

# Albania today

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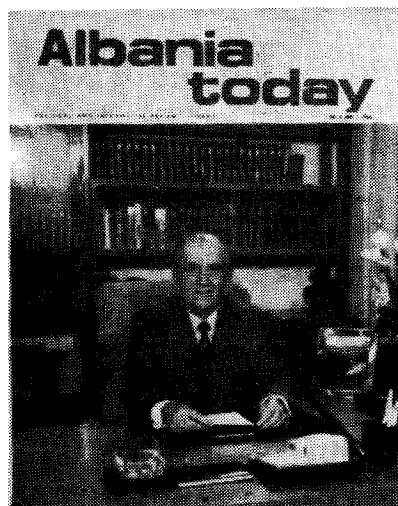


◀ COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA,  
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE PLA AND PRESIDENT OF  
THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA,  
GREETS THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ON THE OCCASION  
OF THE NEW YEAR 1988.

Zamir Mati: THE EAGLE.







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# **RAMIZ ALIA**

## **MESSAGE OF GREETING PEOPLE ON THE**

***The First Secretary of the C  
of Labour of Albania and Preside  
Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, addre  
Year 1988 to the Albanian peopl***

**GOOD EVENING, DEAR COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,**

On behalf of the Party and the Government I want to greet you and to wish you a happy New Year, to wish good health and successes to everybody, the workers and cooperativists, the cadres and specialists, the young men and women, the army men, the veterans and the pioneers of Enver, and to you compatriots wherever you work and live.

The year that is going out was a year full of major efforts made by our people for the implementation of the great programme defined by the 9th Congress of the Party. The economy and other social activities marked new victories on the road of the socialist development and progress. The tasks in many branches and departments were carried out according to forecasts. New projects were added to our Homeland. Education and culture, the defence, the care for the people's health and the various services were raised higher. The economic stability of the country and the well-being of the masses were further consolidated. New victories were achieved in the field of our foreign policy. Our country's relations with many states were extended and strengthened. The name of socialist Albania has risen higher and its international position has been consolidated further.

During the year 1987 we have had to cope with numerous difficulties created by bad weather. The severe winter followed by a lengthy draught hit many sectors, especially the agriculture and the electric production, the consequences of which were felt in the economy, production and on the market. But the consequences of these difficulties were restricted thanks to the unprecedented mobilization of our heroic working class and patriotic peasantry, through the persistent efforts of the communists, cadres, the women and the youth. The tireless work, the resolute and militant stand of our people, educated by the Party, are the basic factor for the results and victories achieved.

Seeing out a whole year of numerous achievements and joys, we come into another year, in the third year of the 8th Five-year Plan. This will be a year of great work, of memorable events and new perspectives. The tasks for the year 1988 are solid, because they consist of the major objectives deriving from the current five-year plan, but they also must make



# GS TO THE ALBANIAN NEW YEAR 1988

***Central Committee of the Party  
of the Presidium of the People's  
sent a message of greetings for the New  
Year, through the Radio and Television***

good some failures in the tasks of the year 1987. As always, these tasks will be accomplished relying on our own forces, on our own work, on the knowledge and toil of the working masses, on the internal resources of our country.

Every possibility exists for the objectives of the year 1988 to be attained with success. These possibilities lie in the inexhaustible energies of the people, in their ardent patriotism, in the steel unity of the people with the Party, in the strength of our economy and in the vitality of our socialist order. We must use these possibilities as well as we can, placing them in the service of the economic and cultural development of the country right from the first days and throughout all this year. We must utilize the great experience we have accumulated, we must learn from our successes, but we must also reflect on the shortcomings, having faith in and being optimistic about the accomplishment of our tasks, but never being self-satisfied. We must tackle them firmly, with unshakeable confidence that, through persistent work and a revolutionary spirit, by encouraging the initiative of the masses and the method of actions, we will accomplish the state plans on all fronts, and will make the life of the people more prosperous, will make our beloved Homeland more powerful.

The year 1988 is a memorable year. The whole Party and the people will commemorate the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious leader of our people. We pay the greatest honour and respect to him by remaining loyal to his Marxist-Leninist teachings, to the Party which he founded and led for decades on end, by guarding as the apple of our eyes and always advancing the fruit of his work, our socialist Albania, by strengthening our economy, culture and defence.

As always, let this year be a source of great inspiration for the people, a source of new joy for every family, for our whole socialist society. I wish you all, comrades, brothers and sisters, fulfilment of these joys and desires, I wish you all good health and happiness in your families, I wish you prosperity.

**LONG LIVE THE PARTY, LONG LIVE OUR DEAR PEOPLE AND OUR BELOVED HOMELAND!**



# THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION IN ALBANIA— AN EXPRESSION OF THE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE

by **BESNIK BEKTESHI**

*Socialist Albania receives no loans or credits and «aid» from the capitalist world. It prohibits the setting up in its territory of foreign military bases and the installation of foreign troops and prohibits the creation of foreign or joint economic and financial companies.*

THE WHOLE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, FROM THE WAR AGAINST THE NAZI AND FASCIST OCCUPIERS, THE TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER TO THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, IS THE WORK OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, LED BY THE PARTY AND RELYING ON THEIR OWN FORCES. THE MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE HAS BEEN AND REMAINS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF OUR PARTY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, OUR GREAT AND UNFORGETTABLE LEADER, WAS THE MASTERMIND WHO FORMULATED AND IMPLEMENTED THE POLICY OF THE PARTY OF RELIANCE ON OUR OWN FORCES. «ONLY THIS POLICY,» COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTED OUT TO THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, «COULD FULLY ENSURE THE FREEDOM, NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIA AND PROTECT IT AGAINST FOREIGN PRESSURE AND DICTATES.»

From the Founding Meeting of November 8, 1941, our Party put it unequivocally that the main and only factor for the national liberation and social emancipation was the internal factor, the powerful reliance of the Albanian people, alone, on their patriotism and their struggle against the fascist invaders and the traitors at home. The newly formed Party instructed that the liberation of the country and the establishment of the new people's power would be carried out relying on the forces of the peo-

*BESNIK BEKTESHI — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania.*

ple united in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front. These ideas were materialized in the historic Conference of Peza, which was called on September 16, 1942, at which, besides the creation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front — as a political union of the people under the leadership of the Party — the foundations were also laid for the setting up of the people's state power through the creation of national liberation councils everywhere. The Conference also laid down that the general armed uprising of the people would be carried out under the slogan «Freedom is not donated, but is won with blood and sacrifices». Through the

staunch struggle waged by the people the country was liberated from the foreign invaders and the local traitors, the independence and freedom was won, the state power passed into the hands of the people and the new road of socialist development was opened with the blood shed by the people.

Under the leadership of the Party and with unshakeable confidence in its word, the people, immediately after Liberation, set down to work in order to heal the wounds of the war, to carry out the profound revolutionary transformations in all fields, to put the country on the rails of progress, relying on the internal human, material and financial resources. Pursuing and implementing the line and policy of the Party, built on the basis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on self-reliance, on the creation of the modern industry based on the local primary materials, on the development of agriculture in order to guarantee the food of the people with the local product, and on the preparation and training of the scientific and technical cadres, capable of working and running every sector of life, were vital for the final destiny of the revolution and socialism in Albania.



# DUCTION OF SOCIALISM

## VITALITY LF-RELIANCE

*bourgeois and revisionist countries.  
ationing of foreign troops, it gives no concessions  
es with the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist states.*

In these 43 years of the shining epoch of the Party, along with the strengthening and democratization of the people's state power, major achievements have been made in all fields of social and economic activities, in the creation of the new man and the defence of the country. The establishment of the socialist social ownership of the means of production, both in city and in the rural area, abolished the exploitation of man by man once and for good. The application of the Party's programme for the development of the productive forces have made Albania today a country with a many-branched and complex developed economy, a stable and dynamic economy, capable of independent operation and rapid development. The continuous consolidation and perfecting of the socialist relations of production have provided our economy with protection against crises, stagnation, inflation, price rises, unemployment and the other ulcers of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist economy.

Our socialist economy, which develops on the basis of the single and general state plan, is distinguished today for the mobilization and exploitation of all the intensive and extensive factors of growth of pro-

duction and its effectiveness. Therefore, today it advances ensuring the increase of the social production and national income at rates 2-3 times higher than the rates of the population growth, and ensuring, at the same time, that the part of accumulation needed for the extended socialist reproduction be entirely covered by the locally created income. The levels reached and the proportions created by our economy have made possible the fulfilment of all the needs of the country for oil, electric energy and other fuels, permit industry to produce various trade marks of pig-iron and steel, chemical fertilizers, machinery and complete equipment and production lines, and to fulfil 95 per cent of the requirements for spare parts, etc. Whereas agriculture for some years now ensures all the needs of the population of the country for bread grain, this being an achievement which constitutes a great victory of historic, political and strategic importance, and which, together with the light and the food-stuffs industries fulfils over 85 per cent of the needs of the people for industrial and alimentary mass consumption goods.

Side by side with the development of the economy, our education, cul-

ture, science and arts have also made great progress, relying on our own efforts. Our specialists and scientists, together with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, are in a position to design and build factories and plants, hydro-power stations and large-scale irrigation works, and put them into operation. Socialist Albania today has an impregnable defence, which relies strongly on the great force of the soldier people and on our people's army, who are trained continuously and in an all-round manner on the basis of the principles of our Popular Military Art.

The principle of self-reliance has been and remains at the foundations of our entire social and economic development. «Everything we have built in our country,» Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, «is the result of the toil and intelligence of our working people. The great economic and social, political and cultural victories have not been donated to us by anyone, but we have won them at the cost of sacrifices and abnegation, we have achieved them in struggle against the internal and external class enemies, clashing with many obstacles.» The experience accumulated during the process of the construction of socialism has been



and is an enrichment of the understanding of the principle of self-reliance and its implementation on a broader extent. This principle which is confirmed by our practice will be our unalterable basis for the fulfilment of the 8th Five-year Plan.

For our Party reliance on our own forces has not been and is not a policy of temporary changing political circumstances, or a general slogan. On the contrary, this principle, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, is not only a law of the building of socialism, but also an imperative, a must, in the conditions of our country. It is an expression of the revolutionary spirit, the readiness and resolve of the masses to work and live in any condition, no matter how difficult. It serves for the mobilization of all the internal reserves which our economy possesses and creates continuously; it inspires and encourages the creative and innovative thinking of the masses, increase their confidence in themselves and prepares them to tackle and solve any problem and to surmount any obstacle.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Working for the building of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never had in mind the creation of an autarchic economy, closed in itself. At the same time, fighting against any feeling of inferiority and submission before the foreign, does not mean negation of the utility of progressive thinking in the world, the achievements of technique and science in the other countries.» The Party has orientated that the achievements of advanced science, technique and technology should be used to our advantage in accordance with the conditions and possibilities of our country.

The consistent implementation of this principle does not constitute any «sliding into positions of narrow nationalism», or «departure from internationalism», as the imperialists and the modern revisionists try to make out through their propaganda in order to justify their theories of the «interdependence of nations», of the «limited sovereignty», and their neo-

colonialist, expansionist and enslaving policies. With their capitalist and neo-colonialist theories and practices they seek to arouse and foster the psychosis that allegedly no nation in the world is capable of developing and advancing on its own, if it is not under the umbrella and tutelage of a superpower, if it does not receive «aid» from other states, if it does not participate in the international capitalist and revisionist collaboration. The example of our country refutes these preachings of the enemies of the revolution and socialism. Socialist Albania receives no loans or credits and «aid» from the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries. It prohibits the setting up in its territory of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in its territory, it gives no concessions to and prohibits the creation of foreign or joint economic and financial companies with the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist states. The affirmation and sanctioning of all these in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania is a clear expression of the determination of the PLA, of our socialist state and of the Albanian people to stick to the implementation of the principle of self-reliance, as the basis of the preservation and consolidation of political and economic independence and sovereignty of the country, of the guarantee for the building of socialism. The falseness of the bourgeois-revisionist views is seen also in the very reality of the capitalist and revisionist world. All those countries which rely for their development on the credits or «aid» from the imperialist powers and the monopoly banks and which grant concessions after concessions to the multinational companies, have been reduced to appendages of the metropolises and have immersed themselves into great debts, which have put even their national independence into jeopardy.

It is an incontestable fact that socialist Albania has never pursued a policy of self-isolation. On the contrary, it is the others who have tried to isolate Albania from the rest of the world. Thanks to a Marxist-Leninist correct, far-sighted and principled policy in internal and external

questions, which our Party has pursued and continues to pursue, our country has managed to break through the blockades and the encirclement, and each passing day witnesses the increase in its diplomatic relations (at present with more than one hundred countries of the world), or in its trade, cultural, technical and scientific exchanges with the world, and it is striving to develop them on the basis of the well-known principles of the respect of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs, equality and reciprocal benefit. The strengthening of independence and the whole social and economic development of the country have enabled our state to pursue an independent foreign policy and to voice its opinion about the various issues and events in the world openly and courageously. Socialist Albania today enjoys a high authority and prestige in the world, it has numerous friends and well-wishers and is a powerful support for the revolutionaries everywhere in the world.

Albania has known and will always know new developments and still greater progress on the road of socialist construction. The 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990) represents a majestic programme for the development of the economy and culture, which will help our country to take a great and important step towards its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country, thus reaching a more advanced stage in the building of the material-technical base of socialism. The positive achievements of the first two years of the current five-year plan in the conditions of the difficulties created by the pressure and influence of the economic crisis of the capitalist world and by the weather conditions speak of the great possibilities and reserves we have for the attainment of the objectives set by the historic 9th Congress of the Party.

Experience hitherto shows that the accomplishment of the planned tasks in all their quantitative and qualitative, technical, economic and financial indices with less expenditure of energy, primary and raw materials constitutes the main factor for the

implementation of the principle of self-reliance. The major tasks which await us dictate the need for the broader and more comprehensive understanding of this principle by the working masses, making them conscious that this must be implemented in practice, in all the fields of social activities on the level of the economy, branch, district and sector, on the level of the enterprise and agricultural cooperative, by every institution and military unit and by each and every individual.

The orientations of the 9th Congress of the Party that we should consume as much as we produce, spend in proportion with our income, import as much as we export, by continuously increasing reserves, are especially important in the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This requires the rhythmic accomplishment of the planned tasks, the complete exploitation of the existing productive capacities and the wealth of the country with greater effectivity, the commissioning of the new productive projects in time, the strengthening of the savings regime, the lowering of norms of material consumption, the replacement of imported materials with local ones, the increase of export and the relative reduction of import, the increase of

productivity and the fulfilment of the indices of labour and so on.

In the implementation of the principle of complete self-reliance new horizons have been opened also in the fulfilment of the quotas of the supply of the population with agricultural and livestock products. The food programme concretely detailed by the Party at its 3rd Plenum is aimed at ensuring that each village, each cooperative, each district should be able to meet all its needs for milk, meat, eggs, beans, potatoes and vegetables from its own production. A measure of extremely great importance in this respect is the supply of the peasantry with agricultural and livestock products from the production of the small herds of livestock and from the small plots of the brigades and from the cooperativists' personal plot of land. This important initiative, which is being implemented throughout the country, will further strengthen the property of the group, will help to exploit the extensive possibilities which exist in the sector of agriculture in a more efficient manner, and, as the experience of some districts has shown, will lead to the increase of the agricultural and livestock production, in making the

countryside independent for supplies of such products from the concentrated production, which will finally improve the supply of the towns with these products.

The struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the plan, as the Party points out, is not only an economic problem, but also a political problem, because it has to do both with the development of the productive forces according to the structure required by the building of socialism and with the revolutionary perfection of the socialist relations of production; it has to do with the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland and with the well-being of the masses of working people. Therefore, the Party has always devoted special care to raising the whole organizing, leading and control activities from the base to the centre to a higher level, so that the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plans is ensured in struggle against bureaucracy, liberalism, technocracy, one-sidedness and globalism, while developing and encouraging the spirit of communist militancy everywhere, and spreading the great movement of our time «Banner-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party.»

# THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA

*by* **STEFANAQ POLLO**

*The freedom and independence of socialist Albania are historic achievements. Their defence and inviolability are primary tasks for every Albanian citizen. They are an indispensable condition for the successful construction of socialism in our country*

**THE PROCLAMATION OF ALBANIA'S INDEPENDENCE ON NOVEMBER 28, 1912 AT VLORA PUT AN END TO THE CENTURIES-LONG OTTOMAN RULE AND MARKED A RADICAL CHANGE IN THE DESTINY OF THE COUNTRY. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID. «THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE DEALT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE THE FINAL MILITARY-POLITICAL BLOW REALIZING THEIR THOUSAND YEARS-OLD DREAMS AND REVOLUTIONARY ASPIRATIONS... ALBANIA PROCLAIMED ITSELF FREE AND INDEPENDENT NOT ONLY OF OTTOMAN BONDAGE, BUT ALSO OF ANY NEW BONDAGE AND CHAINS THAT WERE BEING FORGED ON THE ANVILS OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.»<sup>1</sup> WITH THIS OUR NATIONAL RENAISSANCE REACHED ITS APOGEE. BECAUSE THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE CROWNED THE HEROIC STRUGGLES AND EFFORTS OF WHOLE GENERATIONS TO WIN BACK THEIR LOST FREEDOM, TO ENJOY SOVEREIGN NATIONAL RIGHTS AND TO OPEN THE ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS FOR THEIR COUNTRY.**

With the historic decisions of the Vlora Assembly the principle of nationality, proclaimed by the men of our National Renaissance and the Balkan and European democracy since the 19th century, triumphed in our country, too. Thus, there was vindicated the immanent right of a nation formed through living on its own

territory without interruption in the course of centuries, with its own language, culture, history and individuality, a right won in the trenches of a protracted stern struggle, a right which belonged to them also because of the valuable contribution they had made to the liberation process in the Balkans and Europe.

*Prof. STEFANAQ POLLO — Director of the Institute of History*

Despite its limitations and also seen through the prism of later de-



# ION NCE

lution in accordance with the positive tendencies of historical development. The proclamation of independence is among those events which mark major stages in the historical process. It concluded an epoch, the brilliant epoch of the National Renaissance and opened up new roads for the coming generations. As such, it has particular importance not only for the time it occurred and the change it brought about, but also for the positive consequences it had in its wake. It conserves its educational and mobilizing value for the future, too. Hence, celebration of its anniversaries, evocation of the feats of our forefathers, and assessment of them in the light of Marxist dialectics is a duty not only for the historians, but also for the whole society. Love and respect for the brilliant past are the more forceful expressions of the patriotism and vitality of our people. On the other hand, celebration of major historical events is also an encouragement to delve deep in their study on the basis of new facts and on the higher methodological level achieved by historical sciences.

Our new historiography has always had the study of national independence, as well as those of other major events of our national history, in the centre of its attention. As is known, the scientific legacy on these problems has been relatively poor. Relying, in the first place, on published and unpublished documents, local and foreign, the press of the time and the valuable memoirs of the generation of those who fought for independence which, apart from facts unrecorded in documents, give also opinions, stands, judgements, aspirations of the active participants in the events, proceeding from the dialectical materialistic theory, and the teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our historians have already said their weighty word on the problems of national independence, as borne out also by their publications of the last years.

The problems of Albania's independence and the roads which led to it have been the object of special interest also of foreign historiography, particularly in the Balkans. Along with the attempts at an objective treatment of events of the years of

the proclamation of independence, there have also been superficial and tendentious studies, with unfounded and aprioristic assessments.

After the Second World War, in foreign studies on the problem of Albanian independence there began emerging new objective assessments, which were due to the development of historiography in general, the independent democratic and progressive stands of their authors, as well as, and in the first place, the active role of the new Albanian historiography in the foreign world. Nevertheless, the old traditional anti-historical and anti-Albanian distortions stemming mainly from non-scientific interests, although in a more refined form and with some «concessions», continue to be offered to the reader.

The key problem on which the diametrically opposed views of the Albanian historiography, on one hand, and part of the foreign historiography, on the other, continue to clash has been whether Albania's independence has been the deed of the Albanians or foreigners, whether it has been the result of the ceaseless struggle of the Albanian nation for their liberation and the formation of their independent state, that is, the crowning of the struggle and efforts of the men of our National Renaissance, or, on the contrary, it has been a gift of the Great Powers to a country which did not expect it, hence, an artificial solution due to circumstances and conditioned by the interests of these Great Powers, whether the independent Albanian state was the deed of the inner national forces or an international creation of the Great Powers, etc., etc.

The new Albanian historiography has by now defined its stand towards these problems and provided a convincing and documented answer to them.

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The proclamation of independence was not an isolated act. It was prepared step by step, with care, patience, courage, and a high sense of

developments, the proclamation of independence affirmed with dignity the great idea of nationality and national unity, although most of the country was occupied by foreign armies.

Albania's independence was not merely the deed of a handful of patriots who raised the national flag at Vlora. Certainly, they have a well-deserved place in the history of the nation. However, they and the Vlora National Assembly juridically sanctioned through an act signed by the representatives of the nation what the broad masses of the people, in all Albanian-inhabited regions, had prepared throughout tens and tens of years of struggle, suffering and sacrifices. All Albanian regions had laid their stone on the foundations of independence.

Great events represent major achievements of a people. They assume special importance when they have a progressive character and give the tangle of contradictions a correct so-

responsibility for tens and tens of years. As its protagonist, Ismail Qemali, was followed by history, as a folk song has it, so a whole historical period preceded Albania's independence. The act of November 28, 1912 cannot be understood without this history. Those who signed the document of independence were not new men, who were produced by the complicated situation created by the 1st Balkan War and the need for finding a way out. A good part of those who convened at the Vlora National Assembly had begun their patriotic activity a long time before and distinguished themselves as fighters of the rifle and the pen for national liberation.

Independence is organically linked with the National Renaissance not only by its protagonists, but also by their patriotic and revolutionary thought and action, especially that of the masses of the people, who saw in the act of November 28 their reward for the blood they had shed, the suffering they had endured and the sacrifices they had made to see that day. Hence, our independence and National Renaissance are an indivisible whole.

The men of our National Renaissance fought against national oppression not only by the material means of armed resistance, but also by intellectual means, the ideas which vindicated the rights of the Albanian people to an independent existence and inspired and mobilized them in their struggle. When the patriotism of the men of our National Renaissance assimilated the great ideas of European enlightenment and rationalism, the political and social thought of our National Renaissance rose to a higher degree and assumed a new content. These ideas were adapted to the Albanian reality and responded to the demands raised by Albanian society in its development. So, the ideas of freedom and independence of the Homeland found in the pen of the men of our National Renaissance a theoretical argumentation based not only on the natural right

of the Albanian people. They addressed themselves also to history to prove the ancient existence of the Albanians on their territories, their national individuality, their ceaseless struggle against foreign domination, their contribution to the common cause of liberation of the Balkan and European peoples, etc. The patriotic intellectuals revived the historical memories the people had preserved in their songs and legends, they stressed common national traditions, they understood and made others understand the importance of the language, territorial and spiritual community of the Albanian people, and they struggled to transform popular self-awareness into national self-awareness. In a country like Albania, in which unity of the movement for national liberation in a population divided into three different religions, was an indispensable condition for success, this self-awareness could only be formed outside all religions, above all religions, by proclaiming Albanianess the fundamental principle of the National Renaissance.

The new ideas spread broadly in the cultural circles within and outside the country, through books and periodicals and penetrated gradually into the minds and hearts of the common people through oral transmission. They helped the people find their historical and national identity and, regardless of regional, religious or other divisions, feel themselves a community with the one history, the one culture, the same customs, concerns and hopes, and the same demands. The Albanians began to feel united by their glorious, though painful, past and their struggle for the same future. The new ideas played a very important role in the transformation of ethnic self-awareness into national self-awareness, in which the will of the nation began to express itself. It is these ideas that, during the period of the National Renaissance and, especially, the Albanian League of Prizren, having struck deep and strong roots in the masses

of the people, set them in movement both in years of crises and armed clashes with the enemy and in periods of relatively calm development. The movement of the National Renaissance, which expressed itself in various directions — theoretical, ideological, political, cultural, military, and organizational, speeded up the historical process and imparted to it such rates of development as were unknown in former periods.

The ideology of the National Renaissance expressed itself in political programs. Aware of the need and, not less, the right to be free and independent and to ensure the normal development of their country, the ideologists of the National Renaissance worked out, according to the time and circumstances, a clear political strategy for the course towards autonomy and independence and its form and content. Autonomy and independence are always conceived as two states closely interconnected for the solution of the Albanian question. The platform of the autonomy under the sovereignty of the Sultan predominated during the period of the National Renaissance until November 1912. It provided for the building of socio-economic structures and juridical-political institutions which would serve as a basis for the independent state order that would be set up as soon as the appropriate conditions were created. This is explained not with the desire of the Albanians, most of them of Moslem religion, to remain under the shade of the Khalif Sultan or with their immaturity for self-government, as a number of foreign authors want to make out. This was the road followed also by some other Balkan states, apart from Greece, and, of course, their experience could not be disregarded. However, in the case of the Albanians, the demand for autonomy is explained mainly by considerations of an international character. In the first place, if compelled to do so, the Sublime Porte would more readily accept an autonomous Albania with the preservation of its sovereignty over it than its complete secession. In fact,

this is what happened. It recognized the autonomy of Albania, but only after the proclamation of independence. The main external factor which conditioned the platform of the autonomy was the serious and constant threat of the partition of Albanian territories on the part of the neighbouring monarchies, a threat which had begun to emerge as early as the forties of the 19th century. In these conditions, an autonomous Albania in the framework of the Ottoman Empire could secure its territorial integrity, either because the Sublime Porte was interested in preserving intact the border of the Empire, or through guarantees from the Great Powers to maintain its status quo. An autonomous Albania would have the possibility to strengthen itself so as, when it became independent, to be in a position to face up to the foreign dangers that threatened it.

An external support, for example, a military alliance with the Greek neighbour in a liberation war against the Ottoman Empire was sufficient for the Central Committee of Constantinople and its leader Abdyl Frashëri to envisage the creation of an independent Albania as early as 1877. The negative stand of the Greek government towards this plan strengthened the conviction of the Albanian patriots about the correctness of the demand for the territorial-administrative autonomy of the country. Nevertheless, when the League of Prizren proclaimed the autonomy of the country and formed its provisional government in 1881, Sami Frashëri hoped that favourable circumstances would soon come about for Albania to get on its own, «through complete secession», as he expressed himself. Seen from this angle, the independence proclaimed in 1912, in the conditions of the 1st Balkan War, was the logical consequence of the political line pursued by the men of our National Renaissance. Hence, it can be said that the question of Albania's independence, in regard to the inner socio-political forces, was put forward for solution since the 19th century,

at least since the time of the League of Prizren, whereas in regard to international and political factors it was put forward for solution and solved in November 1912.

The idea of autonomy or independence was expressed in the fundamental demand which lay at the basis of all political programs, not only during the National Renaissance, but also prior to it — at the time of the formation of the Albanian state. This demand underwent an evolution, from a principality like Skanderbeg's put forward by the uprisings of the 16th-17th centuries to the great pashaliks of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, from the Albanian vilayet, province or state, with political and administrative autonomy put forward by the League of Prizren, the League of Peja and the uprisings of the years 1910-1912 to the independent state of 1912. Unlike the national leadership of some Balkan countries which sought to create their states within the boundaries of the respective mediaeval empires, at the expense of the other peoples of the Peninsula, the men of our National Renaissance conceived an autonomous or independent Albania with such territorial extension as to include the territories whose inhabitants were Albanians, totally or in their overwhelming majority.

The scientific platform of the organization, content and tasks of the Albanian bourgeois-democratic state, which summed up the experience of tens of years of national movement, was worked out, as is known, by the Albanian erudite, Sami Frashëri, in 1899, in his work *Albania — What It Was, What It Is and What It Will Be*.

The second fundamental direction which prepared Albania's independence was armed revolutionary action. The theoretical, political and cultural thought of the men of our National Renaissance was followed step by step by the anti-Ottoman armed uprising. In this field our patriotic movement wrote down brilliant pages which do it great honour. It is the great merit of the more advanced men of our

National Renaissance that they considered the liberation armed movement an indispensable means to win national rights. It is an even greater merit of the Albanian people's masses and, in particular, of peasantry that they took to arms whenever the need arose, and did not hesitate to face up to powerful enemies, even when their struggle demanded much bloodshed and many sacrifices. This struggle, which fills the annals of the 19th-20th centuries, was the strongest point of our national movement. From the uprisings against the Tanzimat reforms to 1912 we have a whole string of anti-Ottoman armed movements which followed one another, with different extension and intensity, but with the one aim: to shake off the foreign yoke and win freedom. It was these events, in the first place, that prepared the terrain and opened up the path for the Proclamation of Independence. It can be said with full assurance that the flag raised in Vloëra flew over a land whose people had shed torrents of blood and that our patriotic and freedom-loving people paid very dearly for their independence. Albania's independence was the result also of an intense organizational activity carried out during the period of National Renaissance. It is known that there can be no proper liberation movement of a national character without adequate organization, without creation of the necessary political and military organisms to carry it through to victory in all aspects. These were the traditional assemblies with regional and inter-regional extension of the thirties and seventies of the 9th century, which were raised to a higher degree and assumed an all-Albanian extension and character with the League of Prizren, the League of Peja at the end of the 19th century, and later, on the eve of independence, the national clubs, secret committees and assemblies. All these forms of political leadership also created their military organisms to lead the armed uprisings.

So, independence was prepared by the men of our National Renaissance



in all directions. It found the majority of the Albanian population, in all their territories, with an already formed political consciousness, aware of their national duties and rights and determined to win and defend them at any price. Independence found Albania with a broad leadership which had emerged mainly from among the strata of the middle and petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, and with a political and organizational experience gained in the process of a protracted struggle with the Sublime Porte, the Great Powers and the Balkan monarchies. Albania had the possibilities to rise, to organize itself and advance as an independent state.

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Such an event as the proclamation of the independence of Albania, a country in which the interests and aspirations of different states, big or small, were for a long time clashing with one another, cannot be limited only to its international relationships and the Albanian space. It had Balkan and European, political and diplomatic implications.

The independence was proclaimed in the extremely complicated international and national conditions created by the 1st Balkan War, when, in pursuit of the Ottoman troops, the armies of the neighbouring monarchies had occupied a good part of Albanian territories which they sought to annex according to plans worked out long before. However, the Great Powers intervened in the regulation of the Balkans and Albania and, as is known, organized the London Conference of Ambassadors for this purpose.

A great deal has been spoken and written about both the 1st Balkan War and its character and consequences for Albania and the London Conference and its verdict. Our historiography has convincing and broadly documented opinions of the unjust character of the annexionist aims and anti-Albanian actions of the Balkan allies, as well as the decisions taken by the Great Powers in London on

the partitioning of the Albanian territories and putting almost half of them under the Serb-Montenegrin and, then, Greek yoke.

Allow us on this occasion to dwell in brief on some questions.

The great anti-Ottoman uprisings of the years 1910-1912, which were the continuation of the former ones, had shaken the rule of the Sublime Porte in Albania to its foundations, engaged considerable Ottoman military forces and means, sown the seed of disintegration in the ranks of the enemy army and encouraged the revolt in other zones of the Ottoman Empire. From this aspect, the war of the Balkan Alliance against Turkey was to a certain extent, as it was correctly stated in the memorandum of the Vlora Government addressed to the London Conference, «...the continuation of the recent Albanian uprisings» and their successes were the fruit of the liberation war of the Albanian people.<sup>2</sup>

The alliance of Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece against Turkey, which was formed in 1912, when the general anti-Ottoman uprising had swept the whole of Albania, had in the Albanians their partners and natural allies, while on the other hand, the Albanian people ought to have found in the Balkan alliance a powerful support in their struggle for national liberation. And, in fact, one of the first and more important objectives which the leaders of the Albanian National Movement set themselves in the beginning of the 20th century was the establishment of relations of collaboration with the neighbouring countries in the struggle for the liquidation of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans. The Albanians, a small people, which unlike the other Balkan countries, had not yet even their state, were interested in this collaboration, in the first place. Hence, it is natural that the Albanian leaders, Ismail Qemali, Hasan Prishtina, Isa Boletini and others, before the outbreak of the Balkan War, tried to form a military alliance with the neighbouring countries. Ismail Qemali had more than once emphasized the

need for this collaboration in the beginning of this century. In 1900 he said that «the Albanians must live in peace with all their neighbours and collaborate with them when they have good intentions towards Albania (Little Albania, No. 19, October 15, 1900). Steps were taken in this direction with Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria. Following in the footsteps of Abdyl Frashëri, Ismail Qemali gave great importance to collaboration with the Greeks with whom the Albanians were linked by common interests. All these attempts, however, met with the unsurmountable wall of chauvinism of the neighbouring monarchies. So, the Albanian people were placed before a tragic alternative: either with Turkey and suffer its fate, or with the Balkan allies and dig the grave for Albania. A correct stand lay on a prudent and well-weighed assessment of all the factors operating at those moments, an assessment which called for a broad vision of the perspective so as to be prepared to cope with the eventual results of the war. In these very difficult and contradictory conditions the political circles of the country deemed that the most realistic solution possible was to follow the course of the League of Prizren and the road which Sami Frashëri had clearly advocated in the end of the 19th century and which was dictated by the whole development of the national movement: to take to arms «not to strengthen the rule of Turkey in the Balkans», not as allies of the Sublime Porte, but «in order to defend the territorial integrity and liberty of Albania.» And so was done.

The mass desertion of the Albanians recruited into the Ottoman army, in order to defend their Homeland from the expansion of the neighbouring states, had grave consequences for this army and made the triumphant march of the Balkan allies easier. On the other hand, however, the armed conflict of the Albanian volunteer detachments with them became inevitable. Provoked by the chauvinists of the Balkan Allian-

ce, this conflict brought disaster to both sides, but more especially to the Albanians, if account is taken of the fact that the occupation of their territories was accompanied with massacres, deportations and mass population expulsions.

Some months after the Proclamation of Independence a new and greater disaster — the partition of Albania by decision of the Great Powers, was added to the hemorrhage imposed on our people. The imperialist policy of the Great Powers which disregarded and trampled underfoot the rights of the small peoples was not something specific for Albania. Their egoism made itself felt to a greater or lesser extent also in their stand towards other Balkan peoples. In the case of Albania, however, their decision on partitioning its national territories caused our country a national catastrophe. On the Albanian question, both European imperialism and Balkan chauvinism united in their common and contradictory interests. As a result, unlike the other countries, its territories went on shrinking through annexations by its neighbours not only in 1913, but also before and after this date.

«The Albanians knew how to win their freedom with weapons, but unfortunately they lost it through diplomacy...»<sup>3</sup>, wrote *Liri e Shqipërisë* some days after the proclamation of independence. The observation is right, but it does not tell the whole truth. «The road of our people,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «was not an easy road, the road of cunning and subservience, of subjection to and fear of the stronger, but the road of struggle with their savage enemies, internal and external, open and disguised...»<sup>4</sup> The anti-Ottoman uprisings were suppressed one after the other, not only because the struggle was too unequal, but also because the insurgents were given deceptive promises and subjected to the whole arsenal of the cunning diplomacy of the Sublime Porte and the other states interested in the Albanian question. Years had to go by until

the leaders of the anti-Ottoman resistance were able to clearly see what lay behind the facade. The League of Prizren was the first to produce from its midst a capable leadership which tried to find its way, although without success, in the labyrinths of Ottoman, Balkan and European diplomacy. Among the personalities of our national movement, who prepared the independence, stands out Ismail Qemali, with his experience of state affairs and his many links with foreign politicians and diplomats. He established contacts with the chancelleries of the Great Powers and used all opportunities to present the Albanian viewpoint, to put out feelers, to convince his partners to back up the cause of Albania, also, by exploiting the contradictions between them. His activity became more intensive in November 1912, on the eve of the proclamation of independence and afterwards, as the chairman of the Provisional Government. He fought for Albania to be not an object, but a subject of international law, and for creating conditions as favourable for it as possible on the international arena. But, as is known, imperialist diplomacy can never proceed from principles of justice, but only from the interests of the stronger. And in 1913 Albania was the victim of these interests. The head of the London Conference, the minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain, L. Grey, declared in August 1913 that the solution of the problem of Albania's borders «... on many points will give rise to a great deal of criticism on the part of everyone who knows the country...» and justified this by presenting it as a necessary sacrifice on the altar of European peace. Actually everything was done to gain time in order to be better prepared for the world conflict that would break out a year later.<sup>5</sup>

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With the proclamation of independence a new and extremely diffi-

cult battle began, that of the organization of the Albanian state. On this road the government had to cope with colossal obstacles which stemmed, in the first place, from the continuation of the profoundly hostile policy of the imperialist Great Powers and the neighbouring monarchies towards independent Albania, too. Realization of the historic act of Vlorë within Albania's internationally recognized borders called for the union of the Homeland under the authority of the national government, the setting up of the state administration and the implementation of an inner and foreign policy, which would ensure the development and advance of the country.

With the departure of foreign troops from Central and Northern Albania, the government extended its authority to these zones. Its mission, however, could not be carried out through to the end, not only because, under various pretexts, Greek troops did not leave the southern part of the country, while the Serbs continued to occupy a strip of land inside Albania's borders which they called a «strategic zone», justifying themselves with the necessity of defence against a threat which allegedly came to them from Albania. The struggle for the territorial integrity of the Albanian state went on for whole years on end until it was definitively solved in 1920, yet not without new encroachments upon Albanian territory.

The Vlorë government remained in power a little more than one year, but within this time, despite the class limitations that characterized it, it distinguished itself especially for its democratism and patriotism. It emerged as a land-owning-bourgeois government, whose members had been activists of the national movement. However, when, with the beginning of independent life, a number of problems of the organization of inner state and social life called for solution, the democratic wing, which was supported by broad patriots' circles, and the reactionary wing, which was backed up especially by the particularist big landowners, emerged and beca-

me ever more active both within and without the government. To the head and progressive members of the government goes the credit that they set it along democratic lines, imposing themselves both in the internal and external policy. This explains the measures taken by the government in the fields of administration, economy and culture, as well as in its last phase, its actions directed against the big landowners and, in general, the more pronounced leftovers of feudalism. Actions of this kind called not only for conviction, but also for courage to face up to landowning reaction which would soon backlash, as it eventually did.

In regard to international relations, independent Albania suffered more or less the same fate as the other Balkan countries which the Great Powers put under their «protection», or control. This «protection» or control which were publicized as expressions of the eagerness of the Great Powers to defend the smaller countries and assist them was in reality only a new form for them to interfere more easily in the internal affairs of these countries. The Great Powers were not protecting them, but only their imperialist interests.

Independent Albania was saddled with the International Control Commission which, on the one hand, represented the will of European imperialism to submit the country to the collective plunder of the Great Powers, and, on the other, represented their contradictions, which, projected on the Albanian reality, could only hamper and sabotage the activity of the Vlora Government.

Ismail Qemali did everything in his power to cope with this foreign control and the constant pressure of the Great Powers, and defend the sovereignty of the Albanian state. With a high feeling of responsibility for the fate of his country, but also as an outstanding diplomat, he manoeuvred skillfully and followed a policy which was for the good of his country.

However, despite the democratism and patriotism that characterized the

Vlora Government, it could not face up to the end to the interference of the Great Powers with which the reactionary landlords had made common cause. Without detracting from the great patriotic merits of the government and its head, Ismail Qemali, resistance to the dangers that threatened the country from within and without called, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, for establishing close links with the masses of the people, in the first place, and powerful and concrete reliance on these masses, in order to strengthen political, organizational and military power and independence.<sup>7</sup>

The fall of the Vlora Government and the ascending of the Albanian throne by the foreign German Prince Wied marked a deepening of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Albania. Here the Great Powers operated in the same direction as they did in some other Balkan countries, but the Albanian experiment, as is known, was a complete failure. It failed not because a Christian King was imposed on a mostly Moslem population, although this fact was not without importance for Albania at that time, but mainly because Prince Wied was a foreigner, a tool in the hands of the Great Powers and his regime was profoundly anti-popular. Now, however, the Albanian peasantry would rise against imperialist control and the Wied regime, establish its state power and seize the fate of the country into its hands. It closed the first period of independence with an act of collective heroism in the struggle against a new Serb invasion.

The new invasions on the eve and fate of the country into its hands. It to naught, although only for the time being, the first results of the free life achieved with so much toil and so many sacrifices.

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One of the fundamental tasks the Balkan peoples were confronted with,

said V.I. Lenin in the time of the 1st Balkan War, was the creation of united national states. Creation of a united national state was also the main aim of the Albanian National Movement right from its inception. Conceived since the thirties of the 19th century in its still not clearly defined form as a separation of the Albanian regions from the rest of the Ottoman Empire to be administered by their own people, the idea of the territorial extension of the Albanian state was developed and completed with the expansion of the movement and the perfection of its political program. It found its fullest expression in the Albanian League of Prizren and then in the demand for the union of the four vilayets — Shkodra, Kosova, Manastir and Janina, with a majority of Albanian population, into one autonomous vilayet, province or independent national state.

With the proclamation of independence, the Albanian state, as it was conceived by the men of our National Renaissance and the Vlora Assembly, in which the Albanian territories occupied by the Balkan armies were also represented, had to include all the limbs of the nation to achieve the fundamental demand of national unity which coincided with the principle of nationality. But, as seen above, the Great Powers and Balkan monarchies did not allow this legitimate aspiration of the Albanian people to be realized. They recognized the Albanian state only on half of the Albanian-inhabited territory in the western part of the Peninsula. The partition of 1913 caused the Albanian people a grave trauma. Documents of the time show the Albanians' profound spiritual commotion and their general non-acceptance of this great injustice the imperialists had done to their country. Insult was added to injury as, without mentioning the distant past, the Albanians had risen in successive uprisings against the Ottoman yoke in the last years and had shed torrents of blood in various battlefields, suffered widespread destruction by the enemy armies and made a valuable contri-



bution to the expulsion of Turkey from the Balkans. Partition disregarded history, justice and the principle of nationality. This explains the powerful reaction not only of the Vlora Government, but also the broad masses of the people. And although many problems of independent Albania remained unsolved, demands came from below for the union of all Albanian-inhabited regions in the independent Albanian state. The task was too difficult, if account is taken of the internal and international conditions of the country.

The struggle for its realization confronted the Albanians with many and powerful enemies, such as the Great Powers, which would not allow their decisions to be violated, and the neighbouring monarchies, which would not accept to let go the Albanian regions with a fertile soil and a rich subsoil, on which they had established their rule. The demand for the recognition of the natural rights of the Albanian people would also come up against a negative opinion about the Albanians, which was created by the press of the chauvinist neighbouring countries, as well as a pseudo-scientific literature lavishly financed by interested circles, which became more virulent and more aggressive with the proclamation of independence. They represented the Albanians as savage tribes, a people without history and divided, as they were, into three different religions, without a national consciousness, as tribes which «for humanitarian reasons» should be included in the «more advanced» neighbouring states in order to «make progress» and «become civilized».

In the summer 1913 the delegation of the Vlora Government to London, during the proceedings of the Conference of Ambassadors, and Ismail Qemali, Isa Boletini, Luigj Gurakuqi and others did everything in their power to convince the chancelleries of the Great Powers about the injus-

tice they had done to the Albanian people and demand the annulment of the decisions taken to their detriment. However, as was said above, the imperialist Great Powers not only disregarded the just Albanian demands, but, proceeding, as always, from their narrow imperialist interests, allowed the further encroachment of the Albanian territory and the brutal violation of the sovereignty of the independent Albanian state. In these desparate circumstances, the masses of the people of the regions that came under Serb and Montenegrin rule followed the traditional road of armed struggle. The challenge was too bold, too dramatic and involving too many sacrifices, but it was a heroic challenge which, despite very dark and uncertain prospects, had to be taken up, be it only to show the world the unity of the Albanian nation and to reject all the inventions fabricated against them. It was not the first time that the Albanians stood up against powerful enemies. Throughout their history they had to fight against the rule of empires. The nearest experience was that of the Albanian League of Prizren, which compelled the Great Powers to revise several times the unjust decisions they had taken against Albania. At that time Luigj Gurakuqi wrote, «The roar of weapons reaches more quickly to the ears of Europe. We must use them whenever we think that Europe makes a deaf ear so that it listens to our voice which will never cease calling for justice.»<sup>8</sup>

The armed movement for liberation and union of all Albanian territories in the independent Albanian state, which started with the September 1913 uprising, went on, even after it as suppressed, throughout 1914 and assumed broad extension and particular strength after the First World War in Kosova, until it was suppressed there, too, by Yugoslav troops.

This movement which went on for whole years on end was evidence of the fact that the national community was an undeniable reality for the Albanian people, and that the feeling of national identity had struck deep roots in their consciousness.

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The proclamation of independence was a salutary and far-reaching act with important consequences for the future of the country. November 28 went deep into the consciousness and memory of the people and stood there like an inextinguishable beacon to illuminate their road to the future. It turned into powerful moral support, a source of strength which mobilized and encouraged the Albanians in the darkest hours of their existence, during the foreign occupations which our country would suffer later. The Albanian people made November 28 their National Day. The Day of the Flag became not only the day of freedom, but also the day of unity, an expression of the determination of the Albanian people to defend their independence or win it back. It was not accidental that the people's democratic government, chaired by Comrade Enver Hoxha, entered triumphantly into liberated Tirana on November 28, 1944. As the deed of the Albanians themselves, the act of Vlora, just as all major events, enriched the history of their finest traditions and became an object of legitimate national pride for the later generations.

The proclamation of independence had important repercussions in the international arena, too. «... Had the Albanians not fought with that valour,» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «and had not that deed been performed in those hard times when the imperialist beasts were preparing the shambles of the First World War, the attainment of Albania's independence would have been more difficult

and, perhaps, greater tragedies would have descended on our Homeland.<sup>9</sup> The deed of November 28 took place at a crucial historical moment, when the Balkan allies, backed up by some Great Powers, by liquidating the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, had put in jeopardy the very existence of Albania. With this deed, the Albanian National Movement put Europe and the Balkan Alliance «before an accomplished fact», as Ismail Qemali said, definitively separated Albania from the Ottoman Empire and proclaimed its neutrality in the Balkan conflict. Although they did not recognize the Vlorë Government as a national state, the Great Powers could not fully ignore the events that were taking place in Albania. The Albanian independence and state were present in the proceedings of the London Conference of Ambassadors, although not formally and not directly, but as a reality which served the Great Powers, especially Vienna and Rome, the more interested in the Albanian question to sanction them. Later the deed of Vlorë and recognition of independence gave the Albanian people a powerful argument to defend their rights on the international arena, whenever they were violated.

However, the independence proclaimed on November 28, 1912 at Vlorë, despite its great merits before history, was neither complete nor secure. The Albanian state was born in a zone in which imperialist and chauvinist expansion was on the order of the day. Little Albania continued to be the main victim of these tendencies also in later years, with the foreign occupations during the First World War and later, with the transformation of Albania into a semicolon of Italy and, afterwards, with the fascist and nazi occupation of the country, with the threat posed to its independence through the attempts of the Anglo-American imperialists and other enemies after Liberation. Hence, the struggle for ensuring and defending the country's independence has

been a constant concern also in Albania's history after 1912.

Our progressive ideologists gave the idea of independence a definite socio-economic content and linked it closely with the democratic development of the country. Conceived in this manner, independence assumed greater stability, because, based on a democratic order, it could more successfully cope with internal and external threats.

The consistence of independence is conditioned by the classes which support and defend it. The example of Albania in this direction is significant. The Vlorë Government and the governments that emerged from the Lushnjë Congress and the June Revolution represented the democratic wing of the national bourgeoisie and the broad masses of peasants, craftsmen and workers which were outstanding for their patriotism. This patriotism found its expression also in the policies pursued by the respective governments in the defence of the supreme national interests, the independence and sovereignty of the Albanian state. On the other hand, the Zogist governments of the twenties and thirties, which represented the most reactionary strata of Albanian society, with their anti-national and anti-popular policies, put the independence of the country in jeopardy and created the conditions for its liquidation.

The people's state power which was set up during the National Liberation War led by the Party and the governments, that were formed during the war and after Liberation, gave the socio-political development of the country a new direction. The communists, the working class and the peasantry took the question of freedom and independence of the country into their hands. With the liberation of the country, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist construction Albania's independence ensured a support more powerful than ever and assumed new content and di-

mensions. It was complete, sure, stable and capable of coping successfully with the dangers that threatened it, because the Albanian socialist state, which expressed the interests and aspirations of the broad working masses of the country, has followed and continues to follow with determination and consistency the policy of the defence and consolidation of the independence of the country.

The freedom and independence of socialist Albania are historic achievements. Their defence and inviolability are primary tasks for every Albanian citizen. They are an indispensable condition for the successful construction of socialism in our country.

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Socialist Albania guards as a valuable treasury the memory of those great events and those patriots who have in all times cut with the sword their way through history and illuminated with the beacon of culture the centuries-long darkness, opening up new paths towards freedom and progress. Present-day history cannot be understood without knowing the history of the past and the socialist achievements, the toil and efforts of former generations, and the rich moral legacy they created with their lofty virtues of patriotism and boundless love for freedom and independence. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «The heroic past of our people, their struggles for freedom and independence are a major source of inspiration for the present, too, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.»<sup>10</sup>

The events of Albanian independence bring along a rich experience, a message and a lesson: independence is not won without struggle and it must be guarded as the apple of the eye.

Keeping them in the centre of its

attention, our historiography will help discover the deeper roots of the present and link the present with the future. Better knowledge of the problems of independence is not merely an enrichment of historical sciences, but it also has instructive and educational value for raising the new so-

cialist national self-awareness to a higher degree, because the concerns of the past merge with those of the present, hence, these problems are always there.

Celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Proclamation of independence we bow with respect and gratitude to

the glorious deed of our forefathers. Our historiography feels still in debt to our people — the creators of national history. Our historians will pay this debt through constant and persistent work in order to bring out better the great value of our thousand year long history.

1 *Enver Hoxha, On Science, Tirana 1985, vol. 1, p. 113, Alb. ed.*

2 «*The Vlorë Provisional Government and Its Activity*» (November 28, 1912-January 22, 1944); *Tirana 1963, p. 99.*

3 *Liri e Shqipërisë, November 30, 1912.*

4 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 24, p. 7, Alb. ed.*

5 *History of Albania, vol. 3, p. 105.*

6 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 23, p. 153.*

7 *Atdheu, September 15, 1913.*

8 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 24, p. 15.*

9 *The Albanian League of Prizren — a Brilliant Page of Our History Written in Blood, Tirana 1978, p. 31.*



# THE ALBANIAN NATION AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOL

*Independence is a valuable achievement for all peoples and all nations. To those who have won it with so many efforts, with so much suffering and so many sacrifices, like the Albanian people, it represents the fundamental condition and basis for their very existence and advance. However, the independence of every country has no less international importance, either. As only free individuals can be creators and defenders of a free society, so only free and independent nations can create an international democratic community, only in freedom and independence can they contribute to the defence and advance of mankind*

**WHEN, IN THAT UNFORGETTABLE NOVEMBER 1941, THE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS FORMED, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WERE FACED WITH ALMOST THE SAME POLITICAL PROBLEMS THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT HAD TO SOLVE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE 1912 WERE BROUGHT TO NAUGHT. ALBANIA WAS OCCUPIED AGAIN BY FOREIGNERS, BETRAYED BY ITS LEADERS AND ABANDONED BY ALL AND EVERYBODY. THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION HAD ELIMINATED NOT ONLY THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY, BUT WAS ALSO GRAVELY AFFECTING ITS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WITH CLEARLY EVIDENT AIMS OF COLONIZATION AND ASSIMILATION IT WAS EXERCISING GREAT PRESSURE ON NATIONAL TRADITIONS AND WAY OF LIVING, AND THE WHOLE NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. ALL FORMER INTERNATIONAL LINKS WERE SEVERED AND THE COUNTRY WAS REDUCED TO ALMOST COMPLETE ISOLATION.**

At that time, Italian occupation was very recent, it had just entered its second year. No comparison could be made with the centuries-long Ottoman occupation. However, it was far more dangerous and fraught with farther-reaching consequences than that of the Sultans. These demanded from their rayas only tributes and soldiers, while Rome was bent on finding a new «living space» to export the millions of the jobless who were being created by capitalism on a large scale. Albania was under the threat of disappearing not only as a state, but also as a nation.

A great evil was that the new occupation revived in a certain stratum of society old mentalities and psychologies of fatalism and submissi-

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veness cultivated by the Ottoman occupation during the five centuries of its rule, although largely weakened by the short period of national independence. Those who had «neither religion nor homeland», as the men of our National Renaissance said, but only landholdings and privileges, grew active again. These were people for whom Albania was too small to enable them to enrich themselves, so they wanted imperial space to win money and make a career. These were the people who later became the ideologists and basic cadres of Balli Kombëtar, those who worked out and defended the platform of national betrayal. Those who had turned the old slogan «You can do nothing against the Sultan» into the new variant «You can do nothing against Italy», began raising

their voices.

In the meanwhile the political cards in the Balkans were badly mixed up. Problems of territories, borders, minorities and others began to be raised again as in the time of the Eastern crisis. While torrents of people's blood began to flow on land, black clouds gathered in the skies of Europe as in the time of the Conferences of Berlin and Versailles, the Balkan Alliances and the London Conference of Ambassadors.

It was clear, especially after the Soviet Union had entered the war, that the Axis Powers would be defeated, but this would not yet mean for Albania that it would automatically win its freedom and independence and return to its pre-war borders. Our neighbours, through their royal governments in exile in London which were formally recognized and supported by the Anglo-Americans, had already started moving and making agreements about the partition of Albania among themselves after the war. The Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition, which would decide the fate of the development of the war against the Axis Powers and play a decisive role in the regulation of the world after the war, was riddled with contradictions which stemmed from utterly different ideologies and policies. Positive was the fact that at that time the Soviet

# L MOVEMENT LUTION *by SOFOKLI LAZRI*

Union represented some kind of guarantee and tried to check the expansionist plans of the European Great Powers and to defend as much as possible the rights of the smaller countries. Lenin's denunciation of the predatory treaties of the Great Powers and their secret diplomacy added to the trust in the Soviet stand.

However, there always remained reasons for concern. Apart from their voices, no other voice was heard in the decisions of the three Allied Great Powers about the war and the future of peoples. Hence, compromises and concessions that might affect the interests of this or that country could not be excluded. Only in the end of 1942, three years after the Italian occupation of Albania, the Allied Powers declared that they wanted its independence restored after the war. This was a positive act of no minor importance. However, the fact had to be taken into account that this recognition not only came very late, but also was an act which stemmed from their general strategy which was aimed at raising all the enslaved nations of Europe in the struggle against fascism. Apart from this, in this declaration there were some reservations about Albania's borders on the part of the Anglo-Americans, which were ominous, because they presupposed that these borders could be revised after the war. In the agreement of the Allied Powers about the regulation of Europe, Albania's name is met with very seldom, as though it had not been an independent and sovereign state like all the others, as though it was not fighting, as the others did, against the common enemy, fascism. Also, when the United Nations Organization was founded, Albania was not invited to take part in its proceedings as a founding state, indeed it was not even admitted as a member for a long time. Albania had to wait for the conference of the Peace Treaty with Italy to see its name among the victorious states.

However, even at that conference, its neighbours tried to create an Albanian question, and to impose the discussion of Albania's borders on the conference, which went beyond its tasks and competences.

If they could do nothing to Albania, this was because by that time things were not as they were at the time of the London Conference of Ambassadors. Albania now came to the conference with its great war, its complete independence and sovereignty, and an internal and external situation which nobody could change any more.

These international relationships with the foreign world made the internal situation in the days of the formation of the Party even more turbulent and complicated. Not only those who had sold themselves out to the enemy, but also the half-traitors, turncoats and cowards, and the snobs and cosmopolitans found great opportunities in this situation and capitalized on it, some to justify the fascist occupation, and some to find new bosses, after the fascist defeat. The question of what would be done with Albania, and the Albanian state and nation was posed again, in a more dramatic manner than before.

Albania had never been lacking in patriots, brave and clear-minded men, not even in turbulent and dark years. These were the men who created the Communist Party at a time when the internal and external political horizon of Albania was extremely dark. They were ready, as they would later prove, to sacrifice everything, themselves and their families, their houses and properties, only for Albania to be free, only for their ideal to triumph. However, sacrifices were not enough. The question was what the war had to be started from, what program had to be worked out, and what course had to be taken to achieve the liberation of the country, its freedom and

independence. Experience and an historical tradition were great things, but they could neither be copied or repeated in a mechanical manner.

However, the new Albanian liberation movement, led by the Communist Party, found in the National Renaissance a great source of ideas and experience. «We communists would rely strongly on the right patriotic and militant traditions of our people,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has written in his war memoirs. This stand did not stem from any romantic feeling about past history, or from the lack of a timely political program. It stemmed, first of all, from the fact that in many its aspects, indeed the fundamental ones, the new movement was a continuation of the struggle, of course in new conditions and at a higher level, for the achievement of the unfulfilled ideals of liberation and independence, national and cultural emancipation, national sovereignty, etc.

On the other hand, the Albanian national movement of the last century and the beginning of this century had gained a wealth of militant experience and, above all, cultivated profound and unconquerable freedom-loving and patriotic feelings. Not to take this into account meant to distance yourself from the political reality of the country, to sever your links with your people, and to cut off your own roots.

The Albanians had won their freedom and independence with much bloodshed and many sacrifices. For centuries on end, when the other peoples of the European continent tilled their land and developed their crafts, the Albanians had to struggle for survival. They were called savages because they wanted to be free, and they were called men with tails because they did not accept submission. To these people freedom and independence were not mere desires, mere aspirations, hopes or dreams, but the axis round which their life

had revolved during the centuries, and the base on which their political thinking, their social psychology and their national culture were built.

I did not bring you your freedom, I found it amongst you, says Skanderbeg to the people of Kruja and the whole of Albania, according to Fan Noli's description. Our great writer and poet could not find better support than on Barleti's work and a more generalizing symbol than in George Kastrioti and his history in order to express this reality and philosophy.

I do not think that there exists more political clarity, a deeper felt love of independence, and a more ardent patriotic pathos than in the songs the Lab people of Vlora sang to Ismail Qemali and his work. They did not rise with one leap to this high degree of poetical conception and political synthesis. This could not take place within the few months during which Ismail Qemali stayed in Albania, nor could it be the result of the upheavals caused by the Balkan Wars, nor could it be the outburst of a spontaneous inspiration. This high degree of political self-awareness, national consciousness and clarity in the demands of common men and women was not only the result and expression of a meditation which went on for centuries about their wars, their defeats and victories, but also the product of the profound confidence created by the new century in the liberation and progress of nations.

The idea of national independence as the starting-point and basis of the economic, social and cultural development of the Homeland, which lies at the foundation of the political program of the men of our National Renaissance and their practical activity, represents one of their more outstanding achievements. It is evidence of their keenness of mind and their great capacity to turn the aspirations of their people into a political philosophy and a major driving force of the liberation struggle. Also, they used the idea of unity, which had been ardently conserved in the consciousness of the people, as an invaluable political legacy and

one of their main means to achieve the fulfilment of the destinies of the nation. This reality represented a powerful basis on which the Communist Party of Albania relied in its time for the formation of the National Liberation Front. It knew well that the Albanian people had always struggled to be united and compact in their ranks. Being smaller in number and poorer than their enemies, they saw in their unity the only force and the only means to win and survive.

This was an historical imperative which made the progressive people of our country put nothing above the unity of the people, either religion or idea, or family and kinship ties, or titles and grades. This great inspiration made them sacrifice their property and belongings, and their personal career and prospects for the national cause.

A great success of their political and cultural struggle was that, in their stands, they never identified religion with nation, which was a dominant concept, especially in the Balkans and, in general, in Eastern regions. In this field, and in the treatment of the national question, in general, we can say without fear of exaggerating that the ideologists of our National Renaissance were the most progressive men of their time. The correct solution of this extremely delicate problem, that is, the relationship between nation and religion, was a decisive factor for overcoming divisions and establishing unity among the people. Above all, this stand deprived foreigners from many opportunities and many arguments which they had so often used to interfere in Albania and to set their territorial claims to it.

Beginning from the time of the National Renaissance, the stand towards the unity of the people became practically a demarcation line which divided the patriots from the renegades; the men of principle from the opportunists, and the militants from the passivists.

To the ideologists of the former Albanian National Movement unity meant unity for the one political aim and objective, such as the

achievement of freedom and national independence meant a military force, the union of all human, material and intellectual energies for their achievement, and meant, finally, the fundamental condition for their defence.

They saw unity also as a factor of general national emancipation, a possibility for a better and more forceful expression of the peculiar and original identity of the Albanian people, and a driving force towards progress and civilization.

The movement for unity was at the same time a powerful cultural movement for merging of regional cultures and borrowings from outside, for rejecting useless and harmful foreign elements and turning to the common national elements of the whole people.

Putting the stress on this factor and the struggle for its realization were considered by the ideologists of our National Movement not only as one of the indispensable conditions for the union of the nation, but also as one of the foundation on which the future national state would be built.

They understood full well that, divided and split not only from the political but also the religious and cultural stand-point, it would be very difficult for them to get themselves recognized and accepted by the international community.

This platform which put the unity of the people in its centre and was transformed into a general political mentality was one of the reasons that in the following years Albania never became a breeding ground for the creation and functioning of political parties according to European practice.

However, the men of our National Renaissance, who could not rise above the time in which they lived and the ideological trends which existed in their time, had a somewhat idealized view of the unity of the people. They thought that the national ideal and general patriotic feelings were enough to keep the people united, and to cement their unity.

The Albanian communists took a qualitative step forward in the treatment of this problem. As a great

Marxist-Leninist endowed with a profound knowledge of history, Enver Hoxha saw that the concepts of the men of our National Renaissance were too narrow. The national idea alone was insufficient to achieve the true national unity of the people, to make it permanent and, above all, to transform it into a decisive factor for freedom and the independence, progress and civilization of the country. The national idea had necessarily to be combined with the social ideal, which socialism was and the people's state power had to be set up, which would become the expression of the national and social interests of the people.

In Enver Hoxha's political and ideological conception, the unity of the people must represent not a transient historical moment, valid only for the stage of the struggle for national liberation from the occupiers, for example, but must be turned into a permanent political, ideological and organizational factor, a factor which would become a major obstacle to all enemies, internal or external, who wanted to wrest from the people the victories they had achieved.

The problem of the roads for the achievement of the liberation of the country at all times and in all regions of the world has been a fundamental strategical and tactical problem of various political forces. It has been an issue of union and division, of internal strifes and contradictions. On a whole, the Albanian liberation movement, especially at its decisive moments, took to weapons. Had it not done so in 1878, 1910-1911-1912 or 1920 Albania would not exist today. Those who were for concessions, compromises, retreats, etc., eventually landed in the enemy camp. This happened with the Balli Kombëtar, too, during the Second World War. Its slogans like «Fascist Italy and nazi Germany are great powers and we can do nothing to them», «why should we get killed for nothing when the British and Americans will liberate our country?», «We should keep on good terms with the Germans because they will get out of our country of their own accord», etc., did not re-

present only the permanent ideology of the reactionary forces to justify their submission to foreigners and their subservience before them. They also expressed the policy of acceptance of and transition from one foreign ruler to the other, the platform of the preservation of privileges and the conservation of profits made from the sale of the supreme interests of the Homeland.

The Communist Party kept these positive and negative historical experiences well in mind. Right from the first day of its creation, it proclaimed the general people's armed uprising the only road to liberation. Was it aware of the sacrifices that had to be made, the suffering and destructions that would be caused when it issued the call for this uprising? It was fully aware of all this. And the communists were the first to make sacrifices, to be jailed and interned to concentration camps. Their houses were the first to be burnt and their families to be persecuted, they were the first to get killed and maimed. The overwhelming part of our martyrs were members of the Communist Party, its activists, young communists or people of their families. Their ideal and sacrifices were the detonator which ignited the great fire of the people's uprising. When the Ballists, and in chorus with them, all the timids, opportunists and career-seekers said that fascism would be defeated even without our contribution and that even without our struggle the fascists would leave our country, many minds were confused. The more so as the policy of waiting for freedom to be brought Albania by others was upheld not only by these, but also by the BBC and *The Effort* newspaper which the British planes dropped from the sky instead of weapons, it was also suggested by the British officers who had come to Albania to help the Albanians fight the common enemy.

Sure, the Italian fascists and the German nazis would be defeated both on the eastern and western front, and would clear out of the countries they had enslaved, as they eventually did. But this was not all and enough

for Albania. Driving the foreign occupation troops out of Albania's territory, although a great victory, did not yet mean the automatic achievement of full freedom and independence.

Had the Albanian people not liberated themselves with their own forces, had they in the end of the war not had their own organized army and already established state power, the place of the old occupiers would have been taken by new ones. The question was that the fate of Albania had to be decided on its territory and not left to the Great Powers to decide at their conferences, even if they were called conferences of peace or security. The past history had many times deluded the Albanians in their hopes and their trust in the justice and ethics of post-war international-conferences.

This was precisely the new strategy of the Albanian liberation movement which was defined by the Communist Party, and the historical change in the content of the war itself and its objectives. From the experience of our national history Enver Hoxha drew his original teaching of genius that for the liberation and independence of the country to be secured, not only the armed uprising, but also the setting up of the people's state power were necessary.

Practice proved that had the national liberation movement not come out with a powerful state power established throughout the country after the driving out of the occupiers, and with a well-organized army capable of defending this state power to the last, the intervention of foreign powers, even militarily, would have been very probable. The Anglo-American intervention in Greece, a neighbouring country, fully proved this.

It is a generally proved fact that a turbulent and unstable internal situation invites violent foreign intervention, as well as strong diplomatic pressure, apart from a world conflagration which involves great and small nations alike. With its triumph, our people's revolution made this situation impossible.

The establishment of a correct ratio between internal and external factors,



a ratio shirting over a broad range, according to the changing international situations, has been a very worrying and complex problem for every revolutionary or liberation movement, especially in the smaller countries.

Too many injustices had been done to Albania for it to be too fruitful of others about its future. «Whatever the aim of the European powers,» said Ismail Qemali, «the time has come for us to work for ourselves. For nothing on earth will Europe make any sacrifice to assist us.» This opinion was also expressed by another outstanding champion of our National Renaissance, Zef Jubani, when he said, «I do not believe in the disinterestedness of foreigners about our good.»

The Albanian people were justified in distrusting European post-war international conferences which, every time they were convened, chopped up and partitioned their ancient territories. Many a time Albania had to face up to the united front of the neighbouring countries and Great Powers which rewarded their clients as, for example, at the time of the Berlin Congress in 1878, or the London Conference of Ambassadors in 1913. It is hard to find another European country going through such a long period of non-recognition and non-acceptance by the international community as Albania did. It has imposed its own recognition and the recognition of its state on the world rather through making it face up to the unchangeable reality than through ensuring its goodwill.

It is true that the Albanians know how to exploit the contradictions of the Great Powers in the Balkans and beyond, but had they not stood up arms in hand, nobody knows what their fate would have been.

The Albanians have never accepted the concept of the consensus of the Great Powers in maintaining the European order and their right stemming from this concept to enforce their decisions on others. In 1878 they had rather fight «with the Seven Kings» than accept their dictate.

Ismail Qemali did not wait for the decision of the Great Powers to proclaim the independence of the country. By proclaiming Albania an inde-

pendent state, the Vlorë Assembly showed them that it had decided itself on the fate of the country.

Our National Liberation Movement kept this experience well in mind and was aware of the difficulties that would arise in regard to the international recognition of the new state power that would emerge from the people's revolution. It took a long time for many European governments to recognize the new Albanian reality, although they did a great deal of talking about the right of self-determination of nations, the undeniable rights of the peoples to choose their social system, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, etc. However, convinced about the Marxist principle of the decisive role of the internal factor and conscious of the historical experience of our people, the new Albania is very successfully coping with the external opposition of the imperialist encirclement.

Never has our history been a problem relegated to the archives. Many problems that were acute in the relations of Albania with other countries in the past continue to be acute to this day. Some tendencies which were supposed to have been overcome with the passage of time are still present and reappear in a virulent manner.

Under the pretext that they revive irredentism, nationalism, separatism, conservatism, etc. the Great-Serbs want to outlaw all our national history, all our culture, all our Albanian traditions and customs in Kosova.

Certainly, the authors of the anti-Albanian campaign in Yugoslavia know that. However, negation of the historical and cultural traditions of the Albanians is neither aberration nor psychological pressure. It is an expression of a certain colonialist policy according to which the «uncivilized» Albanians have to be «civilized» by somebody, and the territories in which the Albanians live today were historically blank spaces and can be filled by somebody.

A Byzantine church at Peja or a legend about Princ Lazar who was killed by the Turks in the battle of Kosova field, or some other myth of

the same kind is everything the Great-Serbs can oppose to the thousand year-long history of the Albanians, who live and create on their ancient territories. However, if for the Serbs Kosova is a country of Mediaeval myths created more than anything else by their romantic nationalist literature of the 19th century, for the Albanians it is the centre of their national movement, of the great anti-Ottoman uprisings which led to the liberation of the country and the formation of the first independent Albanian state. Concrete historical realities cannot be altered by myths, nor can they be changed by violence.

The war the chauvinist Serb clan has declared on the autonomy of Kosova, the violence exercised on the culture and historical traditions of the Albanians is not only a tragedy for Kosova, but also a historical misfortune for the whole of Yugoslavia. It is a heavy blow at the national liberation revolution of the peoples of Yugoslavia and announces its entering a period of national and social conflicts which have cost it so dearly.

The former Yugoslavia which was created after the First World War, because of the oppressive rule of the monarchy and the chauvinist policy of the Serb bourgeoisie, was turned into a country full of grave social and national contradictions which eventually turned it into a jail of peoples. The Yugoslav communists wanted to change it into a union of free and equal peoples. To the policy of hatred of the Serb rulers they opposed the socialist ideal, the equality of nations, the elimination of all kinds of social and national oppression and discrimination.

The peoples of Yugoslavia followed the communists, and not Mihajlović, fought for the fraternity of nations and not for the chauvinism which represented the ruling ideology of the Serb monarchy, fought for peace and friendship with their neighbours, and against the Great-Serb expansion of the former Belgrade rulers. However, the Yugoslav communists did not continue on the road they had promised. They did not implement the program they had worked out for the

solution of the national question. The present situation is the result of their many political and ideological mistakes and their inability to face up to the Great-Serb chauvinism.

During the Second World War the Serb people paid dearly for their chauvinist indoctrination. Apparently, however, some people in Serbia still suffer from that «provincial egoism» which, as Marx said, makes every people delude themselves with the hope that they can allegedly win their freedom by sacrificing the independence of some other people.

National hatred as ideology and political practice may be savage and relentless, it may even for a period influence a great part of the population, capitalizing on some international events, but it has no future. The future belongs to freedom and nation-

nal equality, and the liberation of peoples from any violence, national or social.

The Albanian national movement raised the historical memory of the nation to great heights and considered it a factor of major importance in the drive towards the future, progress and civilization. The National Liberation Movement, too, paid it great attention. The Party brought the history of Albania to light. It has worked and continues to work with special interest and care for the discovery of the values of the glorious past of our people. It proceeds from the premise that study and knowledge of this history constitute not only a valuable basis for patriotic education, but are at the same time an assistance to march towards the future on the tested road of full freedom

and independence, unlimited national sovereignty, and defence to the end of national and social achievements.

Independence is a valuable achievement for all peoples and all nations. To those who have won it with so many efforts, with so much suffering and so many sacrifices, like the Albanian people, it represents the fundamental condition and basis for their very existence and advance. However, the independence of every country has no less international importance, either. As only free individuals can be creators and defenders of a free society, so only free and independent nations can create an international democratic community, only in freedom and independence can they contribute to the defence and advance of mankind.

# THE INDEPENDENCE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE LIBERATION PROCESS IN THE

*The main lesson that we should draw from history is that the consolidation*

*of Albania's independence is an indispensable premise in the development of the new Albanian society and for the normal development of Albania, today independent not only in form but also in content. A principled policy it raises a powerful barrier against the intervention of the Great Powers of the Peninsula. No harm can ever come from this.*

ALBANIA'S INDEPENDENCE, APART FROM ITS IMPORTANCE AS AN ACT IN ITSELF WHICH CROWNED THE EFFORTS OF THE ALBANIAN NATION, IS ALSO A NEW ELEMENT IN THE SITUATION OF THE BALKANS. NOVEMBER 1912 CLOSED THE EPOCH OF THE OTTOMAN DOMINATION IN THE PENINSULA. AFTER THE GREEKS, THE ROMANIANS AND THE SOUTH SLAVS (THE SERBS AND THE BULGARIANS), THE ALBANIANS EMERGED INTO THE BALKAN STATE LIFE AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE, THUS REALIZING A NATIONAL ASPIRATION AND ALSO RESPONDING TO A BALKAN IDEAL OF TRANSFORMING OUR PENINSULA INTO A REGION OF FREE STATES. THIS DETERMINED THE GENERAL OUTLINES OF THE POLITICAL PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE BALKANS OF THE 20TH CENTURY, WHICH WOULD BE FINALLY COMPLETED AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

Of course, November 1912 cannot be called a perfect work in many respects. If we bear in mind the difficulties, the grave tests, the many vicissitudes which the country had to go through, and not only those of the given historical moment, but also of the whole ensuing decade (during the First World War and even later), we can speak of a real ealvary of the Albanian Independence. The question mark continued to hang over its destiny for a long time. The difficulties were of a twofold character: internal and international. Nevertheless, November 1912 confirmed itself in the following years as a development which would not experience any turnback, as an inevitable stage not only in the Albanian national movement, but also in a broader sense, in that of the libera-

Prof. ARBEN PUTO - at the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana

tion process in the Balkans as a whole.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «the struggle of our people (for independence) occupies an important place in the confusion of the Oriental issues and not only from the narrow Albanian viewpoint», but also on a Balkan scale, indeed even in the level of the policy of the imperialist Great Powers of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Albanian question is part of the national question which dominates in the history of the Balkans throughout the whole of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. Despite its specific features, it has one common denominator with

# ANCE OF ALBANIA ORK ON BALKANS *by ARBEN PUTO*

*directions: both for the progress  
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the neighbouring peoples from the part of socialist Albania*

the national questions of all the countries of the Peninsula: it is the cause and effect of the crisis of the Ottoman Empire. The crisis of the Ottoman Empire is identified with the Eastern crisis which has occupied such an important place both in the active diplomacy of the time and, consequently, in the history of diplomacy. Initially, the Eastern crisis has been conceived as a broad conception which included not only the Balkan countries, but also the other possessions of Turkey. The Near East, the Straits and the Eastern Mediterranean basin have once had a primary role in the internal life of the Empire, as well as in the level of the policy of the European Great Powers. For several decades these two major problems were interconnected and coexisted, but gradually, especially from the middle of the 19th century, the centre of gravity shifted from the peripheral provinces to the Balkans, which represents Turkey's presence in Europe. At that time the Eastern question emerges in its modern form: the essence of the Eastern question now consists of the problem of the future of the Balkan peoples under Turkey. This problem is raised for all the peoples of the Balkans, despite some difference in time. This is seen in the very development of events: after the first outbreak, the insurgent movements in the Peninsula follow one

another in a chain reaction. The 19th century marks the rapid fall of the Ottoman Empire. Before being exposed to the corrosive action of the external forces, it was submitted to a deep process of disintegration from within its own borders. The Balkans of the past century is seething with the ideas of national liberation. This is the time when the principle of nationality experiences an extension on a European scale. In the West there are the movements for the unification of Italy and Germany. To this responds in the East the general awakening of the peoples under Turkey. The national entities aspire towards becoming established entities in the political level. The oppressed nations rise in war for the creation of their national states.

The creation of the first states in the Balkans is, without doubt, a new factor in the development of the situation in the whole region. This being a new innovatory, but also contradictory, factor. On the one hand, the fact of the creation of each of these states should be considered as an achievement not only as regards the respective nation, but also in the framework of all the liberation processes in the Balkans. On the other hand, immediately after these states emerged in the political scene, they are no longer guided by the same ideals which inspired their national

movements. This could not but lead to the disintegration of the inter-Balkan solidarity, of that friendly atmosphere of mutual assistance which characterized the first insurgent movements, especially the Greek uprising. As a result, what ought to have remained as one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Balkans left its place to a situation of long and continued conflicts with disastrous consequences to the genuine interests of all the peoples of this zone.

2. It is evident that the Albanian movement cannot be otherwise treated except by putting it in the geographical and historical context of the Balkans. Attempts to dissociate it from this natural framework have nothing in common with scientific objectiveness. We already know the treatment of the Albanian history from nihilist positions, treatments which not uncommonly have had pretensions and have been presented in terms of the «Albanological science». Without entering into the analysis of the entire wide spectrum of the anti-Albanian propaganda, let us limit ourselves to mentioning just that thesis which serves as the platform of this propaganda, which refuses to recognize any original Albanian civilization at all: the Albanian population has been described as a foreign element in the Balkans, an element which does not



contribute anything to the Balkan history, as a phenomenon which represents the lowest degree of the social life and, as such, even if it had a part in the history of the Balkans, it has been the part of the carrier and transmitter of the outside influences and interests.

Only complete negation and ignorance of the facts can lead to statements like this one. The history of the 19th century in the Balkans speaks not only of the contradictions among the Balkan elements, but also of a profound community of interests which found its expression both in the sphere of ideas and in concrete activities. It is not our intention to stop to dwell on the insurgent movements of the first half of the 19th century, in which the Albanians have very often had intercourse, in the form of collaboration and reciprocal aid, with their neighbours. This is perhaps a too early stage which can be called the romantic stage of the liberation movement in the Balkans. From our viewpoint, the contacts established after the creation of the Balkan states assume particular importance.

The chronicle of these contacts brings out clearly that Albania and the Albanians had from a very early time attracted attention precisely as a potential force which could make its distinct contribution to the liberation movement against the Ottoman Empire. Thus, ten years before the Congress of Berlin, the secret Greek-Serbian Treaty of February, 1868 expressly envisaged the participation of Albania in the plans of a future war against Turkey. Although this first attempt at the creation of a Balkan alliance constituted even at that time the explosive element of territorial claims (which involved also the Albanian lands), the fact in itself is significant because any perspective of a new settlement in the Balkans not only did not exclude the Albanian question, but included it as a constituent part.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the Congress of Berlin tension was building up also in the inter-Balkan relations. Nevertheless the aspirations of the Albanians and their movement have their part in the events of the Eastern crisis. It is

not without consequence that the Greek government, immediately after the beginning of the Russian-Turkish war in February 1877, sent its envoys to conduct secret talks with Albanian personalities (Abdul Frashëri and others), talks which have as their objective bilateral collaboration in the liberation war.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that the negotiations ended in a deadlock (due to the persistence of Athens to integrate future Albania into a kind of a dual monarchy with Greece under Greek hegemony), again the fact does not diminish the significance of this act as proof of the recognition of the role of the Albanian movement within the framework of the liberation process in the Balkans. Now it is a time when the Albanian question begins to impose itself on the attention of the European diplomacy, as one of the elements of the destabilized situation in the zone of southeastern Europe. Anyway, no history of that time could be or has ever been written without reflecting the Albanian factor to this or that extent: various interpretations have been offered, malignant distortions have been made and simplistic judgements have been pronounced, but in each case the Albanian factor has emerged between the lines. The Albanian League of Prizren is too important an event to be underrated or even passed over in silence.

In the final analysis, what was the result of the Eastern crisis on the morrow of the Congress of Berlin? Without doubt a general weakening of the Ottoman Empire, a noticeable ebbing of the Turkish rule in the Balkans and further shrinking of the borders of the Empire, accompanied with the weakening of the central power in the Albanian territories. The three decades that continue right up to the proclamation of Albania's independence are marked by a powerful escalation of the Albanian national movement. The situation in Albania follows more or less the same fundamental tendencies as the general situation in the Balkans. The Balkans at the turn of the century is not only the Balkans of the states, but also of all the peoples, nations and nationalities, which, although not as one bo-

dy, all of them march towards the final objective, which is liberation from the Ottoman yoke. So, objectively, we have a common Balkan cause as a synthesis and resultant of the programmes of separate national movements.

3. The pan-Balkan vision of the situation and perspective of the Peninsula is a recognized element in the political thinking which precedes and accompanies the process of awakening among the nations of this region. Rhigas Fereros is the herald and impassioned inspirer of the Greek uprising, who many years before its outbreak, by the end of the 19th century, with his famous hymn «Thurios», launched the call of liberation war to all the peoples of the Empire without distinction of nationality, religion, colour and race. Free as he was from chauvinist prejudices, he imagined the Balkan peoples as a single confraternity. In it the Albanians had, of course, their natural place. Rhigas had known them and had lived with them since his childhood, in his native place, in Veleshtica, where there were many Albanians.<sup>4</sup>

The revolutionary thinkers of the 19th century such as Marković, in Serbia, Karavallov, Levsky and Botev in Bulgaria, were opposed to all shades of narrow and exclusivist nationalism and raised their republican convictions into the utopian idea of a Balkan federation. Despite their overzeal in federalist illusions, what attracts attention is that they conceived the revival of the Balkan society as a single liberation movement. They connected the struggle for the liberation of their nation with those of the neighbouring peoples. What characterizes these champions of the Balkan freedom was that they distanced themselves distinctly from the official policies of their respective states. They had nothing in common either with the Serbian «nachertenie», or with the Greek «great idea». One of them wrote on the eve of the outbreak of the Eastern crisis, in 1875, that «the governments of these states have all the time done nothing but imitated the ill-famed motto of Meternić: divide et impera»<sup>5</sup>, this

being a clear allusion to the quarrels among these governments over the division of the booty after the Turkish defeat.

The ideas of inter-Balkan solidarity have found a wide repercussion in the Albanian National Renaissance. Comrade Enver Hoxha has seen this as one of its most essential features. He has put this in these very significant words: «The aim to link the struggle of our people with the liberation struggle of the neighbouring peoples against the common enemy, their internationalism, was an orientation of great importance of our Men of Renaissance, which confirms the majesty, the broad spectrum and the profound revolutionary content of our national movement.»<sup>6</sup>

The most outstanding figures of the Albanian Renaissance, although they were busy engaged in a resolute and extensive activity in defence of the rights of the Albanian nation, threatened by the ambitions of the leading circles of the neighbouring states, were altogether free from any bias and prejudice. They rose above national animosities and directed ardent messages of friendship and fraternization to all the Balkan peoples. Our great man of Renaissance, Naim Frashëri, displayed a lofty internationalist spirit when he wrote: «With the Slavs and the Greeks, with all our neighbours/ We want to live in constant harmony, as brothers/ And the rights of everyone be always respected./ The tyrant today is condemned to death, so we should not fight/ one another like enemies; we should be friends and of one mind!... So, down with confusion and quarrels; long live fraternity.»<sup>7</sup>

The most outstanding personality who emerges on the Albanian political scene at the end of the last century is Ismail Qemali. He is the protagonist of those events which were crowned with the Proclamation of Albania's Independence and with the creation of the new Albanian state. It is interesting to follow the road he traversed in his long political activity and, together with it, the evolution of his views in connection with the national question in the Balkans. It is known that he began his career occupying important posts

in the bureaucratic apparatus of the Turkish Empire, sometimes in the centre and sometimes in the peripheral provinces. In the beginnings of his activity, he is not one of the radical trend which is for the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire. However, Qemali had advanced views for his time. From his debut as a statesman he joined the liberal-reformist wing which emerged in the 1870's in the political life of Turkey. It was precisely these liberal, reformist convictions which aroused doubts in him and put him on a quandary about the future of the Empire. Not only from his *Memoirs*,<sup>8</sup> but also from his practical activity in the last two decades of the 19th century, it emerges clearly that he has had a pluralistic vision, and consequently, a pan-Balkan vision, in the treatment of the internal crisis of the Empire in the sense that for some time he was for and expressed himself in favour of the transformation of this autocratic kingdom, raised on the basis of the most brutal national oppression, into a multinational community which should realize the peaceful coexistence and equality of the nations and peoples living under it. Despite the absence of a clear image of the constitutional forms into which this «unionist» idea could be poured, which in the final analysis was utopian and unhistoric, one thing can be said with assuredness about I. Qemali, namely, that he put forward this problem not from particularist positions, but precisely as a problem of the future of the whole Balkans, of the building of inter-Balkan relations on just and stable bases. Certainly, his own direct experience would compel him to see for himself that his idea was an unrealizable dream. However, this global method of regarding the problems of his time helped him to recognize and understand better the life, the problems and the aspirations of the peoples and nations of the region, enabled him to establish contact and connections of various levels, which made I. Qemali one of the most outstanding figures not only in the Albanian movement, but also on a Balkan scale. He never conceived Albania's independence and the creation of the Albanian state in an anti-

Balkan function, or as an instrument in the hands of this or that Great Power against the neighbouring states. He considered the overcoming of the hegemonist tendencies and national jealousies, good understanding and constructive collaboration among the new sovereign states, as the premise of peace and security in the Balkans.

4. This spirit was not characteristic of one individual, but was present in the whole movement of Independence. Even though they did not join the Balkan alliance of 1912 because of the secret deals among the members of this alliance for the partitioning of the Albanian lands, the most illuminated circles of the Albanians have never separated the destiny of their country from that of the neighbouring countries. Let us take the Provisional Government of Vlorë. The memorandum it presented in the beginning of January 1913 to the Ambassadors' Conference is distinguished precisely for the fact that it considers the liberation of the Balkan peoples as a unified process, as a common work in which all the peoples, including the Albanians, would make their contribution. The memorandum says: «The Albanian nation is convinced that the Balkan allies will take into consideration the view that common action undertaken by them (this refers to the Balkan War — A. P.) is, to some extent, the continuation of the recent uprisings in Albania, and that the successes of these uprisings yesterday can be considered in full justice as the fruit of the liberation work in which the Albanians, with their continuous uprisings, both today and in the past... have distinguished themselves for their valour.»<sup>9</sup> This gave independent Albania the right to occupy the place it deserved in the new Balkans with complete rights side by side with the other states of the region after liberation from the Ottoman yoke. About this, the memorandum of the Government of Vlorë declared that «the Albanian people... have only one aim: to have cordial and stable relations with their neighbours.»<sup>10</sup> In general the Albanian memorandum is characterized by a very distensive tone, by moderation

and by the goodwill of the Albanian government to solve the problems with the neighbouring states not on the road of confrontation, but in a spirit of understanding and justice. The whole text of this document does not contain a single offensive or inimical expression or hint at the Slavs or the Greeks, on the contrary, it is permeated by a feeling of respect both for their liberation struggle and for their rights.

In this sense, the statements of Ismail Qemali, when he presided the Vlorë Government, are of interest. They are an expression of the same line. In an interview to the London press in April 1913 he said: «We regret one thing: that the success of a war which was aimed at the liberation of all the peoples of the Balkans, displeased our neighbours so much that now they think they have a right to suppress the Albanians who, in turn, are no less entitled to the right to live, because they are the most ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula and were the first who fought against the Turks for their national freedom» (this, without doubt, refers to the great uprisings of the summer of 1912 on the eve of the outbreak of the Balkan War). So, it can be seen that Ismail Qemali expresses his regret over the stand of the leading circles of the Balkan monarchies towards the Albanian question, but this does not impede him from knowing and recognizing the objectively progressive and liberating function of the Balkan War, of treating it, so to say, precisely in the framework of the liberation process in the Balkans. I. Qemali emerges really as the spokesman of a Balkan cause and not of a merely narrow national cause, when he says: «We shall defend our cause and we will do this not only in the interest of our people, but also for the good of those countries which became our opponents when they ought to have become our friends.» These words are a model of political wisdom; there is a note of criticism in them, certainly, but this is at the same time a call addressed to all the Balkan peoples with a goodwill to engage in a constructive activity for carrying through to the end the

liberation process in the Balkans, which could in no way be regarded as conclusively completed without the solution of the Albanian question.

5. In the time of the Balkan Wars, in the stand of the Balkan states towards the Albanian question a change is noticed in comparison with the period of the Eastern Crisis of the last quarter of the 19th century. At that time, in the Congress of Berlin and on its morrow, during the treatment of the problems which emerged in continuation as a result of the application of the decisions taken therein by the Great Powers, despite the consequence of the so-called «Albanian difficulties» in the successive developments, the leading circles of the neighbouring states did not adopt any definitive official position in regard to the Albanian question, indeed they did not even take it into consideration as a separate question which, in fact, was raised as a marginal separate question in their relations with the Ottoman Empire. In the negotiations and the official acts they would recognize but only one counterpart: the Turkish one, even when their claims against the Albanian territories were involved.

Exactly thirty years later, in 1912-1913, the situation had evolved both from the objective viewpoint of the Albanian National Movement and from the aspect of the European policies. Both factors now raise the only alternative for the independence of Albania. It is understandable that in these circumstances the Balkan states were obliged to define their stand towards the Albanian question as such.

The leading circles of these countries took an increased interest in the course of events in Albania. They followed closely especially the successive uprisings in North Albania, which in fact were the prelude to the Balkan War. It is not an accident that envoys of the Serb and Montenegrin governments came one after the other to North Albania, whereas after the Proclamation of Independence «explorative» approaches were made with I. Qemali and the Provisional Govern-

ment. Some might think that this would mark a change and that the governments of the neighbouring countries would no longer close their eyes before the reality of the Albanian liberation movement. The situation was ripe also for a Balkan conscience, which should rise even slightly a little above the very egoistic and narrow national interests. In fact, in the year of Albania's independence the Balkan monarchies emerged with still more complete anti-Albanian platforms before the European diplomacy, while continuing their efforts to use the Albanians' struggles in the war against Turkey as an instrument in their advantage.

This was also the content of the memoranda presented by the Serb and Greek governments in the beginning of January 1913 at the Ambassadors' Conference. Never before has the anti-Albanian propaganda been so intensive and virulent as in the time when the independence of Albania was being taken up for examination, and the two acts mentioned before are a concentrated expression of this propaganda. It is precisely at that time that a whole literature, which worked on and developed the known theses and «arguments» attacking the history of the Albanians and their identity, describing them as refugees on their own territories, as a nomad population which must submit to the «civilizing mission» of the neighbouring states, was published and put into circulation.

Definite political situations have made the repercussion of these «arguments» felt even in our days, but nothing in them is original or new, everything they write and say is repetition, copying, and «reprints», which have their origin in the time when the question of the independence of Albania was put on the order of the day in concrete terms. The phrasing has, of course, been updated, and here and there one might also notice some marginal withdrawal. Experience of these 75 years has revealed clearly that the above-mentioned theses, in their most sophisticated contemporary form, sound more than ever false and anachronistic, the more so since they are opposed to the historically unavoidable

current. The question is made: Why this negative stand of the leading circles of the neighbouring states when it comes to examining the Albanian question as the last national question in the Balkans awaiting solution? What were the reasons which impelled them to dissociate the Albanian question from the national questions of the Balkans, from the framework of the liberation movement in the Balkans? It is obvious that territorial questions are behind all these efforts.

The territorial question has been the main cause which has envenomed the inter-Balkan relations. That was so because the problem has been treated not on the basis of the principle of the free expression of the will and self-determination of the nations, but simply from expansionist and hegemonic positions. The more the Ottoman Empire tottered towards its end, the more the question of the division of the territories that would follow after its fall, would be complicated. After the outbreak of the Balkan War, two are the main points in which the aims for the territorial expansion of the monarchies of the Balkans were concentrated: Macedonia and Albania. But the analogy between them is relative. The Macedonia of the time about which we are speaking, was especially mixed and heterogenous from the ethnic point of view. Therefore, it was expected to represent «a specially contestable sphere.» Whereas the Albanian territories were inhabited by a compact population which was already recognized as a nation in itself. Nevertheless, claims on these territories caused not less conflicts between the Balkan states and debate and contradictions among the Powers.

Initially the complete division of the Albanian territories was expected, and that was one of the main objectives of the Balkan allies before they commenced the war against Turkey in autumn 1912. Confronted with the variant of Albania's independence, they were compelled to size up their demands, though they still continued to draw the biggest profit in the situation. The platform presented to the London Conference, a platform which accepted Albania's indepen-

dence not as the logical conclusion of the historical cycle in the Balkans, but only as a «concession» made to the geo-political considerations of the Great Powers in the Balkans, as a «sacrifice» of the victors, was to serve all this. The so-called «historical rights» or various «ethnographic, economic, strategic, cultural and other» considerations, expounded in great length and in denigrating anti-Albanian spirit, were aimed at justifying the excessive territorial claims, at reducing the vital space of the future Albania to a minimum. According to the expression of a diplomat of that time, the old hope was still entertained that it (Albania) would fall «as a ripe fruit» in a more suitable political situation.

For its part, the Albanian National Movement has also defined its stand regarding the territorial question. It faced this problem for the first time in the period of the Eastern crisis of the last quarter of the 19th century. The activity of the League of Prizren in this direction was not confined to the declarative aspects only, it was also expressed in a series of actions for the defence of the territories inhabited by the Albanian population. After the Proclamation of Independence, when the question of the borders of the Albanian state was raised, this stand was formulated in the above-mentioned memorandum of the Vlora Government presented to the Ambassadors' Conference. Without doubt, the territorial problem has been one of the most important aspects of the program of our Movement, but at any time, much more so in 1912-1913, it was raised in mainly defensive terms. Overstatements are not ruled out, and they are an expression of narrow class interests beyond the bounds of the national objectives. Anyway, they do not characterize the territorial programme of our National Movement. «Great Albania» is a fiction which has been invented at a much later time and which has been used paradoxically for anti-Albanian propaganda aims. Judging from the time when things occurred, we cannot fail to conclude that the essence of this programme has been concerned

with the efforts to stem the invasive euphoria of the Balkan Allies after their victory in the war, to save the historically and ethnically Albanian lands, and thus, ensure the indispensable territorial oasis for the survival of the Albanians as a nation and for their organization as a state in itself.

6. The history of the Balkans in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century represents two aspects: the first one, which is the internal aspect, is connected with the continued fall of the Ottoman Empire and the awakening of nations; the second one, which is the external aspect, is represented by the ever greater interference of the imperialist Great Powers. This interference marks the last phase in the history of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers. In the beginning it was the Turks who crossed the Straits, entered Europe, captured the Balkans and advanced as far as Central Europe. Two centuries later there is the reverse course: the Treaty of Karlovac of 1699 marks the end of the Turkish advance and the bening of the European counter-offensive. The Ottoman Empire is continuously on the retreat. This retreat raised ne problem: in the East a political vacuum is created. How should this vacuum be filled: that is, one of the major problems which European diplomacy had to cope with for a long time, almost uninterruptedly, up till the end of the First World War. That was the essence of the Eastern crisis from the viewpoint of the policy of the Great Powers in all the stages and in all the forms in which it was raised before them. The fall of the Ottoman Empire brought into the open the national question in the Balkans, but Europe is more prone to seeing it from the angle of the division of the spheres of influence and the preservation of the «balance of forces».

In connection with this it is appropriate to establish a correct relationship between the national question in the Balkans and the European interference. In other words, something remains to be cleared up about



the role of the extra-Balkan factors in the development of the situation in the Balkans, in the liberation process which goes ahead as the Turkish Empire goes down. The answers depend on the methodological starting-point and approach. There is a whole trend in the bourgeois historiography which absolutizes the role of the big and minimizes that of the small, the development and the destiny of the internal popular movements which condition the development and the destiny of the internal popular movements with the will and the interests of the Great Powers. It is a known fact that not only politicians and statesmen, but also numerous scholars have treated the Eastern question, in general, mainly as a problem of diplomacy. The internal processes going on within the Empire, the movements of the oppressed nations of the Balkans have not been appreciated always in their real importance, indeed, they have been represented as an outcome of outside encouragement and instigation. This kind of undervaluing interpretation is possibly more widespread about the Albanian Movement, but the Albanian movement is not the only one to suffer. The movements of the South Slavs, which belong precisely to this same period of the 19th century, developed as a real national revival, and still, voices can be heard even today claiming that these movements were the fruit of the hegemonic policy of Russia, and, to a considerable degree, the work of the missionaries of the Pan-Slavic idea. This can be explained with the fact that until very recently the South Slavs have also been among the «forgotten» peoples of Europe. Up to the '30s of the 19th century, the ethnographic maps of the Balkans were by no means more attentive regarding the Slav populations and described the Balkan Peninsula as an area inhabited mainly by Turks and Greeks (certainly, proceeding from criteria of religious considerations).<sup>11</sup> Today no serious historiography, not to say Marxist, can accept the idea that real popular liberation movements could be created from nothing and manipulated entirely according to the tastes or schemes of politicians and diplomats. This is

valid for all the national movements of the Balkans, without excluding the Albanian movement.

There is no denying the factor of the European interference in the Balkans, precisely in its efforts to fill the gap left behind after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The dynamic of the development of the situation in the Balkan Peninsula is determined by the combination and interaction of two factors: European and local. There is, without doubt, an interdependence among them; but the local factor, the Balkan factor, carries the main weight. It is the engine of the events, and it is responsible for the continuous pressure brought on the European diplomacy, compelling it to return to the Eastern question again and again.

It is known that the impossibility to come to an accord about the destiny of the Turkish possessions in the Balkans has been one of the causes which led to the emergence of the «concerted powers», which especially at the Congress of Paris in 1856, after the Crimean War, found no other way out except the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The inter-imperialist contradictions had to determine on an immobilization of the situation in the Balkans. This, however, could be but only a *modus vivendi*, a provisional accord which deferred the problem for some other more suitable time. The events in the Balkans, the liberation process everywhere in this zone which was developing and mounting continuously, could not be constrained to fit into the old framework of the status quo. The two major moments of the Eastern crisis, that of the last quarter of the 19th century and that of the period 1912-1913, have their origin in the actions of the Balkan peoples; they are not the result of the initiative of European diplomacy. It is generally accepted that the general uprising of the Albanians in 1912 and the outbreak of the First World War, which followed that autumn, took the Great Powers by surprise. This did not impede them from interfering with all their weight when the moment of making a decision came. But the liberation process in the Balkans worked according to its own internal logic,

had its own motive forces; it emerged and developed on the Balkan territory; and although it suffers the outside influence, it is not simply a reflexion of them. No national movement of the Balkans can be called an instrument of the policy of this or that Great Power, even though there is no lack of efforts on their part in this direction. The same reasoning holds good also regarding the Albanian National Movement. Albania's independence proved to be a very complicated knot in the contradictions among the Great Powers and this is why the greatest injustices fell on the Albanians, in the last analysis. In these conditions it is not only inaccurate, but also cynical to claim that the Independent Albanian State was the product of the European diplomacy.

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The history of the past 75 years has already proved quite clearly that Albania's Independence has been a natural complement of the liberation process in the Balkans and, at the same time, an element of stability and peace in the Peninsula. The value and the importance of the Albanian Independence in all this region has emerged clearly not only in peaceful situations, but especially in periods of tensions and conflicts: whenever Albania's independence has been threatened or has been hit, the whole Balkan equilibrium has been put in question, all the other neighbouring peoples have been jeopardized. This occurred during the First and the Second World Wars. The main lesson that we should draw from history is that the consolidation of Albania's independence is an indispensable premise in two directions: both for the progress of the new Albanian society and for the normal development of inter-Balkan relations. Socialist Albania today, independent not only in form but also in content, is a reliable guarantee. With its principled policy it raises a powerful barrier to outside interferences and intrigues in this part of the Peninsula. No harm can ever come to

the neighbouring peoples from the part of socialist Albania.

Raising to a higher level the valuable internationalist tradition of our National Movement, the PSR of Albania devotes special care to the relations with the neighbouring countries. Comrade Ramiz Alia, in the report to the 9th Congress of the Party, said that the development of relations with these countries «constitutes one of the priorities of our foreign policy.»<sup>12</sup> The past has left

many problems in this. Comrade Ramiz Alia points out: «History has mixed up the peoples of the Balkans a great deal, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world. Ethnic minorities of each people are found within the state borders of other states. The sensitivity towards how they are treated has been and still is great. Good or bad relations between the states of our Peninsula have been largely dependent on this treatment. The big powers have played on

these feelings in order to stir up quarrels and set the peoples against one another, in order to interfere in their internal affairs and to influence their external affairs.»<sup>13</sup> The progressive forces of the Balkans are in a position to cope with these problems, to overcome «old prejudices and the mentalities which belong to bygone epochs, and the hangovers from former feuds and animosities.»<sup>14</sup> These forces will always have the unreserved support of socialist Albania.

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 23, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> L. S. Stavrianos. *Balkan Federation. A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, Northampton Mass, 1944, p. 97.*

<sup>3</sup> Kristo Frashëri, Abdyl Frashëri, Tirana 1984.

<sup>4</sup> Indeed the Albanians of Veleshtino have considered him one of them. See A. Daskalakis, Rhigas Veleshtinis. La Revolution Française et

les préludes de l'indépendance hellénique, Paris 1937, pp. 23-29.

<sup>5</sup> According to L. S. Stavrianos, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 23, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Naim Frashëri, Selected Works, vol. 1, pp. 486-487.

<sup>8</sup> The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey, London.

<sup>9</sup> The Provisional Government of

Vlora and Its Activity (28 November 1912-22 January 1914), Tirana, doc. no. 135.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> L. S. Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453, New York 1961, p. 230.

<sup>12</sup> Ramiz Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1968, p. 192, Eng. ed.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, pp. 193-194.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

# CARE FOR AND PROTECT OF PEOPLE'S HEALTH *by AH*

*The average life expectation in Albania in the present period is 72 years which is almost double that of the year 1938 (38 years). General death-rate has fallen to 5.8 per cent, which makes Albania the country with the lowest death-rate in Europe and one of the lowest in the world. The Albanian population is the youngest in Europe, with its average age 26 years. Our health system includes 4080 institutions, or 80 times as many as there were before Liberation, of which 760 with beds and 3320 without beds; 85 per cent of them are situated in the rural area of the country*

**FROM THE FIRST DAYS AFTER LIBERATION THE PARTY GAVE THE NECESSARY PRIORITY TO THE ISSUE OF THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH, ORIENTATING THAT, AMONG THE MANY PROBLEMS, THOSE WHICH REPRESENTED GREATEST URGENCY SHOULD BE TACKLED, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, ORGANIZING THE NETWORK OF PROVIDING THE NECESSARY MEDICAL AID FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE.**

**UNDER THE SOLICITUDE OF THE PARTY AND OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, IN EACH STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, OUR HEALTH SERVICE KEPT EXTENDING AND GROWING QUALITATIVELY, TAKING UPON ITSELF MORE AND MORE IMPORTANT TASKS AND TACKLING THEM BOLDLY.**

Today we boast a health system which is spread throughout the country and employs mainly higher and medium cadres and specialists who have graduated from the various branches of the vocational higher and secondary education, including university and post-university studies within the country, and which ensures the necessary medical assistance at the level achieved by our medical science for all people without distinction. Such a thing today is a dream for 3,2 billion people, against about 4 billion in the world, who cannot get medical assistance.<sup>1</sup> Before Liberation, Albania — the poorest and most backward country of bourgeois Europe — had 102 physicians all in all, and these mainly general practitioners. Today there are 4255 physicians, general practitioners and specialists (excluding 1781 higher cadres in dentistry and pharmacy),

**AHMET KAMBERI** — Minister of Health

working all over the Homeland. There is one higher medical cadres for each 500 inhabitants, against 10 thousand before Liberation. The system of health service is complete with over 70 specialities and sub-specialities which function regularly.

The average life expectation in Albania in the present period has almost doubled against the year 1938 (38 years) and has reached to 72 years. This, apart from the all-sided progress made in the life of the people, without doubt, is due to the health service which is largely responsible for these achievements. General death-rate has fallen to 5.8 per cent, which makes Albania the country with the lowest death-rate in Europe and one of the lowest in the world. Our population today is of the youngest age in Europe because its average age is 26 years. In our health system today there are 4080 institutions, or over 80 times as many as before Liberation, of which 760 with

beds and 3320 without beds; 85 per cent of them are located in the rural area of the country.

In the structure of health institutions priority has been given to those caring for the mother and child health, because the strengthening of mothers' health and good rearing of children represents one of the foremost duties in the field of the protection and strengthening of the people's health, in general.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed: «The Party has always devoted a special care to this problem because it is linked directly with the present and the future of the people and the country.»<sup>2</sup>

The protection and care for mother and child has become the concern of our whole society, the organs of state power, the organs of the economy and the levers of the Party. Mother and child health service today includes 2690 mother and child consultation clinics, the sector of prophylactic service for mother and child, which is under the responsibility of the Central Consultation Clinic, 714 maternity houses and wards, etc. All this network of institutions is equipped with the necessary means and personnel and has the conditions for the continuous raising of the level of diagnosis of pregnancy in its early stage, for the systematic check-up and timely determination of the pathology in this delicate period in

the life of women, which is decisive for the health of the mother and infant. In Albania today 99.3 per cent of childbirths have medical assistance. The Party with its levers and the working people in the health service combine their efforts in order to create everywhere, in the family and in work places, a sound and scientific opinion about the special regime of life and work required for pregnant women or nursing mothers, which is indispensable in order to prevent a series of pathologies during pregnancy, premature childbirth, underweight birth and, after childbirth, to ensure good rearing of children and the bringing up of healthy generations. The main impact of this all-round activity is directed in the rural area, where there are cases in which, because of the inherited backward customs of the past, greater care must be shown both for pregnant women and for mothers.

The rearing of healthy children in our country is assisted by 2598 crèches (of which 2157 in the countryside) and 3102 kindergartens (of which 2393 in the countryside). A great work is done for the protection of the health of children in order to prevent and treat in time the contagious and other diseases which threaten this age, in particular. Through obligatory vaccination, which is done according to a definite plan, it has been possible to eliminate a series of dangerous contagious diseases such as measles (from 1971 onward no case of measles has been recorded), poliomyelitis and diphtheria (only 1-3 cases each year have been recorded), pertussis, tetanus of the newborn (not a single case has been recorded from 1980). All vaccines against the above-mentioned diseases, except that against poliomyelitis, are produced within the country. Our population today has a good immunitary defence.

This great work which is being

done in all and sundry directions and forms has resulted in the lowering of infant mortality and death-rate among children from one year to the other. At the end of the last five-year period it fell by 40 per cent against the year 1980. Nevertheless, infant mortality, although at present it is several times lower than that of the world, remains in a high level as compared with that of Europe. However, the strengthening and perfecting of the medical measures and especially of primary care, the introduction of new methods of diagnosis, medication and prophylaxis, as well as the more effective combination of the work of health institutions with the whole work and care of all the levers of society are the best guarantee from the scientific and organizational, medical and social aspect, that the incidence of illness and infant and child mortality will continue to fall and the objective of infant mortality falling to less than 20 per thousand will be attained as early as the period 1990-1995.

As a result of all these measures the population growth in the future will continue at rapid rates, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized, is an objective law of the socialist society. In implementing this law, the Party has from the outset mapped out a correct demographic policy and has adopted and applied a whole legislation for the protection and strengthening of mother and child health. These complex measures combined with the continuous uplift of the material, educational and cultural level of the working masses of city and rural area have brought about a situation in which the rates of the population growth in our country are 3-5 times as high as those of the other countries of Europe and the total population has reached to more than 3 million, against 1 mi-

llion which the country had in the year 1944.

«The results of our correct demographic policy,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia, «place Albania above all the countries of Europe and rate it among the first of the world. Normally every child that is born should not die... In our country not a single child dies of the lack of food or medicine, or because of the insufficient care by the state. In this context comes out the great responsibility of the organs of the Party and the state and especially of the specialized organs in the mother and child services such as those of the health service.»<sup>3</sup>

On this basis the health organs have programmed a whole series of all-sided organizational, methodic and technical measures, which are being put into practice with good quality and effectiveness.

Knowledge of the structure of disease incidence and particular elements in the various zones of the country is an indispensable premise preliminary to the adoption of concrete and effective measures in order to restrict and to combat diseases with success.

The action for the medical check-up of the entire population and for card-indexing all the people has a profound prophylactic character, because its main element is the screening of the population, the early detection of disease, and keeping the patients under observation in dispensaries, and finally their regular treatment and subsequent check-up and control. This five-year plan will be characterized by the deepening of this activity and its perfection from the organizational aspect and by the further strengthening of scientific discipline. This activity would remain something without value. If it were not carried out rapidly and if it were not accompanied with the study of the causes of problem diseases

in every village, zone and district, so as to adopt concrete and effective measures in order to neutralize and liquidate their source.

The 9th Congress of the Party laid special stress on this task. In the field of health service, it pointed out, the task has been set of strengthening prophylactic work, of screening and diognostication of the population and of raising the level of medical treatment and services.

The 9th Congress of the Party raised forcibly the need for strengthening our work and raising its quality especially through the periodical check-up, screening and diognostication of various diseases. Our health service, with its present human and material potential, is in a position to turn its attention towards the healthy part of the population, in order to check up, follow and keep under control its condition and to detect diseases in their early stages in which medication is much more effective, cheaper and drastically lowers the temporary inability for work and invalidity. This work requires strict scientific discipline in methods of operation and application, that is, it constitutes tasks of a purely practical, scientific and prophylactic character.

Nowadays every single clinic has the material conditions to determine, to direct from the methodical and scientific aspect and to control from the organizational and technical aspect the work for the mass screening and for the creation of the dispensary system for the problem diseases which affect larger sections of the population, in the clinical service which it covers, thus gradually increasing the range of diseases that can be screened today.

From the earliest stage of the fight against diseases, when malaria and syphilis and the contagious epidemic diseases were totally conquered, when tuberculosis was greatly reduced in its spread and structure, our health service assumed its prophylactic physiognomy. Which very soon became its main feature and its foremost direction.

The task set by the 9th Congress of the Party for ensuring the drinking water in abundance for all the

villages and inhabited centres of the country, has in its essence a prophylactic and hygienic character. In this background it is part of the actions for the further improvement of the hygienic conditions and the sanitary-epidemiological situation of the country, thus creating the necessary conditions for ensuring healthy working and living surroundings and for avoiding the possibilities of the development of pathogenic factors of their harmful manifestation and operation.

Success in all this work, accompanied also with vaccination and control through vaccination of a series of contagious diseases, has now brought to the fore the problem of tackling the uncontagious diseases. An important role in early detection of uncontagious diseases, in their treatment in dispensaries and in the determination of the causes which foster and favour them, is played by the system of mass screening and dispensary organized on scientific bases, in which the determination of population groups with a high risk index for given diseases is of primary importance.

In the continuous improvement of the prophylactic character of our health service we always bear in mind the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who has said:

«When we speak of prophylaxis we always have in mind the need of adopting all the necessary practical and scientific measures in order to avoid diseases and to assist the normal development of the human organism in all the stages of life, beginning from the moment when it is conceived, then after childbirth, during the period of infancy, in youth, in maturity and in old age, until death. For each, one of these stages there is a respective prophylaxis. In each period of the life of man there exist all sorts of dangers which assail the organism and affect especially some of its main organs, the weakening of which has a great influence on the rest of the body and hastens the process of its physical wear.»<sup>4</sup>

As a result, the concept of prophylaxis has become firmly rooted as a guide for action also in the other social and economic sectors which have

a direct or indirect bearing on the livelihood of the people.

Prophylaxis, in our opinion, implies not only the prevention of the manifestation of disease and the protection of people's health, in general; in essence this is the first element of it and an important one at that, it is considered and described as the primary prophylaxis. However, just as important as this is the other branch, considered and described as the secondary prophylaxis, which is aimed at preventing complications due to already manifested diseases and the many different results which they may give rise to. These two kinds of prophylaxes can be seen in the practical activity and in the system of screening and dispensary, which is expressed in the work to detect disease in the earliest stage. In these conditions, secondary prophylaxis assumes important concrete values because it avoids prolonged inability and invalidity, isolation of the people from the social life and premature death.

In this field, despite the great improvement made so far, our medicine has still much to do. Therefore, a series of measures have been adopted, which are nothing but efforts of the working people of the sector of health service to implement the directives of the 9th Congress of the PLA about these problems.

Although the basis of health service in our country, as elsewhere in the world, is always the general practitioner, it is logical that the scientific application of the policy of the Party in the field of health service has dictated, and will dictate in the future, too, the creation of specialties and specialized services, medical and scientific institutions, clinics, wards, cabinets and laboratories with a definite profile, and equipped with the modern know-how. But all this specialized network, with the kind of the health organization we have, does not work as a detached body; the specialized services, whether in clinics or laboratories, etc., have been wholly integrated into our health service and have been so conceived as to function in all their activities as a single service for the whole country, in a service in which each link has its



own specific organizational and technical duties and responsibilities for the advance of work in that speciality in all the subsequent links of the system down to the village health centre. This means that the essence of the concept of organization of our health service consists in the close connection between the general practitioner and the specialist, in the unification of the hospital and outpatient service, in the responsibility of the more specialized link of the system for the progress of the work in all the service which it covers down to the basic link of the health service in the village level.

This organization has made it possible for diagnostic and treatment to be carried out on the basis of a series of tests, methods, and patterns which precede the former and create the conditions for their profound theoretical understanding, scientific experimentation and creative application, not infrequently accompanied with scientifically based modifications and alterations. The list of such activities is long and grows longer with each passing day, from biochemical micro-methods to the new immunological and genetic considerations, from the radioisotopic examinations to haemodynamic examinations, from operations on the delicate areas of the brain and on hypophysis to artificial heart valves, from the transplantation of the cornea to the reconstructive operations of joints, etc. A commendable work in this direction is done in the districts, too.

The Albanian medical science today has created its own physiognomy, the voice of our specialists is heard and valued even in European and international scientific events, in which they compare with scientific dignity and to the standards of European and world experience.

The unification of the hospital and outpatient clinic services has ensured,

and in the future, with the measures adopted will ensure better still, the technical management of the ambulatory service, combined with the hospital service. The best physicians and specialists of our hospitals work some hours in the outpatient clinics of the towns and solve difficult problems on the spot. This will be further improved with the qualitative uplift of the medical cadres, both specialists and general practitioners.

The great work which is done in our health institutions would have remained something of little effect were it not accompanied with a broad programmed work for the uninterrupted qualification of the cadres with higher and medium education. In this uninterrupted system of qualification, the main role is played by the university clinics and services and, next, by the wards of the central hospitals in the districts.

The university clinics and services today are fully in a position to carry out the training of specialists in all the main specialities. The qualification of cadres is further completed with training courses in specialized profiles, and further studies abroad. The medical post-university medical education in recent years has become a real school, complete with well-studied programmes.

The concept about the responsibility of the university clinics and services is becoming rooted and growing into a tradition as regards their work in the medical disciplines which they cover in the district health institutions and the responsibility of the latter for the work of the district institutions down to the village health centre. The central hospital clinics of Tirana and the wards of the district hospitals have transformed the clinical hospitals and the hospitals in the districts into centres of medical research and treatment, qualification,

and education, thus breaking out of their traditional hospital boundaries in a programmed manner, bearing full responsibility before the state.

Likewise, the concept of the responsibility of the personnel with higher education for the progress of work in all the links of the health service for the quality of the work done by the medical cadres with medium schooling is being firmly consolidated and becoming a tradition.

In this manner, the entire network of health service of the country has been transformed into a constant school, in which the whole medical personnel is uninterruptedly qualified according to definite programmes.

This school is gradually including in itself also the patients who are taught to become conscious of the need of collaborating more closely with the physicians about their state of health, about their regular check-up.

The health service workers will always cherish the sacred behest of Comrade Enver Hoxha: «The minds, the hearts, and the eyes of the physicians should always be turned to the man, who wants to live and work happily and joyfully.»<sup>5</sup>

The perspective is brilliant but not easy to achieve, it requires still more toil, though now we have a good experience and, as always, we have the Party which assists us, encourages us and supports us with boldness and optimism to overcome all the difficulties.

1 «Clés pour une stratégie nouvelle de développement», Les Editions ouvrières — UNESCO, Paris 1984, pp. 62-69.

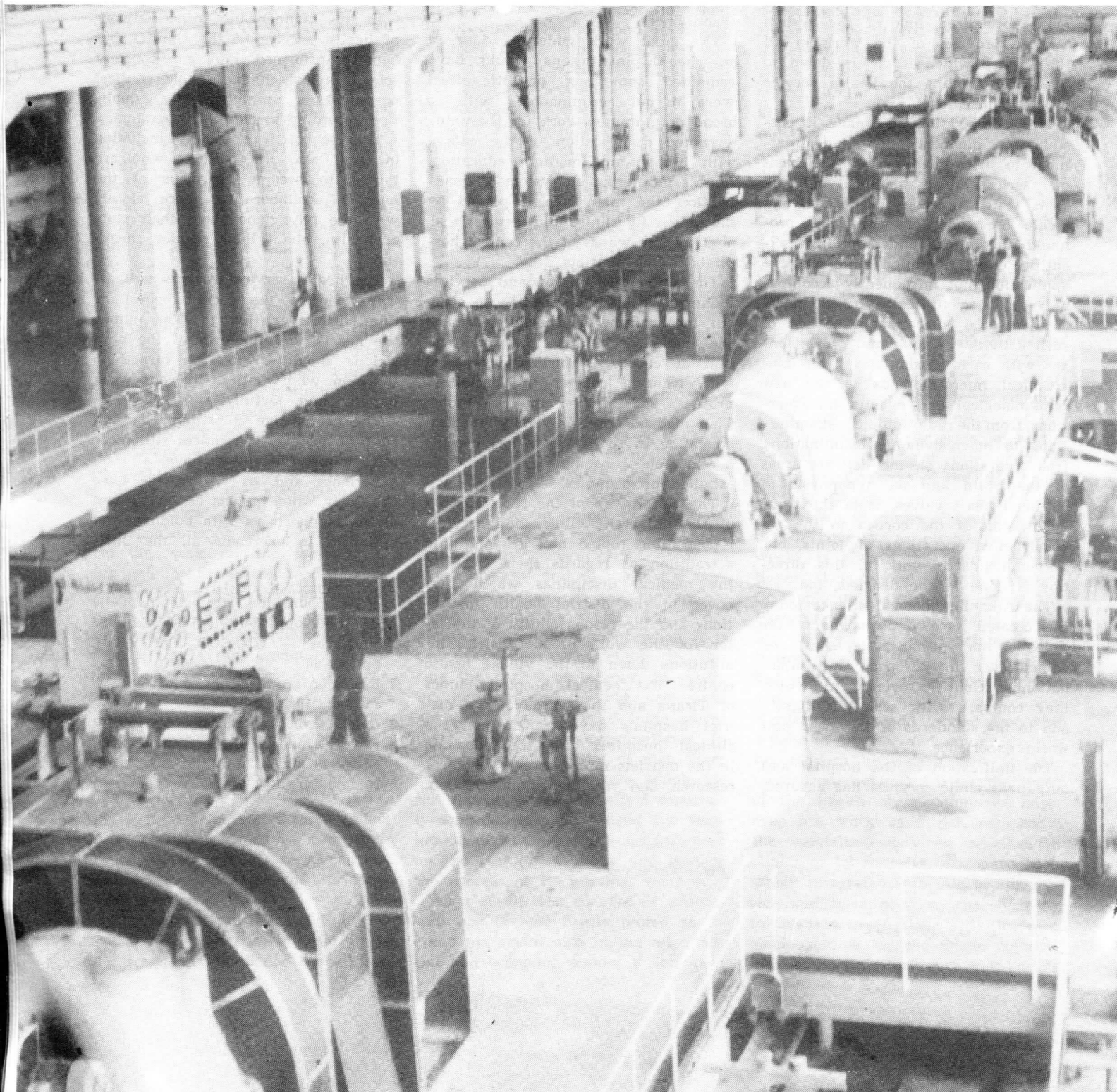
2 Ramiz Alia, *Speeches and Conversations*, 1985, p. 203.

3 *Ibidem*, vol. I, 1988, pp. 214-205.

4 Enver Hoxha, «*Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971*», pp. 202-203.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 196.

# PERFECTING SOCIALIST R OF PRODUCTION IN THE 8th FIVE-YEAR PLA



# RELATIONS

**N** by **HEKURAN MARA**

*Socialism represents the first order in the history of mankind which guarantees real social justice in the field of distribution, which frees the workers from exploitation of man by man, from the rules and norms imposed and dictated by capital and the law of profits for the distribution of the social product in the market economy*

**IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MAJOR PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE DURING THE 8TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1986-1990), THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY SET THE TASK THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED WITH THE PERFECTING OF THE DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION. THIS TASK IS NOT RAISED NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A NEW ORIENTATION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS PROOF OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST CONTINUITY IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LINE AND POLICY OF OUR PARTY, WHICH IT HAS PURSUED WITH LOYALTY OVER THIS QUESTION THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA. COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA POINTED OUT AT THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: "OUR PARTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN CAREFUL TO ENSURE THAT THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IS ACCOMPANIED WITH IMPROVEMENT OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION."**

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The ideological and theoretical scientific forecast of Marx and Engels that socialism represents the first proper stage indispensable for the communist mode of production was proved with complete accuracy also in the historical and social practice of the proletarian revolution. It has always been proved that socialism, as the unavoidable phase of communism, has its own essential political and social features. They have in themselves such features as the level of the development of productive for-

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ces, the system of the relations of production, the political system (the dictatorship of the proletariat), and the social and class structure of the society.

After the conclusion of this stage, which is called the stage of the construction of the base of socialism, the relations in production and the other relations of the superstructure in socialism now become the main source of the reproduction, consolidation and progress of socialism, the deepening of social justice and equalities which it guarantees.

The preservation on sound Marxist-Leninist basis of the real socialist contents and nature of these relations in the field of the economy and the superstructure constitutes the decisive condition for socialism to develop

higher and higher on the correct road, for avoiding any danger of its degeneration and the creation of the ground and possibilities for a return to the old social order, as occurred in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, in which capitalism has now been restored.

The socialist relations of production, or as they are otherwise called the economic relations, are the social forms in which the productive forces manifest themselves. Therefore, any change, any quantitative and qualitative development in the productive forces, in general, or in their various elements, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, should find its respective reflection also on the specific aspects of the socialist relations of production. Even though they are partial aspects, and in a given moment they may seem unimportant and without any considerable weight in the whole system of the socialist relations of production, they have their importance because they create a free field and greater scope for the development of the productive forces, impart greater dynamics to them, especially to the elements that combine to form it on a national scale, to the branches and sectors of the economy, thus opening the road to more advanced processes of development.

The perfecting of the special aspects of socialist relations of production is accomplished in a conscious, organized and guided manner by the

Party of the working class and by the socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is achieved through roads, methods and forms which are characteristic of socialism, and which have their source in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and derive from the objective economic laws and principles of socialism, from the line and the policy of the Party for the consolidation and development of the whole social order.

Relying on the dialectics of the building and development of socialism, we can say that the system of the socialist relations of production includes the following decisive fields of the economic activity: a) the social ownership of the means of production in both its forms; b) the place which the workers occupy in the social production; c- the form of organization and management of the means of production and the whole social product, d) the character of appropriation and distribution of the product created anew; e) the form of exchange and circulation of the social product.

The whole of this system of socialist relations of production has in its foundations the social ownership of the means of production which constitutes the very core of this system. On the basis of the existence of social ownership of the means of production it is possible to achieve the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, to realize the social equality among the working people, to place the general interest of society above the narrow interest of the individual.

The social relations of production are manifested, first of all, as relations of economic interests between the society, the collective, and the individual.

The socialist social ownership of the means of production and the entire system of the socialist relations of production create the basis and the objective possibilities for these interests to be correctly harmonized among themselves. However, experience and practice show that in the process of the accomplishment of the relations of production in all fields involved, the subjective acti-

vity of the working people and their individual interests cannot be always and in every instance absolutely harmonized and coinciding with the social interests. Hence, the possibility exists that even socialism may give birth to the emergence of non-antagonistic, partial and temporary, contradictions between the interests of the society and those of the individual, but which the society can solve correctly and in the appropriate time.

The objective economic and social contents of the socialist relations of production is expressed in the concrete economic activity of the working people, in the economic policy and in the whole activity of the state for the regulated and planned organization and management of the economy. After going through the filtre of the subjective consciousness, this content is put into practice, in daily life, through the juridical legislation covering the field of the economy.

The economic legislation is made by the man and it is the man who puts it into practice. Therefore, the clearer is the man politically and ideologically, the more and the better he knows the requirements of the economic objectives, so much more adequately and accurately will the economic legislation reflect the real contents of the socialist relations of production.

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Since the relations of ownership constitute the basis of the socialist relations of production as a whole and play a decisive role in them, when it comes to perfecting the socialist relations of production, the relations of ownership gain priority of place. This is precisely the reason why Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «...socialist labour and ownership are the two major pillars on which the development of the economy, the whole life of the country, and its present and future rely.»<sup>2</sup>

The Party of Labour of Albania has pursued a consistent economic

policy and line over this cardinal question. It has always aimed at ensuring that the social character of the objects of work and the appropriation of the final product should develop in step with the forces of production; that both forms of property (the state property and the cooperativist property) should develop ceaselessly; that the gradual rapprochement of the cooperativist property with the property of the whole people should continue, by creating the respective conditions for the transition to the single form of the socialist social property. This line and this policy are the fundamental characteristic of the tasks set by the 9th Congress of the PLA for the perfection of the relations of social ownership.

In the framework of the existence of two forms of socialist property, the state property constitutes the base of the development of the whole social life of the country, determines the possibilities and limits of the reproduction and perfecting of the whole system of socialist relations of production. In 1975, the state property constituted about 70 per cent of the national wealth created by human labour, and accounted for over 83 per cent of the fundamental funds of the national economy. In 1985, about 90 per cent of the total social product and about 71.5 per cent of the national income were created in the state sector.

The first factor, from which the increase in the total volume of the social product will depend, remains the increase of effectiveness in the exploitation of the existing productive fundamental funds which have been created in the period of the construction of socialism. With the existing productive fundamental funds in industry it is envisaged to cope with 74 per cent of the increase in the total production envisaged for the period of the 8th Five-year Plan. This is, also, the most important field in which the operation of such subjective factors as the socialist stand of the working people towards the social property, the strengthening of the property and its good administration, the struggle against damage and

misuse of it, the perfecting of organization and management in the relations of property, the savings in the social labour, etc., must manifest themselves with a greater strength and a new quality.

The second factor, which will lead to the increase in the total volume of the social product, are the new productive fundamental funds which will be created from the use of fundamental funds. In the course of the 8th Five-year Plan, these funds are envisaged to reach up to 24 billion and 450 million leks.

The third factor, which will accompany the intensive and extensive development of the state property and will exert its influence on the increase in the volume of total social product, is the change that will be made in the volume and structure of the productive fundamental funds for industry. In 1990 the productive fundamental funds for industry will represent over half the total sum of productive fundamental funds which are state property. Along with this, improvements will be made within the technological structure of the fundamental funds for industry, the most active part of which, consisting of machinery and equipment, will occupy about 45 per cent in the end of the five-year plan. These changes which are made in the volume and in the structure of the state property in industry serve to extend the possibilities for the reproduction of the objects of the socialist state property to be carried out in future on a larger scale relying on the material-technical base of the country and at a more advanced technical and technological level.

The fundamental characteristic of the material-technical base created, which is socialist state property, is that today it is exploited in its full capacity. However, in this direction, problems emerge time and again which must be solved. There are special machines and equipment, made at home or imported, which remain idle for a very long time. There are also problems arising from the failure to fully exploit productive capacities, for objective and subjective reasons, both on the new projects

and on those under construction. In some instances, the existing productive capacities or part of them must be extended, modernized and completed with contemporary technology in order to achieve the more complex and thorough processing of the natural wealth of the country and to increase their effectiveness. Indeed, this is the main aim, and this will be achieved during the 8th Five-year Plan with the reconstruction envisaged for scores of the existing factories and plants.

During the 8th Five-year Plan, the cooperatist property, too, as a constituent and inseparable part of the socialist social property, will undergo quantitative and qualitative changes. Its existence in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state socialist property enable it to develop and grow uninterruptedly and consolidate all the features of the property of the whole people. Our experience has shown that this process... «should be conducted in such a manner as to extend the sphere of the relations of the state property and to narrow the sphere of the relations of the cooperatist property gradually.»<sup>3</sup>

The cooperatist property still retains in itself, and will do so for a long time, great possibilities for encouraging the intensive and extensive development of the productive forces in agriculture, the increase in the agricultural production, securing on this basis the improvement of the well-being of the cooperatists. During the 8th Five-year Plan these possibilities will be further increased through the work and the accumulation of the cooperatist peasantry itself from this work, as well as with a greater aid on the part of the socialist state. Close to 7 billion and 700 million leks will be invested in the development of agriculture, whereas the total agricultural production for the current five-year plan will increase by 35-37 per cent. The property of the group, also, will be strengthened by increasing the influence of various factors, especially by placing industry better in the service of agriculture, extending the plains zone which is being intensi-

fied with priority, increasing the number of cooperatives with a livestock-farming direction in the mountainous zones, etc. The entire process of the strengthening of the cooperatist property will help to narrow distinctions between the plains zone and the hilly-mountainous zones, as well as to better fulfil the needs for food products of the cooperatists and town workers.

A new, original and innovatory form of the qualitative development of the cooperatist property on the basis of perfecting the property of the group are the higher-type cooperatives, which were set up according to the teachings of the Party and the orientations of Comrade Enver Hoxha. These cooperatives today have extended in most of the districts of the country, especially in the plains zone; they occupy a surface of arable land totalling 186 thousand hectares, or 57 per cent of the arable land of the plains zone of the country and produce about 45 per cent of the total fund of accumulation of the agricultural cooperatives. Data over many years show that the higher-type cooperatives create some superiorities and have achieved better economic and financial results than the ordinary cooperatives. They are very close to the state farms in many economic respects, therefore every possibility exists for the rest of the ordinary agricultural cooperatives, especially those of the zone, which is included in the priority intensification, to follow on this road.

The experience gained so far shows also that the most important element in the combination of the relations between the property of the group and the state property within the higher-type cooperatives remains the state participation with non-returnable means for investments in the productive funds of these cooperatives and for means of circulation. This is an indispensable measure and an important factor both for the increase of the degree of the intensification of agricultural production and for the increase of its volume on this basis, as well as for the preparation of the economic and social conditions needed for gradually



turning the group property into the property of the whole society in a natural manner. This is the reason why, during the 8th Five-year Plan, along with the increase in the number of higher-type cooperatives and the extension of the zone of priority intensification, the state participation with non-returnable means in the productive funds of the cooperatives is envisaged to increase. The task is set that the mechanism of state participation with non-returnable means is to be further improved so as to make it more dynamic and such as to encourage the cooperatives to further increase production and consequently the income for themselves and for society, by avoiding manifestation of self-isolation. At the same time, it is required that in the cooperatives in which the state participates with non-returnable means we must find and apply more and more different forms of organization and management and discover more elements of the socialist distribution which are applied in and are characteristic of the state property.

A new element which has emerged recently in the practice of the cooperativist property are the small herds of animals (mainly cattle and sheep) created in the brigades from the cooperativists' household animal. The spread of this element in all the cooperatives of the country will help to further strengthen the cooperativist property, by ensuring a more thorough exploitation of all the possibilities for the extensive development of livestock-farming, a thing which will certainly lead to the more rapid increase in the livestock and dairy products destined to supply the needs of the cooperativist peasantry. The accomplishment of the task set for fulfilling the needs of the cooperativist peasantry with milk within the year 1988 will bring about the improvement of the supplies of milk and milk products from the concentrated herds of the agricultural cooperatives for the town working people.

The improvement of the socialist relations in the rural area is assisted by the correct implementation of

the line and policy the Party has defined for the future of the cooperativists' personal plot. For this purpose, work will proceed in two main directions: first, to increase the cooperativists' income from the collective economy; and second, to increase the agricultural and livestock production in the personal plot to the extent that the needs for the cooperativist peasantry are fulfilled. The task for the present is that the cooperativists' personal plot must be used exclusively for the fulfilment of the needs of the cooperativist families for agricultural products and, where the joint herds from personal livestock of the peasants have not yet been formed, to extend the fodder base of the personal livestock of the cooperativists. About the animals of the collective herds, the main task remains to ensure the highest yields of them, and when they reach the time for slaughter, measures should be taken in advance to ensure that they are replaced, so as not to allow the reduction of the number of animals in the concentrated herds of the cooperative.

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Since the working masses are proclaimed by the state as inalienable possessors of the means of production and all other social property, and for them to have this position also from the economic aspect, they must participate in the administration and use of the property by increasing the degree of their responsibility for the results achieved from its use. Therefore, the problems which have to do with the organization and management of the means of production and the whole of the social production, with the place which the working people occupy in the process of production, constitute a specific field in the socialist relations of production. The historical experience of the construction of socialism in our country shows that the need arises and the material and subjective conditions are created for perfecting the forms of organization and mana-

gement of the economy in conformity with the dynamic development of the productive forces, with the higher political, ideological, cultural and professional level of the working people, with the experience gained for the organization and management of the socialist production.

The functioning, movement and development of the socialist economy is characterized by the form of organization realized under a unified, general and centralized state plan. The preservation of this general form of functioning is a decisive question of principled importance for avoiding the degeneration of the socialist economy into the capitalist market economy, as occurred in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Therefore, when the task of improving the organization of our socialist economy is raised, the first problem that must be considered is that of perfecting some aspects, norms and rules which exist, and which have to do with the drafting and implementation of plans of the development of the economy on a national scale, or on a branch, district, enterprise, cooperative, sector, department and brigade level.

The drafting and implementation of the plan is part of the subjective activity of the working people. It relies on their relative knowledge of a given reality in time and space, therefore it cannot be absolutely flawless. To admit this does not, in any way, question the truth that the planned development of the socialist economy is an objective necessity. In this meaning, the drafting and execution of the plan reflects the accuracy of the knowledge of the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and of the economic and social policy of the Party, which relies on these laws, of the knowledge of the other laws of science and technique. The complete mastering of this knowledge in depth by the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, by leading cadres, by the engineering-technical specialists and economists, by all the working people, is a primary demand, a must, in order to achieve a most realistic, scientific and mobilizing



plan. Everything which has to do with planning must go through the test of practice, must be confronted with the results achieved and those to be achieved and, on the basis of practice, must be further enriched and perfected.

A perfect planning cannot be achieved without knowing and using the contemporary methods of balance, norms, analysis, etc., more extensively and with greater effectiveness, without relying on the possibilities which the modern means of information science, the computers and data bank processing create now. Using these means creates real possibilities for the plans of economic development to be drafted, in all their levels and through all their links, in many different variants with the aim of selecting the best variants which ensures the biggest increase in the national income, accumulation and consumption.

Our economy is run according to the principle of democratic centralism, which combines in a harmonious manner the state management centralized from above with democracy, with the participation of the grassroots and the masses from below; combines the general interest of the whole nation with the partial interests of the branch, the sector, the district, the enterprise or the agricultural cooperative; combines rights with obligations and responsibilities.

The general interest of the economy rules out the absolute independence of the enterprise, but this does not exclude its relative independence (the initiative and responsibility of the collective, its operative actions, etc., etc.). Socialism is opposed to both bureaucratic centralism and to turning state enterprises into independent owners of the means of production, which leads to capitalism, to anarchy and to the disintegration of the state power. The consistent preservation and implementation of the political, economic and social contents of democratic centralism is a principled question of decisive importance to bar the road to the anarcho-syndicalist, «self-administrative» type of management, or to the management of the economy which is based

on the complete freedom of the market. To find the most appropriate forms and methods and the most efficient ways for the harmonization of centralized management with revolutionary initiative and enterprise from the base, this is one of the main tasks set by the 9th Congress of the PLA for the perfecting of the relations of production in the field of the management of the economy.

The centralized management of the economy is an order and an instruction of the state; it means political authority and a legal obligation that the decisions of the supreme state and economic organs should be executed by the lower organs; it also implies juridical, material and moral obligation of everyone to execute them.

Centralism is realized through administrative and economic methods. The use of the one or the other method depends on the degree of development of the socialist economy, the relations among different branches and the degree of their integration, etc. Centralism is necessary in order to solve major problems of the present and the perspective, which are connected with the structure of the economy, with the proportions and rates of its development, with the division of the overall production into the fund of consumption and the fund of accumulation. In short, it must solve all those problems which have to do with the macro-economic harmonization and dynamics, with the process of their materialization in practice.

Our centralism is democratic; it cannot be conceived or realized without the active participation of the masses, without the relative independence of the enterprise and the agricultural cooperative, without initiative and enterprising spirit of the working people and without their concern for the accomplishment of the tasks set in the state plan. No one should think that the state and economic organs, charged with the enactment of the centralized management of the socialist property, defend only the interests of the society, and least of all, that this is always achieved with automatic accuracy in

every instance. No, they take into consideration also the narrow interests of the department and sector, the branch or the district, the enterprise and the agricultural cooperative, too. Hence emerges the need that the society must exert a realistic control on the organs of the state and the economy which are charged with the centralized management of the socialist property, so that the interests of the department, the branch, the district, the enterprise or the cooperative should not override the interests of the society. Seen from this angle, Lenin's orientation and insistence that the administration and managements of the socialist economy should be qualified not only to act in the interests of the working people, but also should use the working people to act as an intermediary in implementing socialist democracy, which cannot be replaced by anything else, has a great significance even today.

It is a great merit of our Party that it has considered both sides of the question, centralism and democracy, always in their unity, that it has fought both against exaggerated centralism and against liberalism, correctly defining the limits of centralization and the range of the line of the masses in the management of the economy. These limits are expressed, as is known, in the rights of decision-making and the approval of the economic, technical and financial indices, in determining the volume and assortment of production, the fund of wages, the size of investments, the material-technical supplies, the manner of the distribution of the final product and the other indices of the state plan.

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The degree of the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the people is not something unalterable given once and for good. In the first place, it depends on the size of the total social production and the kind of relations of distribution. This is an axiom which remains valid for any social order and for any time. In this meaning socialism represents the

first order in the history of mankind which guarantees real social justice in the field of distribution, which frees the workers from exploitation of man by man, from the rules and norms imposed and dictated by capital and the law of profit in the market economy for the distribution of the social product.

Distribution according to the amount of work done is a major political, ideological and social victory socialism has achieved in our country, because the economic relations, which prevail in this, «...are questions of vital importance to the development of the economy, to the very life of the working people. They have a far-reaching ideological, political, economic and social significance and content and are not just administrative and technical matters.»<sup>4</sup>

The policy of the PLA has always aimed at ensuring that the relations of distribution, in conformity with the requirements of the respective economic law, should be such as to stimulate the increase of the social product, to improve quality of production to reduce the amount of work expended per unit of production; to ensure that the relations of production help to strengthen the social character of appropriation, harmonize the distribution and redistribution of the national income among the different classes, branches and sectors of the economy, narrow the distinctions in the incomes among classes and groups within classes, enhance social control on the amount of work and consumption, etc. These are the main directions which circumscribe the framework within which the relations of distribution will be further perfected on sound Marxist-Leninist bases during the 8th Five-year Plan.

As is known, the relations of distribution comprise the distribution of the product for oneself and that of the product for the society. Therefore, in the process of their realization two major funds, the fund of consumption and the fund of accumulation, are created in the national income thus realized.

The broadest, most sensitive and susceptible factor within the relations

of distribution for the living and the well-being of the working people is, in the first place, the remuneration of work through pay. The 9th Congress of the PLA put forward the task that the relationship between the pay and the quantity, quality and expenditure of production should be further extended and improved. The measures adopted for this purpose hitherto have had a general positive effect on stimulating the workers' interest in the ever better accomplishment of the planned tasks. However, there are more problems which await solution and which must be studied, experimented on and generalized on the basis of concrete results in their application in practice.

An important measure to perfect the remuneration of work in the agricultural cooperatives is the replacement of the workday by the pay according to the work to norms. This must be applied in each cooperative which has achieved enough stability in the increase of production and income and which have created reserves of wages funds sufficient to cover the needs of the cooperativist for advance payment. A possible measure for the perfecting of the relations of ownership in distribution in the agricultural cooperatives is also the increase in the amount of advance payment for work done by the cooperativists during the year, with the purpose to encourage them to show greater interest in the accomplishment of all the tasks of the plan rhythmically and on all fronts.

In order to stimulate the efforts of the working people for the overfulfilment of the tasks of the plan and to assess the results more thoroughly, the 9th Congress of the Party put forward the task of enhancing the role of the material incentives, while preserving the priority of moral incentives, for this purpose. Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 9th Congress of the PLA: «Work with high quality, productivity and saving must be encouraged and valued higher, not only morally but also materially.»<sup>5</sup> Material incentives must be used especially in those collectives and for those individuals who overfulfil the tasks of the plan, who

make inventions, rationalizations, and who increase accumulation, etc.

In order to apply the policy of the Party on incentives, the decision has been taken to give additional compensation above the pay to the management, to the technical, administrative and executive staff in the extraction of oil, chromium, copper and coal, to those working in the engineering industry, in the textile mills, in the factories of the enrichment of chromium and copper, in the plants for the smelting of minerals, in the food-stuffs industry, etc. For each instance, the decision stipulates the conditions required for all those who should benefit from bonuses and compensation plus the pay, and how much. The better use of the material incentives will be accompanied with the increase in the size of the special fund of the enterprises, amounting to 2 per cent of the wages funds, and with the increase in the part of this fund which will be used for special compensation up to 60 per cent of the pay.

An important field of interest in the relations of distribution is the funds of social consumption. The formation and utilization of these funds should play an ever greater role in the extension and strengthening of the free systems of education, culture, health services and social insurances; in the improvement of the conditions of the workers' rest, in softening the objectively unavoidable distinctions in socialism, which have to do with the material condition of individuals and families, in levelling the social and economic conditions of children's education, in the development of science, and so on. In all these complex directions which are comprised in the relations of distribution of the fund of social consumption, an ever increasing part of this fund is used on pensions, about which problems have arisen, which must be studied and solved (such as, for example, the age of retirement on pension in various branches of the economy, retirement for special social and professional activities, the ratio between the maximum and minimum pensions, etc.).

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The objective existence of the social division of labour between different branches of the socialist economy and within them, and the deepening of its objective character which expresses the degree of the development of the productive forces, raises the absolute need for the circulation (movement) of products from one branch to the other, from the sphere of production to the sphere of consumption. This is the ground from which the special relations of production arise and which are known as the relations of exchange. Because of the existence of two forms of the socialist property, part of the products are converted into commodities and are exchanged and circulated in the form of commodities, while the remainder assumes only the form of commodity and is exchanged and circulated with the intermediary of the commodity-money relations. The socialist nature of the production of products and commodities determines the nature of their exchange and circulation, both within each form of the social property and between the state property and the cooperativist property.

The most characteristic feature of the relations of exchange between city and the rural area today consists in the fact that, along with the ordinary exchange of agricultural products for industrial commodities of mass consumption, there is an ever greater increase in the role and weight of exchanges in the fulfilment of the needs of extended reproduction in agriculture with means of production from industry. In this framework, the state is participating more and more extensively with non-returnable means in the productive funds of the cooperative, which further emphasize the combination of the state property with the cooperativist property, which finally leads to the restriction of the purchase and sale of commodities destined for productive consumption by the agricultural cooperative.

Returning to the complex relations of exchange between the state and

the agricultural cooperatives, the 9th Congress of the Party emphasized that the manner of procurement, purchase, preservation, and processing of bread grain and other massive agricultural products, especially, must be further improved through the reduction of the links in this process. All these products do not constitute an object of sale or purchase in the free market. They circulate on the basis of a state plan of the procurement of products, and constitute one of the forms of circulation of goods in socialism. Therefore, massive agricultural products such as wheat, maize, cotton, sunflower, etc., for example, can be collected and fetched directly from the fields, gathered up in specialized centres of collection and manipulation, by the state enterprises. This practice has been experimented in different regions with positive results.

Another major problem of many-sided political, economic and social contents in the field of the relations of exchange is the correct harmonization of the ratio of prices for agricultural and livestock products purchased by the state. Experience shows that the planned mobility of prices for these products has been such as to ensure that the expenditure of production is covered, and the net income necessary for the agricultural cooperatives to cope with the needs for the extended reproduction within them has been guaranteed. Proceeding on this tested road, measures have been taken recently to raise the prices for the procurement and purchase of some agricultural and livestock products with the aim of adjusting, the levels of profitability between different products, of stimulating the overfulfilment of production plans, of improving quality and increasing early production.

In order to hasten the process of narrowing the distinctions between the city and the rural area, so as to ensure better communal and vital services for the cooperativist peasantry, the main activities connected with these services and needs are envisaged to be transferred from the dependence of agricultural cooperative to the state communal enterprises.

The experience gained in the sector of repairs and services may be used also in other fields, wherever possible.

The perfecting of the relations of exchange between the state and the agricultural cooperatives should comprise also the improvement of trade in the rural area, both of industrial goods and of food-stuffs, while, at the same time, increasing the amount of supplies of these goods in conformity with the purchasing power of the cooperativist peasantry. The basis to attain this objective lies in the uninterrupted and stable increase of the agricultural and livestock products by the cooperativist peasantry.

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In order to conserve the true socialist nature of the relations of production and to improve some of its aspects, the PLA has always followed a clear and correct Marxist-Leninist line. During the creative implementation of this line, never separating words from deeds in practice, the Party has ensured that unshakeable continuity which has characterized the construction of socialism in our country. This line and this policy, which it has pursued without vacillations, have been completely confirmed in the revolutionary social practice of our country and has found broad support among the working masses in city and countryside, among the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, which have always fought for their implementation in practice.

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1. Ramiz Alia, *Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 63-65.
  2. Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 122.
  3. Enver Hoxha, *About the 7th Five-year Plan*, p. 185.
  4. Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973*, p. 104.
  5. Ramiz Alia, *Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA*, p. 65.

# THE MEETING OF MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries held its proceedings from February 24-26, in the Sava Centre of Belgrade. The meeting was attended by the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile; the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Peter Mladenov; the delegation of the Republic of Greece, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Carolos Papoulias; the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Joan C. Totu; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Mesut Jilmaz; and the delegation of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the federative secretary for Foreign Affairs, Budimir Lončar.

The meeting was declared opened by the federative secretary for Foreign Affairs, Budimir Lončar. The President of the Presidency of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, Lazar Mojsov, greeted the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, present at this meeting. He wished that this meeting should contribute to the improvement of the relations of good neighbourhood and the further development of reciprocal collaboration in all fields in which interests coincide.

The meeting approved the working agenda. After the participants in the meeting elected Budimir Lončar as chairman of the meeting in his quality as minister for Foreign Affairs of the host country, the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries held their speeches.

The first to take the floor was the minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.

Before the meeting, the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the participating countries were received by the president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Lazar Mojsov.

The chairman of the meeting informed that the meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries had received messages of greetings from the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia, from the General Secretary of UNO, Peres De Quellar, from the chairman of the State Council of the PR of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, from the Prime minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreou, and from the president of the SR of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's message of greeting says, among other things:

«The new socialist Albania has been and is especially interested that there should be peace and understanding, stability and a spirit of collaboration among the peoples of the Balkan countries. It considers the policy of good neighbourhood as a constant orientation in its relations with all the Balkan countries.

«We believe that there will be no lack of goodwill and wisdom on the part of the Balkan countries to rise above the negative factors, above the old mentalities, and to march on the road of freedom among the peoples, toward the creation of a climate of mutual trust and collaboration of interests to everyone.

«The peoples of the Balkans can and must show that they are in a position to live without foreign interference, that they know how to recognize and defend the supreme interests of the freedom, independence and complete sovereignty of their countries. By saying this we do not negate the need for friendship and collaboration with the peoples of Europe and the world at large, too, but we emphasize that these must be based on reciprocal respect and inspired by the spirit of equality and the

interests of general peace and security.

«The People's Socialist Republic of Albania expresses the confidence that, through common efforts and goodwill, appropriate and acceptable roads can be found for the establishment of fruitful collaboration among the peoples of our region.»

During his stay in Belgrade the minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, held bilateral meetings with the other ministers for foreign affairs. He met the minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Mesut Jilmaz, the minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Joan Totu, the minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Peter Mladenov, the minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Carolos Papoulias, and the federative secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Budimir Lončar. In these meetings they exchanged opinions mainly about the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, especially about problems of bilateral interest. The foreign minister, Reis Malile, also, spoke about the existing relations between Albania and the countries participating in this meeting, and about the further development of them.

The speech of the minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania aroused great interest among the diplomatic circles and journalists who followed the proceedings of the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs. The correspondents of the press and news agencies appreciated the realistic tone and the constructive stand of the PSR of Albania towards the questions which have to do with the improvement of the atmosphere in the Balkans and the efforts that should be made by each country individually and all together for a better climate of security and stability in the Balkans and beyond.

In the last session of this meeting, opinions were exchanged and proposals were forwarded about the extension of the Balkan collaboration in

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the fields in which common interests coincide, with the aim of assisting in the creation of a calmer and more secure atmosphere in the Balkan Peninsula.

In this plenary session, the text of the joint communique which was

endorsed by the participants in the meeting, was read.

The Meeting of Belgrade attracted the attention of the world public opinion and became the object of reports and commentaries of the news agencies, radios and, the press of various

countries. It had a wide repercussion especially in the press of the Balkan countries, which stressed the importance of this meeting for the inter-Balkan collaboration in various fields of reciprocal interest.

## THE POLICY OF ALBANIA IS A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

*- Speech delivered by comrade Reis Malile -*

Honourable colleagues,

Allow me to express my pleasure at having gathered together in this meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states here in Belgrade, in order to exchange views about the possibilities and roads that would help create a climate of confidence and understanding, and about the development of bilateral and multilateral relations in the region.

I would like to congratulate, on this occasion, Mr. Dizdarević for the efforts he has made in the preparation of this meeting, as well as to express my sincere thanks to the Yugoslav hosts who have created such favourable conditions for the conduct of its work.

The Albanian Government has supported and will support every constructive step that would contribute to the improvement of the situation in the Balkans and serve the cause of peace, stability and security in the region and beyond. It proceeds from the point of view that, regardless of the many existing difficulties which we all know, the possibilities to move in this direction are not few, certainly, provided there is goodwill and

the determination to go through things.

As regards Albania, this goodwill will not be lacking, just as there will be no lack of sincere efforts for collaborating with the other states, too, for the achievement of this objective. Under the present conditions of the Balkans, what is needed, in our opinion, is, in the first place, the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust. For this purpose we must see things realistically and work patiently. It is understandable that nobody would be satisfied only with the mere fact of recording a meeting of ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkans. Its value would be measured with its results and the actual contribution it would make to opening the road to the cultivation of friendship and the expansion of fruitful bilateral and multilateral co-operation.

Developments in the Balkans cannot be taken isolated from those in Europe and in the world. We live today in a turbulent world in which situations are complicated and, in many cases, tense. A number of countries and regions are the object of aggression and interference by the two superpowers. As a result, there exist many hotbeds of tension and con-

licts, which make European and world relations tense, and pose direct threats to peace and international security.

There has been much talk recently about the value of the agreement concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union on the elimination of medium-range missiles from Europe. The Albanian Government has clearly expressed itself right from the beginning against the deployment of these weapons, and it has been and is for their removal. Yet, it must be admitted that the agreement concluded between the two superpowers, even after its implementation, would represent the reduction of a symbolic fraction of the huge arsenal of nuclear weapons the United States and the Soviet Union possess in Europe and around it. It would have a real value only if it were to be followed by other important and effective steps towards disarmament. Hence, it is evident there is no room for euphoria.

There has been and still is frequent talk about the denuclearization of the Balkans. It cannot be denied that the idea is rational and coincides with the interests of security in the Bal-

kans and, more broadly, in Europe. This consideration must be emphasized even more strongly as it is known that these weapons are foreign and the countries in which they are deployed have virtually no, or only partial, control and power over them.

Removal of foreign nuclear weapons from the Balkans would constitute a step of many-sided importance. First of all, not only it would strengthen the sovereignty of the countries in which they are deployed and reduce political and military complications which ensue from them, but also it would improve the general climate in the Balkans, strengthen mutual confidence and would dispose of a problem which poses a serious menace and gives rise to tensions and frictions.

Proceeding from these considerations, Albania properly understands the justified demands expressed in the countries of our Peninsula for the removal of foreign nuclear weapons from the Balkans, and backs up the efforts to this end. In this regard our solidarity is complete.

Some reservation we have expressed and still have is not connected with the final objective of it, but with the ways and means proposed for its achievement. In the first place, we are convinced that these measures do not eliminate the nuclear threat and blackmail if they remain circumscribed within regional framework. Nuclear weapons in the Balkans are only a link in the chain the super-powers have put around our Peninsula. The other links are the foreign military bases and troops stationed here, and the military treaties themselves. All these links must be severed.

On the other hand, foreign nuclear weapons in the Balkans have been deployed on the basis of bilateral agreements. The others are not involved in this question; no approval or commitment of any kind whatsoever has been sought from them. Hence, their removal, too, must be carried out in an individual and sovereign manner by the country in which these nuclear weapons are deployed, just as the pledge must be taken by each country in a sovereign manner not to accept foreign nuclear

weapons and not to enter the nuclear armaments race.

As far as the PSR of Albania is concerned, not only it has no nuclear weapons on its territory, but also it is bound by its Constitution to prohibit in any case and in any form the stationing of foreign weapons, military bases and troops on the Albanian territory.

Our opinion about the existing military pacts, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, headed by the United States and the Soviet Union, is known. We think that they constitute the main factor of the confrontation which exists in Europe and in the world and which is fraught with extremely grave consequences for mankind. It is the political and military strategy of blocs which led to the division and split of Europe and which is also reflected in our region. Hence, we always uphold the view that the dissolving of these pacts would create the indispensable conditions for the achievement of the confidence which is now lacking among European countries, and for genuine international security. The farther the negative factors are kept from the Balkans the better. The Balkans must belong only to its own peoples.

Albania is for the independent development and stability of each Balkan country. We are aware that destabilization of any of our countries is to the detriment of each individual country and of peace and security in general. So, we have on more than one occasion reiterated that our country is not for turbulences in the Balkans. With all its stands and acts Albania has given proof that it is for the permanent existence in the Peninsula of an atmosphere conducive to the strengthening of sincere friendship and co-operation, the consolidation of the freedom and independence of its peoples, peace and common security.

The Albanian Government has declared publicly, and I am authorized to emphasize it again at this meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, that no harm will come to its neighbours from Albania, that the Albanian people will allow no-one to violate the free-

dom, independence and sovereignty of the neighbouring states from its territory. We think that all the peoples of the Balkans and beyond would welcome it if the Balkan states, independent of the fact they are participants in military blocs or not, will engage themselves to respect the freedom, independence and sovereignty of each Balkan country and not to allow a third country to bring harm to a neighbouring country from their territories.

Honoured colleagues,

Development of relations with the neighbouring countries constitutes one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We have been and continue to be for the rigorous application in these relations, too, of the established principles and norms of respect for independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and co-operation on the basis of mutual interest and benefit.

Complete independence and sovereignty, both on the internal and the external plane, lie at the foundation of the policy of our state. We respect others, and we want that they, too, respect our rights as a nation and a state. Not only we do not hesitate to co-operate with others, but, on the contrary, we want this co-operation and consider it a factor which contributes to our internal development, too. However, this co-operation must be equal, of mutual benefit, and not encroach on the sovereignty of any country and its social system.

In our opinion, the fact that our countries have different political and social orders should not become an obstacle to the development of state relations, because the social order is an internal affair of each country and people. We have come together at this meeting recognizing and respecting this reality. In this sense, it is up to all of us to contribute to the positive development of relations. The present and future interests of our peoples require that relations among the Balkan states should not shift



and change according to changing political situations, but be founded on stable bases.

Norms and principles regulating relations among sovereign states and, in this context, among neighbours, too, are not lacking, including the Charter of the United Nations, which all the Balkan countries are members of. The important thing is that these basic norms and principles should be put into practice. If goodwill and sincere desire for co-operation exist, if common interests and obligations deriving from neighbourliness are correctly assessed, ways to avoid difficulties and tensions will be found.

When we emphasize the necessity of bilateral relations, we by no means minimize the value and benefit of multilateral co-operation. They are in correlation to and complement each other. The reality, however, proves the importance of bilateral relations, which, in fact, constitute the basis of the development of multilateral co-operation.

One of the problems that has made and continues to make it difficult for the Balkan countries to establish open, sincere and truly friendly and promising relations among them is that of the minorities.

We would not be exaggerating if we said that the stand toward national minorities has always been a determinant factor of neighbourly relations, both in their quantitative and qualitative aspect. Precisely because the question is very acute and complex, its treatment calls for patience and aplomb, but also tolerance and political wisdom on the part of all and everybody.

The past has been bitter, with the accumulation of various layers of emotions, quarrels and conflicts. The present, too, is heavily charged with harmful prejudices and illusions fostered by this past. In many cases, history is still regarded not as a source to draw lessons from, so as to correct the erroneous stands, but as a ground to justify them.

We think that the time is up that the stand towards national minorities in our countries should be inspired by a constructive approach which would respond to the concrete histo-

rical reality, by a spirit that stems from doing away with outdated political and ideological mentalities which time has already discarded, and those practices which have proved to be unproductive. The common aim must be such that the minorities, from a factor of division, tensions and differences they were in the past, should be turned into a factor of cohesion and stability within the country and a bridge for relations of co-operation with the neighbouring countries.

The present time is not that of colonizations, of the oppression of the minorities and the suppression of their rights which are recognized by International Law and the Charter of the United Nations. We live at a time when a variety of relations are being expanded more and more among states, when national economies are more and more being inter-related, when different cultures are being enriched mutually at a fast rate, when the demand for equality of nations, for fraternity among peoples, for peace and general security is not only a hope, but also a force which pushes development forward. Under these conditions, national narrowmindedness becomes not only anachronistic, but also harmful.

It has been proved by now that democratization of relations among nations within each country, respect for national traditions and the cultural and economic emancipation of minorities have brought the peoples closer together and led to their fraternization, to the strengthening of their joint efforts for the advance and defence of their countries. At the same time, this policy has also served the promotion of understanding and mutual trust between neighbouring countries, the elimination of tensions and the extension of co-operation. The opposite has occurred when these principles have not been respected.

Certainly, the stand towards minorities and their treatment is an internal question of each country, a field of its complete sovereignty, which is treated in compliance with the state system and the laws of each country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never raised the question that the issue of the

minorities should be solved by changing borders and interfering in the internal affairs of one another. But we think this does not rule out the legitimate interest of neighbours in their minorities, especially in those cases when this interest is based on the will and the sincere desire to contribute to the strengthening of good neighbourliness and friendship among peoples, to the general security in the Balkans.

Economic co-operation among Balkan countries is in their common interest. Apart from the economic aspect, it has a political and social aspect too.

Being neighbouring countries for centuries, among the peoples of the Balkans and its different regions traditional economic links, which have served as complementary and compensatory factors of mutual development, have also been created. Unfortunately, because of the historical developments of this century in this Peninsula, because of various alliances entered into, and the external interference and pressure, these inter-Balkan links have been greatly impaired.

While other European regions rebuilt, extended and deepened the relations of co-operation among their countries, in this respect the Balkans went in the opposite direction. Certainly, as we say this, nobody, I believe, will think, taking the existing realities into account, of an economic integration of the Balkans according to the different European types. This would be very difficult, the more so as some Balkan countries are integrated into the COMECON, others into the Common Market, someone belongs to the socialist system of economy, some others to the capitalist system.

However, even in this situation, with every state maintaining its own directions of development of the national economy and its international obligations, efforts can be made to find ways, and we think that such ways can be found, to re-establish the traditional links of economic exchanges, especially in trade, transport, communications, water resources, etc.

Some obstacles ought to be revised and removed, such as customs tariffs, export and import licences for some

goods, etc. Ways and means must be found to expand, for example, small-scale trade across the borders, which not only would be of economic interest, but also would serve humanitarian aims and the strengthening of friendship among peoples in general.

In the above-mentioned fields we are ready to examine any constructive proposal in earnest and with goodwill and, through joint efforts, each adhering to its principles, find ways leading to the extension of economic-commercial exchanges among the Balkan countries.

The problems arising from the economic development of our region make co-operation in the field of road, rail and sea transport not only a necessity, but also an indispensibility. Likewise, in such a region as our Peninsula, in which rivers flow through each other's territories, in which the waters of lakes or seas are often delimited within very narrow zones, the common benefit of their rational exploitation is evident.

It is our conviction that exchanges in the field of culture represent an effective means of achieving better acquaintance, rapprochement and friendship among the Balkan peoples. Apart from the extension and increase of bilateral exchanges, we are in favour of encouraging Balkan cultural and sports activities, with the participation of all the states of this zone without exception. Balkan co-operation can also be extended in the technical and scientific fields, in which possibilities are really great.

Problems of medicine and protection of people's health on a regional scale are one of the concrete fields in which Balkan co-operation would be very useful. Possibilities exist for the exchange of frequent information to prevent the outbreak of epidemic and contagious diseases, especially in border areas and for going towards the conclusion of a Balkan accord for this purpose. The same can be said also of co-operation in the field of agriculture.

Some initial steps have been taken towards co-operation in the field of ecology, but coping with the problems of protection of the environment, which are becoming more and more troublesome with each passing day, calls for joint efforts, increased exchange of information, know-how and experience in different ways and forms.

The problems and fields in which co-operation is possible are numerous. However, as we stressed right from the beginning, the creation of the atmosphere conducive to its realization is of special significance. There is no doubt that meetings such as the one we are holding today are helpful in this direction. There may also be other desires and suggestions about meetings and encounters of representatives of state, pre-state and social organizations and bodies. However, we think that, apart from practical difficulties, such meetings and encounters, especially when there are many of them, may assume the form of parades and create the false impression that everything is all right now.

It may be easily thought that now that everybody is meeting and everybody is talking with one another, the problems of the Balkans are solved.

But making no steps at all in this direction is not advisable, either. Hence, we think that for the time being it would be more realistic and more useful to reactivate the «Committees of Balkan Understanding», in which parliamentarians, writers, journalists, representatives of mass organizations may also be included among their members, as representatives of broad public opinion.

At bilateral and all-Balkan meetings these committees might thrash out opinions and express views and considerations about problems of the Balkans and relations among its countries in various fields.

We believe that the activity of these committees would be useful also to the governments of the Balkan countries, because they not only could seek and discover ways leading to all-round co-operation, but also prepare the ground for the extension and increase of this co-operation.

We found it necessary to present our views and some ideas, with the sincere desire to serve the fundamental interests and aspirations of our peoples who want to live in friendship with one another and stride always along the road of freedom, independence and progress. They deserve this, and their governments, seeing it as an obligation to them, should spare no effort to achieve this lofty goal.

Thank you for your attention.

# SECOND SESSION OF THE 11th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The 2nd session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the PSRA was held from 28-29 December 1987.

The deputies and the guests received with applause the entrance into the hall of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the other leaders of the Party and state, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party: Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani; alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party: Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali and Vangjel Çërrava.

The session was opened by the chairman of the Presiding Committee of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, who proposed the following agenda for the proceedings:

1. Report of the Council of Ministers «On the fulfilment of the plan for the year 1987 and the main tasks of the draft-plan of the development of the economy and culture for the year 1988».
2. Report of the Council of Ministers «On the expected fulfilment of the state budget for the year 1987 and the state draft-budget for the year 1988».
3. Draft-law «On the state plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PSRA for the year 1988».
4. Draft-law «On the state budget for the year 1988».
5. Draft-law «On the plant protection service».
6. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Then the floor was given to the chairman of the State Planning Com-

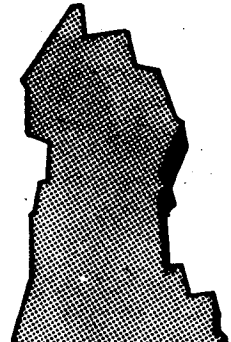
mission, Niko Gjyzari, who presented the report of the Council of Ministers «on the fulfilment of the plan for the year 1987 and the main tasks of the draft-plan of the development of the economy and culture for the year 1988».

Among other things he said that the year 1987 has been characterized by the mobilization of the whole people, under the leadership of the Party, for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party. The working masses of town and rural area have further increased their mobilization, involvement and the spirit of action for the ever better accomplishment of their tasks.

The valuable instructions which Comrade Ramiz Alia has given in the plenums of this year of the Central Committee of the Party and in his meetings with communists, working people and cadres of some districts, as well as the celebration of the jubilee of the 75th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence and the 13rd anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland have served as a powerful impulse to carry work further ahead in all fields.

The prestige of socialist Albania in the international arena has risen. The activities carried out in recent times for the extension of international collaboration and the establishment of diplomatic relations of our country with some other states, once again prove the correctness of the foreign policy pursued by our Party and government.

During the year 1987, he continued, relying entirely on our own forces, work continued with a spirit of mobilization for the implementation of the fundamental objectives endorsed by the 9th Congress of the Party and by the last session of the People's Assembly. The main objectives of the economic and social development of the country were accomplished, in general. The continuity of the extended

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socialist reproduction was ensured, the material and cultural well-being of the people was guaranteed and raised further, and the defence of the Homeland was strengthened.

Advancement even in these conditions, the maintenance of the dynamic character of the economy, the stability of the market, the prices and the cost of living, all this is a new fresh proof of the vitality of our socialist order and the validity of the far-sighted economic policy which our Party pursues.

During 1987 industry, in general, marked new achievements in the accomplishment of the tasks, in the increase of production on the basis of the more complete exploitation of the existing productive capacities and in raising its effectiveness, in the extraction and the degree of processing of the natural riches of the country, etc.

The mining industry, especially the extraction and enrichment of iron-nickel, coal and copper, not only accomplished the planned tasks, but also expanded the export potential of the country. The production of the

chemical industry is 7 per cent greater than last year, whereas in the engineering industry, along with the fulfilment of the plan for the production of spare parts, machinery and equipment, still broader possibilities were opened for the use of local steels in order to replace imported steels. The food-stuffs industry produced 5 per cent more than in 1986.

In agriculture high results in the production of wheat were achieved in the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Elbasan, Shkodra, Gjirokastra, Tirana, Berat, etc., thanks to a greater mobilization, through the method of actions in work and the better application of agrotechnical measures. In the plains zones the yield of wheat was about 44 quintals per hectare, or more than 7 quintals per hectare more than in 1986. Milk production increased by 17 thousand tonnes more than in the last year as a result of the creation and extension of small herds in the field brigades. The production of eggs, tobacco, rice, fruit, etc., has also shown an increase. As a result of the better work done by the youth in the action for increasing olive production,





*The presidium of the 2nd session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly*

this year's production will be much greater than that of the last year and the quality will rise. In coping with the difficulties created by the weather a positive element was the strengthening with precedence of the material-technical basis in agriculture. The irrigation capacity increased with about 13 thousand hectares, drainage with 4 thousand hectares, and more chemical and organic fertilizers were made available. The volume of mechanized work in agriculture increased 7 per cent.

In 1987, Comrade Niko Gjyzari continued, work continued on more than 240 important productive and socio-cultural projects and 110 of them were given for use. Work proceeded at rapid rates in some major projects of the five-year plan, such as in the hydro-electric complex of Banja, in the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway of the youth, the first section of which was inaugurated ahead of schedule, in the haulageway of Mborje-Drenova, etc. The action to supply drinking water to all the villages of the country is going on with success and about 300 villages and zones now have new or improved

water supply pipes, against 200 that was in the plan. In 1987, the railway and road transport was further strengthened, and the communal and vital services for the population were improved.

With the constant care of the Party, on the basis of the development of production, the standard of living of the people was maintained and further improved. The circulation of retail trade goods increased 3.2 per cent and consumption of the main alimentary and industrial products increased against the year 1986. The state laid out funds for the building of over 9,000 new dwelling apartments. Achievements were also made in the sector of education, culture, science and health services.

Speaking about the main tasks of the draft-plan of the economic and cultural development for 1988, the speaker pointed out that the plan has been drafted on the basis of the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party for the 8th Five-year Plan, the tasks set at the 3rd and 4th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and the valuable instructions of

Comrade Ramiz Alia. It is based on the human material, financial and voluntary resources created and on the experience and achievements made hitherto. The draft-plan largely reflects the creative thinking of the working masses, the numerous suggestions and proposals they have made for the increase of the industrial and agricultural production, for the increase of export and the reduction of the production costs.

This plan is mainly characterized by high growth rates of the social product and the national income.

*In his speech he stopped to examine some of the main tasks for the accomplishment of the plan for 1988 in the most important branches and sectors of the economy.*

The situation in the world, said the speaker among other things, continues to be troubled and fraught with tensions and local conflicts because of the hegemonic and expansionist policy pursued by the imperialist powers, in the first place, the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and because of the economic-financial crisis and the instability in the systems

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Our Party and government have always followed the development of events in the world with great attention. Our government will continue, as always in the past, to attach special attention to the development of the international relations of our country on the basis of the recognized principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, respect of sovereignty, good neighbourliness and reciprocal benefit.

The year 1988, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said in conclusion, is the year of the 80th anniversary of the birthday of the glorious and unforgettable leader, of the architect of the socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The working masses, under the leadership of the Party, will multiply their forces in order to celebrate this day with as many successes as possible.

About the second point on the agenda the floor was given to the Minister of Finances, Andrea Nako, who delivered the report of the Council of Ministers «On the expected fulfilment of the state budget for the year 1987 and the state draft-budget for the year 1988».

Among other things he said: The working masses of our country, united as one around the Party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at their head, during the year 1987 have worked with a high level of mobilization for the implementation of the decisions of the historic 9th Congress of the Party and the plenums of the Central Committee, for accomplishment on a broad front of the tasks in the economic and financial fields and for the increase of the stability and effectiveness of the economy. In comparison with the past year, the income of the state budget has shown an increase and the development of the economy, education, culture and science, the protection of the people's health and the defence of the country were financed. The state budget coped with success also with the measures adopted for the improvement of the relations of the state with the agricultural cooperatives, through the amendment of tariffs for the procurement of some agricultural and livestock products and some privileges granted through the bank credits, which was of immediate profit especially for the agricultural

cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous zones.

The development of our economy and finances relies completely on the internal material, financial and voluntary resources, without any kind of aid and credits from abroad. This correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party is a source of constant pride for us, because we have built everything with our toil and forces and owe nothing to anyone for it.

The plan of the draft-budget for the next year has been discussed in broad meetings of the working collectives, specialists and cadres, who, besides the problems of production, services and building, have also made valuable proposals and suggestions regarding the financial aspects of the draft.

In conformity with the objectives of the five-year plan, he said, the general financial state income, as against the expected fulfilment of the year 1987, increases at relatively high rates of 14.7 per cent, having priority over the increase of the total social product and the national income.

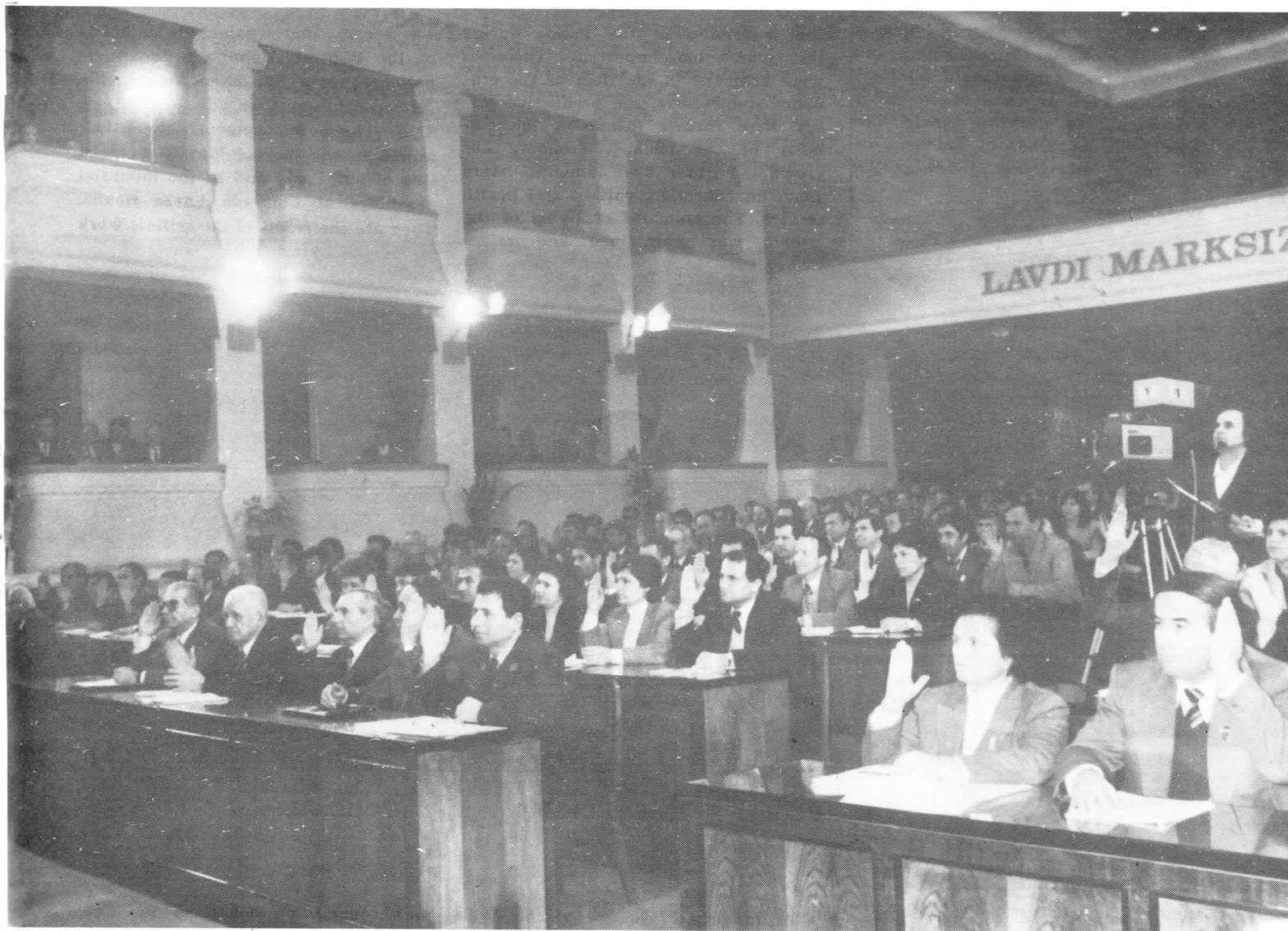
The state draft-budget for 1988, which is presented for approval, puts 9 billion and 500 million leks as income and 9 billion and 450 million leks as expenditure, with a surplus of income over expenditure at 50 million leks.

The income all told for the financial year 1988, as against the expected fulfilment of the year 1987, increases 13 per cent. The expenditure of the state draft-budget for 1988, in comparison with 1987, increases 5.1 per cent. Priority is given to the financing of the development of the socialist economy.

The state draft-budget for the year 1988 provides the financial means of support necessary for the development of education, culture and science, social insurances and the other needs of a social and cultural character.

Winding up his speech, Comrade Andrea Nako said that the Council of Ministers in convinced that, under the wise and far-sighted leadership of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, and with the all-round mobilizations of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the working masses of the country, the tasks presented in the economic and financial draft-plan and in the state





Deputies unanimously approve the laws presented

draft-budget for the year 1988 will be made a reality.

On behalf of the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly for the plan and the budget the report was delivered by the chairman of the committee, deputy Luan Muhameti.

Then contributions to the discussion of the report of the Council of Ministers followed.

After the discussion, the deputies unanimously endorsed the Law «On the state plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the year 1988» and the Law «On the state budget for the year 1988», in principle, article after article and in general.

Likewise, the deputies unanimously endorsed in principle, article after article, and in general, the Law «On the plant protection service», which is aimed at strengthening the work for the protection of the country's plant life against diseases, pests and weeds, and for responding ever better to the tasks for the intensification of the socialist agriculture for the uninterrupted increase of the agricultural production.

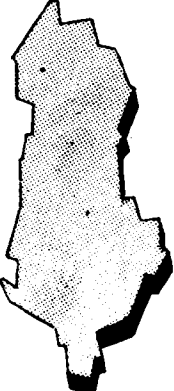
About the last point of the agenda the floor was taken by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, deputy Sihat Tozaj, who, on behalf of the Presidium, presented the report on the decrees issued by

the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies endorsed the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly as a whole and one by one.

Then the chairman of the Presiding Committee of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, delivered the closing speech.

Among other things he said: **As emerged from this session, apart from the state administrations, the joint committees of the People's Assembly have done special work for the examination of the important questions we endorsed here. Our analysis of the fulfilment of the state plan and budget for the year 1987 showed that, under**

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the leadership of the Party, during this year, too, important successes were achieved in the field of the economy and culture, the productive forces were further increased, the stability of our socialist economy has grown. Further developments were made in education, culture and health service. The standard of living of the people was maintained and raised higher. We have a healthy situation in all directions, we have the steel unity of the people around the Party, a high spirit of mobilization and a revolutionary readiness and vigilance. The defence capacity of the Homeland

has become impregnable, the authority of the PSR of Albania in the international arena has risen higher still.

In conclusion Comrade Petro Dode said: These achievements have their source in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party and in the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They are the result of the selfless work of our working people and of the unshakeable confidence of our people in the future, in which we are led by our glorious Party, the Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

## **MEETING OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF THE DISTRICT OF TIRANA**

**— THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, ATTENDED —**

*On January 23 in one of the halls of the Museum of National History in the capital, the People's Council of Tirana District held a meeting.*

*Those present enthusiastically applauded the entrance into the meeting hall of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia.*

*The People's Council made an extensive examination of the work done for the fulfilment of the plan, the budget and the financial indices for the year 1987 and the main directions in which attention will be concentrated for the fulfilment of all the tasks of the year 1988 on a broad front.*

*Amidst the applause of those present, the floor was taken by Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.*

*Among other things he said: Participating in this meeting of the peo-*

*ple's council, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Presidium of the People's Assembly, I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you and to the whole people of the district of Tirana the warmest greetings and the best wishes for new victories.*

*After pointing out some successes achieved in recent years by the working people of the capital and after underlining the main characteristics of the plan for the economic and cultural development of the capital during 1988, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt in length on some problems of industry and agriculture, trade and public services, science and culture.*

*Consumer goods, he pointed out, constitute nearly 65 per cent of the total industrial production of the district of Tirana. This degree of concentration of consumer good industry is the result of the application in*

practice of the principle that production should be brought close to the consumer. Tirana has one tenth of the population of the country. It is the biggest centre of consumption, therefore it must also be the biggest producer of the industrial articles and

In the last ten years, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, agriculture in the district of Tirana has accomplished a noticeable leap. Total production and income in this branch, as from the beginning of the 1980's and onwards, have increased at average annual

have 37 institutions of the technical and natural sciences. More than 16 thousand higher cadres, or one fourth of the whole army of working people with higher schooling of the country, are working in them, in other institutions and in production in the dis-



*Comrade RAMIZ ALIA meets members of the people's council of the district of Tirana*

food-stuffs, an important construction site, an example and model of varied and cultured public services.

Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that it is a positive thing that the industrial production in Tirana in recent years has increased more rapidly than the circulation funds. This speaks of the rational and effective utilization of primary materials.

Continuing his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia treated some questions of the garment, glass and ceramic industries. Speaking about the development of agriculture, he underlined that in Tirana conditions have been gradually created and factors strengthened for the agricultural production of the district to fulfil the needs of the city and rural population for milk, eggs, vegetables, fruit, etc.

rates of 5 and 5.8 per cent. Positive is also the fact that agricultural production here has a general stability.

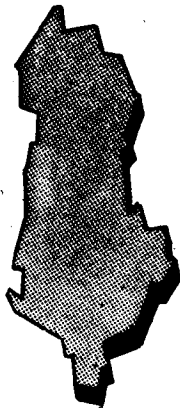
In his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia stopped also on some problems of the work in the sectors of trade and communal service and the scientific and cultural activities in the capital. The course of intensification and the increase of economic effectiveness, he emphasized, give science and culture an ever more determining role in the process of production and in the daily life of the working people.

In Tirana we have the highest concentration of the intellectual, scientific and cultural forces on a national scale. Here, apart from the Academy of Sciences and higher schools, we

trict, engaging in scientific, leading and productive activities.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the year 1988 is a memorable year for our Party and people, it is the year of the 80th anniversary of the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Party has said and will always stress that the greatest honour that can be expressed for Comrade Enver is by remaining loyal to his Marxist-Leninist teachings, by guarding like the apple of our eyes and by always carrying ahead the majestic work the Party has created: our socialist Albania, its economy, culture and defence. This oath should become for every communist and every patriotic Albanian an incentive and a source of inspiration for unprecedented mobilization at work.

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Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with great attention.

In one of the breaks between the sittings, Comrade Ramiz Alia met and

warmly greeted councillors, deputies, heroes of socialist labour and other participants in the meeting.

## ACTIVITIES ON THE 42<sup>nd</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC

On the occasion of the festivity of January 11 — the 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Proclamation of the Republic — various activities, including meetings, topical evenings, conversations, photoexhibitions, etc., with the participation of vanguard working people of work and production centres and institutions, veterans, deputies to the People's Assembly and councillors, militarymen, outstanding activists of the mass organizations, young men and women and so on, were organized all over the country to commemorate this event.

On this occasion, the presidency of the Council of the Democratic Front of the district of Tirana organized a topical-recreative evening.

The chairman of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, deputy Aleks Buda, spoke about the importance of this marked event in the history of our people. He pointed out, among other things, that the proclamation of our People's Republic 42 years ago was achieved through the Anti-fascist Na-

tional Liberation War which our people fought under the leadership of the Party and the legendary commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha. He also spoke about the changes that have taken place in the years of the people's state power in all sectors of the economy and culture and about the mobilization of the working masses to implement the tasks set by the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Party and carry out the instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia in order to go to the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birthday of the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with new successes.

In this framework, topical evenings were organized in four departments of the capital, in which former members of the People's Assembly, cadres and others took the floor.

Similar activities devoted to 11 January — the 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Proclamation of the Republic — were organized in all the other districts of the country.

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## **ZIONIST TERROR IN THE CENTRE OF ISRAELI POLICY**

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

A tense situation is continuing for some months now in the occupied Arab territories, in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank of the Jordan River. Massive terror is exerted on the Palestinian population of these territories, which is suffering for over 20 years under the jackboot of the Israeli occupiers. The number of Israeli specialized troops has increased. Numerous tanks and armoured cars patrol the roads of Ramallah, Bethlehem, Nablus, etc. The refugee camps of the Palestinians are in a state of siege. Despite all this, the martyred Palestinian people have never for a moment ceased their armed struggle against the Israeli occupiers. They have gone out into massive demonstrations which, short of the use of arms, are real uprisings clashing with the Israeli soldiers, who, until now, by opening fire on the unarmed demonstrators, have caused the death of many Palestinians and have wounded, imprisoned and tortured in jail thousands of them. But Zionist terror does not end at this. The barbarian actions of the Israelis continue in an effort to expel the Palestinians from their own lands in order to «pacify» the situation in the Gaza Strip, on the West Bank, etc.

The Israeli Zionists try to find the cause for the revolt and the responsibility for the turmoil in the occupied Arab territories in the Palestinian people. The spokesman of the Israeli prime minister, Habib Pazner, in an interview to the BBC declared that Israel is not to blame for the situation in the Palestinian camps. But why the spokesman of the Israeli prime minister has nothing to say about the very low standard of living of the Palestinians in their camps, which are very much alike the bandustans of South Africa and in which the most elementary means of livelihood are lacking? The policy of oppression and military violence pursued by Israel has always been accompanied with an economic policy of discrimination and enslavement, assisted, also, by the colonization of these lands with Israeli settlers from various countries of the world, especially from the Soviet Union, which has thus increased the degree of discrimination against the Palestinian people. Only during the last year, the standard of living in the occupied Arab territories fell by 40 per cent.

With the military terror which the Israeli occupiers have exercised on the Pa-

lestinians of the occupied Arab territories and in Lebanon, they once again demonstrate that policy, according to which there is no other strategy except that of the use of violence for the solution of the Palestinian question. Shamir sees the use of violence also in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank as the only alternative in the present conditions. In this manner he has responded to all the initiatives which have been taken by various states for the «solution» of the Palestinian question. In the present conditions the intensification of the policy of violence against the Palestinians in the Arab occupied territories is not an accident. Israel intensified its Zionist policy at a time when it began to strengthen its connections in the international arena, when various European, Asian and African countries, as well as some Arab countries began to make political and diplomatic contacts with Israel. The strengthening of these contacts means to Israel a confirmation of its foreign policy, which has Zionist expansion in its centre. Therefore, it stepped up the intensity of violence and terror, going to the point of expelling the Palestinians from their lands.



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This action was in opposition to the Geneva convention of 1949, but apparently, the imperialist powers and their instruments take such conventions into consideration only when their interests are to gain, while they turn their backs to them whenever it is not in their interest.

This tense situation in the occupied Arab territories has aroused a great and broad debate in the international public opinion. Many are those who have condemned Zionist violence in these territories. Anti-Israeli demonstrations have been held in the FR of Germany and Holland, in Cairo, etc. Many states such as Turkey, Sweden, Algeria, etc., have condemned Israeli's Zionist policy towards the Palestinians. Faced with this anti-Israeli pressure, the most

outspoken supporter of the Zionist policy of Israel in the Middle East, the USA, condemned this policy of Tel-Aviv for the sake of appearances, but it never interrupted its aid to the Israeli military juggernaut. Likewise, in New York, the Security Council of UNO signed a resolution condemning the policy of violence exercised by Israel in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank. But Israeli's allies have never demanded the departure of the Israeli occupation forces from the occupied Arab territories. They only want a moderation of the Israeli policy in these territories, by temporarily ceasing the use of violence and savage police terror, and through preliminary talks in order to «lower» the tension in this region. But despite

these acts of condemnation and moderated proposals, Israel does not abandon its stubborn stand, typical of Zionists. The Israeli prime minister, Shamir, openly stated that his military troops will never leave the occupied Arab territories. This stubbornness of the Israelis has its root in the imperialist blandishments.

The Israelis have no right to use violence to suppress or to decide the fate of the Palestinian population of the occupied Arab territories. They must instantly leave these lands, because the only thing that links them with these lands is the position of the occupier. The Palestinian people know how to decide and to take their destinies into their own hands.

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## REVISIONIST THEORIES SERVING THE PERPETUATION OF NEO-COLONIALISM

«BASHKIMI» — central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In the context of the re-examination of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the spirit of the «new political thought», Gorbachov's team dished up a platform about the roads which the peoples of the developing

countries must follow for «their national and social liberation». In some statements and especially in a speech he made on November 3 last year in the Kremlin, Gorbachov stressed that «in the present conditions, the contra-

dictions which determine the main trends in the world economy and policy have been profoundly modified», that now «the impulse towards liberation, an impulse which was being felt in the stage of the struggle for political



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independence, is surely dying out» and that «their economic development», the restructuring of the world economic relations, the creation of a «new economic order on the basis of equal relations», etc., is in the centre of attention, as the only solution to their acute problems. He raised the absolute need of «a common effort for a new economic order» which will be attained within the framework of the «respect of the integral, interdependent and interlinked world», which takes into consideration «the interests of all on an equal basis.» All this will be brought about through the «dialogue» behind the scenes in Washington and in Moscow and the peoples must turn their eyes to them and await what the two superpowers will decide about their fates. Therefore, Gorbachov emphasized that the «calls for disrupting the historically created economic relations (which, as is known, are relations of oppression and exploitation — note is ours) are dangerous and offer no solution.»

Despite the phrases used to couch this «new political thought» in essence it is nothing but the revival of known revisionist concepts. The Khrushchevite slogans of «peaceful coexistence» and «disarmament» have nothing new in themselves. They were issued in the period of the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism and were pre-

sented as the only means of securing the national independence of the colonial and dependent countries. In order to justify this «way out» Khrushchev declared that every single «spark might touch off a world conflagration», therefore, according to this logic, the peoples must reconcile themselves to and accept imperialist thralldom as an irremediable act.

The consequences of this policy are also known. It did not and could not possibly bring real independence and freedom to the oppressed peoples, and not only it did not save them from imperialist oppression and exploitation, but, on the contrary, extended and deepened them through the neo-colonialist policy pursued by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Gorbachov's team strives to present all this «new political thought» as an application and «further development» of the Leninist teachings in the present conditions of the crisis of the neo-colonial system of imperialism. But confrontation with the Leninist teachings clearly reveals that Gorbachov's theses are diametrically opposed to them, both over the problems of imperialism, in general, and over the liberation struggles of the peoples, in particular. The scientific analysis of imperialism led V. I. Lenin to the conclusions that it is «the epoch of financial capital and monopolies, which brings in

its wake the tendency towards domination and not freedom. Reaction all along the line — whatever the political regimes be — an extreme exacerbation of contradictions even in this field, this is the result of these tendencies.» The essence of the foreign policy of imperialism, Lenin points out, «is comprised in the struggle of the big powers for the economic and political division of the world», and imperialism is characterized by the effort to annex «not only the agrarian countries, but also the industrial ones». The imperialist bourgeoisie needs the dependent countries in order to plunder them of their natural wealth, to appropriate the toil and fruits of the work of the masses, to find lucrative markets on which they can sell their own goods.

Criticizing the opportunists who tried to embellish imperialism, V. I. Lenin stressed that «trusts that can care about the condition of the masses, instead of occupying colonies, can be found only in the imagination of the reformists».

The development of the situation in our century corroborates the correctness of the Leninist scientific analysis of imperialism. The imperialist oppression and exploitation caused, as a reaction, the struggle of the working masses for freedom and independence, which has resulted in the complete disintegration of

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the colonial system of imperialism and the crisis of neo-colonialism.

Gorbachov's theories are just an effort at ensuring a period of quiet needed for the realization of the neo-colonialist expansion, for wiping out any obstacle which might cross his road and which is raised by the peoples' liberation movement for economic and political independence. How can the neo-colonialist policy be reduced to terms of equal trade only, as Gorbachov is trying to do when practice is showing quite clearly that it comprises a whole system of economic, political, ideological, and military measures, through which the imperialist superpowers try to ensure the economic exploitation and the political enslavement of these countries. In this way, through the export of capital, which has assumed unheard of proportions, the imperialist powers not only plunder these countries of their natural wealth, but also practically have the control of the economy and make the law wherever their capital has penetrated. Today, through the loan capital they fleece the peoples of these countries, getting double profit, with the result that the debts of the developing countries have reached to about one thousand billion dollars. How much these debts burden the economy of the developing countries, this can be understood quite well if we re-

member their weight in the national product. According to a study made by the World Bank, the external debt of the 15 biggest debtors in 1987 reached up to 50.8 per cent of their national product. That is the reason why many of these countries are not in a position to pay even the interest rates, not to mention the debts, and now they are on the verge of bankruptcy. The known tactics of putting off the term of payment of debts has been conditioned on new and more stringent demands, which put in jeopardy both the economic and the political independence of these countries. The present debts, Comrade Ramiz Alia points out at the 9th Congress of the PLA, «are the outcome of the latest strategy of imperialism to keep the countries which have been liberated from colonial bondage in its clutches and to include even those that had escaped its domination.»

In his efforts to soften and modify the contradictions of our time, Gorbachov goes so far as to endeavour to create the illusion that the «multinational companies will be compelled to adapt themselves to the independent alternative which the peoples have taken or will take». Such an assertion goes beyond all bounds. The multinational companies have been created by imperialism in order to suck the blood of the peoples, in order to trample their freedom and independence

underfoot. The multinational companies, wherever they are, have not adapted themselves to the independent development of the developing countries, but have plundered them of their natural wealth instead, have intensified the exploitation of the working masses, have supported and backed up the reactionary regimes, have organized plots and coups d'état, thus openly trampling underfoot the freedom and independence of the peoples. The multinationals have been justly considered by Comrade Enver Hoxha as «pillars of neo-colonialism».

The independence of the developing countries is jeopardized also by a whole system of political-military measures. Few, if any, are the countries in which the military presence of the superpowers is not seen, military bases, advisers, and so on, and there is no regional conflict in which their hand is not felt. The arms traffic not only has become a lucrative business, but is also an important means of penetrating into the other countries. After securing the social support within the countries in which they extend their influence, the neo-colonialists oppose all efforts to independent development. They resort to all the means and ways, up to threats and the undertaking of open military aggressions to achieve their aims. The bitter experience of Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Chile, etc., as well as

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the recent events in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kybia, etc., are clear evidence of all this.

It is precisely the neo-colonialist expansion, the open trampling and disregard of the most elementary rights which have led to a new exacerbation of the contradictions between the peoples and imperialism and to the crisis of neo-colonialism. The peoples are growing more and more aware that the curtailment of their political independence and the plunder of their natural wealth cannot be eliminated through partial and lopsided measures, through reformist measures, and less so, through «cooperation» and «dialogue» between the biggest neo-colonialists of our time — the two superpowers. They have raised their voice in protest against the imperialist plunder in all its forms; they oppose the concessions made to the imperialist powers and especially the superpowers, and have risen in mounting revolts against the dictatorship regimes, the foreign military bases and the imperialist threats of aggression. This movement has included the working masses in towns and in rural areas, patriots and democrats, which provides its broad social basis.

The whole ado about the so-called «world economic new order,» which was so eagerly embraced by the Gorbachov team, is aimed at keeping the hope alive among the peoples that just relations in the conditions of im-

perialism are not ruled out. Furthermore, for the sake of the «equilibrium of interests», the peoples are called upon to renounce whatever they cherish most and about which they are most sensitive — namely, their freedom and independence, and should not rise against the imperialist and social-imperialist oppression. There has never been and cannot be equality among the plunderers and the plundered, the oppressors and the oppressed. It is inconceivable that imperialism should secure equality among the metropolises, on the one hand, and the colonies and the dependent countries, on the other, because, in that case, it would cease to be imperialism. Equality and correct economic and national relations in the conditions of imperialism on the basis of Gorbachov's «laws of the integral and interlinked world» are utopia. Experience has shown this quite clearly. Imposing on the former colonial and dependent countries a policy of low prices for the goods they produce and the deepening of the disproportion between prices for primary materials and finished products, plunder through capital investments and valutarly and financial speculation, the various trade barriers, etc., these are some of the ways and forms used by the imperialist powers in order to intensify the plunder of these countries. It is sufficient to mention that only in the last

ten years the profit made by the American corporations in the developing countries was four times greater than their initial capital investments. This fact not only reveals clearly the nature of the export of capital, but also shows what weight and importance of the plunder of these countries for the metropolises.

The creation of the impression that the contradictions of our epoch can be softened and that everything can be solved through talks between Moscow and Washington is a tactics of Soviet revisionism, which stems from the disturbed economic situation and from the need of mustering up forces for a new and still greater expansion of Soviet social-imperialism in the world, in general, and in the developing countries, in particular. In order to get even more deeply into these countries to occupy new positions, and moreover, to have an edge over their rivals, the Soviet social-imperialists need more capital, advanced technology, which they do not have now. In order to achieve this, they need time, they need a better political atmosphere with the other imperialist states, so as to create the possibility to get more aid and credits from them. Gorbachov said openly that «perestroyka» will enable the Soviet Union «to be included in the international division of labour and resources in a manner never seen before.» Therefore, the peoples cannot

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expect anything good from the talks between the superpowers, or from the waving of the olive branches either by them or by the other imperialist powers. These tactics are known and their aim is to divide and redivide the spheres of influence.

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**«CIRCULATION OF ARMAMENTS» —  
AN AMERICAN RESTRICTION TO LIMIT  
THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ITS ALLIES**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The promises and practices of the superpowers over the question of armament and disarmament reminds one of the principle of communicating vessels. Even if promises are made about the reduction of this or that type of weaponry and even if reductions are really made, armaments are increased or compensated for with a different type; even if they withdraw or are compelled to withdraw from one country, they hasten to deploy their contingents in another country. A fresh example is the case of the 72 F-16 American fighter aircraft, which are deployed at the big military base of Torrejon in Spain and which, according to the decisions of the Spanish government, must leave the country within three years. The decision for the Ameri-

can fighter aircraft to leave Spain, and for the 50 per cent reduction of the American military personnel in Spain is a correct step which met with the approval of the European realistic and progressive opinion. Of course, this was a slap in the face of the American government and observes describe it as the greatest political setback of the United States of America in Western Europe since the time when General De Gaulle ordered the dismantling of all the American military bases in France, proclaiming the concept of the defence of the country by the national forces. The position of the American government becomes still more difficult if we bear in mind that at present talks are being held about the problem of the military bases in

Greece and the Philippines. The Greek-American accord on military bases expires at the end of this year and the talks have been considered to be a thorny issues. In case of failure to reach an agreement, the bases should be dismantled within 17 months. Meanwhile reports have it that the Greek government repeated the request made since last November at the American embassy that the USA must cease all work at the American bases in Greece while talks continue. Problems have emerged over the question of the bases in Portugal and in some other country.

In this situation the United States of America is shifting to the policy of «circulation of armaments». In order to soften the effect of the decision of the Spanish govern-

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ment, Washington hastened to declare that these aircraft will be stationed in some other allied country. More concrete talks has been about the base of Comiso, Sicily, where, as is known, there are 112 Cruise nuclear missiles, planned to be dismantled according to the agreement between Reagan and Gorbachov reached last December. The Mayor of Comiso, Salvatore Zago, declared that the communal administration of Comiso will resort to all means to oppose the transfer to Comiso of the F-16 American aircraft from Torrejon of Spain.

The United States of America has placed its allies before the accomplished fact. «Circulation of armaments», the deployment and redeployment of the bases, missiles, aircraft and warships is regarded as the exclusive American right. The lable of the «NATO decision» which is used in order to mitigate to some extent the American arrogance, is too weak to cover the truth about the monopolization by the white House of the important problems of the defence of European countries. In a report to the Congress, the American president, Reagan, reminded the allies that the «presence of the American forces is an indispensability» and that the alternations in the deployment of these forces are «a distribution of duties among the USA and its allies». This distribution of

duties is a condition on the allies, compelling them to accept the risky parts which Pentagon allocates to them in the great strategic plans in Europe.

Why is the United States so impatient about redeploying these aircraft? Because it is aware of the great pressure the broad masses and progressive opinion bring to bear on the governments of the European countries about the danger of the American military bases. The conviction that the American military bases provide rather a defence for the American interests in the West-European countries than a defence of these countries from outside dangers is widespread and continues to spread also among important political personalities and circles in Europe. These interests are the main reason why the United States of America strives to maintain its military presence in Europe. That is why the 72 fighters are not to return to the United States but are to be transferred to another European country. The redeployment of the F-16 fighter aircraft raises another problem which has to do with the nuclear strategic balance of the two superpowers. These aircraft are capable of carrying nuclear weapons and are part of the strategic arsenal of the United States. The dismantling of the medium-range missiles and their replacement with aircraft

carrying nuclear weapons shows not only that the course is not towards disarmament, but the opposite. Hence, this is only a tactical change, consisting in basing the American nuclear policy in Europe precisely on strategic weapons.

Within the framework of the «circulation of armaments» falls, also, the intensification of the military activity in the peripheral zones of Europe after the signing of the agreement on medium-range missiles deployed mostly in Central Europe. In one of his interviews the Finnish president, Mauno Koivisto, expressed his preoccupation over the intensification of military movement of the two superpowers in recent times in the Nordic zone. He informed that hundreds sea-and air-borne Cruise medium-range missiles are being produced now. Their production immediately after the sensational declaration that these weapons would be destroyed speaks clearly of the nature of the promises made by the superpowers about disarmament and about their redeployment in other countries.

As to what the American leaders think and what considerations they have regarding the alliance and the allies, this is clearly seen in the arrogant threat which the special envoy of Reagan, General Vernon Walters, made to the Spaniards: «We shall leave, but we will not for-

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get.» Intimidation is one of the pillars of the American diplomacy which is openly practised on the allies. These intimidations are also directed towards other countries which have American troops in their territories in order to frighten them into immobility. At the 9th Congress of

the Party Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that «In the name of co-ordinating their policies and strategies, many countries have accepted great restrictions which have limited their sovereignty over many capital issues, which have impeded their indepen-

dent action in the international arena, which have placed them in a position of impossibility to decide freely about their own destinies.» What we are witnessing today in the European scene is a clear proof of the correctness of this analysis.



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