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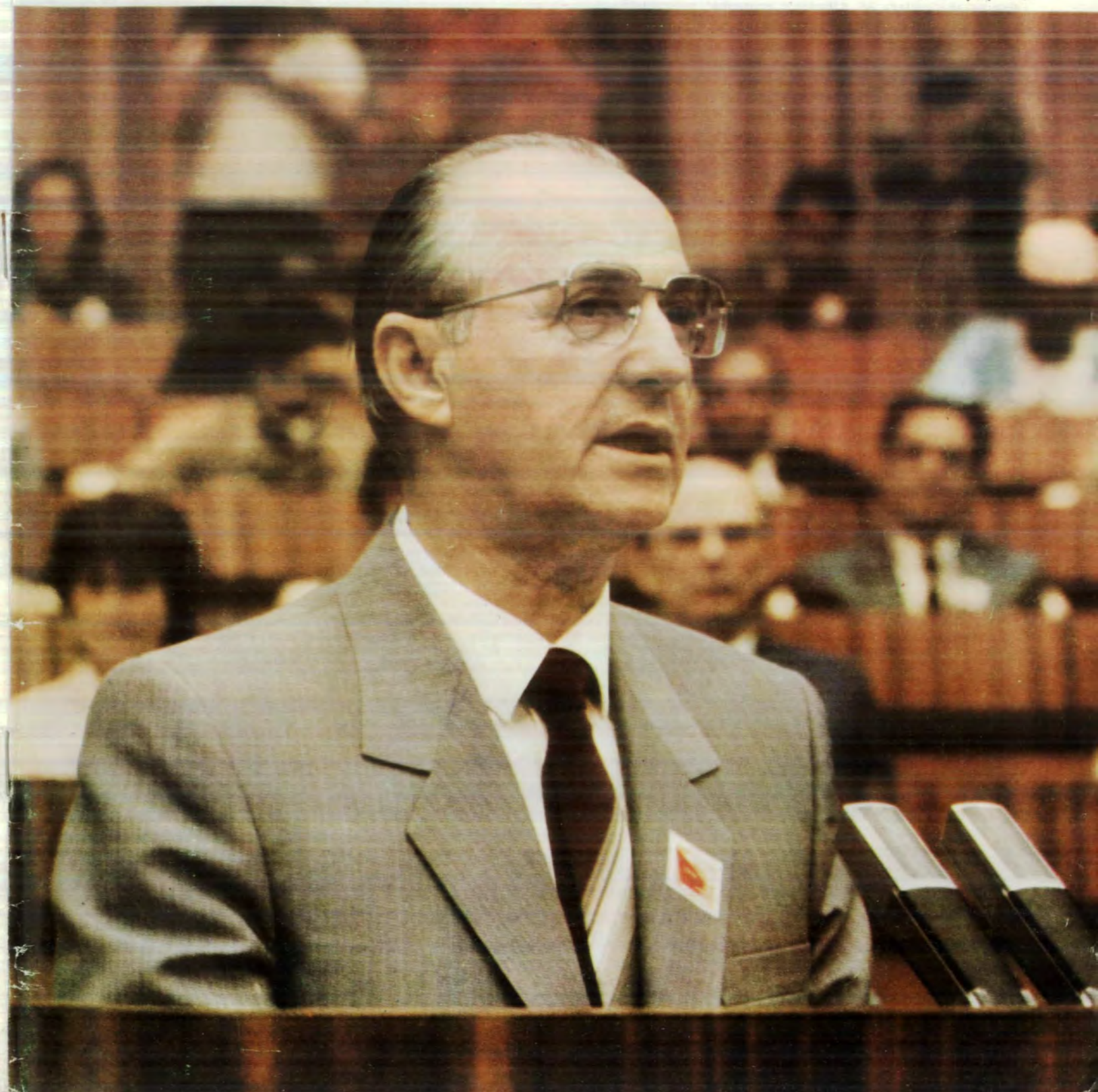


56

Albania today

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COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA ADDRESSING
THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA

Local production of the bread of the people —
one of the pillars of Albania's economic independence.



THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THE PARTY OR THE STATE, NO QUESTION OF OUR DEVELOPMENT IN WHICH THE WORKING CLASS, WHICH IS THE STEEL PILLAR OF THE PARTY, THE PILLAR OF THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND THE DECISIVE FORCE FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND, IS NOT DIRECTLY INTERESTED.

RAMIZ ALIA

THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA

RAMIZ ALIA

THE WORKING CLASS - THE STEEL PILLAR OF OUR SOCIALIST ALBANIA

ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS

DEAR COMRADE DELEGATES,

IT IS A SPECIAL PLEASURE FOR ME TO BRING YOU, THE DELEGATES TO THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA, WORTHY REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR HEROIC WORKING CLASS AND THE WHOLE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, THE WARMEST REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY. ON THIS OCCASION I WISH THIS ASSEMBLY OF THE ALBANIAN WORKERS SUCCESS IN ITS PROCEEDINGS AND YOU ALL SUCCESSES AT WORK.

THIS HIGH FORUM OF YOUR MILITANT ORGANIZATION IS BEING CONVENED ONLY A FEW MONTHS AFTER THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, WHICH SET IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY AND OPENED UP NEW HORIZONS FOR THE FUTURE. THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY HAVE CREATED A SOUND POLITICAL AND MORAL ATMOSPHERE EVERYWHERE AND HAVE STRENGTHENED THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE VITALITY OF SOCIALISM. THEY HAVE ENLIVENED THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AND HAVE AROUSED A FRESH ENTHUSIASM AT WORK, WHICH IS EXPRESSED IN THE MANY REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVES THAT HAVE BURST OUT THROUGHOUT THE HOMELAND. THE POWERFUL MOVEMENT «STANDARD-BEARERS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, FIGHTERS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY» HAS ENVELOPED BOTH CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE. AT ITS FOREFRONT STANDS THE WORKING CLASS, THE ACTIVE BUILDER OF THE NEW LIFE AND THE RESOLUTE DEFENDER OF THE VICTORIES OF SOCIALISM.

The workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth have gone all-out for the accomplishment of the major tasks of this year's plan, which has particular importance for the fulfilment of the whole 8th Five-year Plan. The struggle and efforts for increasing production show the determination of the working class and all the working people to fulfil the tasks set by the 9th Congress on time.

The plan of total industrial production is being fulfilled rhythmically. Entire branches and sectors of industry such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical, machine building, mining, wood-processing and paper industries, are in the vanguard. The production of electric power is regularly meeting the needs both for internal consumption and for export. Work is going on at high rates on the Milot-Brëshen-Klos railway,

the Banja hydro-power complex, the projects of the chromium industry and on more than 300 new important projects of the economy and culture.

The peasantry, too, is working side by side with the working class and in a lofty patriotic spirit. Its efforts to increase yields and strengthen the stability of production are accompanied with new initiatives for a rapid growth of agricultural and livestock products, necessary both for the food supply of the population and for industry and export.

The persistent implementation of the program mapped out by the Party for the development of education and culture, health service and science is making our social life richer, more varied and more dynamic. Just as the growing economic

potential of the country creates ever better conditions for the solution of social problems, so a sound social situation powerfully encourages and backs up the development of the productive forces and the advance of the economy.

Our socialist Albania has taken giant strides forward in the decades of the new socialist life. With the Party of the working class at its head, the country emerged from slavery to freedom, from poverty to prosperity, and from darkness to the light of knowledge and science. Everything has changed: the social order, the economy and the life of people. Work lies at the foundation of our society which is a just, pure and honest society in which everybody lives by the sweat of his brow. People in our country enjoy full freedom and all democratic rights. They live in a happy present and look with confidence and self-assurance to the future.

The Albanian working class has grown, has been educated and tempered in the heat of the radical changes that have been made in these forty and more years of people's state power. It has gained a high political and cultural consciousness and broad professional skills. It has become the leading class of society and the whole life of the country. For all this it is grateful to the Party and its glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who devoted everything, his whole life and work, and his genius to the people, the workers and peasants, who led them with rare bravery and wisdom in the revolution and taught them how to govern and build their new life, how to defend and strengthen their freedom and the independence of the country.

The victories achieved hitherto are the result of the Party's correct line and its leading role. But they also reflect the self-denying work of the

state and economic organs, as well as the broad activity of the mass organizations. The Trade Unions, which represent a powerful militant organization, which enjoys the respect, trust and broad support of the working class, have also made an outstanding contribution to the mobilization of all the working people for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The Party expresses its full confidence that the decisions of this Congress will give a fresh impulse to the activity of your organization, will further enhance its involvement in the political, economic and social life of the country, and will further increase the mobilization of the working class and all the working people to work with a creative spirit for the achievement of the objectives set to them. The Party is confident that, from the tribune of this Congress, the working class will voice its mature and revolutionary opinions about how work should be carried ahead in all fields, how shortcomings and weaknesses should be combated and the uninterrupted development and advance of our society ensured on the road of Marxism-Leninism on which our heroic Party of Labour leads us.

Dear comrades,

In the conditions in which our Party must march boldly on untrodden paths and rely completely on its own forces, the role of the masses and the role of the working class, especially, grows constantly. It is important that this should be understood well by the organizations of the Party and those of the Trade Unions, as well as by the state and economic organs.

There is no question of the Party or the state, no question of our development in which the

working class, which is the steel pillar of the Party, the pillar of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the decisive force for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, is not directly interested. Round the working class rally and unite the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, all the strata of the population. Hence stems the special solicitude the Party has constantly shown for the working class, for its growth and revolutionary education. The more the working class grows conscious of its responsibilities in the whole life of society, the better it plays its role in practice, the more powerful socialism becomes, the more secure the victories achieved and the stronger the guarantee for the future are.

To enhance the role of the working class in social life the Trade Unions face the duty of constantly improving their educational work with the workers. They must do resilient, varied and concrete work, according to the peculiarities of the economic branches, and different strata and categories of workers. The effect of the educational work of the Trade Unions is seen in life, in the degree of the self-consciousness of workers. Hence, the fundamental thing in their work is that they should implant correct and broad concepts of the tasks of the time and an active and creative attitude towards work among their members.

Love for the Party, the Homeland and socialism, honesty and correctness, persistence at work and a high sense of selflessness in carrying out tasks, discipline and order, proletarian boldness in affirming the new and combating everything alien and reactionary are fine qualities of our working class, which the Trade Unions must cultivate and develop ever better in the ranks of their members.

True working class and revolutionary education is that which increases mobilization and enthusiasm at work and strengthens socialism. We have a dynamic economy which marches on its own. The overwhelming part of our industries work on local primary materials. We have a modern and effective system of organization and production in agriculture. Many activities in this branch are assuming an industrial character, and production is being less and less influenced by bad weather. The mass education of the youth, the broad application of science and technique, and the innovatory spirit of the mass of workers increase our possibilities for development and make the implementation of our tasks easier.

So our possibilities for all-round development are great. This is apparent in these months following the Congress of the Party, when, as I said, plans in industry and many other sectors are being carried out well on the whole.

In this situation of great enthusiasm at work, some shortcomings that are observed can only

be explained by weaknesses of management and deficiencies in the mastery of technique.

If work in the oil and chromium industries is not going at the pace it should, the cause must be sought not so much in deficiencies of the workers as in the weaknesses in the work of institutions of geology and sectors of study, or management bodies. Likewise, if some building and land-reclamation enterprises are lagging behind in their work, this is due mainly to shortcomings in organization and management. However it does no credit to the working class in these sectors to remain in passive positions of waiting. It is its duty to be interested not only in the fulfilment of daily plans, but also in the prospects of mines and mineral resources, in the study of new geological deposits and their preparation for exploitation, in the mechanization of work and the timely carrying out of investments. The working class must call to account those organs and organisms which are charged with the study and solution of these problems, and make them face up to their responsibilities.

Fulfilment of production plans, especially investment plans, is dependent on the social productivity of labour, the effectiveness of expenditure and the thrifty use of material values. In our conditions the demand that about half the increase of the social product should be secured from higher productivity is by no means exaggerated. However, in many a sector this objective is not being fully achieved, which reduces possibilities for accumulation on a broader plane.

Productivity is a fundamental question for our society, because it determines, in the final analysis, the contribution of each individual or collective to socialist construction. If the peasantry and agriculture carry today the main burden for the fulfilment of the needs of the people for food-stuffs, it devolves upon the working class and industry to meet the growing demands of the country for new sources of accumulation, which is done mainly through increasing productivity. Therefore the personality of the worker and the role of the working class grow with the growth of the social productivity of labour, the rise of the effectiveness of production and the increase of savings.

True, in this field there are and will always be difficulties of various kind, also objective ones, which are linked with internal and external factors. But when subjective factors match the demands of the time, these difficulties and obstacles are overcome. Patriotism and revolutionary militancy today are measured by the concrete individual or collective contribution to society, the way obligations to the economy and the people are met, the struggle for the advancement of the country is waged.

Our society is interested both in the quantity and in the quality of production. Both these aspects serve the needs of the economy and are in the direct interest of the workers themselves. However there are still some workers and managers, who, not so much because of lack of experience as because of insufficient formation, hanker only after quantity and overlook quality. Working collectives must be attentive to this one-sidedness which is usually fostered by narrow interests. In this direction there is always room for rectifying those economic mechanisms regulating the relationship between quantity and quality of production. There is no reason why society should be made to pay for work of bad quality. Education of people for high quality work and its control must be in unity and indivisible.

Production results depend a great deal on the organization of work and managing capacity, especially at enterprise and even higher levels. Therefore the working class cannot fail to be interested, for example, in how production is organized, how the material and technical supply is done, how finished products are distributed, how new techniques and technologies are applied and how the technical and professional qualification of workers and cadres goes on. Being in complete harmony with centralized management, the initiative of the working class in those fields has been and remains a permanent factor for the improvement of the organization and management of work. For this role of the working class to be enhanced, the organization of the Trade Unions must also do more work.

What is currently demanded of the working class is initiative, persistence and determination for the solution of some major problems of the development of the economy. Our intelligent and innovatory working class has every possibility to contribute more to the implementation of the fundamental orientations of the 9th Congress of the Party for the development of the productive forces. The successful fulfilment of the tasks in the functioning and extension of industries on the basis of our own natural assets, in the work to adapt technologies to the quality of local primary materials, in the extension of the structure of production, in increasing exports and reducing imports, etc. lies in the hands of the working class. When the working class puts its shoulder to the solution of the major tasks the Party has set, it simultaneously aids and encourages the management to improve itself and become more resilient.

The rise of our people's well-being, the strengthening of the independence and defence of the Homeland have always been and remain at the foundation of our economic plans. The decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the Party to improve the supply of agricultural and livestock products

for the people serves this lofty aim. The implementation of these decisions demands all-out mobilization, not only of the peasantry and the agricultural working people, but also of the entire working class of all the branches and sectors of the economy. The increase in food-stuffs, in agricultural and livestock products, requires more investments and a more powerful material-technical base, which cannot be guaranteed if the targets of the plan are not attained in other sectors, if more oil, coal and electric power are not produced, if more chromium, copper and iron nickel are not extracted, if more cement and other building materials, farming machinery, chemical fertilizers and products of the light industry are not produced.

The working class and the other working people should directly assist the countryside and agriculture in the form of actions. Its broad participation in the action to secure abundant supplies of drinking water for all villages, the work to tend the olive-trees so as to double their output within this five-year plan, the aid in harvesting and in the gathering in on time of agricultural and livestock products, and other similar actions are exceptionally useful and fruitful. They also serve the further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

With the purpose of promoting the production of different consumer goods, our Party and state have encouraged all the initiatives which contribute to the increase of quantity, the improvement of quality and the extension of the range of these products. This is what the Party is currently doing, by giving priority to the development of the light and food-stuffs industry, supporting and stimulating the initiatives for the production of small articles and other useful products from technological remains. Praiseworthy progress has been made, but we are still a long way from what is demanded. The value of the small products now has reached the value of only a few million leks a year, at a time when more than one tenth of our primary materials end up as technological losses and waste, which is equal to hundreds of millions of leks. Our talented masters and innovators, workers, cadres and specialists in whose hands all the means of labour and primary materials are concentrated must strive to build machinery and set up new lines and departments to increase production of these articles.

The working class must persistently demand that the sectors of production and those of trade should extend this activity. It must make strong demands on the leading cadres of the enterprises and the districts so that their initiative is not curbed but is ceaselessly extended. Therefore, those links which encourage production, such as prices productivity, the forms of trade, etc., must be improved, too.

The production of the articles of mass consumption is inseparable from the full utilization of the primary materials and the employment of the new active work forces. Even with what has been achieved to date, thousands of people have been employed on the lines producing small articles. The leading cadres of the enterprises must not obstruct the opening of new lines and the employment of new workers on the excuse that productivity might fall. Naturally a great deal of care must be shown to prevent the increase of the fund of wages without production, but there is not a single enterprise which lacks the possibilities of creating new and profitable sectors through the production of small articles.

Comrade delegates,

The working class must always be on its feet and vigilant, keeping aloft its revolutionary spirit. Our worker has never nurtured the thought that the problems of production are for others to look into and judge, that the plans are for the administration, special apparatuses and bodies to decide. Naturally, all these bodies must discharge their duties as well as possible. But the revolutionary workers never remain passive or indifferent when they realize that matters are dragged out and concessions are made, that rules and laws are violated, favouritism is practised and official authority is misused, material values are used carelessly and the common property is damaged. The working class must react energetically to similar phenomena. It must powerfully criticize the shortcomings and the weaknesses, without backing down in the face of difficulties. Criticism of weaknesses and shortcomings does no harm to anybody or anything. On the contrary it strengthens the economy, the society, and the state power, making it more democratic and giving it a more profoundly popular character, defending it from the danger of bureaucratic degeneration.

The Party has created the conditions for the working class to effectively exert its legitimate right of control over everything and everyone, over production and distribution, over the activity of the administrations and the cadres, in order to ensure the correct implementation of its line and orientations, the decisions and laws of the state. The whole of our society is interested in the strengthening of this control, because it cannot be replaced by any other control.

The trade-union organizations must work so that worker control is not just a formality and is not exerted merely because it has to be, because if so, things would make no progress and the workers' consciousness would be weakened. Work-

ing class control must be active, militant and effective. Only in this way its role in the life of the country is enhanced and strengthened, work is carried ahead and problems solved correctly.

Comrade Enver always drew attention to the necessity of unremitting struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, which jeopardize the victories of socialism and inhibit the development and progress of society. Therefore it is vital that the working class control be extremely stern towards these manifestations, it must call to task anyone who, with his work or stand, runs counter to the line of the masses, the democratic spirit of our state and the moral norms of our society.

Our Party, our state and our entire society have always devoted special care to the working and living conditions and to the health of the workers. All this represents another major domain of the activity of the Trade Unions. In capitalism, the trade-unions are set up to defend the rights of the workers from the owning class, from exploitation. In socialism, however, the trade-union organizations of the working class do not have this function, because the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing other than the state of the working class. Being such, it is in its interest that the working class is protected and its interests are fully complied with. Therefore, when we say that it is the duty of the Trade Unions to protect the working class, what we have in mind is the defence of this class not from the proletarian state, but from the bureaucrats, from those individuals who obstruct the practical implementation of the laws of the state, the laws of labour. The state takes care that special funds are allocated to provide optimal working conditions for the working class. If, for example, there are leading cadres who fail to adopt measures to utilize the funds allocated for this purpose, allegedly for the sake of saving, the trade-union organizations must not hesitate, but must demand an account and act so that the workers are guaranteed what belongs to them by right.

The trade-union organizations must devote attention to and work with creativeness and imagination to encourage the socialist emulation. The forms and methods of socialist emulation have not been laid down once and for all, they alter according to the conditions created and the tasks set. They cannot be the same for all the different sectors and activities, the same in industry as in agriculture, or in transport, building, etc. In regard to the socialist emulation and competitions, particularly at the base, stereotype methods are impermissible. The socialist emulation should stimulate the pride of the workers, rouse them in action over those problems which constitute the fundamental duty at the work organiza-

It is the duty of the Trade Unions and the state organs to improve the organization of their work to raise the cultural level of the working class. Development and progress demand that the love for work must never be divorced from the love for know-how and culture, science and technique. A worker of knowledge is not only a capable master in his profession, but he also has greater initiative and creative thinking, so vital for the successful construction of socialism. Without culture there can be no qualification, no innovatory spirit, no quality.

Into every victory and work of socialism, the sweat, toil and know-how of the working class have been poured, its finest virtues, its love for the Homeland, its close ties with the Party, its faithfulness to the communist ideals, have been manifested. I express the conviction of the Party that in the future, too, our working class will advance along this glorious road, the road of victories, of the progress and prosperity of socialist Albania.

Dear comrades,

At the same time as we are working with all our might to carry forward the socialist economy and fulfill the material and spiritual needs of the people, the Party and our state attentively follow present-day international life, which is always on the move and in development. Our purpose is to guarantee favourable external conditions for our socialist construction, to strengthen the international positions of our Republic, to be always prepared so that any situation that may arise in the world or around us will never catch us unawares.

Since the 9th Congress of the Party, marked successes have been attained in the field of our international relations, too. Diplomatic contacts with foreign countries have been extended, and so have trade, cultural and scientific exchanges. As a result of the expansion of these activities and the correct stands maintained by our Party and Government on the fundamental problems of the time, the respect and sympathy in the world for socialist Albania and for the Albanian people have grown even more.

During these last few months, proceeding from the positive desire to have normal relations with all those states which respect the recognized principles of non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual respect, non-violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity, we have established diplomatic relations with a series of other states, which, for one reason or another, had still not been concluded.

Talks are nearing conclusion on the establish-

ment of diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. This has been achieved not without difficulties, but both sides demonstrated goodwill and realism to surmount them, without renouncing their rights and without making concessions in their principles.

We are in favour of the normalization of relations with England, too. If London shakes off the prejudices left by the cold war and is willing to proceed from a positive desire and goodwill to unfreeze Anglo-Albanian relations for the state of which we bear no blame or responsibility, it will find in Albania the readiness to talk and cooperate in a constructive spirit.

It is natural and quite understandable that we, as a European country, are especially interested in the events on this continent, in the dangers that threaten it and the efforts made to avoid these dangers. Although there has been no armed conflict between the states of Europe, the major political, ideological and military contradictions which have emerged here have put the European countries against one another, have caused splits and divisions, tensions and frictions. In no other place are there so many foreign military bases and so many chemical and nuclear weapons as in Europe, in no other place are the interference and pressure of the superpowers so constantly present and so heavy and suffocating as in Europe. Whole generations of Europeans are being born and growing up in an atmosphere of mutual hatred, fear and insecurity.

The Albanian people have always felt the concern of the peoples about peace and security. They have united with them in their struggle for putting an end, once and for all, to the armaments race on the earth and in the space, for the total banning of tests of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from and for the dismantling of foreign bases in Europe. While expressing ourselves firmly in favour of peace and international security, we never cherish illusions about or pin our hopes on the «goodwill» and «reason» of the superpowers, which, due to many political, military and economic factors, from time to time, reach agreements and compromises with each other.

Today, too, there is much talk about the possibility of achieving a Soviet-American accord on removing short- and medium-range missiles from Europe. From the beginning we have condemned the installation of missiles and now, too, we are resolutely for their removal together with all other kinds of nuclear weapons from our continent and any other place. If this is done and is followed with concrete measures in the field of complete and general disarmament, it would be an achievement for the peoples, for all those who have

fought unremittently against mass extermination weapons, against the policy of dictate and war which the two superpowers pursue.

However, the peoples must not, at any moment or in any situation, lower their vigilance and tone down their struggle against the warmongers. Other Soviet-American agreements have been concluded in the field of disarmament hitherto, but this has not impeded the superpowers either from increasing their stocks of weapons or from producing even more destructive and sophisticated ones. Besides, an agreement in the field of missiles still does not mean that peace in Europe is guaranteed and the threat of war is removed. Strategic missile launching pads, aircraft and submarines carrying nuclear weapons, which sail in the waters and along the shores of Europe, and the huge arsenals of conventional weapons hang like Damocles' sword over the peace and security of the peoples.

Comrade Enver taught us that we must take imperialism for what it is — insatiable, aggressive and exploitative, bloodthirsty and war-mongering, but also weak, eroded and riddled with contradictions. Hence it emerges that, as history has also proved, mankind can avert the catastrophe, towards which the aggressive policies and activities of the imperialist superpowers are driving it, by keeping vigilance high and when the peoples become aware of their invincible strength and fight with determination to take their destinies into their own hands.

In recent times we notice the increase and exacerbation of some quarrels and tensions in the Balkans, which could be eliminated if there were political goodwill and a desire for agreements and constructive collaboration.

The stand of Albania, which was openly expressed at the 9th Congress of the Party, is clear. We do not desire turbulences in the Balkans, and with our stands and actions we have shown that we are for the constant existence on this peninsula of an atmosphere which serves the strengthening of sincere friendship and collaboration, the consolidation of freedom and the independence of its peoples, common peace and security.

Our relations with the Balkan countries are, in general, developing normally. We are pleased especially with the development of our relations with Greece and Turkey. But we cannot say the same about Yugoslavia. Not for any fault of ours, our relations with this country remain burdened by complicated and unsolved problems.

Our policy towards the neighbouring countries is neither temporary, nor based on changing political situations, nor imposed by circumstances. It is a consistent policy of principle, realistic and constructive, which stems from our Marxist ideo-

logy, our socialist system, and our peace-loving and internationalist traditions. At the same time, we have not made, nor will we ever make any concessions or compromises when it comes to defending the supreme interests of our people and country, just as we will not leave provocations and insinuations, from any quarter they may come, unanswered.

Various proposals are made and initiatives are taken for and about the Balkans. One of them is the latest Yugoslav proposal for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, in which, as is said, peace and friendship on our peninsula will be discussed in general, without any concrete commitment by anyone on anything.

In principle we have not been and are not opposed to meetings and talks, whether bilateral or multilateral. But we have been and are for it that these meetings and talks should not serve to lull the vigilance of the peoples to sleep, or to make them submit to the desires and interests of the superpowers, or to cause the further exacerbation of the existing situation.

I would like to express some considerations about the above proposal. In the first place, we should not overlook the fact that in the Balkans today there are a number of bilateral conflicts with acute negative elements in them. Such are, apart from other conflicts, the questions bearing on national minorities, the hasty discussion of which might bring about undesirable consequences for the Balkans, and not only for it. On the other hand, we would like very much to believe that Belgrade proceeds only from good intentions in making its proposal; however, the present reality in Yugoslavia and its policy in the Balkans arouse many doubts. In Yugoslavia's relations with our country, at least, we Albanians see no effort, apart from the odd fine word some Yugoslav leader says, for the creation of that atmosphere of mutual trust which is an indispensable condition for a useful meeting.

What peaceful atmosphere and what friendly climate can be created in the Balkans by such stands as those expressed in the annual report of the Yugoslav Presidency to the Assembly of Yugoslavia, in which Albania is accused, without any reason and contrary to the facts and the reality, of «flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and of territorial claims against it»?

In this statement there is no truth, but there is fresh evidence of the unalterable old anti-Albanian course which continues to be pursued in Yugoslavia and of the lack of a wise policy coherent with the modern times and world. This shows that Belgrade is neither predisposed nor

prepared to have normal, equal and friendly relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Friendly collaboration in the Balkans is a good thing and there is no doubt that we all must work in order to create the suitable conditions to make it a reality. But there can be no talk about goodwill and intentions on the part of the Yugoslavs when they invite singers and dancers from the whole of Europe, even from the USA and Canada, to participate in the Balkan folklore festival, which they organize in Ohrid, on the shores of a common lake, and refuse participation in it to neighbouring Albania.

The exchange of visits between the Shkoder and Titograd sportsmen and supporters aroused hopes about the resumption of Albanian-Yugoslav cultural relations, but months are going by and it is not sure whether any positive reply will be forthcoming from Belgrade to our proposals about exchanging two or three musicians and some women's volleyball team between border cities of Albania and of the Republic of Macedonia and the Autonomous Region of Kosova.

It is six years now since they have put Kosova in quarantine and have cut off all economic, cultural and human relations with Albania. It is six years now since in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro any Albanian found in possession of a book published in Tirana, be it totally innocent from the political aspect, or any person who in this or that manner expresses the slightest sympathy for what is happening in Albania, for any aspect of its life, be it only artistic or cultural, is immediately thrown into jail. Can that high wall of isolation and segregation, which prevents Kosova from communicating with Albania and the world, can those attacks full of chauvinist venom against the history of Albania, the Albanian language and culture, even against Albanian personal nouns and place names, serve the strengthening of mutual confidence and good neighbourliness? Can what is written in the Yugoslav press about the Albanians and their life, or what is said at meetings and manifestations like those in the Plain of Kosova or at the Writers' League of Serbia, be considered an expression of the desire for good bilateral and multilateral relations in the Balkans and in Europe, as the Yugoslav government describes its initiative for the Balkan meeting?

We hear frequently that the exacerbation of relations in the Balkans creates conditions for the interference of the superpowers in the internal affairs of our peninsula. This is true. As regards Albania, it has neither been, nor is it interested in the exacerbation of the situation, on the contrary, it has constantly called for wis-

dom and caution. With its stands and actions it has never given the superpowers any excuse to interfere in the affairs of the Balkans. It has put both the Soviets and the Americans in their proper place. Our stand in this direction has been and is clear-cut. If the superpowers are enticed to the Balkans, this is the responsibility of those who dance sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other superpower, who foster national hatred and create absurd problems, like the programs of Serb and Macedonian academicians, in order to set the peoples quarrelling with one another. The national hatred preached by these knights of chauvinism is fraught with great dangers not only to the internal life in Yugoslavia. It would be naive to think that the great powers will not use these knights to further their own expansionist and hegemonic ambitions.

Peace and security in the Balkans today is served not with initiatives which are taken mainly for propaganda aims, but with sincere efforts for the solution of concrete problems, which, in the case of Yugoslavia, we do not see. The solution of these problems, especially bilateral ones, would also create suitable conditions and a real basis for the fruitful development of inter-Balkan relations, for a broad and varied collaboration in this important region of Europe.

Dear comrades,

The proceedings of this Congress are a school for all the working people of our country. They have great importance for the work of the Party and the organs of the state, for the social organizations, and especially for your great trade-union organization.

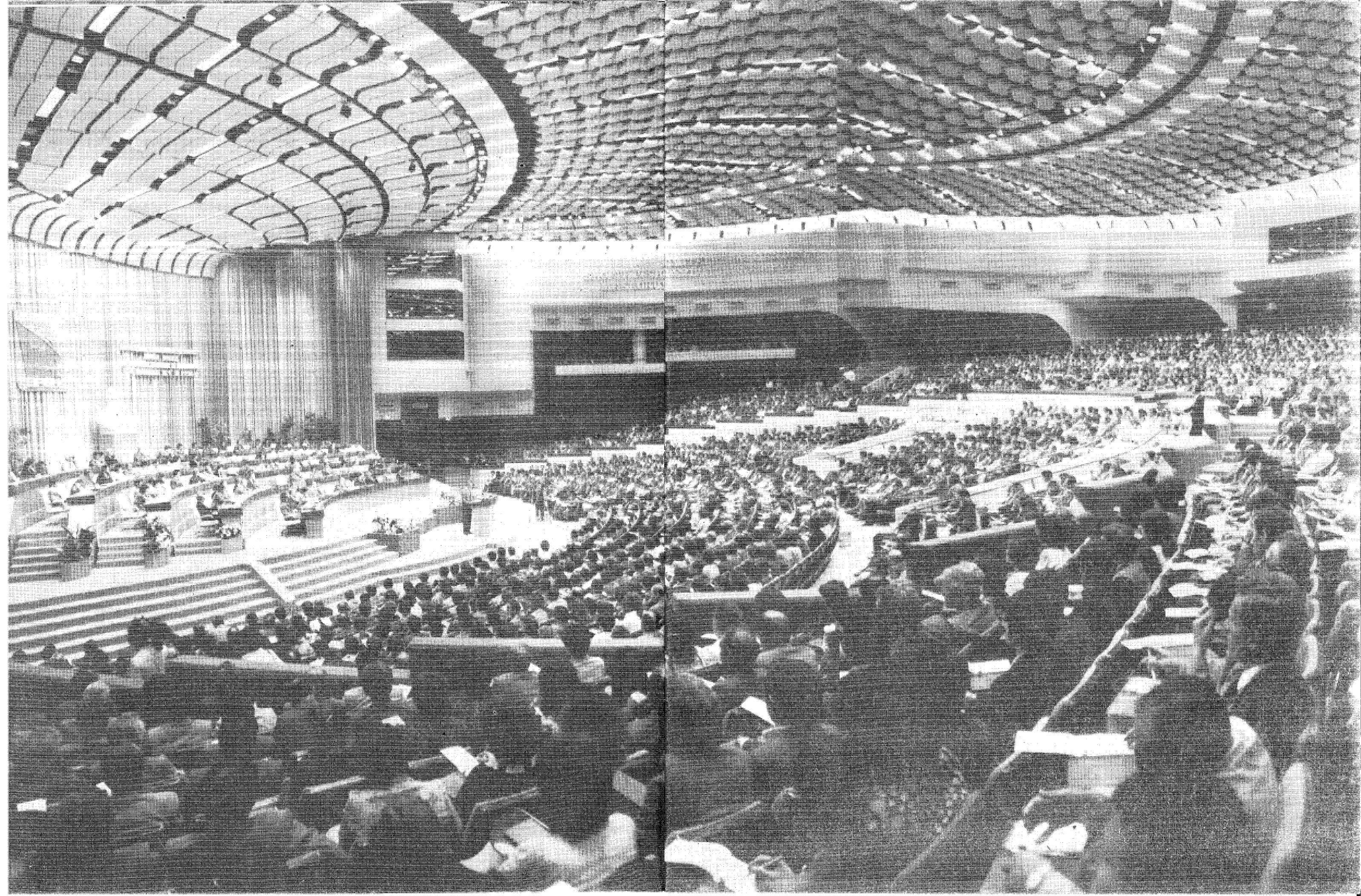
Wishing you success in your work, I express the confidence of the Party that the Trade Unions will multiply their efforts for the education of the working class, to increase its mobilization at work for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks for 1987 and for the whole 8th Five-year Plan.

Let the drive and vigour of the working class, its heroic determination for the all-round strengthening and flourishing of our Homeland, break out powerfully. Let us march always united and put all our forces to carry ahead the socialist construction of the country and the immortal revolutionary work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

LONG LIVE OUR WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF ALBANIA!

GLORY TO THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA!



★

In a highly revolutionary atmosphere, from June 25 to 27, the 10th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania carried out its proceedings in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

At 09.00 hours of June 25 the delegates and guests broke out into enthusiastic applause and ovations when Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders mounted the tribune.

The working presidium of the Congress were already seated on the tribune.

The heads of the foreign delegations who had come on the invitation of the General Council of the TUA to attend the proceedings of the Congress were also on the tribune.

Apart from the delegates, to this Congress had come guests, trade-union veterans, heroes of socialist labour and vanguard workers, representatives of the cooperativist peasantry, as well as representatives of the Party, State and social organizations.

The delegate Muhamet Bila, miner in the Valias coalmine of Tirana, declared the 10th Congress of the TUA open.

The delegates unanimously adopted the agenda and the rules of the proceedings of the Congress.

Then the floor was given to the President of the General Council of the TUA, Comrade Sotir Koçollari, who delivered the report «On the Activity of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania and the Tasks Arising for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 9th Congress of the PLA».

The Trade Unions of Albania come to their 10th Congress with important successes to their credit in the fulfilment of the tasks they have been set by the Party for the education and mobilization of the working class and people, and conscious of their role in implementing the majestic program

laid down by the 9th Party Congress, said he among other things.

As a major historical event, the 9th Congress drew the balance of a glorious period, during which, guided by the correct line and policy of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the working masses worked and struggled with abnegation to accomplish the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan. That was the Congress of steel unity and brilliant prospects and of the determination to march always triumphantly ahead on the road to socialism. Thanks to the bold plans it laid down, the economy and culture will advance more rapidly, the living of the people will be improved and become more prosperous, the defence of the Homeland will be consolidated further and the honoured name of Albania in the world will be raised even higher.

This was the Congress of continuity and a powerful expression of the loyalty of the Party and the whole people to the teachings of our glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha; it was an expression of their unshakeable will to march resolutely on the road he mapped out and led them on four decades on end. Enver Hoxha will remain unforgettable in the minds and hearts of the people, who loved him as the great teacher, educator and leader of the working class. He will always be amidst us, a lofty example of inspiration in our whole work and struggle for the application of the majestic program of the Party.

In the directives and decisions of the 9th Party Congress the working class and the broad working masses see the embodiment of their aspirations and interests, the concern of the Party and the state for strengthening the Homeland and making it prosper, for guaranteeing its freedom and independence and raising the level of social emancipation.

The movement «Standard-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha,

and fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Party Congress» has given rise to a new dynamic situation everywhere, to a higher militant spirit in coping with tasks. The whole situation after the Congress is characterized by a lofty spirit of mass actions. This is the spirit prevailing all over the country. The creative, organizing and realizing capacities of the working class are bursting out with greater force in all the sectors of the economy and in all fields of life.

This readiness is also a continuation and further deepening of the heroic work of the working class and other working people in the period between the two congresses of the Trade Unions of Albania. During this period, the country's socialist construction advanced, the economy grew stronger and consolidated its feature as a dynamic and planned economy with steady rates of development, without crises and unemployment, without inflation or rising cost of living. People are living a happy life and look to the future with optimism. Socialist Albania, beautiful and prosperous everywhere, with the Party in the lead, is marching forward non-stop on its triumphant course.

The working class has become today a great force which gives the tone to the whole life of the country. It has increased 40 times compared with the pre-Liberation period and occupies first place in the social-class structure of the population and the composition of the Party. It has become politically and ideologically more mature, and better trained to cope with the new tasks and carry out its historic mission. As the irreplaceable leading class of socialist society it distinguishes itself for its dedication and boundless loyalty to the line of the Party, it is the bearer of the finest traditions of our patriotic and progressive people.

The working class has stood on the forefront of work and carried

out majestic projects. It has been a decisive factor in all the socialist transformations and achievements: the industrialization of the country and the advance of agriculture, the development of transports and constructions, the ensurement of the bread and the local production of over 30 per cent of broad consumer goods, the strengthening of the active power balance, the construction of many major and complex projects, and many other achievements which have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

The 9th Congress of the Party, with its ideas and majestic objectives, opened up new horizons and laid down concrete tasks.

Our country has embarked on a new stage of the development of socialism, which is characterized by a higher level of development of the productive forces. Such targets as increasing total social product by 31-33 per cent, national income by 35-37 per cent, export by 44-46 per cent, or the construction of 420 important projects, etc., reveal not only the importance of the 8th Five-year Plan but also the major work the working class, specialists, cadres and all the working people of the country have shouldered and are carrying out successfully.

Lofty mobilization and readiness is being displayed everywhere to attain these objectives. There are hundreds of vanguard working collectives, such as the builders of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station of Koman, who gave the Homeland the biggest energy project ahead of schedule and are working with the same spirit of heroism to build the Banja hydro-power station and the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway. The heroic miners are on the forefront of work, too; last year and in the first half of the current year they gave thousands of tons of ore and above the plan; so are the metallurgists and the working people of the chemical industry, who are rhythmically overfulfilling their targets, or the brilliant innovators and other workers of the engineering industry, who turn out over 90 per cent of the spare parts the country needs, as well as machinery for production lines and complete factories. There are scores of vanguard sectors, brigades and thousands of individuals in the agricultural enterprises, in tran-

sport, construction, etc., who are fulfilling their tasks on all fronts. The Trade Unions have encouraged and inspired such achievements with all the means and forms of education and socialist emulation. They have striven to disseminate, generalize and apply the example and experience of the more advanced on a large scale.

Further on the orator said:

The role of the working class as the most active productive force of society in fulfilling the major targets of the 8th Five-year Plan is inseparable from its decisive role as a political, creative and leading force, from its struggle to defend and consolidate the people's state power and our socialist order. The tasks of the Trade Unions, as assistants of the Party in enhancing the consciousness of the working class, have always had first-rate importance on this capital question.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, socialism is the deed of the masses. It is the deed of the physical strength and energies of the masses, but, even more so, it is the deed of their wisdom, knowledge and creative spirit.

The fact that the working class participates actively in running the major affairs of the state, discusses the Constitution, decides on the laws, and expresses its advanced opinion about economic plans is a major reality. It has gained a great experience in problems of management and organization, and with its creative initiative it is enriching and expanding it ceaselessly.

Strengthening the role of the working class, encouraging its initiative and creative thinking is a decisive factor for the application of the line of the masses. Encouragement and support of this initiative is the most concrete expression of the broad democracy of the working people.

Speaking about the education of the working people, Comrade Sotir Koçollari said:

Thanks to the care of the Party and the great investments made by society people's schooling and working people's qualification has changed radically. At the end of 1986 the number of higher cadres reached to over 64,000, whereas that of working people with secondary education to over 275,000. During the 8th Five-year Plan

higher cadres will number more than 71,000, whereas the working people with secondary schooling about 400,000. This ratio between the higher cadres and the graduates from secondary general and vocational schools clearly shows not only the dynamics of growth, but also the profoundly democratic character of the educational policy pursued in our country. Thousands of workers, talented masters and specialists have been trained, who have solved important problems of technique and technology, construction and designing, agrotechnique, management and organization.

Today, more than ever before, technical-scientific knowledge is being turned into a directly productive force.

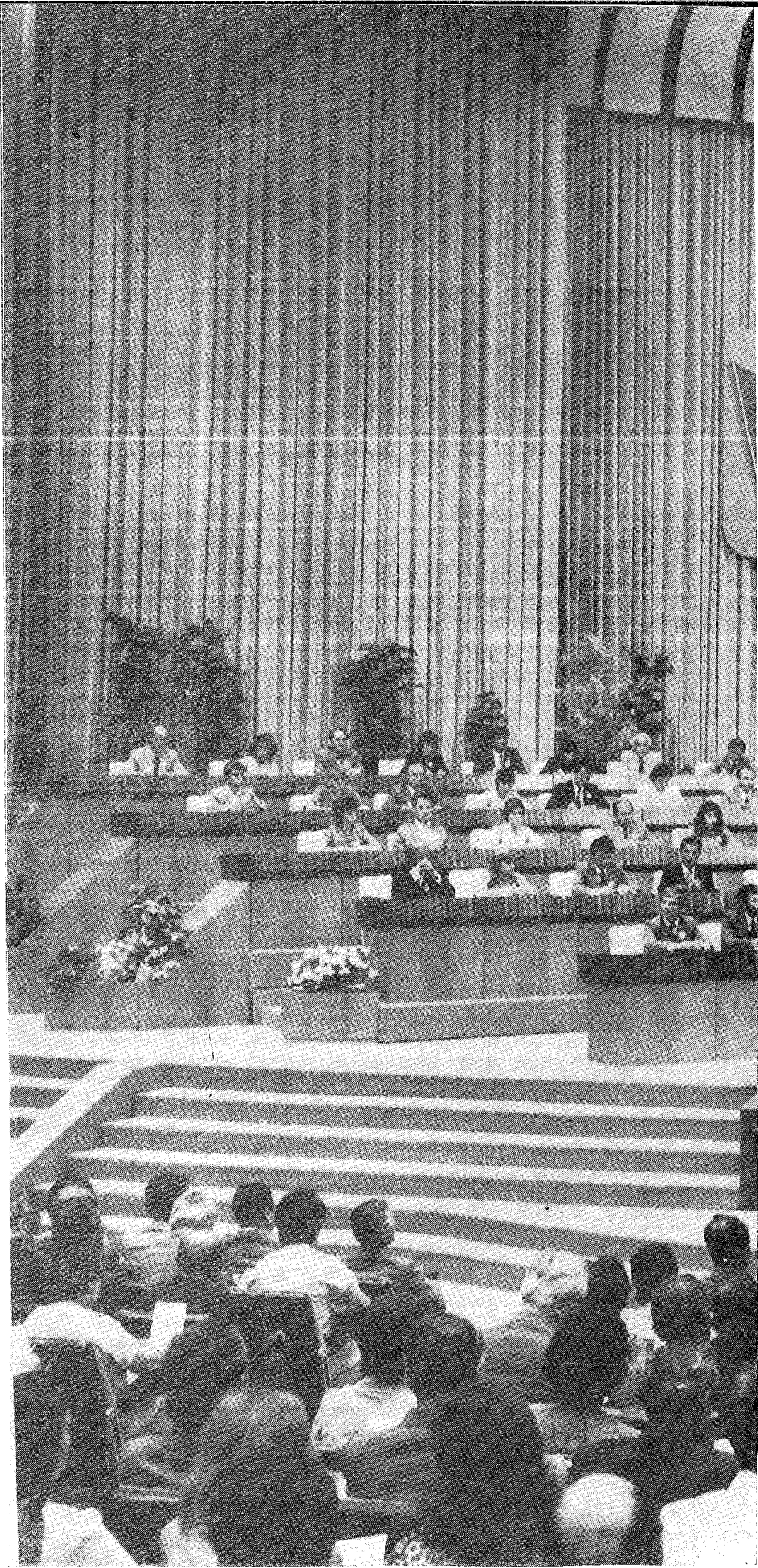
Then the orator went on:

In the period between the two congresses, the Trade Unions have also made fruitful efforts and have responded better to the increasing tasks.

The method of action has entered our life, in town and countryside, and has become a second nature of the working people, an expression of the highest degree of socialist emulation and the readiness of the masses, a method for the solution of important problems without delay. In the course of actions the working masses learn and improve the art of management and organization of affairs. The actions organized to overcome natural difficulties, or those to assist agriculture and to create cultural and recreative surroundings, etc., have special value. This can be achieved only in a social order like ours, in which socialist solidarity prevails and which creates possibilities for the organization of large-scale activities.

With its lofty revolutionary spirit, in this five-year plan, too, the working class has undertaken major works and important actions of an economic and social character. Our organization has worked to ensure an active participation of the working people in actions and to achieve concrete results in them.

Organization, management and the development of socialist emulation occupy a special place in the life and activity of the Trade Unions. They are one of their important functions, an efficient method to encourage and support the initiatives of the masses, their revolutionary pride and their



*At one of the sessions
of the 10th Congress of the TUA.*

advanced experience. Guided by the teachings of the Party, the Trade Unions have been working to make emulation as resilient and concrete as possible, in order to carry the revolutionary spirit of the masses always forward. This experience has been enriched in the framework of the movement «Standard-bearers for the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party», which has become the pivot of the socialist emulation and competitions.

In the whole extent of their work with people, the Trade Unions will deal better with the problem of the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people, as one of the main tasks set at the 9th Congress of the Party. The solicitude of our Party and state for this has never been lacking, hence, improvements have been continuous. Every year more than 20 million leks have been made available, apart from the investments which are made from the internal funds of enterprises and the voluntary contribution of the working people. As a result, normal working and living conditions have been created for the workers in all branches and sectors of the economy, especially in the mines, geology, saw-mills, in the chemical industry and metallurgy. Wherever people work and produce the state has set a thousands of apartments, new small towns, canteens, dormitories, scientific institutions and recreative facilities, health resorts and rest homes, and placed them at the disposal of the working people and their families. Another 102 million leks will be invested during this five-year plan for the further improvement of the working and living conditions, 85,000 apartments and dwelling-houses will be built in town and countryside, and new rest homes will be set up for the working people. Great investments will be made for the modernization of technology and the raising of the degree of mechanization, for protective equipment and means, etc.

Speaking about some problems of the international situation, he said:

However, the present-day interna-

tional situation is characterized by a marked upsurge of resistance of the peoples and the progressive forces in defence of their independence and national sovereignty. At the same time it is characterized by the further development of the class struggle of the proletariat. Despite the disrupting manoeuvres by the bourgeoisie and its apologists, in all the capitalist countries there is an intensification of economic strikes, protests and political manifestations of the working class to protect their jobs and their standard of living. A feature of this struggle is the combination of economic demands with economic ones. The demonstrations of the working masses against the armaments race and the war-mongering policy, against the military bases and presence of the superpowers in various regions of the world are assuming especially great proportions. The role and weight of the working class in the peoples' liberation and anti-imperialist struggle have increased more than ever before.

In the process of struggle today the proletariat should also cope with the anti-worker and strike-breaker activity of the reformist and revisionist trade-unionist bureaucracy. We are witnesses of scores of strikes and demonstrations organized against the will of the trade-unionist leaders, in Europe and elsewhere. This phenomenon, as well as the defection of many workers from the trade-union centres manipulated by the reformists and the revisionists, have shaken the positions of reformist trade-unionism in the worker movement. Likewise, there is a growing awareness of the need for revolutionary organization, for the major question of liberation from any kind of social and national exploitation and oppression.

The Trade Unions of Albania, while implementing the Party's teachings, have paid special attention to the strengthening and extension of friendly links and collaboration with the revolutionary and progressive trade-union organizations. At present they maintain friendly links and relations with regional and national trade-union centres, and with many progressive trade-unionists in more than one hundred

countries of the world. The working class and the TUA will continue to give their unreserved support to the struggle of the revolutionary and progressive trade-union forces the world over. They will work and struggle for the further strengthening of internationalist solidarity with the working people of the whole world.

We will give our unreserved support and backing up to the struggle of the Arab peoples to drive the Israeli aggressors out of the occupied Arab territories and to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, to the struggle of the Afghan people to oust the Soviet occupiers, to the anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples, and to all the anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and liberation struggles of the peoples of the world.

With a high sense of responsibility and a spirit of sacrifice, with an unprecedented spirit of attack, with discipline and knowledge, with tireless work and creative thinking, Comrade Sotir Koçollari concluded, we must respond to the call that the First Secretary of the CC of our Party and people, Comrade Ramiz Alia, launched from the tribune of the 9th Congress for the achievement of new victories on the brilliant road of the revolution, freedom and progress, for making our socialist Albania stronger and the life of the people happier.

The second session was presided by Comrade Sotir Koçollari. The hall rang out with powerful applause and ovations for the Party when he informed the delegates that Comrade Ramiz Alia would greet the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party. Amid the great enthusiasm of the delegates and all those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was listened to with great attention and frequently interrupted by loud applause.

At the following session the secretary of the Central Audit Commission, Comrade Kristaq Prifti, delivered the report «On the Activity of the Central Audit Commission of the Trade Unions of Albania».

Then the debate about the delivered reports took place.

The Congress was also greeted by foreign delegations.

We warmly hail the Albanian working class and the fraternal Albanian people, who under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha and now Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, said the head of the delegation of the Vietnamese Trade-union Federation, Vu Dinh, among other things, have raised higher their revolutionary patriotism, the spirit of tireless and creative work and self-reliance and have achieved brilliant successes in socialist construction.

We are very proud of the constant strengthening of socialist Albania which has made an important contribution to the defence of peace and stability in the region.

Availing themselves of this occasion, the Vietnamese workers and trade unions, thank once again the Albanian Party, government and people, as well as the TUA for the valuable assistance they have continually given the Vietnamese people in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

In the developing countries and, especially, in Africa, said the head of the delegation of the Organization of the African Trade-union Unity (OUSA), Benesa Genis, apart from the disasters of nature, the constant lowering of prices for primary materials, the restructuring programs dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the heavy burden of foreign debt, and unemployment are realities which make the trade-union struggle against this state of things even more difficult and more complex. The struggle is the only solution that is imposed on us today.

The African workers follow with particular interest the great efforts of your brave people, of your Party, your government and your trade-unions for well-being and independence.

Relations between the Arab nation and the Albanian people have deepening and strong roots, said the head

of the delegation of the International Federation of Arab Trade Unions (CIISA), Mohammed al Harib. The one stand they maintain today towards imperialism and zionism has contributed to the further strengthening of the Arab-Albanian ties.

The Arab working class holds in high esteem the support the Albanian working people and leadership give the cause of the Arab nation, first of all, on the question of Palestine. We consider Albania, with its people and government, an important ally of the Arab masses in their struggle for the liberation of the Arab lands and the creation of general Arab unity.

You colleagues have in Albania your experience of which you are proud. This country small in size and population is great in its human and progressive example. You rely on your own forces, you produce your own bread, clothing, etc., while waging a resolute struggle for independence so as not to become clients of the International Development Bank.

It is our duty, said the head of the delegation of the General Union of the Algerian Workers, Aidel Abdel Hamid, to emphasize your support for all the peoples fighting for independence, freedom and human dignity, such as the peoples of Palestine, Western Sahara, Chile, Nicaragua and those peoples of the world whose rights are trampled underfoot.

The Congress re-affirms the determination of the Albanian working class to continue on the course mapped out by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA over the last 45 years, said the head of the Revolutionary Trade-union Opposition of Great Britain, Sam Mathews. The Albanian workers have embarked with revolutionary vigour on the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party which Comrade Ramiz Alia described as the «Congress of continuity».

Fifteen years ago, said the head of the Pan-African delegation of Azania, Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, in my greeting to a congress like this, I said that Albania had many mountains, but the highest and most remarkable

mountain was the working class of Albania! The majestic achievement and successes of the Albanian working class in all fields are the best proof of this fact.

Jose de Freiters, head of the delegation of the General Centre of the Brazilian Workers, said among other things,

We are proud to attend this event at which workers free from oppression and exploitation, builders of a new world, convene to shoulder new and greater tasks for the consolidation of the victories achieved hitherto, for social progress and the improvement of the well-being of the masses.

The head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Denmark, Fleming Jensen, said:

The victories of the Albanian people are also our victories. You have transformed your country into a free and independent nation which does not hold its hand out to the imperialists and the superpowers for aid and credits. Socialist Albania is vigorously developing in all fields and the people are enjoying the fruits of their work.

We are certain, said the head of the delegation of the General Centre of the Workers of the Dominican Republic, Rafael Abreu, that the decisions of this Congress will contribute to the strengthening of your organization and the ties of friendship uniting the Albanian working class with the working people of the world.

The Egyptian workers and people follow with attention your efforts for the construction of the new Albania, said Abdel Rahman Khadr, head of the delegation of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Egypt. Your successes in the implementation of the 7th Five-year Plan are great. This growth and advance have been realized through the struggle of this laborious people and their wise leadership.

Patricio Aldes, head of the delegation of the General Union of the Workers of Ecuador, said:

Your victories in the construction of socialist society are a guarantee of genuine independence and freedom. These victories show the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist one, as well as the fact that Marxism-Leninism is always alive and invincible.

The head of the delegation of the National Confederation of the Workers of Guinea, Abaz Souma, said:

We in Guinea follow with attention your stands on events in the world, because they help us understand the important developments on our continent, to make an objective analysis of them and assume the appropriate stands. You nourish sincere and fraternal feelings towards Africa.

The head of the delegation of the Centre of the United Trade Unions of India (Lenin-Sarani), Prithvi Chandra, said among other things:

We are witnesses of the successive attacks on the working class on the part of the capitalists who are saddling the working class with the burden of the crisis. The working class does not look on these attacks with folded arms. Its revolt is being manifested in the growing number of strikes and demonstrations. In all the capitalist countries the governments are issuing anti-worker laws to limit the right to strike and trade-union membership, democratic rights and civil liberties. All this shows that capitalism on its death-bed is resorting to fascism in order to stem the rising tide of the struggles of the working class and to retain the exploitative capitalist system.

In his greeting to the Congress, *the head of the delegation of the Federation of the Cambodian Trade Unions, Hank Teav, said:*

We highly assess the major achievements of the heroic people and working class of Albania during these years in defence of their revolutionary victories, building their beloved country with their own forces and, especially, implementing the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the carrying out of the 8th Five-year Plan, thereby turning the PSRA into a country de-

veloped in all fields. Along with this, the PSRA has made an active contribution to the defence of freedom and security in the Balkans and the world over. These victories are due to the correct leadership of the PLA with Comrade Ramiz Alia as its first secretary, and the faithful implementation of the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious and unforgettable son of the Albanian people.

Regent, head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition of Canada, said:

In Canada, the workers and people come up against the savagery of the bourgeoisie, the social and spiritual degeneration of the capitalist system, the militarization of the country by the Canadian bourgeoisie and the threat of imperialist war stirred up by the two superpowers: American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

In this struggle, the Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition of Canada holds high the example of socialist Albania, its Party, and its workers and people as the vivid embodiment of the common interests for which the Canadian workers and the working people of the whole world are waging their struggle.

The head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Committee of Colombia, Victor Gonzales, said:

We think that in order to play their role in the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, for national and social liberation, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism, for the consistent application of active and militant proletarian internationalism, the trade-union organizations must be led by the party of the proletariat. The Trade Unions of Albania, which right from their founding, in 1945, have carried out their activity under the leadership of the PLA, are a concrete example of the correctness of this assessment.

Your loyalty to the brilliant and innovatory teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, this great leader and

beloved educator of the Party and people, has enabled you to score major successes in all fields, said *the head of the delegation of the Confederation of Congolese Trade Unions, Bonar Nxienge.*

There can be no economic security in the present world without the strengthening of peace, without the banning of the armaments race and without opposing its extension to the outer space. In this sense we assess the positive and active role played in international relations by the PSRA, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Trade Unions of Albania.

Aimé Rabiase, head of the delegation of the Confederation of the Free Trade Unions of the Workers of Madagascar, said among other things:

The best way to express our high assessment of the brilliant work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and our gratefulness for everything he has done for his people and mankind, is to follow with determination on his revolutionary road, to learn and implement his immortal teachings, to work and struggle as he did for the cause of socialism and for the ideals of proletarian internationalism.

The Party, with the respected Comrade Ramiz Alia, old and close collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, demands from the working class that it should stand, as always, in the forefront of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism, and forcefully express its opinion about any problem.

Allow me to express my warmest congratulations to the workers and people of your beautiful country engaged in the building of a society of justice and social progress, said *the head of the delegation of the National Union of the Workers of Mali, Usman Niare.*

The head of the delegation of the Congress of Labour of Nigeria, Morgan Anigho, said among other things:

It is a pleasure to see that at a time when great and rich countries bow down before world capital every day, asking for «aid» and enslaving credits, the Albanian workers build and

develop their country accepting no aid or credit from anybody. We in Nigeria hold this stand in high esteem. Albania, which only a few decades ago was a backward agrarian country, has achieved today a high degree of technological, social and economic progress, relying totally on its reserves and forces.

The General Union of the Palestinian Workers, said *Ali Rabie, head of the delegation of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Palestine*, which is the broadest basis of the PLO, is determined to continue its efforts and struggle against world imperialism and Zionist racism up to the realization of the right of return to our country, Palestine, the right of the Palestinian people for the self-determination of its destinies and the establishment of our independent state in our motherland, Palestine.

Victor Bonsano Cardenas, head of the delegation of the Confederation of the Peasants of Peru, said among other things:

The 10th Congress of the TUA is a clear expression of the practical realization in your country of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the broadest socialist democracy. The heroic Albanian people, who are an example of revolutionary friendship and proletarian internationalism, enjoy the sympathy and support of the working class, the peasantry and the working people of Peru.

I bring the warmest greetings of the Portuguese working class and all those who struggle in Portugal for national and social progress and, together with them, our congratulations on the successes you have achieved in the construction of socialism, said *Gonzalo Castilho, head of the delegation of the Class Trade-Union Current of Portugal.*

The Saharian people have risen in struggle to oppose genocide, said, among other things, *Mohameed Tazi, head of the delegation of the General Union of the Workers of Western*

Sahara. Nobody can understand our aspirations better than you, the working people of Albania. You have had the fortune to be led by the glorious Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who not only have raised Albania out of nothing but also built it on the basis of the principles sacred to the whole Albanian people, the principles of socialism.

We live in the time of an acute crisis of the capitalist and revisionist order when the superpowers and the imperialist powers are stepping up their aggressions and war preparations, said among other things *the head of the delegation of the Assembly Workers' Association of Spain, Francisco Bodi.* In this situation, the victories achieved in the improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the Albanian people, the sovereign and independent position of the PSRA outside any military bloc and its policy of peace among the peoples represent a contribution to the struggle of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world for their emancipation.

Peter Karlsson, head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade-union Opposition of Sweden, said among other things:

You build your future without capitalists and bourgeois. You do not allow yourselves to be enslaved by imperialism, but build your country according to the principles of complete national independence and self-reliance. The road you have chosen — that of self-reliance, is the road to success.

The head of the delegation of the General Union of the Workers of Tanzania, Mohamed Marub Tawami, said among other things:

An important factor which has much contributed to our friendly relations and good understanding between ourselves has been our common aspiration to peace and progress, to justice and equality. The Tanzanian workers are very interested in getting to know the achievements of the working class of your country in the construction of socialism.

If freedom means the possibility to say what I want fully and calmly, this is here. I wish your Congress to be a big success, expressing on this occasion the spirit of solidarity of the working class of Zambia with that of Albania, said *Willi Mbewe, head of the delegation of the Congress of Trade Unions of Zambia.*

Then the Congress adopted the decisions on the approval of the Reports of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania and the Central Audit Commission, as well as the resolutions on the tasks of the trade unions in various sectors of the economy of the country.

The leading organs of the Trade Unions of Albania were also elected: the General Council, its Presidium, the central councils of the trade unions of the various sectors of the economy, and the Central Audit Commission. Comrade Sotir Koçollari was re-elected president of the General Council.

Then the winners of the socialist emulation in honour of the 10th Congress of the TUA were proclaimed. Comrade Ramiz Alia and other party and state leaders distributed red flags amid the great rejoicing and enthusiasm of those present.

Sotir Koçollari, president of the General Council of the TUA, delivered the closing speech of the Congress.

The Congress ended under the sounds of the International.

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On the last day of the proceedings of the Congress, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met the foreign delegations that attended the proceedings of the 10th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses.

Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm and friendly talk with the foreign guests.

OUR NEW SCIENCE-A POWERFUL SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE SOLUTION OF MAJOR PROBLEMS

by AJET YLLI

At the Electronics Cabinet of the «Aleksandër Xhuvani» Higher Teacher Training Institute in the city of Elbasan.

Major projects in industry, construction, communications, agriculture, etc., were designed and built with our own forces. New machinery and equipment were designed and produced, and very valuable innovations and rationalizations were made. People everywhere worked with the creative spirit and conviction that now we can solve difficult technical and scientific problems with our own forces.

AJET YLLI — President of the Committee of Science and Technique



LIKE EVERYTHING ELSE, SCIENCE IN ALBANIA IS THE RESULT OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY. IT WAS BORN AND DEVELOPED IN THESE 43 YEARS OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER. IT HAS ALWAYS DEVELOPED IN CLOSE CONNECTION WITH THE NEEDS FOR THE RAPID AND ALL-ROUND PROGRESS OF OUR SOCIALIST ECONOMY, AS AN IMPORTANT FORCE WHICH SUPPORTS AND PROVIDES SOLUTIONS TO THE MOST PRESSING AND THE PERSPECTIVE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA SAID AT THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA: «OUR NEW SCIENCE HAS MADE A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE MAJOR SUCCESSES WHICH OUR PEOPLE HAVE MADE IN THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY.»

The problems of the development of science have been treated in their complexity, devoting special care to the training and preparation of capable and qualified cadres, who can undertake the solution of the many problems raised by the economy, the ceaseless strengthening of the necessary material and experimental base for studies, the drawing of the creative thinking of the broad masses and the spread of scientific studies among them. Apart from the numerous forces specialized in research work at our scientific institutes, scientific work involves also an ever growing number of people in production, which is several times greater than those working at the institutes.

Thanks to this correct way of conceiving the problems, the technical-scientific potential of our country has been strengthened considerably. Thus, we have at present 66 functioning institutes, scientific centres and specialized experimental stations, scores of high school chairs, just as many more bureaus of study and scientific nuclei attached to the production enterprises. An important contribution which has further enriched our scientific work is also the exploitation, on

a more correct basis, of the movement of innovators and rationalizers, whose advanced technical and scientific thinking and work has become a powerful support for raising the level of mechanization, increasing productivity and yields, perfecting the technological processes and the increase of production, in general.

The productive forces reached a higher level of development, the socialist relations of production and the well-being of the people were further improved, too. The process of industrialization was carried further ahead and industrial production increased by 26 per cent on the basis of the implementation of the Party directives for the more thorough exploitation of the existing productive capacities. The multi-branched development of industry and its role in the general progress of the economy were consolidated still more. Agriculture marked new achievements on the road of intensification of all its branches, as a complex agriculture with a powerful material-technical base, which, despite the unfavourable weather conditions for some years in succession, ensured an increase of 13 per cent in the agricultural production.

The new Albanian science has made its contribution to these achievements and to the perspectives that have been opened to our economy.

Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the 9th Congress of the PLA: «Our people, educated by the Party, proved themselves capable in all tasks. Major projects in industry, construction, communications, agriculture, etc., were designed and built with our own forces. New machinery and equipment were designed and produced, and very valuable innovations and rationalizations were made. People everywhere worked with the creative spirit and conviction that now we can solve difficult technical and scientific problems with our own forces.»

Noticeable progress has been made in the organization and management of the entire scientific activity, especially its planning, in the co-ordination and collaboration among scientific centres, etc., which led to a more rational use of the human and material resources of the whole country, and to the strengthening of discipline in scientific work, in order to provide timely solutions of high quality to the problems of the economy.

The technical and natural sciences today have created their definite physiognomy and have become capable of undertaking the solution of the growing problems which emerge before them. They carried out with success important and complicated studies, designed major projects such as the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman, the hydro-electric complex of Banja, the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway through a difficult terrain, designed and built the Palace of Congresses, discovered a series of new sources of economic minerals

such as chromium, copper, coal, etc.; designed and opened new mines, set up enrichment factories, studied and defined important scientific laws that govern the distribution of underground riches, etc. They also designed and built important irrigation works, created new lines, varieties and breeds of high productivity, carried out studies and measures against erosion, studies on fruit-growing, forestry, protection of plants etc., which speak clearly of the role and contribution of our new science, of the scientific potential which the Party has created and placed entirely in the service of production.

A good work has been done for raising the level of scientific work by raising the professional level of the specialists. In the last five-year plan, specialization and post-university qualification was done according to a well-studied plan for those profiles which the economy needs most. Thus, 5 800 cadres of 13 different profiles have enrolled for long-term and short-term specialization courses, 873 first- and second-degree dissertations were defended, 680 more working people have enlisted and continue their work for both degrees of qualification.

Better work was done for the more extensive introduction of the economic thinking in scientific studies so that the economists have their decisive say from the beginning about the advantages and the effectiveness of all studies; in this field, however, there is still more to be done and this requires much more profound work on the part of all the scientific bodies of the country.

On the basis of the quantitative and qualitative growth, the increase of the number of people working in it, the growth of the material-technical base, the co-ordination and collaboration with the higher schools and with production, our scientific effort is directed, in the first place, towards the solution of the pressing problems of production, without neglecting the near and the distant perspective of development in different fields in our country.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out

at the 9th Congress of the PLA: «In our time, science has become very closely linked with production and has been transformed into a direct productive force. Hence, the value of any science is measured with the advantage it brings to production, the increase in the efficiency of production, the lightening of human labour and the increase in its productivity.»

In recent times, especially, important sectors like production, construction and services have continuously felt the close assistance and contribution of the scientific research and studies, because together they have given successful solution to many complicated problems of production, have worked in a close team spirit with it, therefore the recommending and applicative value of studies has become a strong support for the fulfilment of the tasks of production.

There are many examples which illustrate this. It is enough to mention the evident case of the Institute of Maize and Rice for the results it achieved in the culture of maize, or the Institute of Lushnja for the culture of wheat, the No 3 Institute of Studies and Designs for the studies, designing and building of the major hydro-electric projects, the No 1 Institute of Studies and Designs for the socio-cultural objects, the Institute of Geological Studies and Designs, and some of the chairs of the Faculty of Geology and Mines for the prospecting for economic solid minerals, for defining the laws that govern the effectiveness of prospecting-discovery, etc.

All these have not been easy to achieve, on the contrary, they have called for efforts, scientific knowledge, collaboration and co-ordination of problems, for thorough knowledge of the problems and needs of production. And still they were made a reality thanks to the persistent work of our cadres and specialists educated by the Party. There is no work and achievement in our country which does not bear the stamp for the contribution of the Albanian science.

The major tasks which were set at

the 9th Congress of the Party for the 8th Five-year Plan can be accomplished only if these achievements are carried further ahead. The tasks put forward for solution before our science are still greater, therefore scientific research will assume a still more complex character, the various methods of the technical, scientific, natural and economic sciences will have to be more interdependent and more closely combined. The scientific result today is not the product of the work of separate individuals, but is the product of the work of whole scientific collectives, therefore, it is now all the more necessary to strengthen co-ordination of work within the institution, the centre or the enterprise and to ensure a more extensive collaboration among institutions, the higher schools and production. The problems and questions raised for solution, about which science must have its say, are broad and varied and include all the walks of life of the country.

Proceeding from the demands of the economy and in order to give them a timely and qualitative solution, better work has been done in the 8th Five-year Plan for the organization of complex studies. Thus, nearly 80 per cent of the scientific themes approved by the Council of Ministers has been included in the perspective plans and is actually being treated by the institutions, the higher schools and the production in close collaboration. Many of the problems envisaged in these themes of studies are connected with major problems which concern the present and the perspective of production, such as exploration of the ways to use our steels in the metal-cutting industry and in construction, the definition of the laws that govern the spread of minerals in our country, the prognosis of prospecting for and extraction of economic minerals such as oil and gas, coal-chromium, copper, etc., the harmonization of the factors of the development of the zone of priority intensification, the road for the increase and the rational exploitation of pastures, etc., which are complex

studies involving a great number of institutions, higher school chairs and production centres. The fruitfulness of such work is now quite clear.

The scientific themes of all denominations envisaged to be taken up in the 8th Five-year Plan are characterized by a tendency to undertake studies in the applied fields for the solution of the immediate problems of production, for the creation of conditions to increase the productivity of labour, to increase production and exports and to reduce imports. This, however, does not mean that the near and distant perspective of our socialist economy is neglected.

Despite efforts to engage in better studied work for the definition of the scientific-research themes, the need arises, proceeding from the instructions of the Party and the recent speeches of Comrade Ramiz Alia, to re-examine the scientific themes proposed for the current five-year plan, in order to enrich and perfect them further, so as to ensure that the demands of the economy and the solutions that they entail, the need for greater effectiveness, for stronger discipline and higher productivity in our science should be placed still better at the centre of our attention.

The variety and complexity of these problems require a still higher level of scientific work and greater accuracy regarding the generalizing value of the recommendations given, the systematic introduction of the contemporary methods in studies and greater depth of the economic thinking about the advantages of this or that study beginning from the initial phase until the study is completed. Now, more than ever before, the need is felt for a more extensive participation of such basic sciences as mathematics, informatics, chemistry, physics, biology, physiology, etc., in the scientific studies for the solution of the problems of our economy. In recent years we notice considerable improvements in this direction and the contribution of these sciences is decidedly greater. The computational-informative methods, especially after the setting up

of the Institute of Informatics and Applied Mathematics have been used for the first time not only in the oil industry, in which they have played a first-rate role, but also in prospecting for economic solid minerals and in other fields. Better work is being done actually in the application of the physics of solid bodies, about problems which emerge in the study of materials, especially metals, in mineralogy etc.

Another important direction, which has been taken into consideration from the stage of the planning, but which will be treated more deeply, is also that of the time-limit for the completion of scientific studies, with the aim of carrying them out within the shortest time possible without prejudice to quality. The method of actions will be used more intensively in the completion of scientific themes. A good example about the results of such actions is that which was undertaken by the Higher Institute of Agriculture in collaboration with some other institutes of agriculture in the districts specialized in the cultivation of olives. Within five months they collected the necessary information, worked it out, gave important scientific conclusions and made important scientific recommendations. All this would have taken several years if it were treated in the ordinary methods. This positive example shows that even for other sectors of the economy, especially the mines, geology, construction, agriculture and livestock-farming there is room to introduce the method of actions more broadly, so as to give prompt assistance to the problems of increasing production and the progress of the entire country.

The fulfilment of the growing tasks of scientific work, in order to serve production more rapidly and better, is completely possible and realistic. Scientific activities today involve a great army of capable and qualified specialists, which, in the course of the current five-year plan, will be added with another 1500 cadres for 70 narrow profiles specialized in long-

term courses and 6300 cadres specialized in one-three month courses. They constitute another great support for the completion of scientific studies. A powerful scientific laboratory basis has been set up. It will be further strengthened and completed with special equipment and apparatuses which will continuously be provided for by the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana, the Higher Institute of Agriculture, various other institutes and departments, and the Academy of Sciences, in order to promote further studies in metallurgy, mechanical constructions, processing of minerals, rock mechanics, phytopathology, reproduction of animals, technology of food industry, lazer beams, etc. A small nuclear reactor will be set up at the Academy of Sciences for scientific and teaching programs.

This powerful laboratory and scientific base will be exploited more thoroughly and to its complete capacity, because now there are greater possibilities and enough reserves, especially for some unique equipment of high productivity which exist but are not properly exploited in our country.

Better work will be done to spread scientific activities among the masses through the activation of an ever greater number of specialists working in production; the drawing in of the scientific thinking of the working masses, providing greater support and stimuli for the movement of innovators and rationalizers, which constitutes a powerful support to propel scientific thinking forward.

All our scientific courses, the scientific thinking and potential will be channelled towards the increase of locally produced machinery and equipment, which we imported until recently, towards the increase in the quantity and the improvement of the quality of our export goods, towards making construction lighter and improving our buildings, so that our projects become less expensive, towards raising effectiveness of expenditure in all the branches of the economy, and especially towards increas-

ing yields in agriculture and the productivity of livestock, fruit-tree plantations and other fields, because the possibilities which the Party has created are great and all-sided.

The successful accomplishment of all these tasks which are set to our science in close connection with and in the service of production, first

of all, requires the further improvement of organization and management, a more thorough knowledge of the situation, perfection of the style and method of work, etc., in order to make Albanian science a still more powerful support for the fulfilment of the targets of production on all fronts, which is the main direction

of the scientific work in this five-year plan and in the future.

Like all walks of life in our country, our science will be able to find still more effective ways to give proper and timely solution to complex and complicated tasks of production, thus fully justifying the confidence and the support of the Party.

THE YOUTH ARE THE MOST VIGOROUS AND DYNAMIC FORCE OF OUR SOCIETY

by MUHARREM XHAFA

SOCIALISM BRINGS GREAT ALL-ROUND QUALITATIVE CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL AND CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. THE YOUTH, WHO CONSTITUTE A SOCIAL GROUP AND ARE PART OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY, ARE ALSO SUBJECTED TO THE POSITIVE PROCESSES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL AND CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIETY. NOT UNLIKE THE CHANGES IN SOCIETY, THE CHANGES IN THE YOUTH HAVE ALWAYS FOLLOWED A POSITIVE COURSE IN ALBANIA, WHICH IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE GREAT CONTINUOUS CARE OF THE PARTY FOR THEM. IN OUR COUNTRY THE YOUTH ARE THE MOST VIGOROUS AND DYNAMIC FORCE OF THE SOCIETY. FROM THE NUMERICAL ASPECT, ALSO, THEY OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT PLACE BECAUSE THEY ARE ONE FOURTH OF THE POPULATION.

The participation of the youth in the political life of the country is a social phenomenon which is realized by the youth in a conscious manner. Its participation in it increases continuously and is manifested in many aspects, which cover all activities. Most important of all are those activities which have to do with the drawing of great masses of the youth in the management and organization, in the administration of the work of the state and the government organs of the country. In Albania there is no state, economic or social organ in which the youth do not participate in the quality of deputies and councillors, judges and assistant judges, popular attorneys, specialists and cadres in the state organs and various institutions, members of the worker-peasant control groups, social activists in the forums of mass organizations, etc. As social activists, elected or appointed, they play an appreciable role in all the organization and management work, make their contribution to the building of socialism and the defence of the coun-

MUHARREM XHAFA — Docent

try. The activation in them is very valuable for the young people themselves, because it sharpens and strengthens their sense of the class struggle, implants in them the habits of this struggle and enriches them with experience of this struggle, increases their love of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and makes them fight with greater militancy in the fields of the socialist political and social activities, and, moreover, teaches them how to govern, because it is they who will take up the torch of the revolution and will carry it further ahead with confidence in the future.

The Party has looked at the question of the participation of the youth in the political activity of the country with priority, has always seen it inseparably from their preparation as future workers in management and organization, from their qualification for the communist future. In each stage of the revolution our youth have justified and been worthy of this confidence. This is explained, apart from other things, with the all-round steel links of the youth with

the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is an expression of their irreplaceable assistance in the struggle for the continuous strengthening and revolutionization of the state and of our socialist order.

The drawing into the state organs and into the forums of the mass organizations of the best part of the young people, those with a high ideological, political, cultural and educational level, is a very positive fact. An expression of the high degree of the emancipation of our people and youth is seen also in the participation of the masses of young girls and women in these organs. And this is only one aspect of the question. The other, just as important aspect is that the young people who participate in the state organs and in the forums of the mass organizations are very active and make a great contribution to the enlivening of their revolutionary life and activities further.

The Albanian youth are loyal to the Party of Labour of Albania and have unshakeable convictions about socialism. Equipped with contemporary scientific knowledge, they take an active part in all the work that is done for the construction and the defence of socialism. The youth, included totally into the ideological and cultural revolution which is carried out in our country under the leadership of the Party, have always made their great contribution to the continuous deepening of this revolution and to the achievement of ever greater victories. «The Party has always considered the youth organiza-

tion as its right arm and the youth as the most vigorous and dynamic force of the society. Without the revolutionary work and enthusiasm of the youth, without their advanced thinking our society cannot march ahead and the present and perspective objectives of the Party cannot be accomplished with success,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The participation of the masses of the youth in the ideological and cultural education has exercised a powerful influence on the sound, Marxist-Leninist ideological formation of them. The Labour Youth Union of Albania itself is a powerful organization which engages in an all-round activity for the education and tempering of the younger generation with the communist ideals, according to the teachings of the PLA. In the present-day conditions the work for their education assumes a still greater importance, because the tasks our youth must accomplish have an extremely great importance. The accomplishment of these tasks requires greater commitment in the work, a more rapid advance, more learned and capable people, and, above all, people with the highest degree of political and ideological tempering. This is indispensable since Albania builds and defends socialism in the conditions of encirclement and blockade, in stern struggle with internal and external enemies, with the imperialists and the revisionists who have launched a rabid campaign against socialism, in order to sow the seed of doubt and insecur-

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rity about the socialist future of the peoples.

The experience the Labour Youth Union of Albania has accumulated in the study of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is rich. The sound proletarian ideological and moral features which characterize our youth speak of that great work done in our country for the education of the youth with the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, of the PLA and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. With our youth this process is carried out consciously and has assumed the form of a mass movement in which all the masses of the youth, the whole younger generation are included. It constitutes one of its distinguishing features. The organized and individual study in schools and courses of the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the ruling ideology of our country, and of the theoretical thinking of our Party, has been transformed into a weapon in the daily efforts for the education of the masses of the youth. Achievements in this field are great, but the youth are never content with what they have reached, on the contrary, they intensify their efforts and consider the elevation of the effectiveness and of the level of ideo-political work as their constant task. They study the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of the PLA and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha not as an aim in itself, but in close connection with life, confronting them with the bourgeois and revisionist alien concepts, manifestations and attitudes, in order to combat the latter. The youth

organization takes special care to ensure that the ideo-political work should respond, both in content and in form, to the level and requirements of the younger generation and the specific categories and groups of young people. In order to accomplish this task it mobilizes its most qualified forces and the best specialists from all fields.

As a result of this work we see the positive manifestation that the youth now is that part of the population least involved in the remnants of the old world and most active in the affirmation of the new. The youth have played a major role in the work for inculcating the socialist concepts and attitudes towards the common property, which underlies the basis of our economic order, for inculcating the norms of proletarian morality, of behaviour in society and in family, of friendship, of true love and of marriage according to the norms of proletarian morality. Self-confident in their convictions and fully conscious of them, our youth are strongly opposed to any pressures by the bourgeois-revisionist ideologies and wage a consistent ideological class struggle against alien liberal and conservative manifestations of any hue.

Another great achievement is the correct understanding which the young people have of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. They participate on a broad front in the struggle waged by our Party and our people in order to cope with the imperialist-revisionist pressure and encirclement which are imposed on our country.

This struggle is a clear manifestation of the high degree of political convictions of the youth and their unshakable confidence in the correctness of the line of the Party. It is by no means fortuitous that the young people of our country, in their everyday life and in all the crucial moments which our people and country have gone through during the years of the socialist construction, have linked themselves with the Party totally and without the slightest hesitation. They have been educated with a deep class hatred of the internal and external enemies, of imperialism and revisionism, they have given their unreserved support to, have been in complete solidarity with and have taken an active part in the measures of the Party to condemn all its enemies, from Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte, Koçi Xoxe to the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his gang.

One of the most important means to intensify the participation of the youth in the life of the country are the ideological actions and the revolutionary initiatives. These have become a characteristic feature of the life and activity of the younger generation and a great force which inspires and mobilizes them to accomplish the tasks set by the Party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The initiatives: «There where the youth is, there the progressive should be,» «We must intensify the struggle against conservative and liberal alien manifestations,» etc. have been transformed into real schools for the communist education, in which the young people of our country enhance and strengthen their personality, political consciousness, revolutionary class spirit, the spirit of sacrifice, the spirit of socialist collectiveness and solidarity. Our younger generation and the youth organizations work unremittingly in order to assimilate the line and the ideology of the Party as thoroughly as possible, to defend them loyally and to put them correctly in practice. An expression of this extensive work which our youth do is the inclusion of them in the most powerful revolutionary movement that has ever broken out in Albania: «We must become banner-bearers of the implemen-

tation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party.» Like all our people, the young boys and girls, the young pioneers of Enver have shown with facts the close bonds with the Party, with the people's power, with Marxism-Leninism, their unshakable confidence in the socialist order. Just as until now, so much more in the future, the youth of our country will pour their sweat and devote themselves totally to socialism and will remain unyielding fighters for the great cause of communism.

The youth organization engages in a fruitful work for the education of the younger generations in the spirit of socialist patriotism. Our younger generations are proud of the heroic past of their people, of the wars they have fought in centuries for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for the Albanian language and school, for all those radical socialist transformations which have been made in the great epoch of the Party, for the honoured name and the great respect which socialist Albania has all over the world. They have unshakable faith that the victories achieved are the result of the titanic efforts of our working class, the working masses and the whole youth. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, they strive to know more about where we have started from and what road we have traversed, what are the foundations of this society which has been built with the blood and sweat of our heroic people.

Our patriotism has a broad meaning and a profound revolutionary content. It is patriotic socialism, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The feeling of socialist patriotism, which rises above the traditional love for the Homeland, is, at the same time, the love for the land, for the people and the Party, for the property, the factories and hydro-power plants, for the frontiers of the state, for our literature and arts, for our songs and dances, for every valuable thing which our people have created. This sentiment has become a great motive force, an element which beautifies our life, increases our optimism

ALBANIA TODAY

and impels our society forward. It inspires the young people to study and implement the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha with determination and persistency, to work with revolutionary conviction where the Homeland needs them most, to sharpen their vigilance and to defend the victories achieved.

Socialist patriotism is not a sentiment which flourishes suddenly in a single day; it is not gauged by the feat of arms, only. Our people express this feeling every day in their work and in the accomplishment of the tasks which the society assigns to them, in their stand towards the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the line of the Party. As Comrade Ramiz Alia teaches us, this patriotism is linked not only with the struggle for the defence of the country, but also with the great work for the socialist construction, for the strengthening of the national economy, because there can be no secure defence without building a strong economy. For the young people of the PSR of Albania to work where the Homeland needs them most is not only a question of honour and a thing to boast of, but also a patriotic duty to society, the Party, and the general interest.

In our country socialist patriotism is something which is inculcated through conscious education. It begins in childhood with the warmth of the motherly words at home, with the stories about the past of our people told by the grandparents, and continues at school and in work and outside them, throughout the whole of one's life. Today we have many museums in the towns and cities and villages, in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, in schools and institutions, we have monuments, memorials and other objects which perpetuate the ancient and modern history of our glorious people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Our people have very fine qualities such as courage, loyalty, generosity, hospitality, the spirit of sacrifice for one's friends and for the Homeland,» etc., which we must preserve and consolidate, because they are the treasure of our people, whereas the evils which the ruling classes and the foreign occupiers have left behind and which

ALBANIA TODAY

impede our advance must be combated. Our new generations are interested in all the wonderful values of our history, they are eager to know and assimilate them. We must work in order to ensure that a more qualified work, a more resilient method and style, more varied and interesting forms should respond to this desire and this rich material base.

Aware of the existing turbulent situations, which are fraught with many dangers for our country, as a really socialist country, the youth, shoulder to shoulder with the whole armed people, keep their revolutionary vigilance always high in order to avoid being caught unprepared. The youth are the main force in the defence structures and work unceasingly in order to understand and live up to the directive of the Party: «The defence of the country — a duty above all duties.»

The Albanian youth love their country, but at the same time they keep aloft the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are solid with and support the struggle waged by the progressive, revolutionary youth everywhere in the world for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social progress, for escaping from the capitalist oppression and exploitation, against imperialism, led by American imperialism, and against Soviet social-imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionary forces. The youth and their revolutionary organization, the LYUA, look at the international support and backing up for the PSR of Albania by the Marxist-Leninist youth organizations and by the progressive and revolutionary forces of the youth in many countries of the world, as an element of powerful encouragement for the building of socialism and the defence of the country.

The youth of our country see with their own eyes that socialism is the order which saves people from oppression and exploitation, which gives the power to the people, which creates well-being and true democracy, which liberates the man spiritually and develops his personality and dignity. It is our socialist order which has guaranteed to the people and the youth all their rights and ensured the material conditions necessary to enjoy

them in practice, which has guaranteed employment, education and medical treatment free of charge, has guaranteed their active participation and an unlimited creative role in all spheres of life. The youth of Albania do not know the afflictions of starvation and poverty, the burden of political dependence on imperialism or on any other foreign country, the grave wound of illiteracy and ignorance, the insecurity caused by unemployment, and all other evils which are the cause of the daily suffering of the working masses and the youth in the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

The main thing is that in socialist Albania the boys and the girls are grateful to socialism for all this and they have devoted their all to the service of the unceasing development and advance of the country. Linked closely with their work, inspired by the revolutionary motives in the interest of the advance of the country, and being the most vigorous and active force of the society, the youth, with the energies of their minds and bodies, have occupied an increasingly greater place in the production of material blessings and in all other spheres. On a national scale, the youth in the sphere of material production account for 30 per cent of the total number of youth in working relations. Another very positive factor is that the youth are to be found in the forefront of all the most important production fronts in industry and agriculture, in the building of the great projects of the five-year plans in the national labour actions and elsewhere. All these indicate that they occupy an important place in social production and exercise a positive influence in the young age of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry of our country.

A living example of the active participation of the youth in the building of socialism are the voluntary actions, which have become a fine tradition of our youth, and have increased parallel with the development and the deepening of the socialist revolution. Actions have become a glorious tradition of the Albanian youth. They serve not only to put the youth to work for the building of important economic projects, but above all, they serve to

educate them with correct concepts about work in socialism, with the spirit of socialist collectiveness and proletarian solidarity, the struggle for overcoming the difficulties without stretching their hand to anyone for help.

The youth have poured their sweat in voluntary work in all the great projects, from the first years after the liberation of the country until today, in the draining of marshes and the building of the first railways, and in the more recent railways, gigantic hydro-power plants on the Drin River, in the terraces in the mountains and hills along our wonderful sea-coast. What great significance and what fine continuity is expressed on the road of the implementation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, by the readiness, the revolutionary enthusiasm, and all the actions of the youth which have been spread throughout the Homeland in order to implement the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. The call of the leader of the Party to the heroic youth of our country for the building of the Milot-Klos-Rrëshen railway, one of the biggest projects of the new five-year plan, with their labour action, has enthused the whole younger generation of Albania, has set ablaze the fire of uninterrupted actions. And this is by no means something spontaneous, but the expression of a great experience which the youth have gained in the actions and which they are enriching with each passing day.

An entire revolution has taken place in the ranks of the youth regarding the raising of their educational and technical-professional level. In our country, the whole younger generation sit on school desks. They have every possibility to acquire education and culture without having to pay for them, to develop their vocations and talents in every field, to acquire professional skills, just as to have their jobs guaranteed after finishing school. The educational level of the youth, both the worker and the cooperativist youth, those who militate in the ranks of the strata of intelligentsia, today is above the level of the classes in which this social group is included and militating. Moreover, this level has a tendency to rise. This is condi-

tioned by the higher demands of the complete construction of the socialist society, the development of the technical-scientific revolution in depth and breadth, and by the development of the productive forces, the increase in the productivity of labour, etc., on this basis. The creative scientific thinking and the practical spirit of our youth can be seen in the designing and building of complex projects of the five-year plans, in the introduction and application of modern technique and technology, and in the all-round advance of our socialist economy.

The younger generation of Albania has a correct understanding of the socialist development of the country and the needs for more education, culture and science. As a result of the great solicitude of the Party and its guidance in the whole process of the construction of the socialist society and in the development of the educational process of our youth, the part of the youth with 8-years schooling has a tendency to decrease, while the part of the youth with secondary and higher schooling has a tendency to increase. In view of the perspective socio-economic development of our society greater numbers of the youth are required to attend the secondary and higher schools, both part-time and full-time schools. And this tendency has the encouragement of our Party and state and of the LYUA itself. With combined efforts they carry out a great amount of work to make the youth fully aware of the great aim of the school, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, illuminates the personality of the man and gives him an invaluable weapon in the service of the people and the Homeland. However, the massive drawing of the youth into secondary and higher schools, part-time or full-time schools, constitutes only one side of the matter. The other side, which is of special importance, is connected with the problem of the level at which knowledge is mastered by the youth. The LYUA, the school and the whole society work to ensure that the young people intensify their efforts to master more knowledge and combat any manifestation of self-satisfaction and underration which is noticed in this field.

Our youth are realistic and far-sighted. They see their tasks concretely and with a view to the perspective. The youth organizations engage in special work among the boys and girls in order to encourage their revolutionary ambition to study and assimilate as much knowledge as possible, to acquire as many work habits as possible and to create a broad horizon and a scientific imagination.

The need for science is felt everywhere, because we see that the laws of science are applied in all fields of life. Proceeding from this objective requirement, the youth work to understand and apply the achievements of science, to master professions in all sectors of production. They see the mass participation in the technical-scientific revolution in close connection with the uplift of their technical-professional qualification and level. Therefore, the worker and cooperativist youth participate en masse in courses for technical-professional qualification. The youth organization does a great deal of work in this aspect in order to make it clear to the youth that the need for knowledge and culture is conditioned by the progress of the country, by the stage of development and by the new greater demands which the building of socialism in our country puts forward at this time. As a consequence, there are increased demands on them for the further improvement of the system of qualification, for the increase of the participation of youth in various courses, for the strengthening of their sense of duty and for the strengthening of the revolutionary concepts in the masses of the youth, so that their qualification is done not for the sake of the category of work or a diploma, nor for the sake of a job and a salary, but, above all, in order to be better equipped to respond to the requirements of production and to serve the Homeland. Of course, this is realized not without efforts, but through a fierce struggle between the new and the old, in irreconcilable struggle with artisan methods, with the backward, with bureaucratic ideas, with sceptical and underrating stands, and the youth have the intellectual strength to achieve this. In this struggle the youth are tempered and educated, have a

test of the difficulties and the efforts needed to overcome them and to affirm themselves as a great force of progress.

Our younger generation is becoming the pillar of the technical-scientific revolution. We have made great progress from one year to the other, the youth contribute ever more to the technical-scientific revolution. There is no field of the scientific research activity in which the youth do not take part actively. They are active participants in all the institutes set up in our country, from the base to the centre, for scientific research and experimental activities. Up to 70 per cent of the participants in these institutes and organs, differing according to the sector, is made up of the young people. Nevertheless, in the conditions when a great number of young people who graduate from secondary and higher schools are employed every year, there are still reserves which must be utilized well in order to draw the youth into the technical-scientific revolution. For this to be achieved, apart from other things, we rightly lay stress on the struggle to overcome the manifestations of mistrust and undervaluation of the abilities of the young people, on the correct understanding of the essence and the content of the technical-scientific revolution, so that it is not simplified and restricted to some simple jobs, which sometimes are considered as important inventions, but which in fact bring only some minor technical or technological improvement in production.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields sets important and concrete objectives for the worker and for the cooperativist youth, as well as for the young specialists. Therefore, the aim of our work now is to ensure that this revolution brings great improvements and changes on a broad front, brings a radical change in the improvement of production, technique and technology.

Our secondary and higher schools train large contingents of young people for production. Parallel with the work for the mastering and assimilation of knowledge envisaged in the school programs, the young people are activated in technical-scientific associations and circles, participate in the prepara-

tion of scientific themes and reports of a high level. In the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana and in the other higher schools of the country the youth prepare diploma theses for themselves and participate in great numbers in the studies guided by the faculties and the scientific councils, in close connection with the laboratory classes and the scientific work in the service of the economy. The aim of the youth organization and of the school, in general, is to ensure that more such activities are organized and their effectiveness is increased further.

In this framework, special attention is devoted to the young talents in science, in technique and in production, in order to discover them and follow them up at school and after till they begin work. The following up and encouragement of young talents in every field of life has great advantages. Now this work has been taken in hand better by the faculties and departments of higher schools, as well as by the management of production and ministerial departments, which, in close collaboration with one another, carry out a scientifically organized work for the qualification

of young talents. This has double importance. On the one hand, the school can see in practice the fruit of its work and further enrich the experience gained in scientific work, and on the other hand, this encourages the development of the good qualities young talents display during their work. All this is a valuable contribution to the work of the school and production. The enhancement of the role of the youth in production, in the technical-scientific revolution, and in all other walks of life is assisted by the work to include young cadres and specialists in post-university qualification

Actionists at the Mitot-Krëshen-Klloç railway building site after work



courses. The youth organizations have their important place in all these activities. They do valuable work in order to discover the youths who have a vocation and special inclinations for science, technique and culture, and together with the school, they work in a differentiated manner in order to create a lively creative atmosphere in the ranks of the youth, avoiding the use of farms which tend to level the abilities and vocations of the boys and girls.

The youth of our country make a good use of their spare time and have a correct understanding of its great educational and other values. They set a progressive example in this field and take an irreconcilable stand to the old concepts and preachings that hinder the working masses from using it to its full. In socialism the youth have enough spare time for recreation, for divertisement and to renew their forces in a culture manner. The material base for this purpose has increased and has been strengthened continuously. Both in towns and in villages, in the lowland and in the mountainous zones, there is a whole network of cultural, artistic, sports, touristic, and other activities, in the service of the working masses and the youth. The staff serving in them has increased both in numbers and in the level of qualification. Thanks to the concern of the Party for the education of the youth, for the creation of an active and cultured atmosphere in and out of work, the youth have made a step forward in the use of their free time. The socialist concept about the free time and the value of its correct use have been inculcated more and more and are being consolidated as a sound tradition.

The most widespread activities which fill the free time of the young people are reading of the books and the press, watching TV programs and listening to the radio, going to theatre and films, visiting historic and touristic places, organizing excursions to recreative places, cultural-artistic and sports activities, evening parties, etc. The youth organize many various activities in their spare time in order to pass it in the most active manner, always for a great aim, for education

and recreation, for the renewal of their physical and mental forces and energies, so as to put them in the service of productive activity and the socialist life.

The youth are the biggest consumers of the works of art and culture. They show the greatest interest in, take an active stand to and are inspired by them in the building of socialism. There is a predominating opinion among the young people that in order to be a formed member of our socialist society one must also have a good general cultural formation. This achievement is seen in the desire of the youth to attend school, in the mass character of the cultural and artistic movement, in the reading of literature, in their efforts for a cultured life, for knowing our national traditions better and getting acquainted with the material and spiritual values of other peoples. They express this also in the sound ideo-aesthetic taste and in the vigilant stand they take towards alien manifestations, in the approval of the best works of our socialist art or of the world art, in which the youth readily display their ideo-artistic and scientific competence in evaluating the various genres of arts and the achievements of science. All these achievements find their expression in the pages of the press, in various meetings with the creative forces of the country, in the book reviews and in the discussions organized by the youth which speak of their maturity and thorough understanding of the theoretical thinking of the Party.

Our youth have a comprehensive understanding of cultural life and this is seen in all the aspects of their activities, from the intellectual development to the environment in which they work and live like revolutionaries. The youth organization works to put the younger generation in as broad a contact as possible with the producing of literature and figurative arts, music and films, with all the values of our material and spiritual culture, so as to encourage their sense of beauty and the revolutionary new, to enable them to distinguish what is truly revolutionary and progressive and to cope with and fight any influence of the bourgeois revisionist or patriarchal tastes.

ALBANIA TODAY

As a result of the profound socio-economic transformations and of the struggle waged by our Party for the education of the man, we have reached a good standard of living for the whole people and a correct Marxist-way of life. This concept of the way of life is more evident, especially, among the young people, who see the way of life as an inseparable part of the whole socialist social life, which develops in close relationship with the whole revolution in our country, in conformity with the socialist ideology and the norms of communist ethics.

The youth in the family are a great progressive force in the socialist way of life. They play a very positive role in the strengthening of the socialist relations in the family and in the correct use of the purchasing power of the family to the advantage of the material and cultural needs and for a proletarian way of life. The youth of the village, especially, make a valuable contribution to the work for the building of the new houses, for securing the necessary fixtures at home, the clothing, sleeping, food, hygiene and cleanliness, for the introduction of the new means of information, etc. However, the work for the strengthening of the socialist concept of the way of life still continues in order to ensure that it is further consolidated in struggle against the manifestations of liberalism and conservatism, against contentment with the little achieved, etc. The intellectual youth of the village play an important role in the solution of these problems. With their example they have become a positive element for the affirmation of the new in the villages and in the socialist family.

The Party work with the youth is all-sided. It is educative work for the clarification of the youth, but at the same time it is organizational and mobilizing work in order to throw them into concrete productive and social activities, and at the same time, to temper them through such activities. The youth of our country is the object of work not only by the Party, but also by the state organs, the other social organizations, the school and the family, because the problem of the youth is an issue of the whole society.

SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION IS EXPRESSED IN MAN

by SHABAN SINANI

It is a major victory that, at a time when the foreign world has proclaimed the ugly as the value of the epoch and made a cult of savagery, barbarity and all that is against human nature, our society seeks the true man and puts human individuality on the pedestal

AT TIMES WE SAY THAT THE GREATEST DEED OF THE SOCIALIST EPOCH IS THE NEW MAN. IT IS THE MAN LIBERATED FROM MATERIAL EXPLOITATION AND SPIRITUAL BONDAGE. IT HAS BECOME A REALITY WITH US. COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTED OUT AT THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE PLA, «SOCIALISM HAS WITHIN A RELATIVELY VERY SHORT TIME CREATED ITS OWN MAN — REVOLUTIONARY, CREATIVE, DETERMINED TO ADVANCE AGAINST ANY OBSTACLE OR DIFFICULTY.»

IT IS A MAJOR VICTORY THAT, AT A TIME WHEN THE FOREIGN WORLD HAS PROCLAIMED THE UGLY AS THE VALUE OF THE EPOCH AND MADE A CULT OF SAVAGERY, BARBARITY AND ALL THAT IS AGAINST HUMAN NATURE, OUR SOCIETY SEEKS THE TRUE MAN AND PUTS HUMAN INDIVIDUALITY ON THE PEDESTAL.

What we Albanians call socialist civilization is not merely the city planning of our towns and villages, but in the first place, is one man, his spiritual, moral and social value; is his life and culture. At the time when the historic Berat Meeting signed «The Declaration on the Rights of Citizens» — one of the first legal acts of the people's state power, less than one tenth of the population resided in the towns. Nevertheless, it was not a mere translation into Albanian of the known international term of «civil rights». As early as that time the

SHABAN SINANI — *journalist*

new society called for a civilized man.

The epoch of socialism is the epoch that brings man not only material well-being but also spiritual riches. This second aspect is forgotten at times. We must recall it because it is an important part of the achievements of that epoch.

Not very long ago, only some decades away, in many zones of the country those who left the village and went to work in some towns were called emigrants. It was no exaggeration. In those conditions to go to the town was an event, and it took days

and weeks to return home. Into the repertoire of wedding songs came both songs dedicated to brave people and epic dances, as well as folk sketches and games. Weddings were the main occasions for the contact of man with art. Our greatest poets and our folk songs sing to the woman as a creature that ennoble the milieu she lives in, but for their part, the woman saw the world through the iron bars of her window, through the shadow of her veil.

The life of the individual today is merged into and closely combined with the life of society. The many means of communications spread throughout the territory of the country have shortened distances between people. The common economic activity — in the collective, has brought and linked people more closely to each other. Man is open-minded with his fellow-man, with his fellow-fighters, because no contradictory interests exist between them.

The worth of the citizen in society is measured by the work he does, by the contribution he makes to the

common good, not by profession, official position, family ties or region of birth. The equal political status of the worker with the cadre and leader, of the subordinate with the chief, of man with woman, of the dweller of the plains with the dweller of the mountains, of the Albanian with the man of a national minority, is the basis of the dignity of man.

The Albanian citizen does not expect his good from fate, from miracles; he bases everything on his own work and toil, on the economic strength of the country, on the real social equality of his society. Hence, he is fully justified to say: «I am my own master at work; I am the equal of all others in society; the state is mine; so nothing evil can come to me.»

In all other societies the working man sees the state from below, something distant and alien, he sees it with a feeling of hostility because it ensures him not even a market to sell himself, the strength of his muscles and mind; because he is afraid of the future, which could come with higher taxes, with the devaluation of the currency with the curtailment of freedom, with social epidemics.

In the last analysis, civilization is a means to turn man's work into a social obligation as a source of living, as well as a pleasure. The more emancipated the working man, the more easily and willingly he performs his work, and the higher its results. Otherwise, work becomes a burden for him who does not know what and who he works for, who lacks the sound formation which is necessary to the emancipated man.

It is not by chance that, after appropriating the strength of man's muscles and minds, international capital now has turned to his spirit, to the inner world of the proletariat. Its aim is to create in the worker the illusion of «satisfaction» which allegedly comes from work. The capitalist enterprises hire people and set up special agencies to be informed at any moment about the state of mind of the workers, to ask them



and to «care» for their intimate, family life, to offer their readiness to provide «assistance». It is not without a purpose that sale on credit, payment of goods through work is becoming widespread, so much so that the paradoxical idea is created as if it is not the proletariat which credits and subventions capitalism, but the other way round! All this is done, apart from other things, so as to create in the worker the feeling of the debtor, to manipulate his emotions and sentiments. All these tricks are well known. On the eve of and during the Second World War, the proletarians of some capitalist

countries in Europe received their pay divided into two parts: as a reward for their work and as «an income from the colonies»!

With us the concern of society about the personal life of people is not like that, it is not fictitious, but real. There is no day on which the Albanian family does not feel this concern. If our man has not to do with the health service, hospitals, medicaments or, in general, medical aid, that is all to the good, but he has his children at kindergartens and crèches, at schools and boarding houses; he buys at fixed prices which are periodically reduced; he works

with machines and technologies that makes physical work easier; he is entitled to appropriate housing; begins work as soon as he reaches working age, and applies the decisions of the Party as, for example, that taken recently on securing abundant supplies of drinking water in every village.

Albanian socialist education is not merely a question of education, illumination, culture. If there has been a real emancipation of man from egoism, petty jealousies, misfeelings, rancours, divisions up to revenges and blood feuds; if the Albanian people are united, are brothers and friends

to each other, wish each other well, this comes, in the first place, as a result of the deep-going changes that have taken place in the field of ownership and labour. In the struggle for overcoming the natural difficulties of the recent years, everybody saw even more clearly that the individual well-being of people depends on and is determined by the economic strength of the country, the result of common work.

Our civilized man is outstanding for the nobility of his feelings and thoughts. This makes our socialist life even happier. The mind of our new man works for the good of so-

ciety. He has liberated himself from prejudices not only in the narrow meaning of the word, but also in a broader meaning. He judges and values his comrade and cofighter by the results of his work, by what he does. This is a man with confidence in his forces, liberated from the dogmas of religion, from the arbitrary norms and rules of ancient customs.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have taught and educated our people to think in a dialectical manner. Dialectics is the weapon of truth. Only a society such as ours which has done away with falsehood, with the manipulation of the truth for the masses, is interested in the broad development of the dialectical thinking of people.

The 9th Congress of the Party stresses forcefully once again the importance of the initiative from below. This expressed its complete trust in the political maturity of the masses, in their broad formation and horizon, in their lofty aims and ideals.

The struggle for emancipation and civilization is a struggle that goes on every day. It has difficulties of its own because it is a struggle with one's self, with everything that makes man petty, narrow-minded, one sided; it is a struggle which combats in man everything that is not socialist and gives a qualitative new element to the positive qualities of people.

The civilized man seeks and stimulates in people everything good and combats in them the old morality which brings along harshness and spiritual poverty. Great satisfaction derive from this struggle which encourages progress and perfects the new civilized man.

When we talk about the new man we do not deal with an abstract notion. We find him in our comrades, in the people we know, in the workers that build the new projects and give life to our economy, in our peasants who rise early to go to the fields; in our builders and designers... Perhaps, you already may mention some of them.

OUR FOLKLORE IN THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY

by **JORGO PANAJOTI**
and **BENIAMIN KRUTA**

Being a component part of the spiritual life of our people, folklore has always served them as a means not only of artistic reproduction of the national life and consciousness, but also a struggle, along with the rifle, for the preservation and strengthening of the national self-existence and independence, as a means of struggle against denationalization

FOLKLORE IS AMONG THE RICHEST AND THE MOST VALUABLE TREASURES THE ARTISTIC GENIUS OF OUR PEOPLE HAS CREATED. ALONG CULTIVATED ART AND THE AMATEUR ARTISTIC MOVEMENT, FOLKLORE SERVES AND CONTINUES TO SERVE OUR PEOPLE IN FULFILLING THEIR IDEO-ARTISTIC NEEDS. IT IS NOT ONLY A MEANS OF ENTERTAINMENT, BUT ALSO A POWERFUL MEANS OF SELF-EDUCATION AND ARTISTIC SELF-AFFIRMATION, A MEANS OF SPIRITUAL COMMUNICATION WITH AND A MESSAGE TO THE FUTURE GENERATIONS. BEING A COMPONENT PART OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE, FOLKLORE HAS ALWAYS SERVED THEM AS A MEANS NOT ONLY OF ARTISTIC REPRODUCTION OF THE NATIONAL LIFE AND CONSCIOUSNESS, BUT ALSO OF STRUGGLE, ALONG WITH THE RIFLE, FOR THE PRESERVATION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE NATIONAL SELF-EXISTENCE AND INDEPENDENCE, AS A MEANS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST DENATIONALIZATION.

After the Liberation of the country this very important function of folklore was preserved and developed further, because one of the more important tasks of the Party and our people has been and remains the struggle to strengthen national independence, to promote the development of the national socialist culture, to cope with the ideological aggression of the imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie which, as Comrade

JORGO PANAJOTI and **BENIAMIN KRUTA** — Senior scientific workers

Enver Hoxha teaches us, «...has always wanted to denigrate or wipe out the cultural traditions of smaller peoples, the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the aspects of its cultural aggression for the subjugation of smaller peoples.»

Our folklore has been able to carry out this function through its sound content and its dignified artistic form, its profoundly national spirit, its capability to enrich itself, to change and develop constantly along with the development of the historically conditioned ideo-artistic tastes and require-



ments of the masses, through its capability to adapt itself to the new socio-historical conditions and remain a permanently contemporary art.

As in all fields of our life, in the field of folklore, too, achievements are indissoluble from the name of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha who led the great overthrow that was carried out with the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the people's revolution, with the transition of Albania to the road of socialist development, with the all-embracing process of the transformation of the country and our man. Thus, new, very favourable, indeed unprecedented conditions were created for the development of folklore: our vivid, rich and inspiring reality, the social and spiritual emancipation of the masses, the elimination of the causes which inhibited the development of folklore in the past (neglect and contempt of folklore, dampening of people's talents), etc.

The development and advancement of folklore in our country has also been promoted by the persistent struggle of the Party against ideas about the «archaic character», «conservatism», «the limited value» of people's art, against nihilistic, derisive and discriminatory stands and acts towards it, no matter how sporadic their character, seeing them as concepts and stands of anti-party and anti-popular elements wanting to isolate our art from the life of the people, to weaken its national and popular spirit, to open the road for foreign influences and to hamper the normal development of folklore. The Party struck at these tendencies and nipped them in the bud.

In this manner, by creating a proper ground and climate of development for our folklore, making the masses aware of their own strength and that of their art, the Party, proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist teachings, not only did not allow our folklore to fall into decline, as is already the case with the folklore of the bourgeois-revisionist countries, but did not allow it to remain an archaic tradition, either. The Party transformed folklore into a vivid, active and important part of the con-

temporary artistic culture of our people, raised it to new heights, paved and illuminated the way for it to carry out that qualitative leap of which we are all witnesses. «The Party and the socialist order it has built in our country,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «have given this great and inexhaustible source of popular art its socialist content and a remarkable efflorescence. They have raised the immortal art of the people to a great pedestal of inspiration, mobilization and creation.»

This development, this qualitative leap of our folklore in the epoch of the Party, is apparent in many directions such as the place of folklore in contemporary artistic life, its repertoire, its content and its figurative-structural and intonative-melodic means of expression, its forms and ways of execution, the mechanism of its transmission and circulation and its syncretic forms.

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In the conditions of the backwardness of cultivated and amateur art in the past, folklore was the main source of meeting the needs of the masses for art. With the beginning of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, cultivated and amateur art developed in an unprecedented manner, playing an important role in meeting the afore-said needs. However, cultivated and amateur art cannot completely fulfil the ever growing yearning of the masses for being both object and subject of art and for a means of artistic collective communication of their own. Our outstanding leader always instructed us that the rich folklore of our people should undergo broad extension, that under the leadership of the Party we should work not only to carry the culture to the masses, but also to bring about the development of an unprecedented cultural and artistic movement of the people so as to ensure the participation of the broad masses themselves in the development of the wonderful traditions of creativeness of our gifted people.

«Let them call us savage», said our leader, «because the flute, the drum and the clarinet are played on our scenes, or because we give pride of place to the dances of our countrymen in felt breeches and white skull-caps. The important for us is only to defend the Homeland, to defend our people, Marxism-Leninism and socialism. And these are defended when everything national in form and socialist in content is defended, when the line of the Party is always borne in mind and properly applied.»

On the basis of these teachings and of the conditions we know, in the aesthetics of folklore important changes have taken place which indicate the extension of its impact in many directions of contemporary artistic life.

A clear expression of this extension is the great vividness of our folklore today, its being practiced by the broad masses of all ages and both sexes at betrothals and weddings, commemorations, birthdays, receptions and farewells to the boys going to do their military service, at intervals of rest during work, at conventions and such important activities as folklore festivals.

Let us consider the more recent festivals.

Data on the participants in these festivals indicate that while all the generations of our people were represented there, most of the participants belonged to the age groups under forty. In the vivid reality of our folklore this, among other things, shows that there is a continuity in the creative process of folklore, that in this process take part not only the older generations, but also those generations which are born and have been formed in the conditions of the construction of socialism.

At the same time the artistic spaces and the traditional social milieus, as those we mentioned above, in which folklore has always been created and circulated, today have undergone further expansion. Folklore has come out of its former framework, it is no longer the exclusive creativeness of the peasant and artisan masses. Today it is created and lives not

only in the new countryside, but also in factories, construction sites, industrial and agricultural enterprises. It is created, felt and developed also by the cooperated peasants and the workers of industry and agriculture, by teachers and students, by doctors and agronomers, by the whole people.

At the same time the cultural and educational level of the milieus in which our folklore is created and lives today is no longer that of the past. Folklore no longer lives in illiterate or semi-illiterate milieus as it did in the past. Folklore festivals give us very interesting data in this direction, too.

Another evidence and expression of the extension of the place of folklore in contemporary artistic life is its extension and practice outside the milieus in which it is initially created and performed. This is linked with the ceaseless successful struggle of the Party to cultivate in all our society interest about folklore, to raise the cultural and educational level of the masses, to develop systems of communication, to strengthen the moral-political unity of our people and the spirit of socialist collectivism. As a result, if in the past folklore had mainly oral circulation, now it circulates also by means of the film, the radio, the television, the tape-recorder; if in the past it lived mainly in the mouth and mind of the people, today it can live and be transmitted to the future generations by means of the book, the film, etc., if in former times it was practiced in narrow and closed milieus (family, small collectives, villages or small regions), today, with the means we mentioned above, it is introduced into broader social milieus, broader collectives, every family, the whole country. Besides, our folklore today is not performed only in those milieus in which there is no clear division into «actors» and «spectators», but also in those milieus in which this division exists, that is, on stage. Let us recall, for example, the various folklore shows, competitions and festivals. In this manner and in these conditions folklore acquires the character of a genuine spectacle

in the sense this word has in cultivated and amateur art.

The extension of the place occupied by our folklore in artistic life, in general, is apparent also in the extension of its links with and its communication with amateur artistic activity and cultivated art.

The development in our country of a cultivated and amateur art and literature with a national and popular spirit, the elimination of ignorance and the cultivation of new sound ideo-aesthetic tastes among the masses have enabled the creators of folklore to get acquainted with amateur and cultivated art and profit from its experience. There are creations, though limited in number, which have emerged within these two spheres of art, have won popularity and, being creatively assimilated by the masses, have entered folklore and live a truly folk artistic life. This has happened with those creations which, in general, conform to folk aesthetics and tradition both in content and form, which meet the ideo-artistic demands of folk collectives and respond to the possibilities of execution of these collectives. Besides, coexisting in the same artistic and cultural space with amateur and cultivated art, folklore has also assimilated from them elements of artistic language, forms of expression and execution, rhythms, etc.

Of particular importance is the increasing role of the aesthetic experience of folklore in our amateur and cultivated art, the increasing reliance of the latter on folk artistic creativeness. Comrade Enver Hoxha constantly advised our writers and artists: «Our socialist art and culture must rely firmly on our national soil, on our wonderful people, it must stem from the people and be fully in their service, clear and accessible to the people, without being in the least «banal and poor of ideals.» Our amateur and professional creators and interpreters, implementing the teachings of the Party about the development of our socialist national art, are seriously and successfully trying to come near to, get acquainted with and profit as much as possible from the artistic experience of

the people. This is apparent in many directions and fields: the broad utilization of folk creations at shows of amateur and professional groups and ensembles; the interest of many amateur and professional singers and dancers in folk songs and dances, the efforts of the variety show groups to profit from the rich and interesting treasury of folk humour (sketches and parodies created on the basis of folk tales and songs, elements of folk humour); sculptures, paintings and works of applied arts created on the basis of folk motifs and subjects; or utilizing folk experience in architecture, the applied arts, the combination of colours, in painting landscapes, tableaux and portraits; many literary, musical and choreographic works inspired from folklore and based on its creative principles, on its system of means of expression and language.

The practice of our country has shown that the struggle for the extension of the place of folklore in artistic life, in general, should be accompanied with concern for preserving its national and regional base and originality, for avoiding distortions and artificial inter-regional transplantations.

This practice has also shown that integration of folk artistic experience into cultivated art is productive and positive when it results in the creation of new artistic values, in the all-round affirmation of creative individualities, in the adaptation of folk art to the characteristic peculiarities of cultivated art and does not lead to mechanical imitation or artificial transplantation. The Party has pointed out that reliance of our cultivated art on folk art is an important factor for the preservation of the popular and national spirit in cultivated art itself. However, there must always be a correct ratio between cultivated and folk art, without going to the excess of giving priority to the one over the other, because divorce of cultivated art from folk art is harmful, just as harmful is their equalization and the turning of cultivated art into a simple imitation of folk art. The new large-scale socio-economic transformations have brought

about changes not only in individual phenomena of the content and form of folk creations, but also in the function, the degree of stability, the vividness and the relationship between the different genres and cycles of folklore.

The system of folk genres has been created through the ages. Every genre is made to perform a given ideo-artistic function, is formed and crystallized in certain historical conditions. Our folklore came to the eve of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War with a rich and complex system of folk genres and varieties. Its contact with the new reality brought about such changes in this traditional system as to allow folklore to cope successfully with its social and artistic function. These changes affected especially folk genres and cycles.

Thus, in our contemporary folklore we find genres — for example, songs about emigration and forced recruitment, seasonal and religious ritualistic ceremonies, fantastic tales, etc., whose vitality has perceptibly declined, or the development of which has almost ceased. Fantastic tales, for example, although they continue to be told in particular milieus (certainly, not with the frequency they had in the past), are no longer created. Songs about emigration and forced recruitment have long ago ceased to be created, and many of them are now forgotten because the reason for these ulcers of the past have long ago ceased to exist. Still, some of these songs continue to be sung but only as a reminder of the tragedies and sorrows these ulcers caused our people. Songs about emigration and forced recruitment may be found also in some new creation, but only as elements of comparison with the past. As for the creations linked with ritualistic and religious practices or born on the basis of superstitions we can affirm with certainty that they are no longer practised. Some other genres, for example, lullabies, today have lost some of their former richness, vividness and frequency of practice. This is due to the creation of new conditions for the rearing of children, as well as the broad parti-

cipation of the woman in social productive activities. Nevertheless, even today mothers and grandmothers find the occasion to use these creations as means of intimate conversations with their babies, or to express new thoughts and feelings and to raise problems of our present-day reality through this interesting artistic form. The perceptible restriction in the practice of some other genres of folklore is due to its losing its practical-utilitarian function and to the extensive use of new means of communication.

Some other traditional genres, because of their capacity to link themselves with the new reality, to adapt themselves to the new ideo-artistic tastes and to absorb new material from life, continue not only to be alive and active, but also to develop, enrich themselves and be constantly revived. Among these we may mention epic-historical balads, wedding and love songs, humorous-satirical stories, anecdotes, proverbs, etc.

Epic, in general, especially the historical epic, occupies an important place in the artistic life of our people. Naturally, time could not fail to erode some of its elements, but the traditional historical epic continues to carry great favour with the masses of the people because they find in it the expression of their heroism, resistance to oppression and other traditional virtues.

The historical epic of the pre-Liberation period has been greatly enriched with new values created during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and after it. Utilizing the traditional means of the historical epic and continuously enriching them, these creations provide artistic pictures of events and personalities of more recent times such as the resistance to fascist occupation, the struggle for national and social liberation, the socialist revolution, the figure of the partisan, worker, cooperativist and, above all, the figure of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Another phenomenon apparent in the field of historical epic is its enrichment with post-Liberation creations about earlier events and personalities which are considered important for our histo-

ry and expressive examples of patriotic and progressive traditions: outstanding figures of the National Renaissance, famous fighters and battles against the invaders, outstanding heroes of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

Of the traditional genres of lyric, those of the social lyric in the broad meaning of the word are apparently more active. Some genres (for example wedding and love songs) appear today in great variety and richness and at a remarkable artistic level. Creations of this nature are derived mainly from the traditional fund, but only after having gone through a process of selection and adaptation. With their general character, with their stressing thoughts and feelings rather than events, and with their eventual modifications, these creations have apparently served the people well so that they have not felt so much the need for their total replacement. When necessary, however, the people have known to add to them something about present-day family relations or about relations between young people. Hence, the repertoire of wedding and love songs has not remained unchanged and unenriched. The viability and the further development of the humorous-satirical genres, especially of those of a satirical-political character, is more evident. Relying on traditional structures and developing them further, these genres have acquired a new content with clearly distinguishable political objectives. The development and enrichment of these genres is due to such causes and circumstances as the constant strengthening of the unity between the Party and the people, the unshaken trust of the masses in the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, their feeling of moral superiority over the enemy and their contempt for everything that is alien to our life and morality. The same thing can be said about anecdotes and proverbs.

As can be seen from what was said above, some traditional genres are linked with certain practices and customs. Elimination of negative or useless customs has brought about elimination of the genres related to them or at least some that were

part of them. The Party has issued clear instructions for the preservation and development of positive customs, and practices which are liked with the life of the masses, with their joys and sorrows.

Finally, we have to mention the fact that some genres were clearly crystallized and fully developed precisely in the conditions of the National Liberation War and in the period of socialist construction. As an example for this we may mention social-political songs. Individual creations of a more or less similar nature existed in the past, too. However, they are few and more of them with intermediary features, which does not allow us to speak with conviction about the existence of a particular genre with features of its own for that time. Because of the new conditions, in today's repertoire at folklore social-political creations proper are so many and with so clearly expressed features of their genre, with so elaborated structures and expressive means for the artistic treatment of problems and phenomena from the new socio-political reality and consciousness that there is no doubt that here we have to do with a genre of the most active, most viable and most loved by the people. So much so that even subjects and motifs that could be treated with the means of other traditional genres today are treated with the means of this genre. Hence, we may say that the question is about a genre of a very extensive nature, a genre which covers fields which formerly were the prerogative of other genres (epic, historical, satirical songs, etc.). Facts of this nature set our folklore science before new tasks, which are not always easy to solve, for the classification and study of the contemporary production of folklore.

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The development and revival of folklore in the light of the ideas of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha

and under the influence of the major transformations that were carried out under their guidance in our country is even more apparent in the repertoire of contemporary folklore. This is seen in many directions such as selection, elaboration and completion of this folklore according to new criteria.

Selection is a characteristic and permanent process of the creative process of folklore. However, because of the causes and circumstances mentioned above it has become particularly intensive, deep-going and rapid in the epoch of the Party. In this direction, too, our people has consistently kept to the clear-cut Marxist-Leninist orientation of the Party to the effect that folklore should preserve what is good, what belongs to the people, what expressed their pure feelings, and get rid of those things, whether in form or content, which are impregnated with the ideology and inspiration of the ruling classes, of the lumpen petty bourgeoisie, etc.

The process of selection, careful sifting and filtration of the folklore legacy set on with great intensity, according to the demands of the new ideo-political consciousness of the working masses, right from the beginning of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and continues to our days. During this creative process, many creations of the past have undergone all-round re-evaluation and examination, have been left aside or have been or are being forgotten.

It is clear that, as was said above, the degree of selection varies in the different genres and spheres of folklore. It is more perceptible in the sphere of literary folklore and less so in music and choreography as the word expresses thoughts more directly, while the sound and plastic movements express them more indirectly, reserving a greater place for feelings. For this reason it happens that while the text of some songs and dances is left aside or forgotten, their music and choreography continues to be practised with a new text. This is a complex creative process which has its own specific demands and ways of realization and keeps improving

along with the development of the ideo-political consciousness of the masses.

Apart from this, so to say, horizontal filtration, the traditional fund of folklore has, generally speaking, been undergoing another deeper and more detailed filtration, the process of actualization. This is done through a process of editing, reduction or modification, of elimination and replacement of various strata of folklore material, which gives them a new sound. Acutely analysing the causes and essence of this phenomenon, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «There are, for example, some Gjirokastra songs which I do not know in the way they are sung today. That does not mean that their basis has changed, because their basis is the same as that of the time of our youth, but the people add more beautiful words to them, enrich their verses or melodies, reflecting their ceaselessly developing life in them, because now people have a much better understanding of their problems, are more developed.» That is not only an acute scientific deduction, but a very valuable lesson for the illumination of this process.

Elaboration or modification with the purpose of adaptation to the new socio-economic conditions has a long tradition and an organic existence in our folklore as one of the roads of the natural development of folk art. In the epoch in question, this phenomenon assumes new dimensions and acquires new qualities. Here the question is not about the acceleration of rates of the growth or the frequency of the manifestation of this phenomenon, but also about its general character, as well as the great variety of forms of its concrete manifestation.

In the field of literary folklore this process begins, for example, with the replacement of terms and characters, place names, whole verses and passages up to the creation of new works on the basis of traditional ones, preserving from the latter only their pattern or some successful motif or figure and completing them with new material. In the field of music and choreography this process has brought about such alterations as the gradual elimination of nostalgic and

sentimental intonations and their replacement with more joyful, optimistic and vivid intonations, etc.

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From the stand-point of their ideological quality, frequency of execution and organizing and directing role, the new folk creations carry greater weight. And this is obvious, because our people want, in the first place, to sing to the brilliant epoch of the Party, to express by means of art their thoughts and feelings about the major events of this epoch, to reflect their present problems and efforts, to represent their new life which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has it, «is a major source of inspiration», is full of poetry.

The participants in the contemporary creative process of folklore, from the fascist occupation of the country to the resistance of our people, have lived through various events, have felt the need to say their opinion about them and have said it in an artistic manner. In this manner they have contributed to the creation of that invaluable treasury which we call «the new folklore.»

The new creations represent that field in which the qualitative leap in the content and form of our folklore is more apparent, in which its rapid evolution in the epoch of the Party is more tangible.

Our new folklore carried the sound progressive and democratic thinking of our people further ahead and transformed it into a profoundly revolutionary class thinking. With the beginning of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War the light of the ideas of the Party began to permeate our new folklore and proletarian partisanship became one of its essential features. This is apparent not only in the treatment of new subjects and figures but also in the treatment of traditional ones. The struggle for freedom, for example, in the new folk creations is a struggle directed not only against the foreign enemy, but also against the internal enemy, the class enemy; patriotism is not only lo-

ve of the Homeland, but more precisely love of the socialist Homeland, a sublime feeling in which the love for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha is also expressed. With proletarian partisanship are linked the pronounced political sensitivity and clarity of the new folkloric creations, their revolutionary class spirit, their proletarian internationalism, their fighting and mobilizing character, their profound revolutionary optimism. So, there is a clear distinction between the traditional and the new folklore as regards the reality they reflect: if the folk creations of the past maintain on a whole a negative stand towards the reality of the time, criticize it and try or aspire to change it, the new folklore, on the contrary, approved by our reality, strives to maintain it and develop it further.

The development of our new folklore can be measured also by its increased realism. True, the realistic manner of portraying life is also characteristic of traditional folk creations. Here, too, it is evident that for the realization of its creations the people never proceed from something that is a mere product of imagination, although the degree of realism in each case depends on the individual means or this or that genre of folklore. However, there are also creations, for example, some ancient balads, in which legendary and fantastic elements play an important role. However, in the new folk creations you can no longer find those fantastic hyperbolizations or personifications built on the basis of mythological or animistic concepts. Even if in some cases we come across personifications of nature, these are only artistic means, which the people use to represent the reality as well, as vividly and as emotionally as possible. Here is apparent the tendency to choose the real fact and the more expressive detail in a class partisan spirit, to represent them with their own characteristic colours, sounds and nuances, always underlying their essence, their general values.

In the new folk creations the increased measure of realism is also apparent in the fact that they reflect phenomena and characters that have a perspective, for example, the figu-

re of the vanguard worker, the figure of the communist, who put the interests of the people and the Party above everything.

The road of development of our new folklore is also characterized by the tendency of merging epicism with lyricism. Of course, there are new creations in which epicism predominates, as well as older ones in which lyricism emerges on the first plane, in most cases, however, the objective epic narration is combined with lyrical, thinking. This tendency comes from the desire of the people to express their thoughts and feelings openly and exhaustively, their happiness, their profound love for the socialist Homeland.

Major changes have taken place in our new folklore, also in regard to structure, the system of artistic figures, poetical, musical and choreographic means of expression, forms of execution, etc.

As regards the means of expression (poetic, musical or choreographic) there is an apparent tendency to an ever more vivid portraying of the reality through the broad use of both simple figures of speech as well as tableaux, landscapes, portraits, and the enrichment of this system of means of expression with new elements (sounds, colours, movements, rhythms, etc.) from the industrial milieu along farming and pastoral milieus, as well as nature, in general.

For its part the poetical language of the new folk creations has become richer, more precise, more political and nearer to the literary language.

Revealing in a profoundly scientific manner the new phenomena in the field of interpretation of folk creations, as well as their social and artistic basis, and showing the right road for their further development, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «The dancers today are featherlight... whereas some time ago they used to dance more slowly, more heavily... and this has its meaning: when you have many worries in your head it is but natural that you do not feel like dancing or singing. That is also one way to improve and enrich folk dances. In order to respond to the new conditions of life (including art),

to fulfil their desire to say their word as emphatically as possible, the creators and executors of our folklore today constantly try to increase the power of expression of folk creations. For this purpose they use ever more such forms and means as the numerical increase of the performing group, the multiplication of voices in monophonic, homophonic and polyphonic songs, the mass character of the song and dance groups and the practice of mixed groups, the increased role of instrumental accompaniment, the creation of folk instrumental ensembles and orchestras as well as their enlargement, the broad practice of dialogical singing, etc. The Party has valued, encouraged and supported such positive forms which do not affect the national base of our folklore.

According to the new life and spirit, the dynamics of the rhythms of the new folk creations is even more apparent than that of actualized traditional creations, of which we spoke above. Apart from the elements we mentioned, proof of which is also the

transition within one creation from isorhythmic to polyrhythmic (combination of melodies of different rhythms), and especially, the broad use of broken rhythms of which our traditional folklore is very rich. This is one of the ways in which the working masses reproduce by artistic means the vividness, and enthusiasm of socialist life, their joy and optimism in this life, the richness, variety and beauty of their feelings.

Today we face a concrete reality: our folklore has developed and continues to develop in a rapid and all-round manner, preserving from tradition everything good and progressive, and creating many new values on its basis. All this unprecedented development and revival, this great qualitative leap of our folklore, is in essence the deed of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Under their leadership major transformations were made, that wonderful reality was created whose ceaseless development has brought about the development of folklore, and the explosion of the

creative abilities of the masses, broadened their sources of inspiration and increased their desire and possibilities to engage in art.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, pointed out at the 9th Congress that even more is required from the historical, linguistic, ethnographic folklore and other such sciences, because they have been cultivated for a long time and have a greater tradition. They must throw even clearer light on the history of our people and their patriotic and revolutionary traditions, defend and affirm our national identity and bring out the struggle of our people for freedom, independence, culture and social progress.

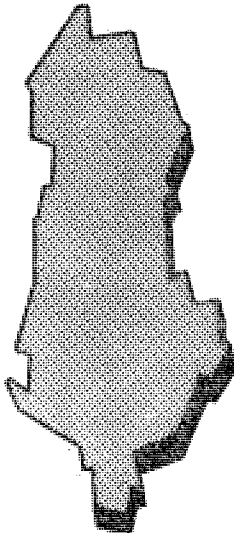
To accomplish these tasks requires that those who study social sciences, produce works of a high ideological level, which sum up the original experience of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania and which develop and carry forward its Marxist-Leninist thinking.



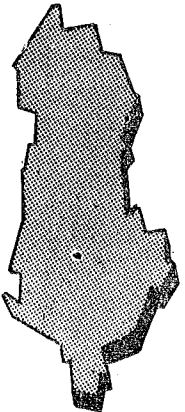
COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA VISITS THE DISTRICTS OF LUSHNJA AND DURRËS

WARM MEETINGS AND TALKS WITH WORKERS, COOPERATIVISTS AND CADRES



FROM THE

COUNTRY

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



On May 22 and 23, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, paid a visit to the district of Lushnja.

On the first day of his visit he went to the bricks factory and the Institute of Agricultural Research of the city of Lushnja, where he was met with affection by cadres, workers and specialists, as well as cooperativists of Golem village, near the factory. Here he met and had warm talks with workers, men and women, young and old. Comrade Ramiz Alia went up to a group of veteran workers and shook hands with them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was received with powerful applause by a group of workers of the baking section. They acquainted him with the production of dishes ornamented with flowers and Myzeqe motifs, and with their efforts to turn out products of a high quality.

In the brick section he saw some of the new articles, bricks of augmented volume and floor and wall tiles which improve building technology and speed up construction rates.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the Institute of Agricultural Research where he was warmly met by the cadres, specialists and workers of this scientific centre.

True science, said Comrade Ramiz Alia in the talks he had with them, is that which the country profits from, not through mere application of the achievements of contemporary technique and technology, but through adapting them to our conditions. The efforts and knowledge of our men and women should be channelled in this direction. No scientific capacity is needed to say that this machine or that should be constructed; this is easy and causes no worry to the specialists. Wisdom is to produce an appliance which suits our conditions and works on our primary materials.

Without overlooking extensive development, said Comrade Ramiz Alia further, intensification is the general tendency of our economy. And intensification means science. Life calls for science to engage in important tasks. At present production sciences are

developing with great vigour. Application is their characteristic. That is what our scientific institutions must be geared on. Their specialists should cope competently with any problem put forward by life, in the first place, the current tasks of our development. Links and relationships between them and central departments must be seen in this context, too. The word of our specialists must have more authority and more weight, but all this is acquired through work.

On the other day of his visit, the leader of the Party and state met the cooperativists of 7 villages of the agricultural cooperative of Bubullima. He expressed his satisfaction at being among them and congratulated them on their successes.

When you come to Myzeqe, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among other things, you cannot fail to remember the bitter past of our people in general and the people of Lushnja in particular. At the same time you cannot fail to feel proud at the colossal changes that have taken place in the socialist epoch. The present and the past stand to each other as light to darkness.

The much-suffering Myzeqe of the past is today one of the most advanced zones of the country, not only in the economy, but also in culture.

These are achievements which are based on the line of the Party. The great merit of the Party is that it knew how to set the peasantry out on the road of collectivization, the only road that could enable it to overcome backwardness in agriculture and come out into the light. Today collectivization has fully proved its strength, vitality and effectiveness, and opened new prospects to the peasantry. The district of Lushnja has always set the example on this road.

The strength of the cooperativist order was proved in such historical achievements as the local production of the whole bread grain needed by the country. However, we must strengthen these achievements further.

Socialism, continued Comrade Ramiz Alia further on, brings our man not only material, but also spiritual blessings. Culture embellishes and enri-

ches man, frees him from preconceptions of all kind. The youth must be frontline fighters for the acquisition of knowledge and culture. They must struggle to educate themselves through all-round reading and studying, but also engaging in music and art, sports and other activities. Culture is not a mere ornament, but a force that pushes production forward.

With us the Party and the people are one. The Party and the people have the same aspiration and the same interests. So the directives of the Party quickly become the directives of the people and, merged with the initiatives of the masses, turn into a source of strength which guarantees success and works wonders.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia wished the cooperativists to be always happy in their homes and achieve even greater successes at work.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's words were listened to with attention and interrupted by applause.

During his stay in the district of Lushnja Comrade Ramiz Alia also attended the meeting of the Plenum of the Party Committee of the district.

Speaking at this Plenum, the 1st Secretary of the CC of the Party congratulated the communists and working people of the district of Lushon positive changes that have achieved in agriculture, livestock raising and other sectors, on their mass actions and spirit of initiative, and on positive changes that have taken place in the method of running affairs by party and state organs.

Speaking about the importance of the decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that securing the overwhelming part of the food of the population within the country represents one of the main factors for the strengthening of the unity of the people and the economic independence of the country.

The line of the masses, said he, must be reflected also in the implementation of economic tasks. The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee stressed that agricultural cooperatives must grow and develop as economies of large-scale market production. In this manner they will ensure their members more income and supply the in-

dustry and the city with more agricultural and livestock products.

In conclusion Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed once more that the decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party for the supply of the people should be carried out by everybody. Hence the initiatives of the peasantry and the workers of agriculture should be stimulated and encouraged and generalizations of a practical value should be made from the positive experience which is being enriched with each passing day.

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Also, from June 8 to 10 the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, visited the district of Durrës.

In Durrës he attended the meeting of the party activists of the district at which he delivered an important speech.

During his stay in this district, Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the glass factory and, the carpet factory, and had a talk with the leading cadres of the Party, the state and the economy of the region of Kavaja. During these visits Comrade Ramiz Alia was accompanied by the 1st secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Durrës, Comrade Qiriako Mihali, the head of the State Planning Commission, Comrade Niko Gjyzari, and other comrades.

At the glass factory, where he was met with affection and enthusiasm by hundreds of workers, men and women, young and old, Comrade Ramiz Alia gave very valuable instructions about improving the structure and increasing the effectiveness of production in the glass industry. He voiced his conviction that the communists, specialists, advanced workers and the entire collective of this factory would know how to draw lessons from practice, to cope with problems that call for solution and carry production and its technology always ahead so as to meet the needs of the economy and the people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia had a particularly warm talk with the carpet

weavers. You here do a work, said he among other things, which has an artistic character. This work calls for culture, creative spirit and special involvement. The products you give society show that the women of Kavaja are not lacking in creative spirit, culture or talent.

In the years of socialism, said Comrade Ramiz Alia further on, our whole society has undergone emancipation. The Albanian women, who today display fiery enthusiasm, have been doubly oppressed and enslaved in the past. The Party brought the women out into life, engaged them totally in productive, social and political activities, guaranteed them by law complete equality in society and in the family. Much has been done for the emancipation of the woman. A radical change has taken place in her life.

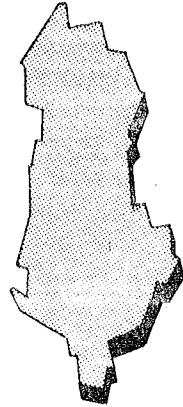
In continuation of his series of visits in the district of Durrës, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, had a warm meeting with the cooperativists of Jubë-Sukth and the workers of the factory of farming machines. He also went to see one of the towers of the old castle of Durrës where he listened to the explanations of a group of architects, urbanists, archeologists and builders about the perspective regulating plan of Durrës. Comrade Ramiz Alia made suggestions and recommendations for the further embellishment of the coastal city and the preservation of its archaeological values.

Before ending his visits in the district of Durrës, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the «Enver Hoxha» sea port where he was given an enthusiastic reception by thousands of people assembled there. Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a bouquet of flowers at the bust of Comrade Enver Hoxha erected at the entrance to the seaport.

On the square in front of the seaport was organized a meeting in which workers of this enterprise and the shipyard, the merchant fleet, veterans, militarymen, young men and women took part.

Amid the great joy and enthusiasm of those present Comrade Ramiz Alia rose to speak.

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



The port of Durrës, said he among other things, is the most important centre of sea transport of the country, the place through which we develop our trade relations with tens of states all over the world. Here last year our transport and trade organs tackled 2,600 thousand tons of goods, or 2.5 times as much as in 1960, which bespeaks not only the valuable work you, workers and specialists of the seaport, carry out, but also the growth of the economic strength of the country, and the dynamism and high role of our all-round development.

The activity of the port of Durrës is known throughout Albania and abroad. But it has become better known and more respected after the great honour the Party did it by giving it the name of the historic leader of Albania, of him who mapped out and led the realization of all its modern projects, the name of the unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha, his high appreciation of the collective of this port expresses the unshaken confidence of the Party that you, dear comrades, who are known for your selfless work and creative spirit, will always distinguish yourselves as vanguard fighters for the good of socialism and the prosperity of the Homeland.

After speaking of the new prospects opened to the port and the merchant fleet by the 9th Congress of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the port and the merchant fleet, regardless of the development of the railway and automobile transport, will always remain the main centres for the circulation of the goods of our foreign trade. In 1990 through the port of Durrës will pass over 3 million tons of import-export goods, or about 20 per cent more than in the past year.

Throughout our country, he went on further, in city and country, the political and economic situation is sound. The enthusiasm of the masses is at its highest, the mobilization of the working people is at the height of the demands of the time, plans of production and culture are being successfully fulfilled. Embellished and prosperous throughout, socialist Albania is marching ahead non-stop on its triumphant road. The defence potential of the country is stronger than ever and political vigilance is always on the alert.

The directives of the 9th Congress of the Party, merged with the creativeness of the masses, have further enlivened our whole society and encouraged it to march ahead with fresh vigour.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the great and important tasks of the workers of industry and agriculture for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party.

In conclusion he said:

The sound situation in the country's economy, culture defence has strengthened our achievements in the political and social field. The unity of the people round the Party is as strong as steel, it is unbreakable. Our men are strongly united in their love of socialism, their determination to march rapidly ahead, their resoluteness to strengthen the economy and defence, to increase and strengthen common property, to improve well-being and developed culture. The fundamental interests of the people are the same.

The militant unity of the people, which has passed through many tests, this asset above all other assets, is the dearest thing to us. Our great duty is to preserve and continuously strengthen the unity of the people round the Party, because it gives us strength and courage to take up any task, no matter how difficult; because it fills us with boldness and optimism in our uncompromising struggle against our foreign enemies, imperialism and social imperialism, against reaction and all those who wish Albania evil. The Party relies on the unity of the people round itself when it maps out plans for the future and designs new projects, when it sets current tasks and takes decisions to carry our cause ahead.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was frequently interrupted by cheers and ovations for the Party.

There sounded the siren of the ship «Arbëria». Signal banners were hung out as on great festivities. The leader of the Party paid a visit to this ship.

CONCERT WITH SELECTED PIECES FROM THE MAY CONCERTS 1987

ATTENDING WERE COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHER
PARTY AND STATE LEADERS

The executive committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana organized in the capital the traditional May Concerts, which lasted several days and were another powerful manifestation of our musical and choreographic art, of their great development in the years of the Party. The concerts were distinguished by their high idea-artistic level, by the broad themes and motifs from life, from work and from the history of our people. The participating groups gave a final performance with selected pieces at the Palace of Congresses.

The final concert was attended by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania and other Party and state leaders.

The appearance in the hall of Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other Party and state leaders was received with ardent applause and cheers by those present in the concert, working people from various work and production centres, from central departments and institutions, from sectors of art and culture, representatives of the central organizations of the masses, military men, young men and women.

Comrade Ramiz Alia gave a warm salute to those present.

The song which opened the concert,

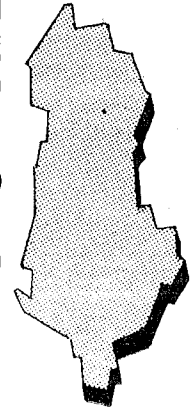
«Eagle-eyed Party» is dedicated to the glorious Party of Labour which has guided the Albanian people from victory to victory on the bright road of socialism. The art-lovers applauded the song «Communist Name», which is dedicated to the unforgettable beloved leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, interpreted by Vaçe Zela, People's Artist, and «You Are Alive in Our Hearts», sung with warmth by the vocal group of the «Migjeni» artistic ensemble.

«Festive Overture» — a choreographic staging of the popular overture by the composer Nikolla Zoraqi, People's Artist, executed by the ballet troupe of the Opera and Ballet Theatre — brought mighty optimistic tones to the concert. The concert was especially enlivened by the pioneers and children of the Palace of Pioneers of Enver, who sang their joyous songs with their characteristic spirit. The hall applauded and cheered for the songs «Heroine of the Working Class» and «For Our Own Territories», both of which are folk songs executed by the chorus of the Folk Song and Dance Ensemble.

The concert was closed with the choreographic tableau «Always in Festivity».

At the end of the concert the artists came out on the stage and together with the whole house applauded and cheered enthusiastically for the Party of Labour, the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



press review

THE JUST CAUSE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES WILL TRIUMPH

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA

For more than four decades the land of the Middle East has been scorched by the fire of wars. The Israeli sionists, supported by the imperialist powers, and especially by American imperialism, have committed a series of aggressions against the Arab peoples, and against the martyred Palestinian people, in particular. Twenty years ago the Israeli aggressors, with the all-round backing up of Washington, started their most savage aggression against some Arab countries. In the flames of the June 1967 war the Arab peoples came to know the real face of the false Soviet friends.

From that aggression, twenty years ago, Tel-Aviv not only has not interrupted its activity against the Arabs and against the Palestinians, but it has caused new hostilities until things came to a head in the new aggression of 6 June against Lebanon.

These acts of aggression have aroused the profound anger of the whole public opinion and of the progressive and freedom-loving peoples the world over. But the imperialist powers and the USA, in particular, have supported them. Washington has supported, approved and fi-

nanced all the Israeli aggressions. The reports published in the American press show that Israel has received every year about 2-3 billion dollars in economic and military aid from the USA. This unlimited support has enabled Israel to hit where and who it can and will, wherever «its interests are threatened», even if they lie thousands of miles away, as it did when it raided the nuclear reactor in Iraq, or in the raid on the general headquarters of the PLO in Tunis, etc. Apart from these things, the Israeli legislation has proclaimed the annexation of the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, the Western Bank of the Jordan River and has proclaimed Jerusalem the capital of the state of Israel in opposition to the historical rights of the Arab peoples and to the Charter of the United Nations. The Arab peoples are the victims of this aggressive policy of Israel and of the American and Soviet interference in this region. The heroic Palestinian people, who for decades on end are carrying the burden of the greatest misery the mankind has experienced until today, is the worst hit. They live as refugees in hovels and tents in the desert, because

they have lost their homeland, which is occupied by the Israeli. More than 700 thousand Palestinians live in refugee camps in different Arab countries.

Even though twenty years have passed since the 1967 aggression and five years from the aggression against Lebanon in 1982, the situation in the Middle East continues to be as tense as ever before because of the aggressive policy of Israel, the fratricidal conflicts like that between Iraq and Iran, and the policy of interference pursued by the two superpowers, which pour oil into the fire. The two superpowers do their utmost in order to preserve their spheres of influence and to penetrate the spheres of the rival. The American and Soviet envoys have toured the Arab countries, canvassing for supporters to their «peace plans», or for an international conference.

The Soviet proposal for a peace conference has its counterpart in the notorious «Reagan» plan for the Middle East, with which Washington is trying to outmanoeuvre the Russians and to take the initiative. This conference, according to Washington, should serve only as a prelude to separate talks bet-

ween Israel and the Arab countries involved. The American secretary of state, Murphy, and the Soviet expert on Middle-East affairs, Polyakov, will meet again during the month of June in order to reach a possible American-Soviet accord.

This intensification of plots and new intrigues in this region by the two superpowers has come up against the mounting of the Palestinian liberation movement. The Palestinian inhabitants in the occupied territories, despite the continuous reprisals against them, have never for a moment ceased their just struggle. Their demonstrations and manifes-

tations in the streets of Nablus, Jenin, Nedjeh, Halil, Jerusalem, etc., have not ceased for a single day. Likewise, the actions of the Palestinian patriots against the occupation troops have continued unremittingly. The blood shed in the streets of cities and country roads in the refugee camps have boosted the morale and the fighting spirit of the Palestinian people.

The unity of the Palestinians and, more broadly, the unity of all the Arab peoples is the greatest worry for the Israeli and their open and secret allies, the Americans and the Soviets. Therefore, the superpowers are hurrying to plot new schemes in order

to channel the solution of the complicated problems of this region into accords which suit their neo-colonialist interests, in order to deliver another blow to the Palestinian movement and bury it altogether and for good. But the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, who have shed so much blood, cannot be deceived by these new plots, either. In their stern struggle they have the support of progressive and freedom-loving peoples the world over, they enjoy the sympathy and all-round support of the Albanian people, who are confident that their just cause will triumph.

«UNITED EUROPE» IN THE GRIP OF INSOLUBLE CONTRADICTIONS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The 9th Congress of the PLA stressed again some trends which have become more pronounced in the crisis-ridden capitalist world recently. «The entire system of the bourgeois and revisionist economy» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the Congress, «has got into

such an impasse that no remedy can save or revive it. The temporary improvements are not sings of recovery but symptoms of its chronic illness. The measures applied to get out of the crisis have not altered and cannot alter the spontaneous flow of capitalist economic processes.»

The imperialist bourgeoisie of Western Europe is in search of a way out, no matter how temporary, of the crisis and, as a consequence, of the many and all-round, internal and external contradictions that erode it.

One of the forms of organization through which big

**press
review**

monopoly capital hopes to achieve its objectives is capitalist intensification and integration in the European Economic Community which represents today an international capitalist union of 12 countries of Western Europe. On this basis, the big monopoly bourgeoisie of Western Europe is now trying to create the «United Europe» as the highest and fullest form of the integration of the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

By means of the Common Market the financial oligarchy of the West-European countries tries to unite its forces and sources on an interstate level for maximum profits, the division of the markets of sale and spheres of influence and the intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the working people. The European Common Market represents a desperate attempt of the West-European imperialist bourgeoisie at finding a way out of the acute economic, social and political antagonisms that erode it.

However, the activity of the European Common Market so far shows an incessant series of lamentable failures which have come about as a result of the contradictory policy followed by its members. The little that was achieved in the first decade of its existence was of a temporary character. A customs union was created, obstacles to the free circulation of the

work force were lifted, and the movement of capital was partially liberalized. Afterwards, however, not only was no progress made, but on the contrary, failures followed each other. In the beginning of the economic, financial, energetic and structural crises of the seventies and eighties, the monopoly bourgeoisie of each member country of the European Common Market was concerned mainly about the protection of its own narrow interests, which could be done only to the detriment of the other partners.

The imbalances in the national economic policies of the member countries of the European Common Market and the protectionist measures which sap the foundations of the customs union have become today a characteristic feature of the European Economic Community.

Apart from protectionist measures, the development of trade within the Community is greatly hampered by very strict customs controls which differ little from controls practised on the borders of the countries which are not members of the organization. The Community has been unable to fully apply the decision on the free circulation of people, services and capital. Although some restrictions in the movement of the work force from one country to the other within the Community were lifted since 1968, according to

what the West-European bourgeois press says, «it still is made up of clearly distinguishable markets of national work forces.» Under the most different pretexts, in most cases the member countries go about it according to their narrow interests and always to the detriment of the other partners. Apart from barriers of an economic character, within the European Common Market there are also bureaucratic obstacles of different kinds. However, fiscal barriers continue to create the greatest difficulties which hamper the formation of a common internal market. The Community is far from being a financial entity in regard to the uniformity of indirect taxation. Differentials in prices for the same kinds of goods derive not only from different levels of inflation, different exchange rates of national currencies and discrepancies in the national systems of price control, but also from different systems of fiscal tariffs.

As far back as 10 years ago efforts began to be made within the Community to unify technical norms on a European plane, a process which has proceeded very slowly or has stopped altogether. To a great degree this is explained with the refusal of the member countries to contribute to the expenditure for the reorganization of production so as to replace national

**press
review**

technical norms with Community standards.

About 20 years since the establishment of the customs union the problem of the creation of a unified market within the Community continues to exist, its solution being made ever more difficult because of the major contradictions and disagreements that erode it.

Despite all the efforts and agreements of the ruling circles of the European Economic Community, it has not yet succeeded in levelling out its many and acute contradictions which are the main cause of the lack of «harmony» and «unity» in the framework of this organization and of which its members complain openly.

The existence of the European Common Market vindicates the Leninist idea that financial capital does not eliminate the inequality and contradictions of the capitalist economy, but on the contrary, exacerbates them further. The unequal development of the capitalist countries, their frequent and deep-going crises, especially in the recent 10-15 years, and the fierce struggle among the monopolies for maximum profits represent unsurmountable obstacles within the rotten capitalist system. There is no possibility for the realization of a common agricultural, commercial, industrial or financial policy at a time when every country, every government and every

monopoly strives by all manner of means to make the greatest possible profit to the detriment of its partners. The law of capitalist competition does not stimulate unity, but on the contrary, fosters disunity. «Quarrels, rivalry, conflicting interests of every state,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «are increasing to such an extent as to pose a threat to the very existence of this market.»

Interstate monopoly unions are encouraged also for political motives. In the present circumstances when the revolutionary movement is greatly expanding all over the world, the imperialist bourgeoisie tries to unify on an international scale, too, its apparatus of violence and terror against the revolutionary movement, the national liberation wars and socialism. Seen from this stand-point, the question of the economic integration of the capitalist countries of Western Europe does not represent the only objective the bourgeoisie and the monopolies of the European Common Market have set themselves. The ruling circles of Western Europe want the achievement of this integration to pave the way for a higher form of union, a political union, «United Europe».

In the years 1984-1985 the ruling circles of the Community took a series of actions to iron out contradictions among the member sta-

tes about the form of the political integration of the organization. Their aim was to achieve a reform of the administrative mechanism dealing with the different economic and political questions so as to enable the institutions and organs of the Community to play a more effective role in the management of the internal affairs of the Community.

Seeing the problem of European integration from this angle, the present schemes of the West-European imperialist bourgeoisie for the creation of the United States of Europe are intended to strengthen the capitalist integration of these countries not only in the economic field, as envisaged by the 1957 Rome treaty, but in the political field as well. At the foundation of this imaginary creation lies the principle of supranationalism, which will replace that of internationalism, which has regulated the relations among the member countries of the Community up to now.

However, as in the economic field, West-European cooperation in the political field is, in the first place, in the interest of the more powerful and greater states of this imperialist grouping. It enables them to strengthen their economic and political positions to the detriment of the smaller and weaker partners of the organization. Hence, new and more acute contradictions

**press
review**

have been added to the old ones. On this problem the countries of the Community are actually divided into two groups, which the West-European press calls Euro-maximalists and Euro-minimalists, but which in fact express the essence of the many contradictions within this union.

The present reform of the European Community, which bears on both economic and political problems of the grouping, is nothing other than a temporary compromise which shows that it is not unity that characterizes this organism as a whole, but acute divergencies, quarrels and disagreements among its members.

The mechanism of political cooperation within the European Economic Community functions since the beginning of the seventies. By means of this mechanism the West-European imperialist bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen the unity of action of the member countries of the organization, in the first place, in the field of foreign policy.

The ambitions of West-European capital in this aspect are obvious. In the system of international relations, the strategy of European monopolies, is aimed at the transformation of Europe, in the beginning, into an economic superpower, then a political and eventually a military one. These, however, are also the fields in which it will

clash with the superpowers and the other imperialist powers.

It is a well-known fact that the operation of the law of unequal economic and political development of the great imperialist powers, as an objective law of the development of capitalism in its last stage, the imperialist stage, has raised Western Europe to the rank of a great imperialist power with claims to a redivision of the sphere of domination and zones of influence. So much so that at present one of the main concerns of the imperialist bourgeoisie of Western Europe is how to shake off the tutelage of American imperialism.

It is a fact that the role of the United States of America in the world capitalist economy has on the whole been declining. However, this process should not be considered a definitive tendency, nor should it be overvalued, especially in the conditions of unrestrained American expansion towards Western Europe. As a result of the economic crises of the years 1974-1975 and 1980-1982, which had a more pronounced negative influence for Europe than for the United States, economic development rates of the European countries declined greatly and their proportion in world capitalist production shrank. In the meantime, the process of the restructuring of the European industry is taking place

at slower rates as a result of American competition, and the relative backwardness of the European countries compared to the United States makes itself felt especially in the technical and scientific field, particularly in such fields as electronics, information, biotechnology, etc.

Also, it is a fact that American capital continues to hold dominant positions in the economy of West-European countries, as for example in the production of computers, means of communication, farming machines, pharmaceutical products, in the oil, rubber and armaments industries, etc., at a time when the penetration of West-European capital into the American economy, despite all efforts, is not in a position to compete with the United States.

However, the inferiority of «United Europe» to the United States is still more apparent in the military and political field. This represents the weakest spot of Europe and is one of the main links American imperialism gets hold of to exercise pressure on its European allies. In the political field, the weight and influence of «United Europe», compared with the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are still far from its claims. The two imperialist superpowers have established their monopoly in the treatment of major international

**press
review**

problems. Together or separately, the countries of Western Europe try to raise their political credit, but the political thinking of West-European imperialism is scarcely listened to, if ever. This political inferiority of «United Europe» is, first of all, explained with its relative economic weakness and its insufficient military strength

compared with the two superpowers. It is also explained, among other things, with the contradictions and rivalry existing among the West-European countries themselves whose individual imperialist interests do not allow them to assume a joint political stand in their international relations.

The objectives of the West-

European big bourgeoisie to turn «United Europe» into an imperialist superpower are rather attempts at unity than an accepted reality. It is not in the nature of imperialism to build durable unions with all the great and irreconcilable political and economic contradictions existing among the future members of «United Europe».

**«CRISIS OF SOCIALISM» OR CRISIS
OF THE FALSIFIERS OF SOCIALISM**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, said at the 9th Congress of the Party: «Today a great campaign is being waged to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Under the pretext that present-day capitalism is no longer that of the time of Marx and Lenin, that it has undergone major economic, social and political and other changes, the bourgeois ideologists claim that the Marxist theory has become outdated and is no longer applicable, that the socialist re-

volution of the proletariat has become unnecessary in the face of the progressive evolution of the bourgeois society, and that the present-day technological-scientific revolution is creating a new supra-capitalist and supra-socialist society. They deliberately identify Marxism with modern revisionism and try to present the crises and defeats of the latter as crises and defeats of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.» Part of this anti-communist denigrating campaign directed against Marxism-Leninism is also the bourgeois misrepresenta-

tion of the ideas of genuine scientific socialism.

The period after the Second World War, in particular, which brought a series of new phenomena and changes, raised with special acuteness many important, vital problems before the social forces. These problems demanded treatment and solution. The owning classes, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the revisionists used them to their advantage in order to reject some of the basic principles of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Lenin as outdated and irrelevant for our time.

**press
review**

The time then «favoured» the efforts to pass the bourgeois society off as the society of «general well-being», the «consumer society», the «post-capitalist and post-industrial» society in which capital and socialism merged into one. The bourgeoisie put all its ideological arsenal of deception into this effort in order to prove the uselessness of the revolutionary class battles.

Nevertheless, the intensive demagogy of the bourgeoisie could not cover up the bitterness of the grim capitalist society, the profound class contradictions, the forms and proportions of the capitalist exploitation. The political and social tensions and situations led in a natural manner to the exploration and contact with the problems of socialism, the roads for its triumph, its true social, ideological and moral features, peculiarities and physiognomy. This dialogue, which had socialism at its centre, inaugurated all the ideological currents which strove to shape the physiognomy of socialism, to portray its organizational, economic and ideological structures.

Socialism, as the Eurocommunists conceived it, was presented as a cross-breed society with socialist elements in the domain of ownership, as a society in which classes and political parties coexist in its base and superstructure, that is, a society and

a state of all classes, of all parties and of all ideologies.

A similar idea about socialism exists among the French revisionists. According to them, «this society requires a sufficient totality of democratic nationalizations along with other forms of the social ownership and the existence of an economic sector based on private ownership.» Whereas Carrillo holds that «this system will have a mixed character in the field of the economy, which is expressed in a political regime in which the owners will be organized not only in the economy, but also will have one or more political parties that represent their interests. This situation will become one of the components of the political and ideological pluralism.» It is clear that such prescriptions can hardly serve to build any type of social formation, even less one of a socialist character.

The modern revisionists have devised new pseudo-socialist labels such as «self-administrative socialism», «national socialism», «developed socialism», «real socialism», «mature socialism» and even «very mature socialism», which they stick on to the «socialist formation». Genuine scientific socialism, the socialism as the classics of Marxism-Leninism conceived, formulated and propagated, was put into practice and lived for a long time in the Soviet Union and in the former socialist coun-

tries, it lives and advances today in socialist Albania. The efforts of the opportunists or the Eurocommunists «to prove» that the socialist society built in the Soviet Union by Lenin and Stalin was a «distortion» of socialism, or even a «failure» of socialism, that the Albanian socialism «in a backward country was a formal experience without encouraging effect,» are just an expression of the hostile stand towards socialism as a doctrine and historical experience, an expression of their efforts to preserve the existing bourgeois order intact.

In these speculative attempts of the opponents of socialism it is not difficult to distinguish some basic aims: first, all this is an effort to negate the universal laws of the revolution and the building of socialism, to negate the essential, common features which are indispensable in socialism as a social and economic formation, which distinguish it from the other social formations and systems which are different from or opposed to it. Second, their aim is to negate the vanguard role of the working class and its revolutionary political party, to negate the proletarian revolution, without which the old order cannot be overthrown and the society cannot be transformed on communist bases. Third, it is an attempt to present

**press
review**

scientific socialism in a situation of «total crisis», as though the socialist order and the doctrine of socialism have not a reliable ideological foundation and a definite and coherent doctrine on which they can base themselves and, moreover, they lack an adequate reality, a real example which can assume the values of a universal experience and of a reality accepted worldwide.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists speak about a «crisis» of socialism in the same terms as the crisis of capitalism.

At international symposiums and conferences which are organized from time to time, sociologists, historians, philosophers and ecologists of the bourgeois and revisionist currents speak about the «crisis of socialism» and its inability to display its values. They preach that form of «open Marxism» which relies on the plurality of methods of approach. These «theories» are based on the great confusion which exists in the international communist and workers' movement about the socialist formation, on the plurality of models and roads of «socialism» in the Soviet Union and in the other countries. The bourgeoisie described the recent economic and political reorganizations and reforms, which Mikhail Gorbachev publicized with great noise at the last plenum of

the CC of the CPSU, as an expression of the «crisis of the socialist system» in the Soviet Union. However, no amount of boastful advertisement and demagogy on the part of the general secretary of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union in this plenum can cover up the real character of the general crisis of the Soviet Union, which resembles more and more the general crisis of the capitalist countries today. So, it is obvious that what the western bourgeoisie describes as a «crisis of the socialist system» in the Soviet Union is in fact the crisis of the very capitalist system which has been restored for a long time in that country.

The bourgeoisie and its opportunist lackeys, who speak about the «crisis of socialism», are interested in creating a great confusion among the working people and the peoples all over the world, in order to bedim the horizons of their struggle, to throw them off the correct road of revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation, to dampen their hopes and shake their confidence in the ideals of socialism and in the superiority of the socialist order, and, finally, to isolate them from the influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. To have the masses and the peoples confused, blinded, obedient, unable to take up the arms of struggle and embrace

this ideology — this is the main aim of the bourgeoisie and the greatest service which the revisionists and the counter-revolutionary speculators render the bourgeoisie.

The revisionist regression which occurred in some countries is not a phenomenon and a law, nor is it something unavoidable. It is a deviation in the process of the historical development, conditioned by the failure to observe and the violation of the fundamental laws of the revolution and the socialist construction, the socialist principles and norms. These actions interrupted the revolutionary development and initiated an anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary process. If the laws, principles and norms of Marxism-Leninism were defended and applied strictly in practice, the cause of socialism would have been secure and invincible.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «In our time the question is not raised of copying the revisionist pseudo-socialisms or of inventing new socialisms. Socialism exists and develops as a theory and practice; it has accumulated a rich historical experience which is summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory, which has proved its vitality in practice. The revolutionary forces will find the right road to socialism by relying on this scientific theory and by implementing

**press
review**

it in the conditions of each country.» It is precisely the pseudo-degenerated socialist variants, it is precisely their pseudo-socialist and falsifying «doctrines» which vegetate in the mire of the all-round political, ideological, economic and moral crisis.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have proved with convincing argument the existence of this dividing line not only using the revolutionary ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but also the immortal teachings and works embodied in the revolutionary reality and ex-

perience of socialist Albania.

In the course of their revolutionary struggle our people have become convinced and aware of the values and advantages of socialist order, of the superiority of this order over the old capitalist order and of the barrenness of the pseudo-socialisms invented by the modern revisionists who have suffered great defeats and remain standing thanks to the hand-outs of imperialism and social-imperialism. We have always scornfully rejected the bastard models and opportunist grafts which they

have made on the basis of compromises, reforms and alliances with the bourgeoisie, because they have nothing in common with scientific socialism.

Revolutionary developments, the whole theoretical and practical activity of our Party show not the «crisis of socialism», but the vital creative strength of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the unyielding militant creative spirit which is instilled and tempered in the consciousness of the people when they embrace this doctrine and fight to put it into practice.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISES AND THE «ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY» OF THE MONOPOLY BOURGEOISIE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The current world economic crisis does not differ, in essence, from other previous crises. At present, however, the bourgeois theoreticians, economists and politicians make much greater noise about the possibility of overcoming crises in capitalism. Also, they come out with more programs and reforms

to prevent their recurrence. The present state of the world capitalist and revisionist economy proves the correctness of the scientific analysis Comrade Ramiz Alia made at the 9th Congress of the Party: «Temporary improvements are not signs of healing, but manifestations of the chronic character of the

disease. The measures that are taken to emerge from the crisis have not changed the spontaneous course of capitalist economic processes.»

The all-round extension of the present crisis is caused by some new factors in the development of the capitalist system such as further growth of the concentration

**press
review**

and internationalization of capital, establishment of the almost complete domination of the dollar in the world financial system, expansion of the activity of the multinationals and the unprecedented increase of non-productive state expenditure, especially for armaments.

The bourgeois theoreticians claim that economic and financial crises break out accidentally, stemming from the «irrational» policies of governments and central banks in the field of the economy and finances. Keynesianism, one of the main trends of bourgeois economic thought in most capitalist states up to the eighties, as a way out of crises and their prevention, called for direct state intervention in the economy in order to encourage the demand of people for goods and services and of the capitalists for investments. The more appropriate means for the achievement of this purpose was supposed to be the implementation of a financial and budgetary policy geared to high expenditure for the militarization of the economy and the construction of infrastructural projects such as roads, bridges, ports, aerodromes, etc.

This economic philosophy was adopted by the United States, too, which in its economic and financial policy over the last twenty years inspired itself from Keynesian thought which was intended to perpetuate the capitalist

system. However, proceeding on this road, up to the end of the seventies the American «locomotive» did not succeed in preventing, or even in toning down the economic and financial crisis. Washington did not succeed in stopping the crisis and that of the international monetary system which is based on the dollar. At the same time, the American economy not only proved incapable of promoting «economic growth» and «development» in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as it used to boast, but on the contrary, through the export of capital, especially in the form of loans and credits and its international financial and economic system, imperialism set up a monstrous machinery for the enslavement of the peoples. Alluring the developing countries by means of low interest rates, American capital eventually led them into the blind alley of loans and credits with political, economic, financial and military strings attached, which has resulted in grave difficulties for them.

Faced with the grave situation of the American and world economic and financial crisis which has its roots in the capitalist system eroded by antagonistic contradictions and in the militaristic, aggressive and expansionist policy of the two superpowers and imperialism, in general, in 1980 the Reagan team advertised its new economic and

monetary philosophy as the way to «salvation». Reagan and his team find the causes of the crisis in the «irrational» economic and financial policy which their Keynes-inspired predecessors carried out for more than 20 years. Hence, they have adopted a «new economic policy» which, with a number of measures to be implemented in the financial and monetary field, will supposedly carry the American economy forward and, by so doing, avert a world crisis.

Based on the monetarist doctrine, the Reagan team supports the view that economic growth and the reduction of unemployment, that is, the emergence from the crisis, can be achieved neither through increasing the proportions of state expenditure in the national product nor through increased state intervention in the economy, but allegedly through reduction of them, through low-rate expansion of the monetary mass, as well as intensification of the free play of the market, because the market is «sovereign» and, even spontaneously, decides better than the human brain.

In implementation of this policy, the Reagan administration reduced budgetary expenditure for socio-cultural purposes by about 37 billion dollars, without affecting military expenditure in the least. However, this economizing in socio-cultural expenditure worsens the con-

**press
review**

ditions of living of the working people, being one of the ways to saddle the working class with the burden of the crisis. At the same time the federal government «programmed» the reduction of taxation on the income of physical persons of the higher income bracket and the reduction of taxation on the profits of the corporations to a sum of 150 billion dollars, which will be implemented within 3 years. In conformity with this policy and in the impossibility of coping with the budget deficit and military expenditure by taxation revenues, they began to apply the method of combating the deficit with loans, not with the «creation of money», that is, by means of

inflationary monetary issue. Through its policy of high interest rates, the United States secured for itself the possibility to use part of foreign monetary capital as a source for covering the deficit in the balance of payments and the budget.

However, this new economic policy which led temporarily to an artificial rise in the value of the dollar and in interest rates, did not pull the American economy out of the crisis, an open manifestation of which is its chronic deficit in foreign trade, a balance of payments and the state budget, and its external and internal debt neither eliminated nor did it soften the economic crisis of the capitalist world. On the

contrary, it made it deeper, because it was accompanied by the lowered competitiveness of the American economy, the fall in the dollar rate, especially against the Japanese yen and the West-German mark, and, finally, the imperialist manipulation of oil prices.

The theory of the «free economy» based on monetarism which justifies «the natural rate of unemployment» is unable to save the American and world economy from economic crises.

The roots and main causes of crises should be sought in the capitalist mode of production and in the capitalist system of the economy.

«THE NEW POLITICAL THOUGHT» — AN IMPERIALIST DOCTRINE AND STRATEGY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

It is a year now that the Soviet propaganda is intensely involved in a new philosophical and political theme. It is called «the new political thought» in the cosmic and atomic century. Gorbachev, the Kremlin leader, has pre-

sented it as an outlook, philosophical conception and theoretical doctrine for the present and the future, a methodology of behaviour in the solution of international problems.

In a few words, the essence

of this doctrine is as follows: mankind is faced with a nuclear holocaust, so on the order of the day stands the Hamletian question: «To be or not to be?» In this situation, according to the revisionist Soviet ideologists, the

**press
review**

political and social forces all over the world should leave aside their class interests and unite to save mankind from an atomic apocalypse.

The doctrine of «the new political thought» capitalizes on the sincere and legitimate aspirations of the peoples to a permanent peace and true international security. Actually the threat of a new world war, either nuclear or conventional, is real indeed. Never has mankind been faced with so great a threat. «This threat — Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 9th Congress of the Party — is imminent and may one day be turned into a real fatality when it is known that its mechanisms may be set in motion not only in a conscious manner, but also through human error or failure of technical means which are being given ever greater confidence.»

Many bourgeois theories claim that the threat of a total nuclear catastrophe represent the main stabilizing factor in the present-day system of international relations. Some revisionist theoreticians insist that at present complete and general disarmament may be achieved, wars may be prevented, contradictions which divide mankind as a world community may be reconciled and a single planetary consciousness may be created. The Soviet revisionists, in particular, are distinguishing themselves in this

direction. They carry on intensive propaganda through which to cover up their aggressive policy and armaments race, to preserve, however little, their image of champions of peace and question the revolutionary and national liberation movements of our time which, according to them, may cause a world conflict.

In the profusion of revisionist theories about «the new political thought» we observe a speculative interpretation of the direct connection between the technical and scientific revolution and nuclear war. The achievements of the technical and scientific revolution and modern technology are being utilized in the United States and the Soviet Union for the production of ever more sophisticated nuclear weapons.

The Soviet revisionists talk about the existence of a wide gap between the achievements of the technical and scientific thinking and the political thinking of the leading circles of the United States and the other imperialist powers. They see an artificial rift between the military and industrial complexes and the political practice of bourgeois governments.

Affirmation of theses of this nature is scientific obscurantism. It is an interpretation of things in the light of fatalism and atomic blackmail. The technical and scientific revolution does not ne-

cessarily develop only through the invention and construction of weapons of mass extermination. It can be developed in directions useful for mankind so as to bring it more material blessings, more security and more stability in international relations.

With their slogans about the atomic century and «the new political thought» the Soviet revisionists distort many important theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory, such as those on war as the continuation of policy by other means, socio-economic formations, the character of our epoch, contradictions of the class struggle, etc.

The products of this fabrication are the theses to the effect that the atomic century calls for a new view of the connection between war and policy, that the technical and scientific revolution in the field of armaments and military equipment has altered the character of war as a means of policy, that the view that war is the continuation of policy by other means has become obsolete and does no longer coincide with the objective realities of our days, etc.

The Leninist thesis that «war is the continuation by means of violence of the policy followed by the ruling classes of interwarring states a long time before its outbreak» is valid to this day. In order to achieve their political aims in the internatio-

**press
review**

nal arena the bourgeoisie as a class, and the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, have used and continue to use all means and methods: political, economic and military pressure on the peoples and sovereign countries, ideological subversion, etc. When their plans have not succeeded by these means, then they have resorted to open aggression and military occupation.

In order to refute the Leninist thesis, the Soviet revisionists declare that in the conditions of an atomic war there would be no victors and vanquished, hence, the imperialist bourgeoisie, which tries to further its aims by means of war, would disappear, too.

These revisionist theses, which are dished up as axioms, proceed from the positions of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower.

As long as imperialism exists, wars in general will be inevitable. So there will be both, unjust predatory imperialist wars and just revolutionary, national liberation and defensive wars. War as a social phenomenon will be eliminated from the life of society only with the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The Soviet revisionists have distorted the Leninist teachings on the character of our epoch and war as a social phenomenon and have

substituted speculative notions for them. They do not define the character of our epoch by its fundamental contradiction, and by the class which stands at the centre of the epoch as a social force capable of solving this fundamental contradiction. Our epoch for them has only one name: the atomic epoch. The Soviet revisionists equal atomic weapons to the laws of historical development of society. They negate the objective character of these laws and slide into the positions of the bourgeois ideologists and the apologists of capitalism who have invented a maze of theories to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory on imperialism as the final phase of capitalism, and communism as a classless society without violence and wars. Atomic weapons can by no means alter the objective laws of the development of society, nor can they save imperialism from its final destruction. They are a social product in a given stage of the development of mankind, regardless of their power of mass destruction which, still, cannot check the advance of society.

«The new political thought» did not emerge by chance as Moscow's political platform in international relations after the 27th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. On its basis many Soviet proposals have been made up to now, intended allegedly to

stop the armaments race, to reach disarmament and to strengthen peace and international security.

The new Soviet doctrine has emerged at a time when the armaments race between the two superpowers and the threat it bases have become greater than at any other time. The United States of America has declared that it is working to implement the militarist program of «star wars». Because of lack of financial means, the Soviet Union does not want the armaments race to be extended to the outer space, too, so it has come out with the so-called program of «star peace». The Soviet Union wields strong positions and, in some directions, has already achieved superiority over the United States. For its part, knowing the Soviet minuses and pluses, Washington has launched the challenge of «star wars» in order to bog Moscow down in an undertaking which will cost it dear or, otherwise, force it to make concessions in its nuclear and missile armaments deployed on earth where the Americans think that the Soviets are superior to them. With his many proposals, Gorbachev has more and more retreated from the former Soviet proposals, so much so that in some directions, as for example that of medium-range missiles in Europe, he has come round to the American positions of

**press
review**

1983. Also, these proposals are intended to create a public opinion unfavourable to the Americans, which, according to Moscow, may force to a certain extent Washington to come back to the Geneva talks more amenable to compromise.

«The new political thought» is nothing but an expression of the Soviet strategy of compromise with the United States of America in their rivalry for world domination and hegemony.

For its part, the United

States of America have made the formula of «the new political thought» its own.

In the essence, both concepts, American or Soviet, have the same content. The United States and the Soviet Union see the contemporary world from their positions of imperialist superpowers, according to which others should think and act according to the recipes given by Moscow and Washington. The bourgeois-revisionist political and philosophical doctrines and concepts are and will al-

ways be intended as apologies of imperialist and social-imperialist policies. Within this context fits the doctrine of «the new political thought» which, through the demagogical interpretation of the legitimate concern of the peoples about peace and genuine international security, is intended to convince world opinion that the world hegemony of the two superpowers, and their cooperation and compromise are the road to the salvation of mankind from catastrophe.

Happy youth.

