieve these interests. Hence, the interference in whatever form of the superpowers in the affairs of the Balkans does not bid well. The farther extra-Balkan factors are kept the more the super-

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powers are kept away from the Balkans, the better for the freedom, independence, friendship and cooperation on the Peninsula.

The advances and activities of the Soviet policy in the Balkans are not isola-

ted from the global imperialist strategy of the Soviet Union on the European continent and the world over. In this context they have implications and consequences which do not affect only the Balkans. Gorbachov's rheto-

ric and peace-loving slogans, no matter how beautiful and impressive, are not meant to strengthen peace in any region, hence, cannot dispel the concern of the peoples of the Balkans, Europe or the world.



THE NATIONAL CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION — CONSEQUENCE OF ITS REVISIONIST COURSE AND IMPERIALIST POLICY

ZËRI I POPULLIT

The national problem in the Soviet Union today has become more acute than ever over the seventy years since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It erupted in violent form, with massive demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people in the capital of Armenia, Yerevan, where in February and March masses of people turned out in the streets to demand equality and national rights. The Yerevan demonstrations followed in the wake of the fierce inter-ethnic clashes during the two last weeks of February in the region of Nagorny-Karabakh and then in Sumgait of Azerbaidjan, in which, according to official data, 40 people were kil-

led and hundreds of others injured.

The events in Nagorny-Karabakh, in which 80 per cent of the population is Armenian and the regional Soviet of deputies demands formally that the region should be taken away from Azerbaidjan and united to Armenia, are only the tip of the iceberg of the profound national crisis that is shaking the Soviet Union. It extends from the Baltic republics, Estonia, Letonia and Lithuania, over Georgia and Karakhanstan to Yakutia and the Crimean tartars. All the peripheric regions of the Soviet Union are rife with tensions, clashes and national claims, and dissatisfaction, in general.

On the national question, Gorbachov has got the situation out of control and his calls to calm and his vague promises for the future which he made in an address to the Armenians and Azerbaidjanis, of course, accompanied with the dispatch of troops, did nothing to solve the problem. Apparently the problem has assumed such disquieting dimensions as to make it the object of a special examination at the highest instance of the Party, the Plenum of the Central Committee.

The dissatisfaction and revolt of the peoples of the non-Russian republics bears on many spheres and directions, the economy, investments, plans, distribution of

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income, the policy of cadres, civic and national rights, cultural, linguistic and literary discrimination. Clashes, revolts and protest manifestations are the fruit of the Great-Russian policy and must be considered a reaction to the Russification and the process of violation of the national identity of non-Russian peoples.

The time and life itself are vindicating what Comrade Enver Hoxha said in 1981, at the 8th Congress of the PLA, «the revisionist and capitalist policy that is being implemented in the Soviet Union has unleashed the old demands of the Czarist empire, such as national oppression, anti-semitism, Slav racism, Orthodox religious mysticism, the cult of military castes, aristocratization of the intelligentsia, the **chinovniki**, and others. The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the creation of a supposedly «new historical community» «the unified Soviet people» are intended precisely to cover up this reality full of deep social, class and national contradictions.»

The Soviet leadership is seeking a way out of the difficult situation created by these fierce national conflicts, by making Stalin responsible for all the evils that have befallen the Soviet Union today.

However, it is absurd to

make Stalin responsible for all these things thirty-five years after his death. The sun cannot be covered with a sieve, as an Albanian proverb has it. As long as Stalin was alive there were no such ulcers and tensions. Soviet history itself is evidence of this. The friendship of the Soviet peoples, formed and tempered under Stalin's leadership, withstood its heaviest and most difficult test, the war against German nazism. It was one of the decisive factors of the victory over it.

Stalin's great merits in working out and implementing a correct national policy cannot be denied or denigrated. His contribution to the solution of this cardinal problem is colossal. Lenin considered Stalin's works on the national question the best in Marxist literature and «the bases of the national program» of the Bolshevik Party. As a faithful continuer of the deed of Lenin, an outstanding Marxist Leninist and consistent internationalist, to Stalin goes the great credit of not only working out, but also in persistently implementing the policy of national equality, which made the Soviet Union a great and powerful multi-national state whose many peoples, as long as he was alive, lived in friendship and harmony among themselves.

The Soviet leadership does not, nor can it, tell the true reason of the national crisis in the Soviet Union today. Its roots, continuity and exacerbation must be sought in the nationalist bourgeois and anti-Marxist policy that was implemented towards the non-Russian republics and peoples after the Khrushchevites' advent to power. The aggravation of national oppression has precisely the present-day imperialism as its new factor, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin pointed out. No matter how little informed about the present policy of Soviet social-imperialism towards the peoples of the world, people have no difficulty in understanding the parallel of this policy towards the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union, with the resulting consequences of violation of their national rights and negation of their national and cultural identity. As long as the Great-Russian chauvinist policy and the capitalist social order which allows this course towards other peoples to continue, it is clear that the national crisis in the Soviet Union today will become more and more acute. This is a process of the development of the Soviet capitalist society and imperialist policy, which no kind of **perestroika** can cover up, and even less, bring to a halt.

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review****BRUTAL AMERICAN
INTERFERENCE IN PANAMA**

ZËRI I POPULLIT

The Reagan establishment is anxiously watching the political events which have been taking place in Panama, because it is fully involved in them, by interfering in the internal affairs of this strategic country of the Central-American region. Some time ago a spokesman of the White House declared that the recent political developments in Panama cannot remain outside the attention of USA, because it has special interests in that country. In fact, these interests of it are connected with the robbing of the national wealth of this country in general, and with the exploitation of the Panama Canal, in particular.

As long as the interests of the United States of America in Panama were safe, it behaved very «generously» towards this country, by putting its multinational companies to manufacture and transport the underground and surface wealth of this country and by creating those various financial «facilities» within the framework of «aid» which the USA gave to this Central-American country. But from the moment

the US interests in Panama began to be threatened, especially with the Panamanian restrictions on the unscrupulous exploitation of the surface and underground assets, in the exploitation of the Panama Canal for the American interests, as well as when the US military presence in Panama was limited, American imperialism became irritated. With the arrogance of the great state and superpower, it began to bring pressure to bear on the Panamanian government in order to compel it to give up its anti-American policy and to submit at all costs to Washington dictate.

The American interference in Panama is a most flagrant interference in opposition to international norms and laws. In an effort to remove from office General Noriega, who leads the Panamanian armed forces and who imposed the above-mentioned restrictions on the US interests, in the beginning the United States of America assused him of being «involved in the drug traffic». Then it charged its man, the former president of the country, Del Valle, to manoeuvre in

order to discharge Noriega from his post, by a special decision without the consensus of the National Assembly. But this attempt to hatch up an «open putsch» on the part of the United States failed, because the National Assembly refused to recognize the validity of the decision of Del Valle on the dismissal of Noriega. Judging from this arbitrary act in the interests of the USA on the part of Del Valle, the Assembly demoted him from the post of the president. The loss of the Del Valle card compelled America to resume open pressure on Panama. It enforced the trade embargo on this country, froze the Panamanian current accounts in the American banks and the interest rates due to Panama from the taxes on the international navigation through the Canal. Further, the United States caused internal financial disorders in Panama. As for the just demand of the Panamanian government about taking over control of the Canal, the USA responded that it had bought it, had paid for it and would continue to use it accordingly. But America «forgets» that the Pa-

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panama Canal is not part of the territory of the USA and that the demands of the Panamanian government to have control of the Canal are legitimate. The USA may really buy this or that territory for temporary use, succeeding in these transactions by using secret agents and tools in this or that country, but it cannot buy them for ever and keep them, the more so when such deals are strongly opposed by the respective governments.

The United States considers similar practices of in-

terference in the internal affairs of other countries, when its interests are threatened, as correct. It is acting on a similar line now with regard to Panama, too. It wants at all costs to maintain control of the Panama Canal, not only until the year 2000, but also afterwards, because two thirds of the imports of USA from Latin America and 60 per cent of the oil which is shipped to the USA pass through this Canal. Besides this, it has thousands of military troops in the Canal

zone, using it as a vantage ground of strategic control for Central America. America makes the calculations to suit its own interests, but this does not mean that America's interests are Panamanian's interests. The fact that the Panamanian government is opposing the policy of the United States as a policy of interference in its internal affairs with great dangers to peace, shows that the Panamanian government demands at all costs that its territory be rid of the American presence.

SCHULTZ'S ROUNDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ZËRI I POPULLIT

In less than two months, the US Secretary of State, Schultz, has gone three times in succession to different countries of the Middle East to present his «plan of peace» for the region. This time in the program of his stop-overs were included talks with high local officials in Israel, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. To some of these countries, like Jordan and Israel, Schultz returned two and more times. This time, too,

Schultz presented his already known plan for the «solution» of the problems of the Middle East and requested support for its application.

At a press conference on his arrival in Jerusalem, Schultz explained once again his plan which, in essence, includes: first, the organization of an international conference with the participation of the Security Council members and the interested countries. At this conference,

which will have no specified competences about the development and results of talks, the Palestinians will not be a party on their own, with equal rights to those of all the other delegations, but only part of a Jordanian delegation. According to Schultz, this international conference is necessary only for the beginning of the talks. «Direct talks between Israel and her neighbours» remain the main elements of Schultz's project.

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Again, this project does not recognize the right of the Palestinian people to create their own independent national state.

This new American project, the same as all the previous ones drafted in Washington and Tell-Aviv, offers nothing concrete to the martyred Palestinian people. It is only intended to stop the popular revolt which has put Israel in a very difficult situation. According to the Schultz Plan, which envisages several phases, the Palestinian problem should be shifted from the road of the determined and uncompromising struggle against the Zionist enemy to that of endless talks.

Schultz's exposition of his project in the different countries where he stopped over did not go all too smoothly. There were disagreements up to open opposition. The question here is not about the Shamir's tactical opposition to assisting Schultz and the American policy in the region. The first to oppose Schultz's new mission were the Palestinians of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Palestinian people demonstrated their opposition once again through their clashes with the Zionists in the occupied towns and villages and with the blood of other martyrs fallen under

the fire of Israeli weapons supplied by Washington. The official representatives of OLP have turned down the Schultz Plan which «denies the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of a state in their mother land.» The Schultz Plan was rejected in Syria, too, as a plan which does not oblige the Zionist enemy to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and negates the right of the Palestinian people to an independent national state. The press of other Arab countries, like Algeria, Jordan, etc., condemned the new Schultz's mission in the Middle East as «a mission which supports Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy». Schultz was forced to openly admit the opposition he met with in his visits to different countries. In conclusion of his talks with Saudi officials, Schultz had to concede that the countries of the region were opposing the American plans and making his third tour of the region a failure. Before he left Jordan and the Middle East, Schultz stated that «none of his partners in the talks gave the green light to his plan».

During Schultz's visit in the region, apart from other things, there is also a significant fact: at a time

when Schultz was roaming about the region, the Israeli officials, one after the other, made threatening declarations against the Palestinian people. Premier Shamir, in an interview with the US TV-network N.B.C., «was more arrogant than ever», says the Egyptian newsagency MENA. After him, the Defence minister Rabin, who is in command of the suppression in Gaza and West Bank, declared cynically in another interview: «Israel will escalate her policy of violence and terror against the Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands.» The combination of Schultz's mission with the threatening Zionist declarations is not accidental. They speak of a co-ordination of the US-Israeli pressure on the Arab people in general and the Palestinian people in particular. The latter are given only one alternative: either to accept the plan offered them or be subject to permanent genocide.

The new experience of the four months long general revolt of the Palestinians and that of the past decades is making the Palestinian people increasingly aware that the only road to victory goes through the liberation struggle and not the plans and machinations of the superpowers.

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DISMANTLING OF SOME CATEGORIES OF MISSILES DOES NOT LESSEN THE THREAT TO THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT

RRUGA E PARTISË — Organ of the CC of the PLA

It is a bitter fact that never before in its history has mankind seen such a great concentration of troops and armaments in times of peace as today in Europe. Confronting each other on our continent there are six million soldiers of active service in the armies of the member countries of the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. To them must be added a further four million in reserve service. The European continent is literally invaded by more than 200 divisions of land forces, more than 100 divisions of reserve forces, 6500 heavy tanks, 20 000 aircraft, 2600 warships. The military expenditure of the two blocs, reckoned together on the European territory, is equal to two thirds of the overall annual military expenditure of the whole world, with a sum reaching up to the astronomical figure of one thousand billion. The year 1988 begins for our continent with this startling military reality. In face of this reality everyone can clearly see the groundlessness of the claims of the American and Soviet government officials that, allegedly, after the conclusion of the Reagan-Gorbachov agreement on the

removal of some categories of missiles from the European territory, better days of peace and security are being prepared for the world and for Europe, that a great step is being taken towards making Europe safer and free from nuclear weapons.

The American and the Soviet propagandas are giving great publicity to the agreement which was signed in the beginning of last December in Washington. But let us see what they are going to remove from Europe, according to the letter of the agreement signed by the two superpowers. From the press reports it emerges that the United States of America will dismantle 429 medium-range missiles, whereas the Soviet Union will dismantle 470 medium-range missiles and 287 short-range missiles. The agreement, also, includes 260 mediumrange missiles and 160 short-range missiles which have not yet been deployed by the USA, and a further 356 medium-range missiles and 529 short-range missiles which have not yet been deployed by the Soviet Union. It is calculated that the operation for their dismantling will take three years, but the agreement also stipulates that parts of the missi-

les and of the nuclear warheads, which are to be dismantled, will not be destroyed, which implies that they may be used for other purposes and weapons.

What do these weapons, which are to be removed, represent in the total arsenal of the superpowers' nuclear missiles? The world press puts it at 3-4 per cent of all the nuclear-missile arsenal of the superpowers. So, the whole issue is about a very tiny fraction of the gigantic nuclear-missile arsenal of the superpowers. Concretely, according to a very detailed press report, the United States of America will continue to have 1000 intercontinental ballistic missiles based on land, capable of carrying 2261 nuclear warheads, 640 missiles launchable from submarines, capable of carrying 5632 nuclear warheads, 317 strategic bomber aircraft carrying 4956 nuclear warheads; all told: 1957 strategic bombers and 12 849 nuclear warheads of these strategic weapons. Again according to the same source, the Soviet Union will continue to maintain 1398 intercontinental ballistic missiles, capable of carrying 6426 nuclear warheads, and 160 strategic

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bombers capable of carrying an undefined number of nuclear warheads; that is, all told: 2480 missiles and strategic bombers and over 10 000 nuclear warheads of these weapons. On the European territory alone, according to the spokesman of the United States of America, at least 4000 American nuclear warheads and more or less the same number of Soviet nuclear warheads will remain.

Although the United States of America continues to be the biggest industrial, economic and financial power of the world, it has started the year 1988 with great economic difficulties. The artificial fall of the value of the dollar which it provoked did not bring USA the expected results. The fall in the dollar exchange-rate, which damaged the export of other countries, especially of the Common Market and less so of Japan, was not enough to help US imports to show any significant increase. The year 1987 was closed with a very high trade deficit of about 170 billion dollars. Likewise, the deficit of over 150 billion dollars in the annual budget expenditure over the annual budget income is not decreasing either. Moreover, the USA has become the country with the biggest national debt, which reaches up to more than 2 thousand billion dollars. There is another, still

more worrying fact that, according to forecasts of American economists, the rates of industrial growth of this year will be bordering stagnation level. In these conditions, when Japan and the other industrial powers have grown more threateningly competitive, the USA finds it more and more difficult to sustain the burden of another round of the armaments race. Reagan is ready to concede a sort of pause and make some little curtailment.

As regards the Soviet Union, the difficulties in which it is wallowing are still greater. The country is in desperate need of investments in agriculture and in industry, at a time when the demands for new technologies are growing more and more imperative. The expected successes of the «perestrojka» have failed to substantiate and the economy is grappling with growing difficulties. There have been strikes, too, and great shortages on the market.

Likewise, there are also internal and external political reasons which made the leaders of the two superpowers to conclude an agreement on this very small cut on nuclear-missile armaments.

At a time when the prestige of Reagan had suffered severely because of the Iran-gate scandal, the secret sale of weapons to Iran

and the turning of funds to the Somoza contras, the involvement of the country in interventions in Central America and the Persian Gulf, as well as the failure of the economic and financial policy, the industrial and financial ring leaders who support him and he himself needed a political success. But most of all, Reagan is now in a difficult position because of his overzeal to serve the military-industrial clan of California which brought him in office, and as the president who increased military expenditure more than anyone else, had to present himself as the man who has the courage to make a big gesture of disarmament, especially in this year of the presidential elections.

As regards Gorbachov, he put to good use everything, from Reagan's poor returns in the by elections to the Senate in November 1988 and to his discredit about the Irangate scandal, in order to boost his personal success and to present a shiny aspect of his «perestrojka» inside and outside the Soviet Union. Playing on the feelings of the people who aspire to a world and a Europe free of armaments and in order to arouse illusions, Gorbachov signed the agreement on the removal from Europe of missiles with a range of action from 500 to 5000 km. He pushed his proposal for «disarmament»

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into other kinds of weapons and proposed a plan about the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, after making sure that a pro-Soviet government will remain in Kaboul. With all this Gorbachov wants to represent the Soviet Union as an allegedly peaceful country which is eager for disarmament.

By making this partial military cut, the superpowers simply foster their own interests and are not guided by the preoccupation about the future of disarmament and the security of Europe and of the world. Therefore, says Comrade Ramiz Alia, «Our duty is to explain that, despite this step, nothing has changed as regards the possibility of avoiding war and securing peace. The nuclear armament of the superpowers always continues to increase uninterruptedly in great quantities and higher sophistication. The dismantling of one type or one category of missiles does not lessen the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war, either in a conscious manner, or by accident.»

It is true that disarmament cannot be achieved within one day. But to pretend that the step taken with the conclusion of the agreement in Washington will gradually lead to the creation of a world without nuclear weapons, this is a dangerous illusion. The

agreement reached between the two superpowers in Washington is not the first or the last of the kind they have reached. The question is asked: what good have these agreements and endless talks on «disarmament» done mankind until today? The fact is that the dangers and threats of war have increased instead. Mankind has never put so many forces (about 50 per cent of the engineering forces) and so many funds (one thousand billion dollars a year) to destructive purposes, to war. Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed: «Never before have the cult of military power and the philosophy of aggression been transformed into a totally dominant ideology, into a concrete policy in foreign relations as they are in the big imperialist states today. Never before has mankind been threatened with extermination on such a scale as it is today from the atomic war with which the superpowers are threatening the world.» About what step towards nuclear disarmament can they talk when both the one and the other superpower carried out a record number of nuclear tests during the year 1987? About what prospects of nuclear disarmament can they talk when, of the 300 billion dollars of the budget of Pentagon for the year 1988, full 73 billion dollars have been

allocated to preparations for a nuclear war? If the superpowers are really interested in achieving nuclear disarmament, what is the meaning of all this nuclear armament race? There is no sign of real disarmament and reduction of armaments in Europe. To prove this it is enough to mention the fact that the ink of Reagan's and Gorbachov's signatures on this notorious agreement was not yet dry when urgent measures were taken at the meetings of the respective military blocs to increase the arsenal of all kinds of armament on the European continent. This was done more indiscretely by the United States of America and NATO, while the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty had the discretion of masking it.

It is no wonder that now Pentagon and White House senior officials are talking so much about the need of «filling the gap» created by the decision to remove the medium- and short-range missiles from Europe. In this framework, Pentagon proclaimed the «balance of technological initiative» in order to co-ordinate the efforts with the NATO allies for the creation of an entirely new military arsenal with new weapons capable of being operated with nuclear warheads. In this same framework, the chief commander of the NATO armed forces in Europe, the Ameri-

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can General John Galvin called on the NATO member countries for greater commitment in the joint military programmes for the increase of the potential of short-range nuclear weapons. The inclusion of this kind of weapon in the military arsenal of NATO, the general demanded, should be seen as a necessity for the preservation of the nuclear strategy of the alliance now, after the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on Euromissiles. Continuing in the same framework, the US president, Reagan, in his report to the Congress last January, demanded that the NATO member countries in West Europe should take upon themselves more obligations, stressing that the

security of West Europe is closely connected with that of the United States of America.

In all their activity, the two superpowers strive to increase the potentials of their respective military blocs with sophisticated conventional and nuclear weapons.

Experience shows that no security can come to Europe from the last American-Soviet agreement. The threats to Europe are strong. This, at the same time, makes Europe more recalcitrant to the pressures which are brought to bear upon it. Its resistance is expressed in various forms, such as for example the efforts of Spain to reduce the American military presence on its own

territory, the decisions of France and some other country to be as little involved in the military commitments in the Persian Gulf as possible, and so on. Above all, this opposition is expressed in the popular protests against the American and the Soviet military presence, against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against the unrestricted armament race. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, «We, as the communists and revolutionaries we are, believe in the strength of the peoples. If the peoples stand united they have the necessary power to prevent the superpowers from throwing the world into a war of extermination.»

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