

Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 3 • (106) • 1989



◀ COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA GREETING THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE
DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA



TO BE PROUD OF YOUR HISTORY AND LOVE YOUR PEOPLE IS NOT NATIONALISM. ON THE CONTRARY, IF YOU DO NOT KNOW FROM WHERE YOU COME FROM AND WHO YOU ARE, YOU CANNOT KNOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING OR WHAT YOU SEEK. ONLY A PEOPLE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR ORIGINALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY CAN ENTER INTO EQUAL RELATIONS WITH OTHERS, ONLY A PEOPLE WHO LOVE THEIR OWN COUNTRY CAN LOVE THE OTHERS, TOO, ONLY HE WHO VALUES HIS OWN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE CAN RESPECT THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF OTHERS.

THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

RAMIZ ALIA

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FORCE FOR OF THE SOCIAL

GREETING ADDRESS

Dear, comrade delegates,

The congresses of the Democratic Front have always been demonstration of the political unity of our people and their determination to march forward boldly on the road of the socialist construction.

And this marvellous Congress, too, to which the people sent their most representative delegates to examine the problems which interest them at the moment, and the tasks which must be accomplished in the future, arouses similar feelings of satisfaction and joy, and patriotic and revolutionary inspiration.

I am very honoured that the Central Committee of the Party has charged me to convey to you, the delegates to the 6th Congress, and through you, to all members of the Democratic Front, its ardent greetings and best wishes for successful work and fruitful results.

Since the time the Party was created and issued its great call for the general uprising to this day, the Democratic Front of Albania has been its main support in the war for freedom and independence, and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and in the defence of the victories of the revolution. Together with and by means of the Front, it has achieved the mobilization of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the construction of the state power, has carried out that unprecedented political education of the masses and, above all, has been able to create for the first time in our national history the political unity of the people, that unity which through the ages has been the dream of all generations of progressive Albanians who have been born and died on their ancient territories through the centuries.

When we speak about these glorious historic victories, decisive for the destinies of our country today and in the future, our minds turn immediately to him who conceived the Democratic Front, set it up and led it to the end of his life, and dedicated all his energies to the union of the people around the revolutionary-patriotic ideal; to him who left to the Party and Albania this powerful weapon and a great motive force which is raising the progress and civilization of our Homeland ever higher.

With feelings of boundless love, gratitude and respect, we address our homage to our great comrade, Enver Hoxha, who together with the new Albania, which is founded on his struggle and brilliant teachings, also left us the great and permanent heritage of the Democratic Front.

Our people have coped successfully with the most difficult moments of our recent history, such as when we were attacked by our enemies and when we were betrayed by our friends, precisely because they were united round a great ideal, which was the ideal of freedom and independence; because they were united round a progressive and scientific ideology, which was the ideology of socialism; because they were united round a correct policy, which was the policy of safeguarding the complete sovereignty of our people and nation. They were able to resist and triumph because they formed this unity and supplemented it with the traditions of their culture, with their own national originality and individuality, linked it with the defence of their right to be equal subjects in their international relations, with the desire to live in peace and friendship with the other peoples.

T - A GREAT POLITICAL HE PROGRESS IST HOMELAND D TO THE CONGRESS

The great tasks which the country faces make it essential that the Democratic Front should work and struggle tirelessly to safeguard and further temper the unity of the people, to extend its social basis and to consolidate still further the fundamental factors of this great historic victory.

The organization of the Front must wage its struggle for strengthening our unity in conformity with the stage of the socio-economic development we have achieved. In the time of the war, the Party united the people in the Front raising them above more differences than there exist today, setting participation in and support of the movement as the minimum condition. And in this way the Front laid the foundations of the unity of the people. In today's conditions the organizations of the Front must struggle for a more all-sided unity of a higher quality: in ideology and psychology, in morality and education, in social conduct and ethical values. This is an active unity which serves the progress of socialism, the flourishing of the Homeland and the embellishment of the life of the people.

The unity of the people as a social phenomenon needs special and permanent care. It has to do with the fundamental national and social interests, but at different times and in different situations, even these interests can be conceived or interpreted in different ways. Besides this, along with the general interests, there are also specific interests of the various strata of society represented in the Front, which are not always in complete conformity and harmony. From this arises the need for a thorough analysis which the Party must always make of social phenomena which emerge and the necessity of their scientific handling.

Our development is vigorous and our transformations in all fields are rapid. The changes which they bring about in the life of society and in the lives of individuals are great. However, this intensive development of our life, which is positive in all directions and from all standpoints, is also accompanied with some negative phenomena. This is dialectical and in the philosophical sense has no reason to disturb us. In the practical sense, however, this requires special attention.

We have very good, tested and effective experience in the work for the education of the masses, which has played and still plays a major role in strengthening their unity. But this education we must carry out ever better. We must work harder to know our traditions, our history, and our people. We must maintain and cultivate their legitimate national pride which stems from hundreds of years of struggle for freedom and independence; which comes from their resistance through the centuries to barbarous foreign invasions, from the vitality of our language and culture which have withstood the upheavals and tempests of major historical epochs; which comes from the bravery and spirit of sacrifice of our forefathers in their struggles for justice and truth, and the virtues which have kept our nation alive.

To be proud of your history and love your people is not nationalism. On the contrary, if you do not know from where you come from and who you are, you cannot know where you are going or what you seek. Only a people conscious of their originality and individuality can enter into equal relations with others, only a people who love their own country can love the others, too, only he who values his own freedom and

independence can respect the freedom and independence of others.

Today when the world capitalist monopolies, which have neither a face nor a colour of their own, are aiming to turn nations and people into robots, when they are seeking to standardize not only tastes but also minds, to cut them out and sell them up as if they were shirts, when a great ideological and political cosmopolitan aggression has broken out everywhere, defence of historical traditions and progressive historical values, and the psychic constitution inherited and developed generation after generation assumes a special importance, because these are permanent sources of the spiritual forces which drive forward the development of each nation and of all nations together.

We have a superiority and a powerful weapon in our hands to understand the social phenomena correctly so we can support and encourage their positive aspects and combat their negative aspects. Our Marxist-Leninist science and our communist ideal give the unity of the people new strength, because it enriches it with a content of progressive and democratic class ideas and transforms it into a great motive force of our society for defence or attack at any time and in any situation.

This is why our Party has continuously stressed that assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, as a philosophy and practice of the construction of socialism, must be one of the main preoccupations of our people. If we do not do this, then various splits will be created in the body of our society, and breaches will be opened through which hostile ideologies can penetrate, and this could create situations which put in jeopardy the future of the Homeland and the destinies of socialism in Albania.

In connection with education, including Marxist-Leninist education, there is an element that must always be kept in mind; if the problems which life brings forth are not solved, not only the forms, but the very content of education will become worthless, the knowledge gained will be transformed into passive knowledge and unusable cultural values.

Hence, practice, and the solution of problems which emerge is not only a criterion of the truth, but also a condition for the safeguarding of truths. Today the ability of individuals, cadres, and administrations of various organisms is reflected precisely in the solution of problems which emerge. Here, too, is expressed their struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the people and the progress of the country.

Just as our people have always thirsted for freedom, independence and social equality, so they

have also sought justice and legality. While they have suffered greatly from national oppression and capitalist exploitation, they have suffered no less from feudal-bourgeois arbitrariness and anarchy.

It was their hatred for these great burdens which the people expressed with such severity during the National Liberation War, and afterwards, against those responsible for these burdens, against the old legal institutions and the practices of administration of the past, against alien moral standards and customs based on injustice. It was this desire to wipe out parasitism and its mentality as a moral and social phenomenon which encouraged the people to embrace with such love and devotion the new legislation of the new state power and the norms of socialist morality.

Today, too, our new man has a great sensitivity and a strong reaction towards any manifestation, however slight, of arbitrariness, arrogance, favouritism or indifference. And this is completely right. We often talk about lack of discipline at work, in individual sectors and persons, about damaged social property, stands of indifference towards problems of the people by various state institutions, undue intervention by certain cadres, undeserved gains by certain people, etc. For the restriction and elimination of these phenomena and the creation of an atmosphere in which they are scorned and rejected, persistent and continuous educational activity, a total mobilization of public opinion and greater legal and administrative work is required. All of us should be fighters to defend our common property, our socialist coexistence and the standards of our communist morality.

For example, what do violations of discipline at work mean? This cannot be a personal matter which damages only the guilty individual. By breaching discipline you harm someone else, oblige him to work for you, harm his honour and conscience as a worker and citizen, and devalue him as a citizen of this country. Then, why should he excuse you or pamper you?

The individual or the family may be sentimental and tolerant in the sense that they may keep a member who does not work, may put up with his laziness, may still differentiate between son and daughter, husband and wife, etc. But the state and society can be neither sentimental nor patriarchal when they have to do with the labour laws, or the norms of coexistence. In its principled attitude our society may even seem ruthless towards these phenomena, but it is precisely in this ruthlessness that it displays its democracy and humanism. To allow violation of the property and the morality which is built upon it, means to permit the fundamental base of a society to be attacked. No one can permit this.

Precisely for this reason, our society

rejects negative phenomena, in whatever form they present themselves, and condemns them as unacceptable and directly harmful activities, or as alien moral concepts and violation of state laws, or rules of socialist coexistence turned into general norms.

Today our country needs the mobilization of all its live, physical and mental, forces in order to carry forward our new life. If we bear in mind the special conditions of Albania, which is building socialism surrounded by the stormy bourgeois-revisionist ocean, we shall understand even more clearly how politically and ideologically strong the unity of our people, how morally pure our society, and how creative our work must be.

The results of the work of the Democratic Front for the political and patriotic education of the people and the strengthening of their unity are expressed in all fields of social activity, but they are every day more concretely apparent in the field of the economy.

Our people are pleased and optimistic to see that their economy is extending and growing stronger with their own forces, that it is providing employment and prosperity for them, and ensuring the necessary means for the independence of the country and the defence of the Homeland.

Economic successes are great in all branches of production and in all the zones of the country. During the eighties, in comparison with the sixties, the average volume of the social product is about three times, that of the fund of consumption over two times, and the export of goods over four times larger. These developments have made it possible to increase the productivity of social labour, to expand the country's investments potential, to improve the material well-being of the people, and carry forward the education and cultural emancipation of the whole society.

In the upsurge of work to celebrate the great jubilee of liberation with new victories, good results are being achieved in this fourth year of the five-year plan. In general, the plans which the Party has drafted for the economic and cultural development of the country are being accomplished successfully. During the first 6 months of this year, the plan of social production has been overfulfilled to the extend of 200 million leks; and goods worth more than 800 million leks have been produced over and above what was produced last year. Meanwhile, national income has increased about 10 per cent. The planned targets for labour productivity, consumer goods turn-over and in other directions have been overfulfilled.

During these six months the income from export goods increased about 40 per cent. The concern of society for agriculture is being further increased. This year crops were on a whole good and the number of livestock has increased. Work is going on everywhere to utilize the new material and organizational possibilities and the present favourable weather conditions to increase agricultural production.

From this lofty tribune, on behalf of the Party, I wish especially to congratulate the working collectives which have become initiators of and have engaged in the movements for speeding up the construction of new projects and increasing the efficiency of the economy; the workers and specialists of the hydro-power complex of Banja who kept their word, ensuring that 120 million cubic metres of water are now available for agriculture; the heroic youth who are rapidly pushing ahead their actions in railway construction and other sectors; the cooperativist peasantry and especially the advanced brigades, which have given new impulse to work in agriculture, creatively applying the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee; and the technical and creative intelligentsia which has placed its knowledge and talent in the service of socialism and the prosperity of our beloved Homeland.

Our economic progress is obvious, but prospects are even better. Social ownership and planned management provide new possibilities to further increase production. At present from underground we are extracting about 9 million tons of minerals and fuels, compared with 3.5 million we extracted in 1970. These resources are being increased rapidly. The productive capacity of the agricultural land is being extended ceaselessly. Demographic processes are proceeding normally and the active work force guarantees dynamic development in all spheres of social activity. The independence of the country and our self-reliance ensures stable development in all sectors.

While affirming these successes and prospects and our unshakeable confidence in the future, we are aware that in the course of our development various difficulties emerge. We have had such difficulties in the past, are having them today, and will have them in the future, too. However, they can be overcome, although not automatically and in a spontaneous way. Difficulties can be overcome through persistent work by all our organisms. Overcoming them requires a thorough understanding of situations, just as it requires a special mobilization of forces, creativeness and initiative from all individuals, cadres and the mass of the working people.

The Marxist-Leninist methodology worked out

by the Party permits us to discover the different phenomena, positive or negative, on time and to take effective measures to deal with them. Our experience has confirmed that socialism has the possibilities within its own system to overcome the contradictions, conflicts and difficulties which emerge during its development and to respond to the dialectics of life. Socialism has no need to borrow reforms and mechanisms from the capitalist order which it has overthrown. Proof of how dangerous and counter-revolutionary that course is is the predicament the former socialist countries that flirted with bourgeois reforms are in today.

For the construction of socialism Albania relies on its own forces, the course chosen by its people, its own practices and traditions, and its own thinking, which is illuminated by our revolutionary ideology and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is the guarantee that socialism in Albania will always advance, that our national freedom and independence will never be violated, and that the life of our people will be ever more prosperous.

In the future, too, the Democratic Front of Albania has an important role to play in strengthening our socialist democracy, just as it has done throughout the nearly 50 years of its activity. As an organization rallying and uniting the popular masses of the country, the Front is a tribune from which, on the basis of the general line of the Party, workers and peasants, intellectuals and veterans freely express their opinions, make proposals and suggestions about issues of the policy, the economy and the culture, the socialist construction and the defence of the country. The Front must always be able to forcefully record and transmit the demands and desires of the masses, and to mobilize them to apply the line of the Party.

At the present time, when the principles of socialist democracy are under the attack of the united front of the bourgeoisie and revisionists, it is the duty, not only of the organizations of the Front, but of everyone, to defend these principles, by applying them and putting them into practice ever more extensively and thoroughly.

Taking advantage of the capitalist restoration that has swept the Soviet Union, China and other former socialist countries, and especially exploiting the failures which have occurred there in the political and social fields, the bourgeois propaganda is trying to present these phenomena as failures of the socialist system and its revolutionary theory and practice. Such an interpretation is speculative and inspired by that savage anti-

communism which has always fought with all its means to overthrow socialism.

The present events in those countries prove not the failure of socialism but only the ugliness of that capitalist course which they embraced 30 years ago, and which the Party of Labour of Albania criticized openly and publicly at that time.

The reforms which are being applied in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and elsewhere, through which the way is being opened to the domination of private property and the introduction of monopoly capital, and the revival of anti-communist reaction, old and new, are being accompanied with class and ethnic conflicts, outbreaks of anarchy and police violence, unemployment and decline in the standard of living, the spread of moral degeneration, etc. These are not results of the socialist system, or features characteristic of it. They are evils of the capitalist system, and evidence of the existence and action of its law.

Precisely because Perestroika and the reforms which are being applied in a number of countries serve the restoration of capitalism, the international bourgeoisie and reaction are supporting them with enthusiasm. Moreover, they are even recommending them as a «model» of economic development, as a criterion of the progress of democracy, and indeed, as a condition for international cooperation between states.

Formerly, in its subversive activity against the revolution and socialism, the bourgeoisie recommended the Yugoslav road, the system of self-administration, as a model. But very soon we all saw how this model ended up. Now it is being devalued from every aspect. The example of Yugoslavia is extremely significant, also, in connection with big capital's advocacy of the reforms of the Soviets and others.

The Albanian communists, with Enver Hoxha at the head, have the merit that they were the first who warned that Yugoslav self-administration, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung thought, and Eurocommunism had nothing to do either with socialism or communism, that they were capitalist theories and practices which would lead to the overthrow of socialism and the restoration of capitalism.

The Albanian communists were neither prophets nor soothsayers, but Marxist-Leninists, who were convinced that the revisionist betrayal was bound to lead, just as it did, not towards the progress and well-being of the people, but towards regression and crises, not towards the democratization of human relations, but towards

their degeneration, not towards the strengthening of the people's state power, but towards the establishment of the power of the bourgeoisie and tanks.

The retrogressive processes which are occurring in the former socialist countries today are for us not only a confirmation of the correctness of the line of our Party, but also an encouragement to proceed with greater courage and determination on the brilliant road which our revolution has opened us, to the extension of our tested socialist democracy, so that our people will always exercise their power in genuine freedom, and the individual, liberated from exploitation or any kind of oppression, will develop his personality, and create and act with initiative to the benefit of society and himself, and to the benefit of the socialist Homeland.

Comrades,

The problems of our international relations have always been at the centre of attention of the Democratic Front of Albania. The struggle which it has waged for recognition of the new Albania and the increase of its prestige and respect in the world, and its support for and defence of the foreign policy of our Party represent one of its outstanding traditions.

For the Party of Labour of Albania, the Democratic Front, and the Albanian state, foreign policy has had and has one objective: to ensure the complete freedom, independence and sovereignty of our people, to create favourable external conditions for the construction of socialism, and guaranteeing the peaceful life of our people. The international activity of our country, its relations abroad, and its stands towards current world events are determined by these lofty interests.

The situations today are very complex. They are characterized by great variability and no less instability. The lowering of tensions in some zones is countered by the raising of tensions in others, the solution of one problem is accompanied with the emergence and complication of several others. Of course, as long as the causes of fundamental world contradictions have not been eliminated, the elimination of their consequences cannot be expected, either. However, the clashes, conflicts, confrontations, etc., which emerge from these contradictions, do not necessarily take the same form or manifest themselves with the same intensity. Today we are living precisely at a time when the various world groupings, military, economic, political, and ideological, while unwaveringly maintaining their strategies, are rapidly altering their tactics, methods of struggle, and immediate objectives.

Our view is that the temporary easing of tension, which is dictated by specific interests of the superpowers, should not lead to euphoria or lowering of vigilance. The superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, remain what they have been: they have given up neither their strategic aims of ensuring hegemony for themselves and their rights over others, nor their spheres of influence and the privileges which this policy secures for them.

Consistent in its foreign policy, socialist Albania has supported and will continue to support all those actions which are in favour of general peace and security, and will oppose anything which threatens the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples, and the interests of the progress of mankind. It has condemned and will continue to condemn the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the imperialist superpowers, which are mainly to blame for the tensions and conflicts between states today. Our sympathy and solidarity are with those who defend their national and social rights, who fight for equality in international relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, and respect of the right of each people to choose and pursue their own course of development.

We have paid and will continue to pay special attention to our relations with the neighbouring countries. In determining our stand, we have proceeded not only from the interests of our own country, but also from our conviction that a good Balkan climate would also have no small influence in improving inter-European relations, and the situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

We are aware that between the Balkan states there still exist many disagreements, misunderstandings and contradictions, which come from their past history, the interference of foreigners in our Peninsula, which has never ceased, their participation in rival military and economic alliances, and a relative backwardness in their general development in comparison with other European countries. But what is required today is not that we list the obstacles, difficulties and their causes, but that we work out how and in what way we can overcome them: by means of confrontation and force, or by means of dialogue and collaboration.

We are for the latter, because this is the course of the sound reason, the course which is imposed by the vital interests of the Balkan countries and their freedom, independence and sovereignty, by the contemporary development of international relations, and above all, by the desire of the peoples of our Peninsula to live in peace and friendship with one another.

The fact that the Balkan countries have begun a process of talking together in order to establish and strengthen cooperation in different sectors of mutual interest is encouraging and promising. The meetings of foreign ministers last year in Belgrade, and of their deputies in Sofia and Tirana, as well as the meetings of the heads of many government departments have given an obvious impulse to this process.

Along with these positive trends, however, there still exist some negative factors which give rise to tensions in Balkan relations and inhibit the process of cooperation. For example, a new conflict, although its roots are old, has begun to flare up, and is becoming as worrying as it is dangerous. I am referring to the stand towards ethnic minorities.

The use of police repression and violence against ethnic populations is a policy entirely contrary to the sound logic and the spirit of the times, a policy which comes from an outdated and discredited ideology which has caused very great damage to all the peoples of the Balkans. To insist on it still means to move backwards, not forwards. Political wisdom and foresight, and the interests of general peace and security call for the economic and national emancipation of minorities, equality in their civil rights and democratization of human relations, not oppression and discrimination and denial of constitutional freedoms.

The numerous Yugoslav crises, and in particular, the tragic events in Kosova and the outbreak of national conflicts within the republics which make up this neighbour country exert an influence inhibiting the advance of the process of Balkan cooperation. The worst thing is that this grave internal situation has also begun to project itself onto the international relations of Yugoslavia, especially with its neighbouring countries. Among other things, the leadership of Serbia has launched an absurd campaign, with marked provocative tendencies, against Albania and other Balkan countries under the pretext of protecting Serb minorities who are allegedly living and being persecuted in these countries. Of course, this is a cheap propaganda ploy, but nevertheless, it expresses a tendency which reveals a definite policy, that of finding any sort of cause and of creating any sort of pretext in order to quarrel with the neighbours.

Socialist Albania has always sincerely desired to have the best possible relations with Yugoslavia. The great interests we have in common demand such a thing. If Albanian-Yugoslav relations have not recorded any notable progress hitherto, Albania is not to blame for this. Domination of primitive nationalism which influences

the foreign policy of Yugoslavia towards our country, and the archaic anti-Albanianism which is one of the foundations of its internal policy, have not allowed and still do not allow the Yugoslav leaders to handle relations with Albania and the Albanians wisely and realistically.

The failure of this policy is now very obvious. If up till yesterday there was only one conflict, the Serbo-Albanian conflict, today, as anyone can see, the Serbo-Croatian and the Serbo-Slovenian conflicts have come to the surface. If things go on like this, Serbo-Montenegrin and Serbo-Macedonian conflicts will arise, too.

As a neighbour country with Yugoslavia, linked with its peoples in good times or bad, we desire neither its destabilization nor its disintegration. We think, however, that denial of democracy, violation of equality between nations and nationalities, and establishment of the hegemony of one nation over others is not a course which can get Yugoslavia out of its crises and protect it from conflicts, or promote its development.

Marx said very correctly that a people who oppress other peoples cannot be free themselves, either. It is impossible for the people of Kosova to be oppressed, imprisoned and maimed, and for state violence to be exercised against the youth and intelligentsia of Kosova, and the rest of Yugoslavia to remain democratic and progressive. Either there will be freedom and democracy for all the nations and nationalities which make up Federative Yugoslavia, or there will be freedom and democracy for none of them.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia are not a minority and cannot be treated as such. They represent the third largest population in this multinational state. It has already been proved that nothing can be achieved without them or against them, just as nothing can be achieved without the Serbs or against the Serbs, without the Croats or against the Croats, and so on.

Chauvinism and nationalism, murders, jailings and the policy violence have brought benefit to no one. This has been shown by the tragic events in Kosova, which our entire people have denounced and resolutely condemned, just as world public opinion has done. Those in Belgrade were very quick to drink the champagne to the victory over the Albanians! However, the Albanians are not intimidated and international relations are not improved by this chauvinist delirium. The 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosova Plain can be celebrated noisily, with a clear tendency to flatter Great-Serb nationalism. However, national hatred and oppression can never become the pillar and basis on which a multi-national state can stand and live,

The peoples of Yugoslavia fought heroically and shed their blood in torrents not only to drive out the foreign invaders, but also to get rid of the hegemony of the Karageogevies. It would be a great misfortune if they were to return to that Yugoslavia which has been rightly described as a prison of peoples.

Dear comrade delegates to the Congress of the Democratic Front!

Great things await our people. This year we will celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of our beloved Homeland. This date marks a good occasion to make a balance of our work and victories during these decades of our free life. This is also a moment to mobilize our forces even more powerfully to accomplish the new plans the Party has drafted, to successfully apply its correct and unerring line which has brought us to these happy days and will assure us of even better days in the future.

Our people are fully convinced that the organization of the Front, faithful to its brilliant traditions, will stand, as always, in the forefront of the struggle for the achievement of new victories on our brilliant course of socialist construction, the progress and prosperity of the country and the happiness of our people.

Once again I wish you success in your work! Let this Congress mark a new step in the strengthening of the Democratic Front of Albania and the mobilization of the great army of its members to fulfil the tasks which it will set.

Long live the Democratic Front of Albania!

Long live our heroic people!

Long live our Party of Labour, the leader and organizer of all our victories!

Glory to the brilliant work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!



From 26th to 28th June, the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania (DFA) held its proceedings in the Palace of Congresses in the capital, amidst great revolutionary enthusiasm.

The delegates came to this large convention of unity with profound love and gratitude for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder and leader of the Democratic Front. They were happy and proud of the successes achieved in these 45 years of our free life, and resolute and ready to march always

ahead on the road of socialism, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

At 9⁰⁰ o'clock on June 26th, the delegates and guests broke into applause and enthusiastic cheers to greet the entrance into the hall of Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali and Vangjel Çërrava.

As well as the delegates to the Congress, members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government, people's heroes and heroes of socialist labour, deputies and councillors, representatives of the organizations of the masses and the army, cadres of the organs of the Party and state in the districts, and distinguished members of the organizations of the Democratic Front, also attended.

The 6th Congress of the DFA was opened by the vice-chairman of the General Council of the DFA, Pilo Peristeri.

The delegates unanimously approved the agenda of the Congress proceedings:

1. The report, «The Democratic Front — the Broadest Support of the Party in the Socialist Construction of the Country»;
2. Contributions to the discussion of the report;
3. Endorsement of the documents of the Congress;
4. Election of the General Council of the DFA.

The Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, delivered the report, «The Democratic Front — the Broadest Support of the Party in the Socialist Construction of the Country».

The period which has passed since the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front, she said among other things, has affirmed with renewed force the unbreakable unity which exists in the ranks of our people and the steel links of the people with the Party.

In this unbreakable unity the Party and the people found the strength and courage to cope with the difficulties of growth and of the weather, with the savage interference, pressure and blackmail which the imperialists and revisionists of all hues exercised against us. In this unity the Party and the people found the strength and courage to uncover and defeat all hostile groups of plotters and putschists who aimed to overthrow the people's state power. The experience of the struggle against them is an important lesson of our history which teaches us that we must always be vigilant to apply the line of the Party and wage the class struggle persistently.

The achievements of the past decade, like the 45 years of freedom and socialism in our Albania, confirm the great and undeniable truth that at all stages the leadership of the Party has been a source of strength

and successes for the Democratic Front. This historic truth, proved in all the battles for the radical transformation of the Homeland and the construction of the new life, has been summed up very well by the people in the expression, «What the people want the Party does, and what the Party wants the people do.»

We must guard this unity like the apple of our eye. We must ceaselessly temper it and make it ever more powerful. It is a necessity for all times. The internal and external conditions in which our people are building and defending their socialist society, the great problems of its present and future development, demand this. Experience has convinced us that only a people who close their ranks tightly in unity of thought, aim and action, around their Marxist-Leninist party, are capable of securing and safeguarding the freedom and independence of their homeland, of developing and advancing ceaselessly by coping successfully with all the difficulties and obstacles of any type.

Our organization, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha went on, always remains fresh and dynamic and is continually rejuvenated because in its ranks there is unity of the generations, father and son are united in a single entity, and veterans of the war and work militate shoulder to shoulder with the present younger generation which is the most vigorous, active and creative force of the Front.

This continuity, this natural organic unity of generations, which expresses the noble and humane aspects of our society, is a further testimony to the superiority of socialism as a more humane order.

Ardent patriotism characterizes our people. For the freedom and independence of the Homeland they are ready to make the supreme sacrifices and mobilized to respond without hesitation to anyone who seeks to lay hands on their territory, the life which they are building with the sweat of their brow and the socialist victories.

Amongst us patriotism has been enriched with new values and has taken a new higher meaning. It has been and is a true national treasure. Both cosmopolitanism and chauvinism are alien to it. Our people have demonstrated in deeds that they are great patriots and internationalists at the same time.

The new socialist Albania, built from the very foundations during these 45 years, Comrade Nexhmije said, is the majestic work of the extraordinary achievements of our brave and hard-working people under the brilliant leadership of the Party. This glorious jubilee gives this Congress of the Democratic Front further cause for rejoicing.

All the working masses are included in the work of production, construction and creation to put into practice the tasks which the 9th Congress of the Party set for the 8th Five-year Plan and the decisions of the plenums of the Central Committee of the Party for the further strengthening of the economy and raising the level of well-being. The people thoroughly

understand what Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out that, «Without a strong economy, there is no secure defence, no genuine freedom and independence, no raising of the level of well-being, and no development of education and culture.» The political judgement and consciousness of the people, their initiative, spirit of action and creative potential, are conditions for the socialist construction of the country. This is the reason why just as the effort of everyone is required, the creative and inventive thinking of all is equally necessary.

Self-reliance has been and is a fundamental principle for the development of our society. The readiness of the masses to undertake the solution of the major tasks of the time has its source in the correct and thorough understanding of this principle.

Socialism raises high the dignity and personality of the working man, the informed and inventive man. Thanks to the great activity of the Party and its levers, a new socialist attitude to work and property has been created everywhere. Our people know that the blessings they enjoy come from work and work alone. They know that our socialist property is the basis of the present and the future of the country, the basis of socialism, for our children and the generations that will follow.

Amongst us everything is accomplished by the people and in the interests of the people. Well-being is expressed and finds its reflection in all aspects of the life of our people. Today Albania has 3,200,000 inhabitants with the youngest mean age in Europe, 27 years, and with the average life expectancy of about 72 years.

Finding employment for the whole people, especially in a country like Albania with its high rates of the increase of population, requires a great engagement of the economy. Likewise, the Party pursues the wise policy of keeping the whole country populated, because it is in the interests of socialism that the countryside should not be abandoned, but on the contrary, life should flourish in town and countryside, in the plains and in the mountains, in each corner of the Homeland.

The ideological and political education of the working masses, she pointed out, has been and remains one of the important tasks of the organization of the Democratic Front. This is made even more necessary today, not only because of the major problems to be solved, which are facing our society, but also because of the ideological struggle which is being waged on a national plane between socialism and capitalism, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Let us not forget, either, that in the daily work and struggle for the strengthening of the economy and culture, our man is under the pressure both of the remnants of the old world which we overturned, and of the world which surrounds us.

The socialist democracy in our country is genuine democracy in action. For our people socialism has

created freedom and rights beyond any comparison with capitalism, has guaranteed their free and independent life, has created true social equality, has guaranteed national minorities the same rights as all citizens, has opened the way for the extensive development of education and culture, art and science in the service of the broad masses of the people, has liberated the people from the spiritual shackles of outdated ideologies and has equipped them with lofty ideals, making their life worthy of living.

In the world today there is a great clamour about human rights and freedoms. Indeed, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have built up a whole campaign of slanders against socialism, trying to present themselves as banner-bearers of freedom and champions of human rights. But wherever the capital rules, there is neither genuine democracy, freedom, nor security in life, because there the working people have been divested of the means of production, are subjected to exploitation and are divided from participation in government by an insurmountable bureaucratic wall. In these countries there are tens of millions of unemployed, whereas drug addiction and crime, dissipation and degeneration have become common phenomena and serious problems for the youth and all society. The banner of freedoms and human rights is the banner of socialism and not of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, which trample these freedoms and rights underfoot. Socialist society alone has all the material, juridical and spiritual possibilities and guarantees for the development of freedom and all-round flowering of human personality. The best evidence of this is our socialist society, which has really placed our working man on a pedestal.

The fundamental guarantee of the rule of the people, of the popular character of the state, of genuine democracy for the broad working masses and the assurance of the real rights for the working man is the undivided leadership of the Party — the vanguard of the working class in our socialist society.

Dwelling on the current international situation, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said:

At present, the international situation is characterized by a great contest of imperialist powers and groupings to capture the most powerful economic and political positions, to establish their hegemony and domination in the world. Today, the propaganda machine of the imperialist powers is making an all-sided campaign of demagoguery and deception about the alleged reduction of tensions resulting from the change of policy of the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the rapprochement and understanding between them. It is claimed that we are allegedly facing an «historic» turning-point, that the conditions have matured and the possibilities have emerged for radical changes in the direction of a general reconciliation between

opposing great powers for international security and the good of the peoples.

In these disturbed conditions, the peoples have had to unite their efforts more firmly in order to defend their national freedom and independence, to oppose imperialism and any kind of social oppression, to avoid war and defend peace.

The Democratic Front of Albania unreservedly supports the foreign policy of the Party of Labour and our state, because it defends the lofty patriotic, revolutionary and progressive interests of the Albanian people, and reflects their peace-loving aims and their desires for understanding and cooperation between peoples. The first and main objective of this policy has been and still is to guarantee our national sovereignty and freedom, to ensure political and economic independence and to defend our victories. Resolute exposure of and opposition to the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers has also been one of the main component parts of our foreign policy.

Its clear, just and principled stands towards international issues and developments have brought about that the prestige of our country in the world has risen higher and higher, that its name enjoys the sympathy of the freedom-loving peoples and its voice is listened to with respect. We all rejoice that the number of friends and admirers of Albania in the world is steadily increasing. The Democratic Front, in its own name and on behalf of the Albanian people, thanks all those friends and admirers, wherever they are and whoever they might be, for their consideration and friendship and for their interest and support.

All the members of our organization resolutely support the policy of good neighbourliness followed by our Party and state with the countries round us and their efforts to strengthen the spirit of trust and understanding, to increase cooperation with reciprocal interests in all fields where this is possible.

For our people good neighbourliness has never been simply a geographical notion. Our people have understood it as an objective relationship of common interests and obligations for safeguarding the freedom and independence of the Balkan peoples, strengthening their own sovereignty and avoiding the interference of foreign powers, and maintaining mutual respect for the historical heritage and their original cultures. A correct and thorough understanding of this relationship would greatly assist in overcoming many obstacles and difficulties which still stand in the way of establishing fruitful inter-Balkan cooperation.

Our country has striven to establish an atmosphere of genuine good neighbourliness in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. But such a thing has been not achieved, and Albania is not to blame for this. To say the least of it, the policy which is being pursued towards our country in Yugoslavia is not at all constructive and is contrary to the interests of our peoples and





the interests of good neighbourliness. A noisy anti-Albanian propaganda, in markedly hostile overtones, has been stepped up to even higher levels recently in connection with the events in Kosova.

The Democratic Front of Albania resolutely rejects the accusations made against our country of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and the insinuations that allegedly it us for the destabilization and destruction of Yugoslavia.

The whole world knows, and the Yugoslavs know only too well, that Albania does not interfere in the affairs of others, in any sector or in any issue. It maintains this stand not only towards Yugoslavia, but towards any other country. Non-interference is its principle and practice in international relations.

However, if there are still people in Yugoslavia who think that by accusing us of interference, of territorial claims which we have never raised, or incitement of conflicts between nationalities, etc., we Albanians will lower our voice in defence of the lawful rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, they are gravely mistaken.

The violence which is being used for a long time against the Albanians of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia, the killing of innocent people, and the imprisonment of thousands of youth, the great poverty and suffering, the mass persecution and inhuman discrimination, cause us grief, as they do all Albanians wherever they live.

Therefore, our organization at its Congress cannot fail to express its anger and protest over all those chauvinist actions which are being perpetrated against Albanians in Yugoslavia, all those injustices which are committed against them, all that violence and oppression exerted against them.

The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia are not seeking pity from anyone. They are demanding those rights which they won through their National Liberation War and which are now being denied them, they demand to be on an equal footing with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, demand the right to maintain and develop their language and culture, their historical traditions and way of life. Recognition and practical implementation of these rights would be to the general benefit, not only of the Albanians, but also of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. This would also be in the interests of peace and security in the Balkans and more widely.

Just as we have always been united in the struggle for the triumph of freedom and construction of socialism, today and in the future we will remain united to defend them from any enemy wherever it comes from and in whatever form it presents itself. Just as we will extend our sincere hand of friendship to all those who accept it, we will know how to cope with the pressure and intrigues of all those who do not

wish us well; just as we will continue to collaborate with goodwill with all those who respect the principles of equality and non-interference, we will know how to reject the blandishments of those who aim to divert us from our correct course.

The foreign policy of our Party and state has always been open and independent, reflecting the place and responsibility of our country in the international community. This policy has had and will always have the full support of all the Albanian people.

In our beloved Homeland, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said in conclusion, the people and the Party, closely united as always, will safeguard this unity between them as the most priceless treasure, will consolidate and carry forward the victories achieved, conscious and determined to leave to the present and future generations «an Albania always stronger, always red like the undying flame of the communist and partisan hearts and ideals, an Albania which will live and advance through the centuries.»

This was Enver's final behest and this was the vow which Enver's comrade and close collaborator, our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, took before him in the name of the Party and the people.

In the midst of the great joy of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor to greet the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was listened to very attentively and was frequently punctuated by applause for our glorious Party.

In the third session the Congress passed onto the second point on the agenda.

In the afternoon of June 26 the delegates paid homage to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation and the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They paid a visit to the Museum for Enver Hoxha, displaying their gratitude and respect for the brilliant work of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In honour of the 6th Congress of the DFA, the professional and amateur artistic troupes of the capital and of some districts gave a concert at the Summer Theatre in the Big Park of the capital in the evening of June 27.

The contributions to the discussion of the report over, the Congress went on the third point on the agenda: endorsement of the documents of the Congress.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, presiding this session, gave the floor to the delegate Xhelil Gjoni who, on behalf of the commission, read the Call of the 6th Congress of the DFA. The Call was unanimously approved. The delegates approved the decision of the 6th Congress of the DFA to endorse the report «The

Democratic Front of Albania — the Broadest Support of the Party for the Socialist Construction of the Country».

Then, they passed onto the last point on the agenda: election of the General Council of the DFA. In the name of Standing Committee, the delegate Xhorxhi Robo presented the candidates to the General Council of the DFA. The first candidate was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia. At that the delegates and guests rose to their feet and burst into powerful applause and cheers.

The delegates unanimously approved the 185-membered General Council. Then the General Council held its first meeting.

The emulation commission announced the winners of the socialist competition in honour of the 6th Congress of the DFA. Amid the rejoicing of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other leaders of the Party and state handed over the red flags to the winners.

In the end, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha informed the Congress about the results of the elections. On Comrade Ramiz Alia's proposal, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha was

elected Chairman of the General Council of the DFA. Comrades Pilo Peristeri, Hysen Laçe, Ismail Kadare and Mark Vuji were elected vice-chairmen, and Leka Shkurti secretary of the General Council.

The Chairman of the General Council of the DFA, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, delivered the closing speech.

The 6th Congress of the DFA, in which for three days on end the delegates made a powerful manifestation of the steel-like unity of the people round the Party, their resolution to march always ahead on the road of socialism and to make our beloved Homeland still more powerful and prosperous, concluded its proceedings with success.

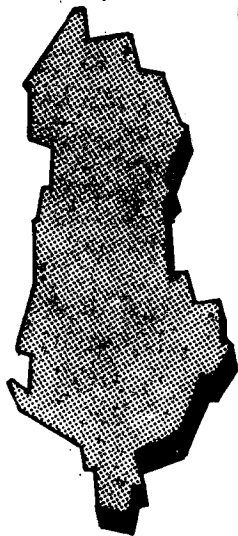
In the evening of June 28, the delegates to the Congress were invited to heroic Peza, where 47 years ago, on the initiative of the CPA (today the PLA), and of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, the first Anti-fascist National Liberation Conference was held. Upon the conclusion of the proceedings of the Congress, the General Council of the DFA put on a dinner at Peza. Comrade Ramiz Alia and other leaders of the Party and state attended.

The dinner passed in a very happy atmosphere.

THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC CONGRESS OF PËRMET

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders attend

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



On May 24, the 45th anniversary of the historic Congress of Përmet, the First Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress which laid the foundations of the new Albanian state of people's democracy and opened up a new brilliant epoch in the centuries-old history of our people, was celebrated at Përmet (a town in Southeast Albania).

Amid the rejoicing and enthusiasm of thousands of local inhabitants and guests who had come to take part in the celebrations, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and other Party and state leaders came here to take part in the celebrations.

As always, the Party and the people paid their first respects to the sons and daughters of the people who laid their youth and their blood in the foundations of the happy days we are living today, the foundations of the people's state power. At 09.00 hours of May 24, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders went to the cemetery of the war martyrs of the district of Përmet. Comrade Ramiz Alia had warm talks with the former delegates to the Congress of Përmet, and members and relatives of martyrs' families and other participants in this ceremony. Wreaths were laid at and homage was paid to the monument «The Comrades».

The wreath on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party was laid by Comrades Ramiz Alia and Simon Stefani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades stood in silence with the clenched-fist salute in front of the monument while the brass band executed the National Anthem. Then they went through the graves of those who have fallen for the liberation of the Homeland, honouring their sacrifice for the people and the Homeland.

Together with the delegates, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders entered the historical hall in which on May 24th-28th, the First Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress was held, which decided on building the new Albania of people's democracy according to the will of the people.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the historic Congress of Përmet, he said, I greet all those present here on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Presidium of the People's Assembly. On this marked day I want, in particular, to greet the former delegates who are here amongst us.

The Congress of Përmet, whose anniversary we are commemorating today, is a very important event, a decisive moment in the glorious epic of the National Liberation War. By its decisions, it sanctioned and legalized the people's state power.

On May 24, 1944, what the Party and the people had formerly carried out with bloodshed, struggle and in-

numerable sacrifices, was formally sanctioned here, in this hall. The Congress made a reality of the fundamental aspiration of the people, and the main aim of their many and many revolutionary struggles: it made the people the masters of their country, gave them state power and guaranteed them their freedom and independence.

By declaring that no return to the past was possible, the historic Congress of Përmet showed the world that with their heroic struggle, the Albanian people had become the masters of their own fate, that anti-popular regimes had no place on their soil, that the time when tiny Albania was treated as a token for barter to fulfil the appetites of foreigners was gone once and for all times.

In particular, by commemorating the marked day of May 24, we honour the great deed of our glorious Party and pay homage to Albania's legendary leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who were the inspirers and organizers of this historic Congress. The victories of the people, the triumph of the National Liberation War, the historic victory of November 29, 1944, the new Albania and the prospects of its advance are linked with the correct Marxist-Leninist line and wisdom which has always characterized our heroic Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, in the lead of our revolution.

Today, when after about five decades we see Albania a flourishing and cultured country, we value even more the far-sightedness with which the Party has mapped out its future. Albania has been radically transformed in all directions. It has become stronger, more beautiful, and more respected. It was exploited and oppressed by the beys and aghas and foreigners; today it is a free and independent country, a sovereign country in the true meaning of the word. It was a backward country from the economic and educational point of view; today it is a country with an advanced agriculture, a multi-branched industry, and many schools and cultural and scientific institutions, a

ces relying on its own forces. Albania, which foreigners have once trampled underfoot, now has a personality, a name, a policy and a stand of its own, which enjoys the sympathy of the peoples and is listened to with respect in the world.

I mentioned these achievements in order to stress, with a feeling of joy and pride, with what determination and consistency the Party has forged ahead on the road mapped out by the Congress of Përmet. We mention these things here also to indicate the greatness of what was done in this small simple hall, and its great importance to this day.

Commemoration of historic events is not intended only to pay homage to the past. It has great importance also for the present and the future, because history is a school, and we inspire ourselves by it to cope with the demands of the time, and respond successfully to the new tasks set by the socialist construction of the country.

The fundamental lesson we draw from the commemoration of the Congress of Përmet is that we should ceaselessly strengthen and advance our country, people's Albania. This is achieved through strengthening the positions of socialism in our country, developing the economy, raising the cultural level and improving the well-being of the people. This is achieved through preserving like the apple of the eye the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for which our people shed so much blood and made so many sacrifices. Hence, comrades, let us redouble our efforts, work ever more intensely on every front or sector of social activity to score ever new victories; let us keep revolutionary vigilance sharp, and raise the defence potential and military capability of our armed forces ever higher. Nothing should lull us to sleep, neither words about the easing of tension, nor the peace promises of the superpowers and other aggressive forces.

Another lesson we draw when commemorating the Congress of Përmet is that we should preserve the popular character of our state by ap-

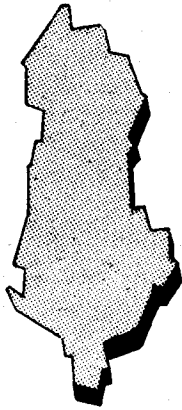
pointing the finest sons and daughters of the people to all its links and instances, those who with their everyday work and struggle have shown that they are putting everything in the service of the cause of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The 45 years elapsed since the Congress of Përmet have taught us that the more we advance on the road of socialist construction, the more resilient state organisms must be, the better they must be linked with the masses of the people, their problems and concerns. Revolutionization of the state organs is a permanent task. Only through a constant process of revolutionization and in permanent struggle with bureaucracy and its manifestations, does state power remain fresh, dynamic and operational, and its decisions always effective.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has taught us that the only road for the revolutionization of state power is that of its constant democratization, through the ever broader participation of the working masses in leading state activities. This has been and will be the constant line of the Party. With us democracy is not something formal. It is a concrete thing and it is expressed in the right of all the working people to directly exercise state power, taking decisions about plans of socialist construction, the roads of development of the economy and culture, the amount of production and distribution of material blessings.

Our democracy was reflected also in the May 7 elections, not only by the fact that the people went to the polls and cast over 99 per cent of their votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front, but also by the many activities which took place during the electoral campaign. I will bring two examples: in the district of Tirana, taking account of the proposals of the Trade Unions, the Women's Union, the Youth Union, the Veterans' Organizations and the opinions of the party organizations, the Democratic Front put forward 7,960 candidates. After detailed discussion at broad popular meetings, according to constituencies, 3,046 candidates

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



were adopted, as many as were needed, of whom 28 were proposed directly at those meetings. In the district of Fier, the Democratic Front put forward 6,612 candidates for people's councillors. The people adopted 2,304 of them, as many as were needed for all instances, including 63 candidates that were proposed and adopted directly at popular meetings. The same happened in all the districts of Albania. There is no country in the world with so democratic debates and elections to state organs. This deep-going analysis and nomination of candidates to state organs by the masses themselves is the mechanism of our socialist democracy which led to brilliant results on the voting day.

The plans the Party has mapped out together with the people for the all-round development of the country open up brilliant prospects to socialism in Albania. We are aware that work and knowledge, indeed much work and knowledge, are needed for this purpose. However, no matter how great and difficult, tasks have never intimidated our people. We have complete confidence in our forces. Our optimism relies on our material possibilities, the many resources of our agriculture and industry, the inexhaustible capacities of our people, and our tireless workers and peasants, and the gifted specialists and cadres turned out by the Albanian school. Our optimism is based on the tested line of the Party which has brought and will always bring victories.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's address was listened to with attention and interrupted by applause and ovations for our glorious Party of Labour.

Then the Party and state leaders visited the museum-hall. They and the ex-delegates to the Congress put their signatures in the book of the Congress.

The festive rally on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Congress of Përmet took place in the main square of the town. Comrade Simon Stefani greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers

and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

The Congress of Përmet, he said among other things, is one of the more important events of the glorious Anti-fascist National Liberation War and one of the monumental achievements of the Party. It will always remain an authentic evidence of the fact that the Party posed the problem of state power as the fundamental problem of the revolution and solved it in favour of the people right from the time of the war.

The forty-five years that have elapsed and the whole road we have left behind shows that this state power has ceaselessly grown and strengthened, been perfected and revolutionized as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The objectives of the historic Congress of Përmet have successfully been achieved. The new state, with its legislative and executive organs, displayed great skill in coping with the major problems of the liberation war, the reconstruction and the construction of the new Albania. It is a worthy representative of the Albanian people, both within and outside the country, and it has smashed all attempts of the internal and external enemies, and all their efforts to turn it away from its Marxist-Leninist road.

On this great day, Comrade Simon Stefani said further on, we commemorate with profound longing and gratitude the immortal life and work of Enver Hoxha, the most outstanding man our nation has ever produced, the glorious and unforgettable leader, the head of the first People's Democratic Government. Everything done in Albania within this half a century is closely linked with and indivisible from his name and work.

The strength and prospects of development of our state power, he went on, lie in the unity of the people round the Party. This unity is a vivid and wonderful reality — the steel base for the protection of the gains of the revolution, freedom and independence of the Homeland. The Party and our state power have created all the necessary conditions, political, economic, ideological and



Gordial meeting of the beloved leader with delegates

moral, for a permanent monolithic unity of the entire working people and their steel unity round the Party. «There can be no people's power,» Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «without a true popular unity of the working masses, just as there can be no such unity without a true people's power.»

The task of all and everybody is to work strenuously to strengthen the moral and political unity of the people everywhere.

The fundamental decisions of the Congress of Përmet opened up a

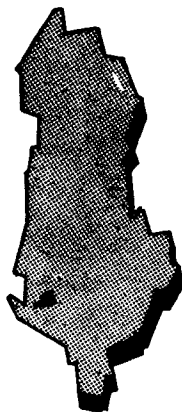
brilliant epoch in the history of the Albanian people. They had a strong influence also on the foreign policy the new state of people's democracy would follow. With an open and independent policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles, the Party and our state guarantee Albania and its people their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and favourable conditions for the construction of socialism. This correct and peace — loving policy has greatly enhanced the authority of socialist Albania in the world. It has increased the number of its friends

and well-wishers, and constantly expanded diplomatic contacts and commercial, scientific and cultural exchanges with the outside world.

Albania has succeeded in surviving through struggle in a turbulent world in which the imperialists and social-imperialists seek to rule the peoples and make the law for them.

We are a people who have always wished others well. We molest nobody, on the contrary, we want friendship and good relations with all those who respect us as we respect them. We do not want tur-

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



bulences in the Balkans. With our stands and actions we have shown that we are for peace, understanding, cooperation and good neighbourliness. Such relations we want to have with Yugoslavia, too. However, certain circles in this country do not respond to our goodwill in a positive way. They try by all manner of means to follow the wrong road of harming these relations.

In the meantime the state of emergency, violence, arrests and imprisonments, interments and mass purges of people in all fields, and draconian repressions continue in Kosova. This wave of chauvinist violence unexampled in Europe has been and is resolutely condemned by the Albanian people, and it has shocked world and even Yugoslav opinion, which has stigmatized it without hesitation.

Only recognition of the real state of things, lifting of the state of emergency, respect of democratic and national rights and a dialogue with the Albanians can open up the road to overcoming old and more recent problems.

This would have an immediate positive influence also on the development of relations between the two countries, which are an important element in inter-Balkan relations and, as such, carry their weight in the incipient process of Balkan cooperation.

Our beloved Albania, Comrade Simon Stefani went on, is today, just as the Congress of Përmet wanted it to be, a new and prosperous country, with a social system which is the most advanced in the world. The Party, people, state power and socialism have made Albania a country in which magnificent transformations have taken place in the economy, education, science and culture, and in the standard of living of the working people.

Albania which before Liberation could hardly nourish its one million inhabitants, who, most of them, had not enough to eat, and who had an average life expectancy of 38 years,

today has over 3 million inhabitants with an average life expectancy of over 71 years. The all-round socialist transformations have made the country more prosperous, and have embellished and enriched the life of our people. They have created great possibilities for a more vigorous development in the future. Here lies the greatness of socialism. True socialism, which is being built in Albania, copes with any challenge of the time, facing up to the whole frenzied campaign the bourgeoisie and revisionists have embarked on against socialism to devalue its ideals, to sow doubt and uncertainty about the socialist future of mankind. With the reforms they are carrying out, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet ones at the head, are wiping off any trace of socialism and galloping towards capitalism. However, nothing can save them from the grave economic, political and social crisis which has their countries in its grip. It is a result of their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist course.

By its example, our country shows that socialism can successfully be built and defended, that it is an order of high superiority and vitality. It has created in our country a multi-branched economy which is in constant development, enabled our people to live with dignity through their work, and multiplied and strengthened everything that counts: patriotism and moral purity, determination, the thirst for progress and knowledge, democratic and progressive feelings. With us there is no crime, no unemployment, no inflation, no drug-addiction, or any other ulcers which are eroding the present capitalist-revisionist world. We march with a sure step on the road of socialist development, relying totally on our own forces and fruitful international cooperation, because this is the road of honesty, the road which keeps our hands free and strengthens freedom and the independence of the Homeland. There is no force which can divert us from this road, on which the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia

at the head are leading us. So shall we always stand with a proud forehead before history.

At the conclusion of the rally, amid the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

I cannot leave you without wishing you also on behalf of my comrades: A happy celebration! Long live our people, long live our heroic Party, long live the brave and industrious people of Përmet!

The square resounded with enthusiastic cheers for whole minutes.

Then the Party and state leaders met the members of martyrs' families, distinguished workers and cadres of the town and villages, veterans of war and work, militarymen, young men and women.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Congress of Përmet, the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assem-

bly, the Council of Ministers, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Përmet put on a dinner at «Dhëmbel» Hotel. During the dinner, which went on in a very cheerful atmosphere, toasts were raised to the Party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

With profound affection the people of Përmet saw off Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and state leaders.

THE 5th SESSION OF THE 11th LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The 5th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings from 21-22 June.

Attending the session were guests from central health institutions, various enterprises and sectors, councilors and representatives of the organizations of the masses, and army-men.

The deputies and the guests gave an enthusiastic welcome to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and state leaders, who came to attend the work of the session.

The proceedings were held according to the following agenda:

1. Report of the Council of Ministers: «The results achieved in the protection of people's health and the further measures for raising prophylaxis and health service to a higher level»;

2. Draft-law «On the suppression of the Energy Ministry»;

3. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The Minister of Health, Ahmet Kamberi, delivered the report on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

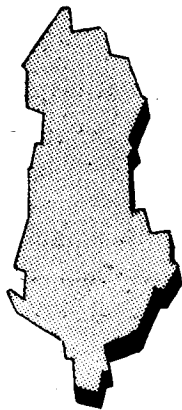
Among other things in the report he said, Our Party and the state have always attached special attention to the problems of the protection and strengthening of people's health. The aim of the Party's social and economic policy has been to create the best possible material conditions for the working people, so that they be in good health and in a position to work and produce for the good of society, the family and for themselves, and capable of defending the Homeland and the victories achieved until today. That is precisely why from the beginning our health service had a prophylactic orientation.

With the implementation in practice of the orientations of the Party, that the health service should be brought as close to the people as possible, a whole network of health institutions has been set up throughout the country. Today we have 9,702 such institutions, 85 per cent of which function in the rural area.

The Party and the state have shown continuous solicitude for the health of mother and child. This is reflected in the extension of the maternity leave and the adoption of a number of other measures to do with the strengthening of the prophylaxis in general, and the hospital service, in particular. Of the 730 maternity houses and wards and 5,571 mother and child consultation clinics and houses of the country, 654 and 5,287 or 95 per cent are respectively in the countryside.

Along with the building and extension of this network of health service centres, special care is devoted to the training and specialization of the medical staff. The Faculty of Medicine and the other schools for assistant medical staff have made their contribution to the fulfilment of the requirements of our health system. Today we have 8 times more physicians, pharmacists and dentists than in 1962. Whereas the ratio of a physician per inhabitants today is 1:727, against 1:2,800 in 1962. Every agricultural cooperative has its health centre completed with the medium

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



health staff and every village has one nurse and midwife.

The extension of health service and the measures adopted to raise the technical-scientific level of the personnel and the quality of the service, have assisted in bringing about a considerable improvement of the health situation in the country. The natural increase of the population today is 20 per 1,000 inhabitants, which is amongst the highest in Europe. The average life expectancy has gone up to 72 years, against 68 which it was in 1975. The birth-rate level is 25.3 per 1,000. The age structure of our population is dominated by the young age-groups, whereas in many bourgeois and revisionist countries the phenomenon of the ageing of the population is growing into disquieting proportions. In 1970, 75 per cent of all births were delivered with medical assistance, whereas in 1988 the figure reached up to 99.7 per cent. There has been a rapid fall in the infantile mortality in recent years, and in 1988 it was reduced by half against the year 1980. Total mortality has decreased noticeably: from 9.2 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1970, to 5.4 in 1988. All this is the result of the continuous rise in the material and cultural level of the people and of the strengthening of the care for their health.

Our people's state power, the Minister of Health continued, has adopted a complete legislation which ensures conditions for the health service and for the free medical assistance for all citizens, as well as a number of draft-laws on the State Health Inspectorate, and the protection of the environment against pollution. A broad network of health propaganda and education institutions has been set up for the protection of people's health and the environment in which people

work and live. The intensification of this service remains a primary duty for the people of the health service, but also for the organs of the state and the educational and cultural institutions.

The rapid development of the multi-branched industry, the urbanization and intensive growth in agriculture are accompanied with problems of pollution of the environment. The highest organs of the Party and state have issued laws and decisions with the aim of avoiding these natural consequences of growth. Laws and ordinances on this problem have been supported with a number of measures of technical, organizational and scientific character, and considerable investments have been made for this purpose.

Among the many measures for prophylaxis, for the protection of people's health, Comrade Ahmet Kamberi pointed out, the scientific organization of an extensive struggle to combat infectious diseases has occupied a special place in recent years. A primary factor in the protection of people's health is also the early detection of the non-infectious diseases and the regular check-up and observation of the cases detected.

The protection and strengthening of the health of mother and child remains a constant duty, because the future of the Homeland depends on it. The emancipation of the woman and the protection of her health, especially during the period of pregnancy and after child-birth, and the care for the welfare of the infant are ensured through important measures. There is a whole organizational structure, with maternity homes and wards, with obstetric-gynecological and pediatric wards and hospitals, with mother and child consultant clinics, outpatient clinics and crèches, with the Institute of



Pediatric Studies, which has a qualified personnel and contemporary equipment and means. The government is actually studying the possibilities for creating more facilities for mothers with children, in addition to those envisaged under the existing legislation. In this manner a further decrease in the infantile mortality will be possible and within the year 1991

to lower it to 20 per 1,000 live births.

The extension of the health service institutions and the efforts to bring them still closer to the people, especially in the countryside, in the cities and work centres, the minister underlined further in his speech, have created the possibilities for everyone to profit more from the general medical assistance provided in the out-

patient clinics, dental clinics, polyclinics and pharmacies. With the measures that are envisaged to be taken in future, the aim is to make the health service more and more available for the people and still more efficient, and to finally proceed towards the system of the family doctor.

The number of medical staff with university training has kept increasing

FROM THE COUNTRY

and this has led to the continuous fall in the ratio between physicians per inhabitants in favour of the latter. Nevertheless, the present ratio is still not satisfactory. Therefore, admission to the Faculty of Medicine in the last two years have trebled, and this high rate will be maintained with the aim that by the end the next five-year period we could have one physician per 537 inhabitants. The recent measures include also provisions for the raising of the level of qualification of the assistant medical personnel.

The present-day development in the health service and the measures adopted for the future, said Comrade Ahmet Kamberi concluding his report, guarantee the further improvement of the health service and the protection and strengthening of people's health.

After contributions to the discussion of the report, the deputies unanimously adopted the decision «On

the measures for the further raising of the level of prophylaxis and health service».

Then the session went on to the second point of the agenda. The deputies unanimously adopted the Law «On the suppression of the Energy Industry», whereby this ministry is suppressed and its activities are transferred to the Ministry of Industry and Mines, which is henceforth called the Ministry of Industry, Mines, and Energy.

On the last point of the agenda the floor was given to the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, 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 unanimously adopted the decrees issued.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, delivered the closing speech.

THE STRENGTH AND VITALITY OF OUR ECONOMIC ORDER

by Prof. HARILLA PAPA JORGJI

Socialism in Albania creates the necessary political, social and economic conditions in which the uninterrupted development of the multi-branched socialist economy can carry out its fundamental social function, the continuous uplift of the material and cultural level and the satisfaction of the real requirements of the people.

As the great November celebrations, the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, are drawing near, people everywhere are drawing the balance-sheet of their achievements and making pledges to march further ahead on the road of the complete construction of socialism.

What our country inherited from the past was a profoundly backward economy. The domination of the feudal-bourgeois relations in production, the intervention of the foreign monopoly capital and the damage caused by this negative legacy of the past, determined the low level of the forces of production on the eve of the liberation of the country. Industry in the real sense of the word was almost non-existent. The fragmentary artisan production which prevailed all over the country was accompanied with a very low level of technique and the one-sided structure of the branches of the economy. The foreign monopoly capital had penetrated and made the law in almost all the branches of the national economy. The situation in agriculture was still worse, with the general use of the wooden plough with which not more than a few months' bread for a population of one million could be snatched from the land.

Mass unemployment, low wages, emigration of labour, and bad working conditions — these were the characteristics of the pre-Liberation period. Poor living and working conditions, the unexampled exploitation of the working masses and the low level of income, the poor health service, etc., had a direct influence on the health conditions of the population and on the demographic indicators. The material damage per head of capita of population in the Second World War in Albania was among the highest of Europe. All these factors only served to make the already backward economy still more backward and to widen the gulf fixed between Albania and the other European countries. The only way out of this profound and all-sided backwardness was to carry ahead the socialist revolution in all fields.

1. THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE FIELD OF OWNERSHIP

Upon the liberation of the country, the people's state power, which had just been established, faced major complicated problems arising from the need of healing the wounds of the war, of beginning the development of the economy and culture and of

strengthening our defence. In this very difficult period, complicated by economic problems and fraught with political and military threats, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha displayed their foresightedness. They charted out the roads for the profound and all-sided transformations in the fields of social and economic development. These revolutionary changes of a very broad range covered all fields of social life: the policy and ideology, economy and education, culture and the defence of the Homeland.

The economic base of socialism could be built only by solving the task for the liquidation of the fragmented economy and the old social-class structure, and by replacing them with a new structure in which the hegemonic role belongs to the working class. The first radical step towards the accomplishment of this program which the newly established people's state power undertook, is connected with the abolishment of the capitalist relations and the creation of the socialist relations in production, through the socialization of the main means of production in industry and in the other branches, and through the establishment of the socialist ownership over them. The liquidation of the capitalist ownership and its replacement by socialist state ownership is carried out through

the socialist nationalization and the expropriation of the exploiting classes. The socialist nationalization, as a revolutionary expropriation without compensation of the exploiting classes, for the transformation of the capitalist ownership into socialist state ownership, is an objective necessity of the period of transition.

In agriculture the people's power inherited the old landowner-bourgeois form of ownership, which existed as landowner property, the capitalist property and the small property of the working peasantry. Immediately after the liberation of the country, one of the most pressing fundamental questions was the liquidation of the old relations in the rural area in order to gradually accomplish the agrarian program of the Party, as a constituent part of the broader program for the establishment and consolidation of the socialist ownership of the means of production. The first step for the implementation of this program and one of the main links for the solution of the agrarian problem in our country was the implementation of the Land Reform. The Land Reform which was thereupon enacted brought about the compulsory expropriation without compensation of the landowner and capitalist property in the countryside, giving it to the land-poor peasants and partly converting it into socialist state property. It restricted the private ownership of the land to a minimum and helped in the adoption of legal measures which prohibited the sale, purchase, leasing, alienation and bequeathing of the land, as well as the use of land as private property for the exploitation of the labour of others.

The implementation of the Land Reform, as the first important step for the solution of the agrarian problem, had repercussions in many social and economic directions. By liquidating the remnants of feudalism and the landowner class, the Reform had, at the same time, an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist character. It was one of the most important changes in the domain of the economy which overthrew the old structure of classes and contributed to

the creation of the new social-class structure of our socialist society. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said, the Land Reform marked the first revolution in the social-economic relations in the countryside.

In a country with an economy comprising many heterogenous sectors, there is a contradiction in the very existence of the sector of small commodity production. On the one hand, this sector is connected with the socialist sector and is used in the interest of the construction of socialism, while, on the other hand, small-scale commodity production, which relies on the private ownership, provides the ground for the emergence of capitalism. Therefore, despite the contradictory nature of the development of the sector of small-commodity production, the socialist state relied temporarily on this sector, while gradually working to bring about the socialist transformation of the small producers of the countryside through their voluntary union, and to introduce the small agricultural producers on the road of socialist collectivization.

The socialist transformation of agriculture is indispensable for the construction of the economic base of socialism. This historic imperative stems from the contradictions which exist between the socialist relations in production, established in industry and in the other branches of the economy, and the relations of small-commodity production in the rural area, between the political superstructure and the economic base. The socialist collectivization of the small farmers in our country is a complicated process, involving complex aspects which took a relatively long time to solve. The socialist socialization of the small farmers cannot be accomplished through the same means as those used in the violent socialization of the capitalist property. The working peasantry, which did not appropriate the labour of others, is the natural ally of the working class in the revolutionary process of the seizure of political power and the socialist construction of the country. Therefore, the socialist collectivization of the countryside is accompli-

shed not through the expropriation by violence, but on the basis of conviction and free will, under the leadership and with the all-round support of the socialist state.

The all-sided measures in the field of education for the uplift of the cultural level of the people led rapidly to the liquidation of illiteracy in more than 90 per cent of the population. Of major impact to the improvement of people's health were the efforts in the campaign against tuberculosis, typhus, malaria and many other diseases, which were completely wiped out from our territory.

2. THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

While these achievements were being made, the Party worked to carry further forward the process of socialist construction. It took into account the fact that the socialist industrialization constitutes a universal law of the socialist revolution and construction for all the countries which embark and develop on the socialist road. In the concrete historical and social conditions of our country, the socialist industrialization constitutes an indispensable uninterrupted process of social-economic development for the gradual transformation of the country from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country, and then to an industrial-agrarian country, with the perspective of becoming a developed industrial country which relies on an advanced agriculture.

The industrialization of the country in Albania has been carried out in conformity with the concrete conditions and with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The industry was built on the basis of our local primary mineral and agricultural materials and on the other assets of the country. The development of the socialist industrialization in Albania is characterized by some features and stages: the harmonious and simultaneous development of industry, considering it as the leading branch and agriculture as the basic branch of

the economy; the uninterrupted development of industry at high rates; the uninterrupted perfecting of the structure and branches of industry, giving priority to the heavy industry, and, parallel with it, the development of the light industry; and the harmonious distribution of industry throughout the territory of the country and protection of the natural environment. The development of the socialist industry is an objective necessity, also, because it was to ensure the increase and strengthening of the working class which constitutes the main social basis of the political power. The implementation of the policy of the rapid socialist industrialization of the country has been accompanied with just as rapid increase in numbers of the working class, with the raising of the educational and technical-professional level and with the enhancement of the leading role of the working class in the whole life of the country.

By proceeding on this road, in the first stage of industrialization, which ended in 1955 in general, our country was transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country, capable of reorganizing the development of the other branches of the economy. With the rapid advance in the economic and in the material-technical base in the 1960's, the country was now in a position to complete the construction of the economic base of socialism in city and countryside. The socialist form of ownership became predominant, and a single system of the economy was created. After 1961, the fundamental task of this period was the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism, which was achieved through some five-year periods, in which Albania was transformed from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country. The main link in the accomplishment of this task was, in the first place, the continuation of the industrialization of the country.

In this manner, the economic map of our country was filled with plants, factories and combines, beginning from the factories for the processing of agricultural products, the textile mills-

and the plants for the production of footwear, to the metallurgical combine, the plants for the smelting of non-ferrous minerals, chromium and copper, and the mines and huge hydro-power stations. In 1987, as against the pre-war period, the industrial production had grown 1968 fold, and its part in the total industrial and agricultural production increased from 6.7 per cent to 67 per cent. In this same period, the number of the urban population increased 6.7 fold, at a time when the general population of the country increased 3.1 fold.

As a result of the vigorous development of the material-productive base of industry, the country now could support not only the rapid growth of the cities and towns, the urban population and the improvement of the structure of the population living in the rural and the urban areas, but also the expansion and growth in size of the inhabited centres, and the better distribution of the urban concentrations in different districts.

In the period of the socialist construction, because of the high rates of the development of the extended socialist reproduction and the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the electric, engineering, chemical and construction materials industries have played an increasingly growing role. If in the years 1950, 1960, and 1970, these branches taken together accounted for respectively 6.5 per cent, 8.6 per cent and 18.1 per cent in the total structure of the branches of industry, in the year 1987 this figure went up to 30 per cent. These progressive changes in the structure of industry are the results of the priority given to the development of the branches of these industries. Our industry today is in a position to ensure the bulk of the consumer goods needed within the country. Likewise, the engineering industry can supply spare parts for 90 per cent of the needs of the country. The oil and electric power industries, and the energy base of the country can meet the local needs for their products, and ensure incomes from export. An important place is occupied by the foreign currency incomes created by the export of the minerals of chrome

and ferro-chrome, and the export of copper and its by-products, bauxites, coal, etc.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

The development of industry is accompanied with the harmonious development of agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy. The complete collectivization of the countryside, which represents the second revolution and the most radical change in the countryside, was carried out in the plains, the hills and mountains on the basis of the Party's agrarian policy. The socialist collectivization, which was accomplished within a period of 20 years, first in the plains and then in the hilly and mountainous zones, has entirely changed the aspects of our socialist countryside. The hilly and mountainous agricultural economies possess about 50 per cent of the fund of arable land of the country and account for a considerable part of the agricultural and livestock product.

The establishment and perfecting of socialist relations in the rural area and the consistent implementation of the policy of the simultaneous development of industry - as the leading branch - and agriculture - as the basic branch of the economy, have brought about major and all-round changes in agriculture, in general, and in the life of the Albanian village, in particular. The place of the undeveloped primitive agriculture with a single-crop production has been taken by the many-branched intensive agriculture.

The harmonious proportional development of agriculture in all its branches has been and still is the decisive factor for the perfection of the structure of agricultural production, for the strengthening of reciprocal relations between agriculture and the other branches of the economy, the increase in the volume and the raising of the effectiveness of production, the all-sided development of the country in rural rural area and the constant population in it.

Dynamic changes have been made in agriculture in the period of the socialist construction. The technical-scientific progress has been accompanied, in each stage, with the harmonization of the development of the extensive road with the intensive road. The replacement of the wooden plough by the powerful tractor and of the pine-torch by the electric lamp represent, in the conditions of the Albanian countryside, epoch-making changes carried out within relatively short historical periods.

The raising of the technical level of agriculture and the liquidation of backwardness inherited from the past are an indispensable condition preliminary to the creation of a stable national economy which relies both on industry and on agriculture. The development of industry in general, and of the engineering and chemical fertilizers industries in particular, have led to the enhancement of the degree of mechanization and the chemization of agriculture. In 1987, as against 1950, the number of tractors reckoned at 15 hp has increased 54 fold, the use of chemical fertilizers 95 fold and the irrigation capacity 10 fold. In comparison with the pre-war period, the surface of the arables has increased 2.5 fold.

By proceeding on this path, our agriculture, along with industry, constitutes a decisive factor in the stability of production and the independent economic development of the country. Agriculture ensures about 85 per cent of the staples of the population, the primary materials for the light and food — stuffs industries and a considerable part of the value of exports and the internal accumulation needed for the extended socialist reproduction. Agriculture is the sphere which provides jobs for more than half of the working people of the country; nearly 2/3 of the population of Albania lives in the rural area — a population which ensures 70 per cent of its income from work in agriculture.

The dynamic changes in our country and the narrowing of distinctions between the rural and the urban areas have their source in the revolution of a socialist character,

which has been made in the Albanian countryside. Achievements on this road have been great. The achievement of self-sufficiency in bread grain for more than ten years in succession now, and the consolidation year by year of this historic victory and the self-sufficiency in most of the staple food of the population, speak of the vitality of the system of our socialist agriculture, the cooperatives and the state farms, of the devotion of our patriotic peasantry and of the consistent implementation of the achievements of modern science and technology.

4. THE ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY RELIES ENTIRELY ON OUR OWN FORCES

The liberation of the country and its advance on the socialist road have been achieved by relying entirely on our own forces. The implementation of this policy has ensured the freedom and national sovereignty, the independent political, economic and cultural development of our society, and has defended it from outside pressures and dictates. The thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in this field matured gradually and was built in conformity with the concrete conditions of each stage of development. But one thing has been clear from the beginning, namely, that the independent development of the economy would be ensured through the establishment of the socialist ownership in town and countryside, the socialist industrialization of the country as a whole, and the creation of the independent energy base, in particular: the collectivization of agriculture and the local production of bread grain; the massive education of the population and the creation of an army of cadres; the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the people; and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. These are the main pillars which support the country's present and future independent development. If these preconditions had not been prepared step by step, the country would have come up against various difficulties

in the implementation of the principle of self-reliance and the final result would have been jeopardized. Therefore, this strategy of the Party has been salutary for our country.

Everything in our country has been done without owing anything to anyone. Albania has no foreign economic debts, or obligations of any other nature. Above all, our country is independent, the Albanian people are masters of all the riches of their land, are sovereign and make their decisions about how to use them. Of a great original value is the experience of our country, also, as regards the preservation of the purity of the socialist relations in production. By summing up this experience and making a critical analysis of the theoretical and practical concepts of the modern revisionists, important measures have been taken in Albania in order to close the door to revisionism and to the return to capitalism. This has been achieved through the quantitative and qualitative development of the state ownership, and the gradual implementation of the natural roads for the transition from the property of the group to the property of the entire people, by perfecting the relations of distribution, and by correctly appreciating their weighty role in the creation of general well-being, without permitting the creation of privileged social strata and groups, and by strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Proceeding from these teachings and from the positive experience and the conclusions reached from the situation in which socialism is built in Albania, the task is set that we must ensure within the country everything we can: wheat and maize, as well as cotton and sunflower, electric power and technological machinery, steels and ferro-chrome, but also simple handicraft means and tools and articles. Although small, our country must have the same complex development as a big country. This has nothing to do with autarchic development, as our enemies try to make out; on the contrary, this is a very significant expression of the economic and political independence of the

country. In the present conditions the essence of this policy is clearly expressed in the implementation in practice of the principle that we must consume as much as we produce, must guarantee imports with our exports, must spend within the limit of our incomes, must increase reserves, and on this basis, must extend the balanced exchanges with the world.

Besides this, in the circumstances when our country has foreign trade relations with the other countries of the capitalist and the revisionist world, the need arises for a better application of all those forms and practices of international trade and other relations which are acceptable and beneficial to us and do not violate our country's independence. We have taken and will continue to take whatever is progressive and good from world science, culture and technique, making at the same time our contribution to the development of world progressive culture.

The implementation of the principle of self-reliance has continuously extended its sphere of operation along with the increase in the human potential, the growth and development of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia.

Our economic development is accompanied with the rapid increase of the size of the working class. Whereas in the pre-Liberation period our country had only 15 thousand workers, in 1950 their number reached to 55,000, and 1987 to 650,000, which, against the year 1938, is equal to an increase of 43 fold. As a result of these progressive changes, throughout the period of the socialist construction we notice a tendency for the constant enhancement of the role and weight of the working class in the social production and in the social-class structure of the population. Whereas in 1950 the working class represented only 10 per cent of the population, in 1979 it reached to 38.2 per cent.

The prevalent trend in the progressive changes of the social-class structure of the population has been for the working class to increase with

priority in comparison with the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. In the period between the last two censuses (1969-1979), the working class has increased by 35 per cent, and the working peasantry 10 per cent. Since the working class has developed at higher rates in the period of socialist construction, the part of the peasantry in the composition of the country's population has fallen from 75 per cent in 1950, to 50.2 per cent in 1979.

The same rapid growth rates have been observed also for the people's intelligentsia. The number of people with higher education today has reached to 70,000, against a few hundred that the whole country had before Liberation. Our workers, specialists cadres design and build major projects, mines and mineral-smelting plants, gigantic power stations, etc., with their own forces.

The implementation of the principle of self-reliance has extended ceaselessly along with the increase in the volume of investments for the social-economic development. In our country high rates of investments are a constant feature. During the five-year period 1981-1985, the volume of fundamental investments was more or less equal to that of the twenty-year period 1951-1970, and 10.4 fold higher than that of the period 1951-1955. The increase in the volume of investments has been more rapid and greater than the population growth. In the five-year period 1981-1985, as against the period 1951-1955, investments increased over 10 fold, whereas the population doubled, and as a result, the investments per capita of the population increased over 5.1 per cent.

The increase of the volume of fundamental investments at increasingly higher rates have been ensured from the rapid increase in the social product and the national income, from the policy pursued for the distribution of the national income and accumulation and consumption fund, as well as from the effective use of accumulation. While ensuring an uninterrupted increase in the fund of consumption for coping with the ever growing requirements of

consumption per capita, the fund of accumulation has also grown at high rates. The maintenance of a relatively high norm of accumulation is the main source of the uninterrupted development of fundamental investments. This policy has helped us to maintain high growth rates of the state budget income and expenditure, which is reflected directly in the uninterrupted development of fundamental investments. In 1987, as against 1950, the state budget expenditure increased 13 fold, whereas the part of the expenditure destined for the development of the people's economy and the social-cultural measures against the total budget expenditure, increased to nearly 85 per cent in 1987, as against 50 per cent that they were in 1950. The increase in the state budget expenditure and the improvement of their structure are clear proof of the increase of the potential of our socialist economy for investments, which helps to strengthen and deepen the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION LEADS TO A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING

The dynamic development of our country in the last decade has been characterized by the constant implementation of the law that governs the rates of increase of the social product, the national income and the production in the main branches, which have been 2-3 times higher than the increase of the population. In our country we can observe the phenomenon that, whereas the social product doubles every 12-13 years, the population doubles only every three decades. Thus, in 1986, as against 1950, the social product increased over 13 times and the overall agricultural production about 5 fold, whereas the population only doubled.

Agriculture and stock-farming are the basis for ensuring the food for the people. The large-scale socialist production is ever more capable of fulfilling the requirements of the po-

pulation of the country for food. Nevertheless, in our country ever greater improvements must be made in the supply of the people, so as to give an impulse to the definitive solution of the problems of the present and those of the distant future.

An important component part of the plan to improve the supply of the peasantry with livestock products, vegetables, beans and potatoes, is the creation of the small herds and plots of the brigades, which represent the collective property of their members. The growth of these elements has created a powerful trend which calls for the mobilization of reserves, and which shows in practice the vitality of the cooperativist order. This will also encourage the increase of market supplies for the requirements of the cities and industry. If at present work is concentrated on the supply of the population at a reasonable level of consumption, Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out that the not-too-distant objective of the Party is to ensure that the food program should be built on the basis of scientific norms of consumption.

The raising of people's well-being is accompanied with a profound ideological and cultural revolution which has always played an important role in the all-sided emancipation of the whole people and the overall develop-

ment of the country on the independent socialist road requires the most complete and thorough utilization of all the great intellectual potential which has been created in the ranks of the working people. The uplift of their educational level is supported by the large number of pupils and students in all links of our educational system, which reached to over 750,000 in a country with a population of a little over 3 million inhabitants. The average life expectancy in Albania today is nearly 72 years, against 38 in the pre-Liberation period. Expenditure for education and culture take up more than 11 per cent of the total state budget expenditure.

The health service has a network which covers virtually the whole country and is given free of charge. An important element in the uplift of the standard of living, especially in the countryside, is the completion of the electrification of all the villages, and the supply of abundant drinking water to all inhabited centres in the rural area. Almost all villages are linked by motor-roads and have telephone lines. If in 1955, the villages with over 1,000 inhabitants represented about 3 per cent of the total number of villages, in 1979 they made up 17 per cent of them.

For some years now the country-

side has been included in the system of state social insurances, which are applied according to unified and centralized criteria. The peasant enjoys the right to a pension just like the city worker. He is also entitled to all the health services, for himself and for all the members of his family.

The rapid social-economic development has created favourable conditions for the maintenance of a high rate of population increase, which is among the highest in Europe, with a natural increase of 21 per 1,000 inhabitants. In this manner, socialism in Albania has ensured, at the same time, the continuity of the present and future generations. Socialism in Albania creates the necessary political, social and economic conditions in which the uninterrupted development of the multi-branched socialist economy can fulfil its fundamental social function, the continuous uplift of the material and cultural level, and the satisfaction of the real requirement of the people. In our country, the construction of socialism is closely linked with the well-being of the people and the defence of the Homeland and the victories achieved, because only socialism can create the conditions for the working people to be direct producers and consumers.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN OUR SOCIETY

by **FATMIR ZANAJ**

Inter-personal relations in our socialist society are influenced by political and social relations. They are permeated through-and-through by equality, mutual trust and respect, and moral and political unity

With the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the deepening of the process of narrowing essential distinctions between city and countryside, between mental and physical work, during the complete construction of the socialist society socio-political equality among the members of our society goes on increasing. Simultaneously, up to the complete construction of communist society, the working class will remain the vanguard, the leading and hegemonic class of society, enjoying, so to say, all the «privileges» accruing to it from this position. These are embodied in the principles, norms and criteria of the construction and functioning of the political system of socialist society, social ethics, etc.

Observance of them does not affect the socio-political status of our co-operativist or people's intellectual, nor does it create a hindrance on the road of the all-round development of their personality.

Their fundamental political and economic interests are the same as those of the worker. On this community and unity of interests created by socialist ownership and socialist relations of production, unity grows stronger in the field of psychology and ethics, as well as in the treatment and assessment of events, social-processes and phenomena. Comrade Ramiz Alia points out, «Ours is a society characterized by sound political and ideological unity, the

FATMIR ZANAJ — *journalist*

one psychology and the one social mentality.»¹

The above conclusion shows that in our social reality, in our social being, there exists such socio-economic and socio-political conditions which necessarily produce this political unity and social and psychological unity, that is, this social consciousness.

But how does this feature of our society stand against its centralist-democratic political organizations? The reply to this question has to do with the elucidation of a number of problems.

In the formation of the consciousness and psychology of people, apart from their economic conditions of production and their mode of living, their place in society, which includes their function, socio-political status, etc., has particular importance. This process is also influenced by other social factors like class, social origin, membership in the Party or mass social organizations, belonging to smaller social groups, the family, the working collective, society, etc.

In their composition the individual enters into relationship with the class, the group, the organization, and other individuals. This relationship directly produces the essential components of the personality of each individual and his psychology.

In the Constitution of the PSRA it is sanctioned: «All citizens are equal before the law. No limitation or privilege in the rights and duties of

citizens is allowed on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social status or material condition.»

Of course, as Marxists we know that it is not the law or right that creates socio-political equality among people. Before coming to its legal expression, it lives and extends in our socialist society. Knowing the primary character of socio-economic factors, it is important to explain further how superstructural, political, juridical or other factors exercise their influence on it. Here it is important to understand the great distinction of principle of the socio-political organization of socialist society from the socio-political organization of capitalist society. The former is anti-bureaucratic, democratic and popular, while the latter is bureaucratic, anti-democratic and anti-popular.

Analysing the capitalist political organization and the capitalist state, K. Marx emphasized that bureaucracy is in their spirit, and its spirit is «the formal spirit of the capitalist state». Marx wrote, «Bureaucracy is a circle nobody can break out of... The general spirit of bureaucracy is its secrecy and mysteriousness. This mysteriousness is maintained through its hierarchical organization towards the outside world, which is due to its closed corporative character.»²

In a political organization of any kind, its essence and content are conditioned by the class holding political power, the relationship of other classes to this power, and the degree of

their participation in the regulation, organization and management of the political system in power. The administrative aspects — the forms of the political and juridical regulation of the functioning of this system — are formal elements. In the capitalist bureaucratic order the individuals who make up the mass of the oppressed and exploited people are excluded from the exercise of political power. In order to make this oppression, which is to the advantage of the ruling classes, easier the capitalist socio-political order is built in such a bureaucratic way as to present its formal aspects as it content, to beguile the masses with illusory «rights» and «democracy». There «... where capital rules,» Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote, «there is democracy for the capitalists, oppressors and exploiters, and oppression for the majority, the masses, the people. Here exists the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the fascist dictatorship, the bureaucratic order.»³

In the system of capitalist political relations the individual undergoes a mystical bureaucratic alienation. Bureaucracy transforms him and treats him as an abstract citizen, ignoring the real fact that he is either the oppressed or the oppressor. The capitalist bureaucratic organization considers political activity only that which is carried out within the scope of the laws, articles, and the constitutional order in power, which exercises a direct influence on the equilibrium and status quo of the existing order. In bourgeois political science the notion of politics, in general, and political activity, in particular, is an extremely narrow one. Almost the whole of it is contained within the scope of bourgeois law which defines the rules of the «political ensemble», the system of representation, the parliament, political parties, lobbying, etc. According to this bureaucratic concept there is both political inequality among the different closed levels of the hierarchy of political organization and class inequality as a product and requirement of the rational functioning of the system, of the operation of its inner laws towards integration, equilibrium

and stability. It is clear that these anti-scientific theories are aimed at justifying and perpetuating inequality and, along with it, the socio-political system that is intended to maintain it — capitalism.

In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country the people in power lead and administer the country. Our individual is included and organized in different component parts of this political system, in the PLA or mass organizations, in state or cooperativist organs. As a member of a class or stratum of the people, everywhere he works the individual not only implements but also creates, decides, discusses, criticizes, proposes and amends.

The party of the working class, the Party of Labour of Albania, is a concrete and inspiring reality and a model of relations of equality among the individuals of our society as a whole, and every element in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the organs and organizations of the PLA there is no hierarchy. All individuals, members of the PLA, regardless of the function they exercise in the Party or in the State, are equal among themselves, and enjoy the same social and political consideration.

The whole system of social, state and cooperativist organizations is built in accordance with the line of the Party. Individuals, regardless of their party or state functions, are politically equal among themselves.

As the PLA is the one leading political force of society and the state, the party member has a particular political relationship with the non-party masses. The communist is a leader of the masses everywhere he lives and works. On the other hand as they stand in the service of the masses, the cadres of different socio-economic sectors also perform leading functions. However, as individuals, both the communist and the cadre is politically and socially equal to any working individual of city and country.

The explanation for this reality is found in the profoundly democratic essence and nature of socialist society and its political organization. The

building and functioning of this organization is such as to enable the working class and the working masses to maintain state power always in their hands. «When the people give their votes for their representatives.» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «it must be kept in mind that it is they that decide the appointment to state functions, and not the party or state organs.»⁴ The particular individual, whoever he happens to be, is not a self-sufficient element, carries no sign of sovereignty with the right to use or misuse it arbitrarily. The people in power, the working class with its party, and the working masses are sovereign.

This is true political power. This power is institutionalized in the system of state and social organs and organizations.

Directly or through their loyal sons militating in the PLA, the other social organizations or the legislative organs of the state, the people, the true sovereign, define by law the duties and competences of the individuals who hold various functions at different levels of the organs of state power and administration. These duties and competences, no matter how different in direction, volume, quantity and social importance, have one thing in common — all of them serve the political, ideological and economic interests of the people in power.

The different state functions as well as the competences related to them are structured according to the organizational principle of democratic centralism. The closer to the centre of the different instances of the political, economic and social organization the function performed by the individual, the broader his competences generally are. However, inequality in competences is not political inequality among individuals who operate at different levels in the organs of our political system. In a broader political meaning, our individual, as a member of a social class, has important rights and duties which call for his opinion and activity in the solution of key political problems which are linked with the problems of the class in power. These represent his broad political competences which, be-

fore being given him by the state organ, he has won through the revolution and his struggle, toil and sacrifices for the construction of a new society. Legislative competences are of this nature. Then come functional competences, the competences the individual acquires through his social status, his administrative position, etc. If the individuals are equal in their political competences, they differ in the exercise of functional competences.

One of the more important peculiarities of the political organization of socialist society is that the political competences of the sovereign people stand above all functional or administrative competences.

Respecting the leading hegemonic position of the working class in society in the criteria of the building of the different elements of the socialist political system reflects the reality. Objectively, our working individual displays the moral and political abilities and qualities of his class. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The worker distinguishes himself from others through his coolheadedness and persistence... The worker is prudent because he is aware of the superiority of his word and thought and knows that patience, coolheadedness and sound reason convince people. Workers are modest, they feel themselves strong in their ideology and purpose...»⁵

However, at an individual level, in every historical period of the building of our socialist society, through the educational work carried out by the Party and all the subjective social factors and, as a consequence, the gradual creation of almost equal socio-economic conditions of living, these abilities and qualities can be assimilated and perfected by other people, too, peasants or people's intellectuals. Hence, origin or social status cannot be a barrier to the affirmation of the political personality of the individual, nor can they be factors creating social or political inequality among them. On the individual plane, apart from political guarantees, the fundamental criterion for the assessment of the individual is his carrying out of tasks, which calls for maturity, ideo-politi-

cal formation, resiliency, practical and intellectual abilities, a high sense of duty, etc. Hence, when the question was about leadership in different organs, Comrade Enver Hoxha recommended that nobody should be excluded from it, regardless of his origin, if he has carried out and continues to carry out his tasks in an exemplary manner.

In the process of the functioning of our socialist political organization, all premises and possibilities are created for every individual to affirm his personality, to occupy a social position in accordance with his personal abilities and qualities. Society entrusts our people with a task, or a particular economic, political or social function. In keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, all the state organs are links of a single organizational structure. This structural oneness of these links is not an aim in itself, but a means for carrying out the policy of the Party. Centrally structured state organs and not individuals make up this organization. The same can be said about competences as «all-round political and juridical characteristics» of the social organ.

The social character and the activity of the organ, its place and role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is judged on the basis of these characteristics. However, these characteristics cannot apply also to man, the individual, although state organs are made up of people. Competences are not equal to personal abilities or qualities. There can be no equalization of them neither as concepts nor in practice. A person may have outstanding personal intellectual or organizational abilities and qualities and yet, as practice shows, may not properly carry out the competences deriving from the function he exercises. On the contrary, when society charges a person with an important function and broad competences, in most cases, because of his sense of political responsibility, he steps up his efforts to increase and perfect his intellectual and professional, organizational and political abilities and qualities, so as to be in a position to carry out best the com-

petences he is given through the function he exercises. Competences, being in their content a system of duties and rights based on the duties and functions of the state, serve as regulators in the relations of the individual with the state organ. When understood and implemented in a revolutionary manner, they become political and juridical bridges through which social and state interests are harmonized with personal interests. However, they are never personal attributes, just as the organs or the function from which competences stem must not be identified with the individual that exercises them.

All these competences, all the duties and functions carried out by the individual in the context of the functioning of the socialist political system are elements of a great task, the historical mission of our working class and working masses for the construction of communist society. This mission is a source of broad, but not normative, political, ideological and economic competences which are exercised simultaneously and equally by all citizens, individuals of our society, and elements of the people.

Confronted with this mission, this task, all individuals, regardless of their function or social position, regardless of distinctions in their socio-economic status, are equal, are members with equal political and moral rights, as Lenin put it, of «the great army of joint work» for the construction of the new society.

The authority and prestige an individual, a communist or a cadre enjoys is not created by himself for himself, but is created with the assistance of society, through the harmonization of social activity with personal activity. The interest of society, and the society itself are the milieu — the starting-point and background, in which the authority and prestige enjoyed by the individual emerge and operate. Not only in the dominant social psychology, but also on the political and juridical plane, in our society there exists no normative regulation through a hierarchy of respect and prestige. Only in the petty-bourgeois psychology and the bureaucratic mentality are they conceived in

this way. This explains those few cases in which particular individuals try to ensure for themselves privileges and material profits, etc., by misusing the respect of society for their merits and authority, which they have won at some moment. It is clear that in merits and respect and prestige they enjoy in society, all individuals are not equal. Inequality here lies in the one moral and political criterion of the assessment of their activity. This criterion is putting one's entire abilities, intellectual and physical forces, in the service of the people, the Party and the Homeland. Hence, cases of infringement of the above criterion, which lead to subjectivist and unequal assessments of the behaviour, activity and social position of particular individuals, strike a jarring note in our society. People infected with this evil are those who seek undue favours, who yearn for them and consider them something legitimate and mystical. Apart from their petty-bourgeois nature, these manifestations also indicate a bureaucratic confusion of the political with the socio-economic status of the individual, or his political and administrative function in the socio-political organization. As Comrade Ramiz Alia put it at the 9th Congress of the Party, «Bureaucratic concepts and practices... cultivate officialdom and arrogance, the feeling of superiority over others, which comes from the opinion that authority and respect are given by the post, degree and rank in the nomenclature.»⁵

Our socialist reality proves that the demand for socio-political equality among individuals does not presuppose equality and uniformity in all the dimensions and components of the direction and development of their personality. Socio-political equality is a guarantee for the all-round development of the personality of our people, a guarantee for the variety and diversity of the personalities of men and women of our society, whose general political, moral and ideological orientation converges on and merges with the common social ideal

of the construction of communist society.

Through the operation of a number of factors like the educational work carried out by the Party, the state and the collective, and all the means and forms of information and collective education — all individuals are considered socially equal. The fact of the ceaseless narrowing of economic and material differences among them must be added here, too.

All the subjective factors of our society, the Party, the state, the mass organizations, or the school, though taking account of the objective laws of development and the objective distinctions and inequalities among people, operate as a major factor of equality. The programs, directives and various decisions of the Party deal with the forms, methods, and directions of narrowing class and social distinctions and inequalities on the road of the complete construction of socialist and, then, communist society. In keeping with this line of the Party, the socialist state operates by means of state, economic, organizational, financial, administrative, juridical and other measures to narrow the scissors of these distinctions. With their own peculiarities, the mass organizations, the school, etc., work in this direction, too.

In performing this humane mission of equality, the 9th Congress of the Party emphasized the need for the struggle against any subjectivist tendency in the work with people, which would lead to «obliterating individualities».⁶ The question is that, in the treatment of this problem, the Party, the state, the mass organizations and the school do not proceed from abstract consideration of equality among «average» individuals who represent social classes and strata, thereby simplifying the broad and extremely complex picture of the individual variety of personalities of people of our society, who are divided into social classes, strata, groups, families, collectives, etc., and by their nature are not equal among themselves, do not proceed at the same step, have different inclinations and interests.

Our reality proves that the powerful influence of subjective factors does not mean suppressing and leveling out personalities, as the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda says of socialism. When the Party and other subjective factors of our socialist society operate as factors of equality, this does not in the least mean that, in the economic field, they intend (as the bourgeoisie imagines) that all people should have the same material and spiritual needs, the same tastes, or the same means for their fulfilment every time and everywhere.

To struggle for social and political equality does not mean that, for the sake of moral and political unity, or the same political and ideological formation, you should slide into uniformity in the intellectual and cultural development of people on a lower level, does not mean that you should not distinguish one political personality from the other, does not mean to «politicise», in the bourgeois meaning of the word, the whole many-sidedness of man's life, leaving no place in it for other spheres or values of spiritual production, does not mean that you should interfere with brutal methods and without human or communist tact in the inner life of the family and in the personal life of people.

Inter-personal relations in our socialist society are influenced by political and social relations. They are permeated through-and-through by equality, mutual trust and respect, and moral and political unity. On social or professional problems of common interest, the Party carries out broad discussions, always proceeding from positions of equality.

In inter-personal relations, too, the determinant factor for political equality among individuals is their stand towards their tasks, and the quality of their implementation. In our socialist society, the opinion expressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the effect that everybody should write without fear and in big letters what he thinks about work and people has been turned into a dominant psychology.

This state of equality Comrade Enver Hoxha had in mind when he instructed that, in every link of our social and political system, inter-personal relations should be relations of comrades and not bureaucrats, so as to enable the creation among people of a warm social climate in which everybody can freely express his opinions and take problems, general or personal, up for discussion.

Looking closely at inter-personal relations one sees the constant deepening of the process of identification of our political organization with our social organization. This process is

another evidence of the enhancement of the socio-political equality among our people. This is also expressed in the relationship between moral norms and our socialist law. In the Civil Code of the PSRA every article dealing with inter-personal relations stresses that the exercise of civic rights and the performance of various juridical operations must be always in conformity with the requirements of the law and the norms of socialist morality.⁸

The process of the enhancement of the socio-political equality among our people is conditioned, first of all, by the economic development of our co-

untry on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, by the ceaseless revolutionization of all the aspects of our society, and our socialist political system. These develop in our country in such a way as the construction of socialism never to be transformed into an administrative bureaucratic process, but to enable the deepening of the line of the masses and socialist democracy, the development of the personality of the socialist man, the constant strengthening of the leadership and management of the whole life of the country by the working class and its Party of Labour.

1 *Ramiz Alia*, *The Correct Line of the Party — the Source of Our Victories*, pp. 18-19, *Tirana 1984*.

2 *K. Marx*, *About the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law*, p. 94, 95, *Tirana 1979*.

3 *Enver Hoxha*, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 44, *Tirana 1969*, Alb. ed.

4 *Enver Hoxha*, *Works*, vol. 43, p. 161, *Tirana 1984*, Alb. ed.

5 *Enver Hoxha*, *Works*, vol. 43, pp. 288-289.

6 *Ramiz Alia*, *Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 113-114, Eng. ed.

7 *Ibidem*, p. 119.

8 See *The Civil Code of the PSRA*, articles 9, 142. *The Code of the PSRA*, *Tirana 1982*.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ALBANIA THROUGH THE CENTURIES

by ALI DHRIMO

The culture of a people is as old as its creators and carriers. There is no people without a culture, if we agree to understand with the word culture the total of the spiritual and creative achievements of a people. For its part, the degree of perfection of the cultural features of a people depend on their historical conditions, their way of life and their historical destiny. In this sense, in his famous poem *Childe Harold* the great English poet George Gordon Byron writes about Albania and the Albanians:

*Land of Albania! where Iskander
rose,
Theme of the young, and beacon
of the wise,
And as his namesake, whose oft-
baffled foes
Shrunk from his deeds of chivalrous
enterprise:
Land of Albania! let me bend
mine eyes
On these, thou rugged nurse of
savage men!
...
Fierce are Albania's children,
yet they lack
Not virtues, were those more
mature.
Where is the foe that ever saw
their back?
Who can so well the toil of wars
endure?
Their native fastnesses not more
secure
Than they in doubtful time of
trouble need.*

The Albanians are the immediate descendants of the Illyrians: they are

ALI DHRIMO — Senior scientific worker

among the most ancient peoples of Europe. As the long-time neighbours of the old Greeks, they live for more than 3 000 years in a region of the Mediterranean basin, on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, which has been called «the cradle of the civilization» and in which the brilliant cultures of the Antiquity met on our continent. They, too, had a developed civilization; their country had famous cities and magnificent amphitheatres in a time when many present-day very civilized peoples, as a German journal wrote some months ago, lived still in a barbarian state. The amphitheatres of Durrhachium, Apollonia, Bouthroton, Bylis and other cities, with their places for some thousands of spectators, were famous in the Antiquity.

A rich art-painting and sculpture, music, dramaturgy and why not, literature, flourished in all these cities of the Antiquity. The French Monk William Adae, alias Brocard, wrote in 1332: «*Licet Albanienses omnino linguam a Latina habeant diversam, tamen litteram Latinam habent in uso et in omnibus suis libris*» (Although the Albanians have a language which is totally different from Latin, they use Latin letters in their books).

The existence of a high-level culture in these settlements has been incontrovertibly proved by the objects brought to light by the excavations that have been carried out, especially after the liberation of the country. The objects of the exhibition put on some time ago in Hildesheim of the Federal Republic of Germany are only part of them.

On the other hand, Albania has also been a neuralgic spot in which

the interests of the great powers of all times have clashed together. It has been under the domination of ancient Rome, Byzantium, the Southern Slavs and the Ottoman Empire. Albania had to endure their oppression, including its cultural aspect, but withstood it successfully, although not without sustaining considerable losses. The visitor of Albania today sees the ruins of many castles which bear testimony to the bloody battles between the Albanians who fought for their freedom and independence, and the foreign invaders who tried to put them under their yoke. It goes, however, to the credit of the Albanians that, although they had to face up to so many difficulties, in the course of their history stretching over thousands of years, they never attacked any other country or people. They fought only for their own freedom and independence. In their relations with other peoples the Albanians have never behaved barbarously, at a time when they had to suffer the blind cruelty of their oppressors. Culture was always on their side. Even in those difficult conditions our people have produced many personalities of culture — architects, artists and others. The vitality of the culture of our people from the most ancient times to our days is unprecedented. In the course of their history, our people had to fight against the great powers of the time, so their culture has been developed in ceaseless struggle. In this struggle, however, the culture of our people has not been assimilated; it has not lost its national identity. This is evidence of its deep roots among the people; without these roots, this culture would have lost its creative force,

riants, but one of them is a masterpiece which, according to literary critique, may easily rank along with the finest songs and legends of world literature. The body of Gjergj Elez Alia, famous popular hero, is covered with nine bleeding wounds which he has got in the course of his fierce battles. However, to save the honour of his sister and his country, he rises from his bed and fights and defeats his enemy, but his last wound, the tenth, is too much for him, and he falls dead on the battlefield.

No less beautiful are the historical songs devoted to the fierce struggle of our people against their foreign invaders before and after the Ottoman occupation. There is a whole series of folk songs of this kind: from the first battle of the Albanians with the Ottomans in 1389 in Kosovo, to the glorious battles of Skanderbeg and historic feats, the historical events in the period of the feudal rule of Ali Pasha in the south and the Bushatlis in the north of the country, the national movement for freedom to the Liberation War of Vlora in 1920 and the National Liberation War of 1939-1944.

Our folklore deals with social themes, too. Our people have very movingly sung to their bitter fate, and the tragedy of their sons dispersed throughout the boundless Ottoman Empire, when they were recruited by force to serve in the Ottoman army and often met their death or were lost, while their old mothers and their young wives waited in vain for their return. Just as sad are the songs of emigrants who, to do something about misery of their homes, went roaming about the world in search of a livelihood, with the result that they often disappeared in the woods of Australia, the boundless plains of Argentina or other far-away places.

Although they come last here, love songs are perhaps the most beautiful productions of our folk literature. They stand out both for the delicacy of their feelings and the masterful manner of their expression. So rich is their content and

so colourful are their figures that they defy the skill of the ablest translator from Albanian to a foreign language. This is the richest genre of our folklore. The love they sing to is made up of pure affection and profound loyalty. Were the translation of our love songs possible and were it possible to illustrate this through one example, we would choose two lines which, in the opinion of an Albanian scholar who knows several foreign languages and is at the same time a passionate student of our folklore, can bear the comparison with the finest production of world folklore of this kind: «Men, when I opened up her bosom, I was lightning-struck by what I saw!»

This aspect of our folklore is evidence of a powerful creative spirit and a high sense of beauty, which have attracted the attention of Albanian and foreign students like the Frenchman August Dozon, the Czech Urban Jarnik, the Austrian Gustav Meyer, the two Germans Karl Heinrich Reinhold and Johann George von Hahn, the Dane Holger Pedersen, and others.

Along the remarkable folk creativeness, which is a source of inspiration for the artistic culture of a people, the cultured sons of the Albanian people have also kept up their efforts not only to keep the national awareness alive, but also to develop it further. As early as 1504, the well-known Albanian humanist Marin Barleti wrote his memoirs about the siege of Shkodra by the Ottomans in 1478. Six years later he wrote his famous biography of Skanderbeg («Historia de vita ang gestis Scanderbegi»), which was translated into many European languages, and made a great impression and had a wide response on a world scale. This book was written in Latin, the language of culture of that time.

Forty-five years later another Albanian wrote the first book in the Albanian language, at least according to the present level of scientific research in this field; Gjon Buzuku, a simple priest living somewhere in North Albania translated *The Missal*

into Albanian. This translation was done in a time of complete Mediaeval obscurantism and under the heavy Ottoman yoke. Thirty-five years after Buzuku's *The Missal* the Albanians who had emigrated to Italy, produced an Albanian catechism. Then, eighty years after Buzuku, another book was published, this time a dictionary in which the Albanian was successfully confronted with the Latin, the most important language of culture of the time. This work comprises, among other things, many proverbs and expressions of greeting. Slowly and with great difficulty, the Albanian was proceeding towards its written expression, mainly through religious works, until the 19th century.

In the 19th century the Albanians redoubled their efforts to regain their independence. Among other things they devoted greater attention to the wealth of their national culture. They began systematically collecting and publishing the treasures of their spiritual culture. This they did both to become themselves better aware of the fact that their country, their language and their traditions deserved higher evaluation, and to convince world opinion that there was an Albanian people and an Albanian nation of ancient traditions, sufficiently developed and civilized as to live and govern themselves independently. Precisely at this time fresh efforts were made to promote the writing of and standardize the Albanian language. The first harbinger of this new self-awareness of the Albanians was the ABC-book of Naum Bredhi (Veqilharxhi), the first representative of our National Renaissance; this book was written in the twenties of the 19th century and published in 1844. This ABC-book was written in an alphabet which had no connection with any of the alphabets previously used by the Albanians. The intention of the author was to have his alphabet accepted by all the Albanians. However, because of the difficult situation of Albania in that time, the practical use of his book was impossible. Nevertheless, his idea lived on: «Let us cast the seed. Na-

ture will for certain give it life, and it will grow and prosper,» he said. His idea had many followers in the course of time. The efforts of the Albanians for the development of their language and their culture were intensified in the period of the National Renaissance, from 1830 to 1912. There began the full involvement and the general mobilization of our intelligentsia which had studied, and generally, lived abroad. Its aim was to speed up the awakening of the masses in all fields. Among the leaders of this movement there were great personalities who were also outstanding figures of our National Movement: Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Sami Frashëri, Ismail Qemali, Jani Vreto, Pashko Vasa, and others. In this period special importance was devoted to literary language, its ceaseless development, its standardization and purity. It was proclaimed the main symbol of the nation and the most important means for the unity of the Albanians. It had to be enriched from the life-giving source of the popular language and new forms for its possible widest use had to be found. The present day alphabet of the Albanian language was adopted at a Congress held in Manastir (today Bitolje of Yugoslavia), in 1908. All these developments had a fundamental importance for the culture and future of our country, for right at that time the finest representatives of our nation were clear about the fact that «many languages and dialects bring about splits and divisions». Precisely at this time we have the efflorescence of a broad artistic, journalistic, didactic-scientific and popular scientific literature. The Albanian periodical press was created for the first time, although literature of any kind could be published only outside the country. A pleiad of good writers aroused world opinion for the Albanian cause. The entire country was awakening and thirsting for knowledge and culture. In this period poetry developed more than prose and not only raised current problems, but also achieved a high artistic quality.

In this period stand out the names of the brothers Naim and Sami Frashëri, the former a great and famous poet, «The Nightingale of the Albanian language», as he was called, and the latter a philosopher, historian and linguist, whose name was known long ago beyond the borders of his country. Worth mentioning is also a number of poets and journalists who played a very important role in the cultural development of the country in that time.

However, one could not yet speak of a cultural development in the true meaning of the word. In the few existing schools there was a complete chaos of languages, Turkish, Greek, Italian, etc., which befuddled the minds of children attending them. Only Albanian, the national language, was not allowed to be taught or written. In these conditions the work done by the men of our National Renaissance commands even greater respect. Through their struggles and efforts, they succeeded in opening the first Albanian school in 1887. Although obstacles continued to be raised to the free development of this school up to the final liberation of the country, this was an important victory for the democratic forces and it played a major role in the development of the country later on.

When in 1912 Albania broke away from the crumbling Ottoman Empire and proclaimed itself independent, the Albanian people were hoping that from then on they would proceed on the road of their ceaseless development and advance. But the suffering of this brave small people of the Balkans was not destined to end. A year later, in 1913, Albania lost half of its territory and population through the delimitation of its new state borders. Then Wilhelm von Wied came to Albania as a king (1914) and stayed only five months there. After his departure, the First World War broke out, which caused Albania more human, material and cultural losses.

The Ottoman rule had caused, if not a stagnation, at least a general slowing down of the cultural development of the Albanians. Now the

plunder of cultural values was added to this. In 1918, for example, the Austrian army took valuable cultural objects away from Albania.

In 1924-1939 Albania languished under the rule of a tyrannical king who, totally unconcerned about the cultural development of the country, allowed an outrageous plunder of its cultural values. The Italians, in the first place, felt as the masters of the country and shipped all cultural values they could lay their hands on to Italy. The king led a life of luxury, while the Albanians went about barefooted, the women remained veiled as under Ottoman rule, and poverty and illiteracy reigned all over the country. At a time when more than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, the then minister of education clamoured that the country was threatened by an overproduction of graduates. The only great singer Albania had at that time, Tefta Tashko, who had studied at the Paris Conservatory, travelled on an ox-drawn cart about Albania in the company of a gifted pianist, who, had also been educated outside the country, and performed Albanian folk songs free of charge.

In 1938 we published one book per 20 inhabitants. There were no professional theatres, and no institution for music or any other artistic activity.

In the thirties an Albanian poet described the bitter fate of the Albanian people in six lines:

*Unwashed beside the sea
Unseeing beside the light
Hungry beside the table
Unlearned beside knowledge,
Naked and suffering,
Crippled in body and soul.*

Eventually in 1939 the king openly betrayed his subjects and handed the country over to fascist Italy and took to his heels on the sly, bandit-like. It was not the first time that the Albanian people were abandoned in shackles and at the mercy of their

fate; almost intuitively they took to arms and began an unequal fierce struggle against a new enemy. Precisely at this difficult time, at this decisive moment of our history, the Communist Party of Albania was founded and set itself the task of liberating the country and ensuring its future on the road of genuine material and cultural development.

Immediately after the liberation of the country, in 1944, the situation of the country was for the first time taken stock of: Albania was a country 80 per cent illiterate, with a completely ruined economy, with some of its regions still living in the Middle Ages, with its national language still being written in two literary variants, with no schools, no theatres and, worst of all, no bread.

Nevertheless, immediately after the establishment of the people's state power the new Albanian state attached great importance to the book and culture in the new democratic Albania which had embarked enthusiastically on the road of socialist construction. The new state put the extension of education, especially the eradication of illiteracy, in the centre of its attention, although bread and many other things were still lacking. Precisely at this time Comrade Enver Hoxha launched the slogan, «More bread and more culture for the people.»

The achievements in the field of education in Albania are a component part of the great successes of our society. Within four decades Albania went from complete illiteracy over to compulsory eight-year education and a broad network of middle schools almost the whole of the younger generation go through now. This happened because, after Liberation, we were aware that without education there could be no question of general progress. So, many things could be lacking, but books could not. Books were considered an indispensable premise for a sure and rapid advance. The slogan was launched, «With illiterates, without culture and without knowledge, socia-

lism cannot be built.» So the campaign against illiteracy assumed a mass character. This campaign had also its martyrs, for the forces of darkness persecuted and killed some teachers and fighters for the new in the northern mountains and other places. However, the Albanian people had a thirst for knowledge and culture, which had remained unquenched for centuries, had their innate intelligence and their boundless yearning for civilization, and for marching along with the other developed countries. Now that suitable conditions were created for them, they went all out to assimilate as much knowledge and culture as possible. Our society considers education and culture not mere ornaments of the mind, but a condition for social development, because material production is dependent directly on the level of knowledge, and the education and qualification of the working masses. Hence, as early as 1954, when illiteracy was already being wiped out, it was envisaged to open not only schools of compulsory education and middle schools, but also high schools, because the country could not constantly meet its needs for cadres of higher training with only those who it had sent to be schooled abroad.

This target has been achieved today. Our state has set up schools even in the remotest villages of the country, even there where there are only 3-4 children of school age. Books are in great demand: more than four books per inhabitant are published each year. One third of the population attends school. Here it must be borne in mind that more than half of our population is under fifteen years.

The founding of the first university in our country in 1957 was another great success for our society, because it is not only a great educational institution for training cadres and specialists, but also an important cultural centre. Seventy thousand cadres of various qualifications have graduated from this university so far. Today they work all over the country and make their valuable

contribution to the emancipation and development of our society.

In 1972 was founded the Academy of Sciences which, with its twelve institutes and research centres, has become an important scientific and cultural centre. A great number of cadres trained within and outside the country work there. Our Academy has close relations with academies and scientific centres all over the world. Its task is to precede the general economic, technical and cultural development of the country. So, science must be assimilated by the masses, and serve to raise the level of the working masses, because, as is known, by developing science man transforms nature, society and himself in the process.

An event of particular importance in the life of the Albanian people was the unification of the literary language at the Spelling Congress which was held in 1972 in Tirana and in which Albanians representing Albanian science and culture of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, also, took part and signed the Resolution of the Congress.

Our literature has taken important steps forward. Our writers have put their talents and capacities in the service of the people. First, they get acquainted with their life, their history, their problems past and present, their wishes and aspirations and then try to reflect them through the medium of art in their works. With us the main thing is not the form of a literary work, but its sound content, which should serve the masses, and encourage them to work for social progress, while arousing their aesthetic emotions at the same time. We have today a number of writers, poets and playwrights whose names are known not only within our country.

Several foreign languages are taught and much foreign literature is translated in Albania. We have the translations of the main world classics and the more important works of world famous writers like Balzac, Stendhal, Hugo, Dickens, Dreiser, Gorky, Goethe, Schiller, Grün, Grass and

many others. At the same time we see with profound satisfaction that many Albanian authors have made themselves known in the world. Many of Ismail' Kadare's works, among which the *General of the Dead Army*, the *Last Winter*, *Chronicle on Stone*, *The Caravan of Purdas*, and *The Castle*, have been translated into some foreign languages. Some works by Dritëro Agolli, and the *Free Rhymes* by Migjeni have also been translated.

Cinematography is no longer a novelty to us, either. More than fifteen feature films are produced in Albania each year. Some of them have been awarded various prizes at inter-

national film festivals. Albanian films for children have won special recognition, too.

There are professional theatres in all the more important towns of our country, with minor towns having their amateur troupes. The larger enterprises and work centres, combines, hydro-power station building sites, factories, higher schools, etc., also have their own amateur troupes. Like professional troupes, these troupes go frequently on guest tours all over the country.

Our Folk Song and Dance Ensemble is well-known not only in Albania, but also in many other countries and has won prizes at various international festivals. Albania, the country

in which once only the shepherd's flute was heard, today has two large symphonic orchestras and the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

Every five years in the characteristic city of Gjirokastra, South Albania, a folklore festival takes place, in which the finest folk songs and dances from all the regions of the country are performed.

So, the diction that «our life is culture» remains always true. Peaceful and sure of their future, the Albanian people build their new life, but they also sing and dance, and ceaselessly create valuable artistic works, which not only reflect their beautiful life, but also make a modest contribution to the enrichment of world culture.

THE ALBANIANS AND THE BATTLE OF KOSOVA -

by Prof. **STEFANAQ POLLO**

The battle of Kosova-Plain in 1389 between a coalition of the Balkan countries and the Ottoman invaders is among those great events of the past which have marked a turning-point in the life of the peoples of our Peninsula. We commemorate it not as a simply historical event. Although the Ottoman armies won this battle, and following it, set out on the conquest of the whole of the Balkans, we recall it as a battle in which the Balkan peoples fought to defend their freedom and independence, making innumerable sacrifices, a battle which united the peoples of the Peninsula against the foreign invaders, a battle perpetuated in their songs and legends for the collective memory of successive generations. With their heroic resistance to the Ottoman invaders in the end of the 14th century, the Albanians distinguished themselves both for their freedom-loving spirit and their readiness to cooperate with their neighbours against their common enemy.

In the second half of the 14th century in Albania there was a growing tendency towards the formation of a centralized state, which, under the rule of Gjergj Balsha II in the seventies and eighties, included most of the Albanian territories, extending though temporarily to Prizren and Kosova Plain. The Ottoman onslaught, however, stopped this process. So a long period of struggles to defend their freedom and independence, a period which lasted for more than

*STEFANAQ POLLO — Director of the
Institute of History*

100 years, started for the Albanians. The armies of the Sultan posed a threat not only to the Albanians, but to all the Balkan peoples. Right from the beginning they felt the need for uniting their forces to face up to the Ottoman aggression. The Albanians joined forces with their neighbours at the Marica Battle in 1371. Then came other battles between the Albanians and the Ottoman Turks. The defeats they suffered convinced them of the absolute necessity of their unity. The first victory of the Albanian detachments of Gjergj Balsh II, together with Serb and Bosnian forces, was achieved at Ploshnik in 1387. This victory consolidated the coalition of the Balkan peoples and their conviction that for the Ottoman aggression to be halted, they had to prepare for a decisive battle with their joint forces. This battle took place at Kosova-Plain on June 28, 1389. The main forces participating in this battle were those of the Serb Principality under the command of Knjaz Lazar, the Albanian Principality under the command of Gjergj Balsha II, «Jorgji, the ruler of the Albanian Shkodra», as the Ottoman chroniclers called him, the Serb Principality under the command of Vuk Branković, the ruler of the Albanian territories of Kosova, and the Bosnian Principality under the command of Tvartko. Historical sources indicate that the forces of two other Albanian feudal rulers, Dhimitër Jonima, with possessions extending between Lezha and Rrëshen, and Theodore Muzaka II,

the lord of Berat and the ruler of Myzeqe, also, took part in this battle. «The Albanian lords,» the chronicler of the Muzaka dynasty writes, «went to that battle as allies in a common war».

In addition, according to the same sources, there were also Bulgarian, Vallachian and other forces.

The regular formations of the Albanian armies stood on the left wing of the front where, not without a reason, were aligned the forces of Vuk Branković, in which the Albanians of Kosova were included.

The battle was very fierce, with huge losses on both sides, Sultan Murad I was killed by the Albanian Milosh Kopiliq, and Prince Lazar, the head of the Balkan coalition, was taken prisoner and executed by the Turks in revenge. According to K. Jirecek, «only a few of the Albanian lords who fought in this battle, succeeded in seeing their Homeland again.»

The Ottoman victory had catastrophic consequences for the Balkans. The unstoppable advance of the Turkish armies put an end to the independence of the Balkan feudal states, which had to accept the suzerainty of the Ottomans.

Still, the battle of Kosova Plain remains a brilliant page of their Mediaeval history. It bears testimony to the freedom-loving spirit of the masses of the people which, also prior to that, had given proof of their determination to resist aggression and defend the independence of their countries. This militant spirit lived on after

PLAIN IN 1389

their defeat. The most brilliant example was provided by the Albanians who, with their uprisings of the thirties in the 15th century (Gjon Kastrioti, Gjergj Arani, Dep Zenebishi, Nikollë Dukagjini and others) and, especially, with their 25 year-long anti-Ottoman war under the leadership of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, displayed their fiery patriotism, their boundless love of freedom and independence, and their readiness to sacrifice everything for them.

The battle of Kosova Plain, just as the previous battles of Marica and Ploshnik, have gone down in history as luminous examples of Balkan cooperation. Faced with a common threat, the Balkan princes relied on the masses of the people, set aside their quarrels, ambitions and individual interests, and joined forces against the foreign intruders. If history, as is said, is the teacher of life, this is the more important and positive lesson that may be drawn from those events. Precisely this was emphasized by Karl Marx when he wrote that at the battle of Kosova Plain, the Ottomans smashed the joint forces of the Serbs, Albanians, Bosnians, Bulgarians and Vallachians. This battle does honour to the history of the Balkan peoples. The cooperation of the Balkan peoples went on during the Ottoman rule, too. A brilliant example of it is the participation of volunteers from the Balkan countries in the liberation revolutions of the Greeks, Serbs and Rumanians in the beginning of the 19th century, as well as the

efforts of the democratic revolutionaries of these countries to build up Balkan solidarity in the struggle to oust the Sultans from the peninsula. However, after consolidating their rule, the Serb, Greek and later, Bulgarian monarchies, set out on an expansionist course to the detriment of the other Balkan peoples, the Albanians in particular, with the aim of creating large states within their mediaeval borders, which was only in the interest of their own bourgeoisie. This policy not only undermined Balkan solidarity, but was also the main cause of the splits and strifes which did incalculable damage to the Balkan peoples and, in particular, the Albanian people, who, although they had made an outstanding contribution to the liberation process in the Balkans, not only were the last to win their freedom, but also had to put up with the dismemberment of their country, which was done by decision of the imperialist powers.

As a fact of history, the battle of Kosova Plain has attracted the attention of historians of various countries within and outside the Balkan Peninsula. Unfortunately, the expansionist tendencies to break up Albania and wipe the Albanian nation off the political map of the Balkans, were also reflected in historiography, as well as in newspaper articles and the whole nationalistic propaganda which tried to present the Albanian people as a people without a history or a culture, and consequently, not deserving to have a state of

their own. The history of the Balkans has been treated in this spirit. This iniquitous tradition has been revived by the Great-Serb historians today on the occasion of the anniversary of the battle of Kosova Plain of 1389. The nationalistic Serb history writers try to deny the participation of the Albanians in this battle, especially, that of the Albanians of Kosova for the simple reason that, according to them, in the 14th century Kosova was «primordial Serb territory», without Albanians, who came to it as invaders with the assistance of the Ottoman rulers by the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

Hence, the battle of Kosova Plain is, in their opinion, not a battle of the peoples of the Balkans, as a number of outstanding historians have considered it, a battle in which the Albanians played an important role, but a battle of the Serb and Bosnian forces. And they continue to stick to this opinion to this day, although important historical documents, especially from Ottoman sources, have come to light, which very clearly and unequivocally show that Albanian forces were present in this battle, and that they were the more important, along the Serbs and the Bosnians. What preoccupies the Great-Serb historians more than any other thing is the presence of the Albanians of Kosova in the battle of Kosova Plain, which refutes their much-advertised thesis that Kosova is «the cradle, soul and heart of Serbia». A number of historical documents, especially

from Ottoman archives, prove that the Albanians of Kosova, although, unlike the other Albanian territories, had no state formation of their own, as they were under the rule of the Principality of Vuk Branković, in the 13th century were the dominant population of the towns and villages of Kosova, their ancient territory — a sedentary population of farmers, artisans, traders and clergymen.

It is important to note that the oral epic literature of the Albanians of Kosova about this battle, although fragmented and altered in the course of centuries, extends all over the region. Unlike the same literature of the Serbs, who sing mainly to Prince Lazar and the Serb great lords, Albanian tradition sets the true hero of the battle, the Albanian Milosh Kopiliq, who killed the Sultan by sacrificing himself, in the centre of the story. It also narrates the emigration of the Albanians after the battle and, what is more remarkable, expresses the hope that they would eventually

return to their territories «when the Turk is destroyed».

The names of the Albanian fighters in the battle of Kosova Plain, Milosh, Musa Arbanasi, Ivan Kosanciqi and others, figure in the Serb oral literature, too.

The 6th centenary of the battle of Kosova Plain has given rise to a confusing propaganda campaign in the Serb mass media, in which historical truth is substituted for the Serb myth about Kosova, which arbitrarily makes light of the facts to favour Serb exclusiveness. This campaign has the blessing of the Serb Church, which had formerly proclaimed Knjaz Lazar a «saint» and at whose grave endless pilgrimages are organized each year. All this, as well as the mammoth rallies which will be organized in Kosova, are inflating Serb nationalism to monstrous proportions and working people up into a chauvinist delirium of hatred towards the Albanians. One is justified to ask why all this clamour is being raised at a time when none of the other major historical achievements of the Serb

people has been deemed worth of such celebration. The answer is that the Great-Serb circles try to use the blood shed in this battle as their main argument to convince internal and external opinion of the «historical» «rights» of Serbia on Kosova, and to justify the anti-Albanian policy followed in this region today.

A careful study of historical documents about the battle of Kosova Plain and their dispassionate interpretation is a task of the historical sciences. In this way they would help not only discover the truth, but also draw the necessary lessons from it, which should serve the strengthening of understanding among the peoples and their cooperation. In commemorating the 6th centenary of the battle of Kosova Plain in 1389, we pay homage to those who fought in defence of the freedom, independence and culture of their country, and honour the message of friendship and cooperation they addressed to the coming generations from the field of this battle.

GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS - A CONSTANT ORIENTATION OF RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS

by VLADIMIR PRELA - HARILLAQ KEKEZI

It is at least one year since the states of our Balkan Peninsula are being engaged in serious attempts at finding the ways for creating a climate of understanding and cooperation, and for opening up prospects created by remote or present history. The meeting of the high officials of the ministries of foreign affairs, which was held in Tirana on January 18th-20th this year was part of these efforts.

Public opinion in our country and in the Balkans, and world progressive opinion highly valued the proceedings of this Balkan meeting, emphasizing its constructive spirit, its tendency to enriching inter-Balkan cooperation with a new content and, especially, its conclusion that this process must be made irreversible and turned into a promising basis for the present and the future.

Just as at the Belgrade Meeting of February 1988, at the Sofia meeting and, more recently, at the Tirana meeting it was clearly indicated that the involvement of every Balkan state and of all of them together is required for the creation not only of the atmosphere, but also the real conditions for overcoming difficulties and making other important achievements in all fields, and for promoting peace and security, understanding, mutual trust and cooperation of mutual benefit in the Balkans.

VLADIMIR PRELA and HARILLAQ KEKEZI - Journalists

Socialist Albania has made its active contribution to this new process of positive relations for strengthening inter-Balkan cooperation. Analysis of the present and past policy of Albania towards the other Balkan countries leads to the logical conclusion that this policy has always been based on respect of good neighbourliness, which has represented one of the priorities of the Albanian foreign policy.

The policy of creating an atmosphere of understanding among the Balkan states is aimed at establishing normal and equal relations on the basis of the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect. In its policy, Albania has rigorously respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «The new socialist Albania is particularly interested in peace and understanding, stability and spirit of cooperation existing among the Balkan peoples. It considers the policy of good neighbourliness a constant orientation in its relations with all the Balkan countries.»¹

Its consistency in implementing the principles and norms of good neighbourliness in its relations with the Balkan countries has made our country an active factor in this region and the representative of a realistic and constructive spirit in assessing situations and finding ways for inter-Balkan cooperation. This was shown

also by the meeting of the high functionaries of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, which was held in Tirana.

The efforts of our Party and state to make their contribution to the creation of the conditions necessary for a real and durable understanding are based on past experience and the real state of things, avoiding any opportunism and following a consistent policy of principle both in the national interest and in the interest of the Balkans, in general.

A proverb of our people says that «true friends and neighbours are known in difficult days.» This means that friendship and good neighbourliness call not only for smiles and ceremony in good days, but also support and aid in difficult days. Proceeding from this realistic and constructive assumption, our country has always seen good neighbourliness as a serious pledge of mutual support of the Balkan countries in case of imperialist aggression on any of them.

In this context the foreign policy of our country considers the problems of security in the Balkans from a realistic and constructive standpoint. Socialist Albania never has violated the freedom, independence and sovereignty of any country. It has never conducted a belligerent policy, nor has it ever plotted against this or that Balkan country. On the contrary, in its official statements

and political stands it has assured its neighbours that no evil would ever come to them from its territory. This was reiterated at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, when it was emphasized that the Albanian people would allow nobody to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the neighbouring states from its territory. The aim of the Balkan policy of our country has always been to make this stand general and turn it into a reality for all the Balkan countries, because this serves stability and peace in this important region of the world.

Actually, these problems concern all the Balkan countries, both in general and in particular, hence there has been no lack of proposals, such as, for example, the proposal for turning the Balkans into a region without atomic or chemical weapons. These proposals contain rational ideas, because removal of weapons of mass extermination from the Balkans would be a step of great significance. It would pave the way for the further strengthening of the sovereignty of the countries in which these foreign weapons are stationed and reduce political and military complications on a regional level. On the other hand, this step would also bring about a perceptible improvement in the general climate in the Balkans, especially, an easing of tensions and frictions, and would enhance mutual trust.

Our country has never been indifferent towards these problems. Although there are no such weapons on its soil, it is just as interested in their immediate and total removal from other countries. However, the road it has proposed for achieving this aim does not lie only in goodwill, but also in the real state of things. The opinion of our country, as it

was stated at the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs, is that nuclear weapons should be removed in the same manner as they have been stationed and by the same countries as have allowed them in, which should pledge themselves not to admit foreign atomic weapons and not to enter the atomic armaments race.

Honouring and implementation of these pledges on the part of the Balkan countries which have allowed these weapons to be stationed on their territories, would only partly solve the problem, because weapons of mass extermination are only a link in the chain the superpowers have encircled our Peninsula with. The other links are foreign military bases and troops, and military treaties themselves. Only severing of all these links would create the appropriate conditions for genuine Balkan security.

In its foreign policy our country has always taken into account the legitimate demand that problems inherited from the past should not become a source of quarrels and frictions, but should be solved in an appropriate manner, through goodwill and at open and sincere talks between the parties concerned. One of these problems is that of national minorities. The stand of each Balkan country towards ethnic minorities or nationalities which are linked with the population of neighbouring countries, has been an important factor for improving mutual trust and understanding in our region, or otherwise.

Our Party has theoretically analysed this problem on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and in close connection with the experience of our country and its concrete contribution to the solution of the national problem. Our stand towards the problem of national minorities on a regional scale takes account

of concrete historical realities. In the Balkans, the past has left many unsolved ethnic problems which even today may become a source of national hatred and quarrels, setting the peoples against one another. This eventuality is avoided only through realistic and constructive stands on the part of each Balkan country. The history of the Balkans should enable us to draw the necessary lessons so that the mistaken stands of the past are never repeated. Present times do not tolerate old political and ideological mentalities and obsolete discriminating practices which, instead of leading to respect of the rights and identity of national minorities, turn them into a factor of discord, tensions and differences within the country and between countries.

The period we live in is characterized by a process of extension of relations between countries, strengthening of economic and cultural links among them, and the rapid enrichment of these mutual links. Emancipation of the peoples has made the equality of nations, their sincere rapprochement and the development of friendly relations among them an absolute necessity. With the development of these relations national minorities should serve as bridges of cooperation between neighbouring countries and, as a consequence, as factors of cohesion and stability within each individual country. This aim cannot be achieved without fully recognizing and accepting the identity of national minorities, without respecting their national traditions in the field of history and culture, and spiritual links with their mother nation, without creating the conditions for their equal economic and cultural development in the country where they live at present. Hence, our country has always held

the view that in dealing with the problem of national minorities every state should exercise patience, tolerance and political wisdom. In other words, democratization of international relations has become an absolute requirement today.

It is clear that the stand towards national minorities and their treatment are an internal question of each country, and a sphere in which it exercises its complete sovereignty which is determined by the state system and the laws of each country. At the same time it is just, and this is borne out by some recognized international norms and rights, that every country should be interested in the fate and development of its minority on the territory of other countries, proceeding from the sincere will and desire to contribute to the strengthening of friendship among the peoples. Based on this thesis of principle, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never posed the question in such a manner as to make the problem of minorities soluble through border changes or interference in the internal affairs of each other. It is convinced that the interests of peace and security in the Balkans call for a realistic and modern stand not only in inter-state relations, but also in the stands to and relations with national minorities that live within each Balkan state.

Constantly working for the strengthening of good neighbourliness and friendship among the Balkan countries, our country opposes any attempt of the superpowers at having the Balkan peoples at loggerheads. In this context it has never reconciled itself to the reactionary idea that some Balkan country, alone or in collaboration with some superpower, allegedly has the right of monopoly in speaking and acting in the name of the Balkan peoples, in striking

bargains and dividing roles to the detriment of the other peoples of this region. When confronted with expressions of this kind, Albania has reacted immediately and assumed a correct stand.

The stand of our country is clear-cut and based on principle also when proposals about Balkan military alliances are made. Exposing the plans of such alliances as very dangerous plots against all the peoples of the Balkans and the world, in his book **Reflections on China**, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that the PSRA has played a decisive role in preventing the realization of war-mongering plans in which the Balkans would play the role of the powder-keg.

Finally, socialist Albania has always wanted and worked for the development of good state relations with its neighbours on the basis of mutual benefit. It has publicly made known its desires and views to every state, while imposing them to nobody. It is up to each state to correctly understand these desires and actions and respond to them accordingly. The policy of good neighbourliness is closely linked with cooperation in fields of mutual benefit. Our country has always been for this cooperation, created appropriate conditions for its development and worked with others to do the same thing together.

Throughout their history our people have wanted to be on good terms with their neighbours and have relations of friendship and cooperation with them in good days and bad. This stand became consistent and more conscious especially after the Liberation of the country, when our people felt that sincere cooperation and friendship with the neighbouring countries was a necessity for the creation of a favourable atmos-

phere for the normal development of each Balkan country. So, they did everything to attain this objective.

However, the betrayal of the Titoite leadership and, later, the Khrushchevite leadership, along with its repercussions in the Balkans, influenced these efforts not always achieving the results that were expected of them.

At the outset of the sixties, Albania made fresh efforts and expressed its active desire for inter-Balkan cooperation in various fields. The initiative of Greek progressive personalities, Stamatis Merkuri in particular, who founded the Movement for Balkan Understanding, was welcomed with enthusiasm by our country and the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding was set up in January 1960. It tried sincerely to make its contribution to the realization of the aims of this movement for peace, cooperation and friendship among the peoples of the region. Our country indicated its readiness to take part in meetings and all other Balkan activities which were proposed. However, our participation became impossible because of some obstacles or discriminating activities. The declarations of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding of March 15, 1962 and June 11, 1964 held the view that the Movement for Balkan Understanding would be effective if sincere efforts were made for the understanding and rapprochement of the peoples of the region on sound and just bases, not allowing this movement to be turned into a secluded and discriminating activity.

To our country the first and most important task of the Movement for Balkan Understanding was the union of forces for active work to promote the cause of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and beyond. In

the middle of the sixties, when these committees failed to do what was expected of them, the need arose for making fresh efforts for the creation of a suitable atmosphere for the achievement of cooperation. This called for realistic steps, avoiding activities which could assume the form of parades or create the false assumption of a normal development of inter-Balkan relations.

Proceeding from these conclusions, at the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries Albania proposed the reactivation of the committees for Balkan cooperation. Because of their composition, with representatives of all the strata of the population and all walks of life such as deputies, scientists, writers, journalists, and others, these committees could and should be turned into democratic forums at which, through bilateral or multilateral meetings, the views of each country on the problems of the Balkans and relations in various fields of mutual interest would be expressed. Through their activity at non-governmental levels they would at the same time assist the Balkan governments, for they would discover ways leading to all-round cooperation of mutual interests, and would prepare the terrain for the expansion and development of this cooperation.

The Albanian proposal has already been implemented. In our country, the Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation has been reactivated and is playing its role in this direction. This was shown at its first talks with the representatives of its Greek counterpart at Kakavia immediately after the meeting of the high officials of the ministries of foreign affairs, which was held in Tirana. These talks showed that representatives of a great number of non-governmental organiza-

tions can also contribute through various kinds of activities to the strengthening of the spirit of cooperation in the Balkans, and decided that a meeting of the committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations should be held in October this year in Tirana.

Historical developments have brought about that the Balkans is lagging relatively behind the other regions of the European continent in the field of cooperation. For this lagging to be overcome, practice has shown that preliminary bilateral cooperation is the right road. This is also linked with the fact that problems existing among the Balkan countries are on the main of a bilateral character, hence, difficulties must first be surmounted on this plane. However, the priority given to bilateral cooperation does not negate the value, benefit and necessity of multilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest, on the contrary, both forms of cooperation are in correlation with and complement each other.

Developments of the recent years show a tendency of the Balkan countries to take concrete steps, along bilateral relations, on the multilateral plane, too, because they have similar and common interests and need to fill the gap created in their technical, economic and scientific development as compared with the other part of Europe, and in the application of new technologies and the development of economic infrastructures, especially in the field of communications, in taking measures in the field of ecology, etc.

The meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs and other meetings following it, have discovered many fields in which cooperation among the Balkan countries can successfully be

developed. Economic cooperation, including trade, is one of these fields. Our country attaches great importance to it. This is shown by the fact that trade with the Balkan countries accounts for about 33 per cent of all its foreign trade. A further expansion of this cooperation, which is of great benefit to every Balkan country, would be promoted if some existing barriers were revised, such as customs tariffs, import and export licences for some goods, etc.

Albania has declared itself ready for this expansion, indeed it has also proposed the expansion of small-scale border trade. A number of activities envisaged in this direction will have an influence on the development of economic cooperation, like the meeting of the ministers of the economy and foreign trade, held in the middle of March in Ankara, the meeting at a ministerial level for industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology held in the end of May or the beginning of June in Rumania, a special meeting for the promotion of economic and commercial cooperation among Balkan countries, which will be held in the second semester of 1989 in Bucharest, etc.

Economic exchanges among Balkan countries, especially in the field of trade, communications, agriculture, water conservancy, etc., need not be instituted, for there is already a basis and a tradition for them. The question is that they should assume further development. For this purpose, however, existing realities, the trends of development of the national economy of each state, the international obligations of this country or that, and above all, the principles from which each country proceeds in these fields, must necessarily be taken account of. Through this stand, expansion of economic and commercial

cooperation among Balkan countries is possible and should be realized through joint efforts.

On the other hand, this cooperation also includes cooperation in the field of road, rail and sea transport as was shown at the Belgrade meeting of the transport ministers of the Balkan countries. Increased possibilities of the Balkan countries for the utilization of the power, irrigation and fishing potential of their rivers and lakes call also for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the future, because in our peninsula many rivers flow through the territories of several countries, whereas lake or sea waters are often delimited into very narrow zones. For this purpose the meeting of the ministers of power resources will be held in the first semester of 1990 in Tirana.

In the long practice of international relations, cultural exchanges among different peoples are considered an effective means for bringing the peoples closer together and getting them better acquainted with one another, and a valuable contribution to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for efforts to strengthen mutual trust. They have always been seen as favouring peace and international security. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «Art plays a great role in the people's getting acquainted with and coming closer to one another.»²

It is a well-known fact that the cultures of our region have been in constant give-and-take relations with one another, have coexisted through the centuries and enriched one another. Regardless of the political relations among Balkan countries, time has proved that cultural links among their peoples have never been lacking, for exchange of one another's achievement in the field of

culture, art and knowledge, in general, is an absolute necessity. The more renowned authors of the progressive literature of the Balkan peoples have been translated into Albanian. Many cultural and sports activities have been carried out on a Balkan scale and have shown that, when there is no discrimination, participation has been complete and effective. Our country has always been ready to take part in and organize activities of this kind in the interest of peace and understanding in the Balkans. In the present conditions possibilities for bilateral and multilateral exchanges are even greater, as the last five-year period shows.

Problems of environment protection have assumed special importance today. In many regions of the world and, especially in Europe, these problems have become acute for many reasons. As environment pollution through water, the air, etc., transcends state boundaries, the countries of our Peninsula, too, face special tasks in the protection of the natural environment.

Albania has always been ready, which it expressed once again at the Belgrade Meeting, to extend Balkan cooperation to co-ordinating activities for environment protection. It has taken part regularly in Balkan activities of this kind, including the meetings of the representatives of the academies of sciences and governmental ecology experts, which were held in Bulgaria. At the same time it is of the opinion that organization of Balkan conferences and symposiums, at which specialists in the field of medicine and ecology would exchange their experience and the results of their research for preventing epidemic and infectious diseases, especially in border areas, ment protection, etc., would further for coping with problems of environ-

strengthen cooperation and mutual assistance among the Balkan countries in this field.

This aim would be served also by cooperation in the protection of the flora, fauna and natural environment, this great centuries-old asset which is of great scientific economic and aesthetic interest. Of particular value for the strengthening of Balkan cooperation would be a better organization of the exchange of scientific information on problems of ecology and methods of study in this field, the concrete results of these studies as well as the related literature.

For this understanding and cooperation to become a reality, Albania has striven to rise above the negative factors which spoil the political atmosphere in the Balkans, and old mentalities which hamper friendship among peoples. It has always seen the road to true security in the Balkans through the strengthening of full national sovereignty, political, economic and military, of each country, as well as through the elimination of the presence of the superpowers in our Peninsula, and opposition to any external interference. Our country has been and is of the opinion that the Balkans belongs to the peoples of the Balkans. At the same time it has declared that no evil will ever come to its neighbours from its territory and that it wants this stand to become general and for the whole region, regardless of the participation or non — participation of its countries in military blocs.

Proceeding from the conviction that fruitful cooperation among the peoples of the region is possible, the policy of good neighbourliness of our country has been aimed at the expansion in a realistic spirit of this cooperation in all concrete fields of mutual interest.

The Albanian foreign policy pro-

ves not only in theory that our country works for the establishment of good relations with all the neighbouring states, especially the border states. Good relations are essential, because we are neighbours, have been living near one another for centuries, and our destinies have often been the same; world storms have not infrequently affected us in the same manner, just as they might affect us in the future. However, the anti-Albanian policy of the Great-Serb circles and the constant national oppression of the Albanians in Yugoslavia not only does not help the establishment of a good inter-Balkan climate, but on the contrary, compromises it. Force and violence serve by no means the strengthening of Balkan understanding and cooperation, but on the contrary, complicate situations and exacerbate conflicts.

Cooperation and understanding among Balkan countries cannot properly develop if one proceeds from

a Mediaeval mentality. In this case the declarations signed during 1988 and the programs adopted for later activities would remain a dead letter.

Participation of our country in the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Countries and its contribution to all the other activities carried out within one year, are a concrete expression of the principled policy of good neighbourliness of the PSRA and its sincere interest in the improvement of the political atmosphere, the creation of a positive spirit of understanding, trust, peace and security in this region, and in the preparation of conditions for the development of cooperation in all those fields in which the interests of the Balkan countries coincide.

Among the future activities, included in the protocol of the meeting of the high officials of the Balkan countries which was held in Tirana, the more important is the next meeting of the foreign ministers of the

Balkan countries, which will be held in October 1990 in our country. It will have special importance, because it will draw the balance of the achievements that will have been made until that time in the field of Balkan understanding and cooperation. Our country will spare no efforts to fulfil its obligations and give a fresh impulse to inter-Balkan cooperation and relations. «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania», reads its message of greeting addressed to the Balkan meeting in Tirana, «just as up to now, will spare no efforts for this cooperation to yield its fruits to the benefit of our friendly peoples, peace and stability in our region, the Mediterranean and Europe.»

1 *Ramiz Alia*, «Greeting to the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan Countries», *Zëri i popullit*, February 25, 1988.

2 *Enver Hoxha*, *Two Friendly Peoples*, p. 242, *Alb. ed.*

press review

A STEP FORWARD IN THE RELATIONS WITH THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

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

The official and friendly visit of the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Oscar Fischer, in our country ended with success. His reception by and meetings with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani, and his talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, and other senior personalities of the country, are an expression of cooperation and the prospects for the relations between the two countries.

This visit and the results of the talks constitute a contribution to the intensification of cooperation and dialogue between the PSR of Albania and the German Democratic Republic and the further development of relations for the good of the peoples of two countries. The agreements signed in Tirana on economic, industrial and technical-scientific cooperation, and those on the field of health and medical science open up new prospects on this road.

The talks between the two foreign ministers in Tirana expressed the common wish

for the relations between Albania and the East Germany to be further promoted in various fields of mutual interest, especially, in the economy and trade, technique and science, culture, health, etc.

Among others they stressed the need for using the existing possibilities and exploring new ways for stepping up economic cooperation and extending trade exchanges, which will create the basis and give a new impulse to the development of bilateral relations in these fields.

All these constitute a fresh step forward in the intensification of friendly relations in still broader fields of bilateral cooperation. The fact that the visit of the East-German foreign minister takes place at a time when 40 years are completed from the day of the founding of the German Democratic Republic and 40 years from the day of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, is not accidental, but a significant landmark in the history of our relations.

Cooperation in various fields and the feelings of mutual respect, as well as the common interest for the preservation of peace in Europe

and in the world, link our country with the German Democratic Republic.

Friendship and cooperation between our two countries is in the interest of the peoples, brings them closer and helps them to understand one another. Comrade Ramiz Alia, during the meeting with the foreign minister Oscar Fischer, said, «Your visit in Albania is an important development which, will, without doubt, influence the further strengthening of relations between Albania and the German Democratic Republic. Our two countries and peoples are friends and it is our duty to promote this friendship.»

This visit served to give new strength to the atmosphere of mutual trust which exists. As two European countries, the PSR of Albania and the German Democratic Republic consider cooperation between them as something which is in the interest of the improvement of the situation on the European continent. The strengthening of relations of cooperation between our two countries is a contribution to the strengthening of relations of cooperation between the peoples and countries of Europe.

**press
review**

The foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic hailed the independent policy of Socialist Albania and its determination to defend its national prestige and pride. He also appreciated the efforts of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, together with the other states,

to transform the Balkans into a region of peace, confidence and cooperation.

The visit of the East-German foreign minister to Albania will give a new impulse to the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. By hailing the results of this

visit, we express our confidence that, continuing on this road, both sides will achieve new positive developments in the relations between the two countries for the good of peace and progress, which are so necessary for stability in Europe and in the world.

**POLITICAL PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SOLVED WITH
CHAUVINISTIC PASSIONS**

«ZERI I POPULLIT»

This year began with the tragic events in Kosova: scores of Albanians, among whom children and women, were killed. Hundreds of others were imprisoned. Thousands are persecuted.

As regards severity of police violence, this has no precedent in Europe, at least in the last 30-40 years. Never have national suppression, chauvinism and nationalist hysteria come out in all their naked savagery as they did in Yugoslavia.

The chauvinistic terror in Kosova has shocked the international public opinion. The horrible scenes which showed how the police club, the tanks and the army secured the approval of the amendments of the constitution of Serbia, filled the

television screens all over the world. Who could watch the stoic attitude of the miners at Stari Terg without a shiver? Who could watch children and women and youths being attacked with tear-gas bombs, the peaceful demonstrators beaten till they bled by the militia, and remain unrevolted? The world saw everything except the killed. They were not shown to the public. Even today it is not known how much they were: 24, 124 or 224.

The international public opinion, including many people in Yugoslavia, condemned these acts. The world press was outspoken, many statements were made, the European Parliament expressed its reprehension of them. And all this condemnation

and stigmatization did not come about because they were not informed, or because they are against the Serbs, or because the Albanian propaganda had supposedly convinced them, as is claimed in Belgrade. They did this because the events were so savage and the crimes so hideous that no one could keep silent about it with an easy conscience.

Yugoslavia found itself for the first time on the deck before the world opinion. The economic crisis has already discredited its system of self-administration. The political crisis, especially the events in Kosova, and the means that were resorted to in order to solve the national question threw discredit upon the image that Belgra-

**press
review**

de had tried to attribute to itself, as the country in which freedom, democracy and national equality were a commendable achievement, as the country which could serve as an example for every other country, especially for the non-aligned countries, as the country which could serve as the model of wisdom and patience in the solution of conflicts through dialogue, democracy, etc.

Instead of making a clear analysis of the situations created, the objective causes that emerged, and the results of the political course they had followed, the Yugoslav leaders, and in the first place, those of Serbia, clung tenaciously to the negative factors, the causes of the misfortunes which have assailed the whole country. This led them into defending an old bankrupt policy and opposing the reality and common sense.

The reaction of the press, the parliamentarians, the democrats, both outside and inside the country, towards the events in Kosova created great confusion and preoccupation in the leading circles of Belgrade. How is it possible, they said to themselves, that Yugoslavia, the favourite of every one, which has done so many services to world imperialism and capitalism, should be made the object of their attacks.

In order to save what they could, in order to convince the world that a hasty jud-

gement was passed, that things in Kosova were different, that the world had been misinformed, the Serb propaganda and diplomacy, even the ultra-chauvinist clergy, were mobilized.

But the theses that were dished out in a haste and confusion were contradictory and stale.

The Albanians in Kosova, they say among other things, enjoy rights which no other nation in the world does; those who oppose the constitutional changes are separatists who threaten the «sovereignty and territorial integrity» of Yugoslavia; the Albanians are «terrorists», and it is they who organized the demonstrations and who did the shooting from up the minarets and are responsible for the killing of the demonstrators, etc. And whoever has the courage to doubt these theses of the Yugoslavs is instantly branded as an enemy of Yugoslavia. Everyone must believe what Belgrade says. No one should worry about the arbitrary measures which are taken in Kosova, about the policy of violence and discrimination which is pursued there. On the contrary, everyone should approve them as a condition for a stabilized Yugoslavia, everyone should support the «differentiation» that is taking place, the psychological terror that is exercised among the Albanians, and last but not least, the replacement

of the local cadres with those loyal to Serbia.

But, as our saying goes, you cannot put the minaret into a bag. In fact, the constitutional changes were a heavy blow at the Albanian nationality; they were meant to cut down its autonomy, and in fact, the Albanians no longer have those rights which they had before, like the other constitutional subjects of the Yugoslav Federation. Efforts are being made now to make Kosova and the Albanians, who are the third largest nationality in Yugoslavia, fit somehow within the network of Serbia, in a subordinate status, excluding it as a nationality in itself from the Yugoslav space. By rising against the changes in the Serb Constitution, the Albanians did not demand either secession, or disintegration of the constitutional and social order in the Federative Yugoslavia, but only protested against the injustice that was being done to them, an injustice which adds fuel to and does not help to calm down the national animosities and quarrels.

Many meetings are being held in Kosova, false testimonies are called up, arrests, police pressure and trials, sensational revelations and the most absurd accusations are being made in order to frighten the Albanians into giving up their rights. But the strategists of this course of action forget that such

press review

and like measures can bring no good, that the Albanians are not made of that stuff that can be manipulated at will, as those who want to deny the Albanians their rights and freedoms would like to.

An unbridled propaganda campaign has been mounted at the same time against the PSR of Albania. We have lost count of the articles, books, and interviews published inside and outside Yugoslavia. One can hear everything these days: most vulgar slanders, crazy fantasy, maniacal big boasting and chauvinistic calls.

Someone says: Albania is to blame if the world condemns the anti-Albanian campaign undertaken by the Serbs in Kosova. But is it Albania which urged them to make the changes of the Constitution of Serbia, by which Kosova is deprived of its autonomy and the rights of the Albanians are trampled upon? It is the Yugoslav leadership which has imprisoned, has brought charges against and opened police dossiers on 480,000 Kosova citizens. It is precisely this leadership which is sacking the Albanian intelligentsia of Kosova and is exerting psychological pressure and terror on it. It is this leadership which ordered 15,000 soldiers, hundreds of tanks, armoured cars, helicopters and aircraft, and special police forces to move into Kosova. It was on or-

ders of this leadership that bullets were showered on the children, women and youths, putting hundreds of Kosova families in mourning.

Someone else says: Albania has no right to speak for Kosova, about the defence of human rights, about the denial of the democratic rights to the Albanians in Yugoslavia, because, according to this one, in Albania these rights are denied, because the national minorities there are oppressed, etc., etc., All this is a very common slander, which it is waste of time to deal with. In Albania provisions are made for the defence of human rights, the freedom of consciousness and the democratic freedoms of all citizens without distinction, be they Albanians or of Greek, Jewish, Slav, or other nationality. And this the Yugoslav officials know only too well.

But even if for a moment we were to accept that there is a grain of truth in the slanders of the heated heads of anti-Albanian chauvinists, is this sufficient justification for them to deny the rights due to the Albanians of Kosova, does this excuse them to proclaim the state of emergency, to imprison and murder the innocent? Does this help to save the face of Yugoslavia, which has replaced the democratic dialogue in Kosova with the savage police repression with the help of tanks, in order

to impose the laws and rules of the colonial times on them?

A third one writes: «Albania misuses the Yugoslav politeness» when it exposes the anti-Albanian acts in Kosova. First thing, socialist Albania has been and is for good neighbourliness with Yugoslavia. This has been and is our constant policy. Even when it exposes and stigmatizes what is happening in Kosova, even when it calls for the respecting of these national rights of the Albanians, Albania proceeds from this policy of good neighbourliness. How can friendship and confidence between our two countries be strengthened when our compatriots in Yugoslavia, who are over 2 million, are persecuted and murdered like this?

As for the so-called «Yugoslav politeness», we have much to say about it. But we find it unsuitable to open the chapters of the past here. We will limit ourselves to responding only to some inventions out of the whole cloth, which are appearing more and more often in the Yugoslav press.

The questions are presented as if Yugoslavia has made and continues to make sacrifices for the sake of Albania, as if it has accepted unreciprocated relations with Albania, etc., etc. This is short of saying that Yugoslavia is keeping Albania alive! This maniacal big

**press
review**

boasting in itself reflects only the chauvinistic mentality, the prejudices and day-dreaming of some individuals in Yugoslav leading circles, who think that they are the protectors of Albania, and that Albania is their own sphere of influence.

What are these «unreciprocated» relations which the Yugoslavs have accepted to maintain with Albania? There is no such relation. Every single agreement that has been entered into is concluded on the basis of mutual interest and always after the consent of both sides. They mention the transit passage of the Albanian trucks and cars through Yugoslav territory. But they fail to say the same about the same right which is recognized to the Yugoslav trucks and cars which travel through Albania. There is talk that after the construction of the lake at Fierza, at levels above maximum, about 300 ha. of land in Kosova are flooded. But they fail to mention the fact that as a result of great expenditure made by the Albanian side for harnessing the Drin River, it is Montenegro, that is Yugoslavia, which has gained about 2,300 hectares of land from the fall of the level of waters around the Shkodra Lake. And for this it has not put in a cent. There is talk about the airline Belgrade-Tirana, which they say is unprofitable, just as the railroad Shkodra-Titograd is.

But they fail to admit that these means are used to transport not only Albanian citizens and goods. Profitability in these matters depends on the economic activity of both sides and especially on the charges set and asked for by the Yugoslav railways, which, it should be said, are very high. But eventually the JAT solved the problem, shook off the burden of sacrifices by onesidedly annulling the existing agreement on the airline Belgrade-Tirana.

The last surprise, about which the Belgrade press wrote in recent days, is that in the trade exchanges with Yugoslavia we are treated under the clause of the most favoured nation! Before we can thank the Yugoslav side for its benevolence, we would like to see some concrete fact about the goods which our northern neighbour sells to us under the most favoured clause!

The world opinion cannot be convinced, the ills of Yugoslavia can not be remedied, the problem of Kosova cannot be solved, and the relations with Albania cannot be made warmer, by blowing the anti-Albanian bugles. Even less is good neighbourliness served by massing and keeping tens of thousands of soldiers and tanks and aircraft and helicopters on the border with the PSR of Albania. If there is someone who think that they can frighten us by so

doing, that this could be used to bring pressure to bear on Albania, we would like to tell him that the Albanian people have never been afraid and are not afraid of anyone. Threats, blackmail and provocations will never catch us asleep. When it comes to defending their freedom, the independence of their Homeland and the national sovereignty, the Albanians have never stepped back before the sublime sacrifice.

We have said repeatedly that the way to the solution of the problems accumulated can be opened and the heated tempers can be cooled down only with wisdom and cool-headedness, political realism and goodwill. Chauvinistic passions must be abandoned; the state of emergency and the military-police regime in Kosova should be lifted and the road opened to democratic dialogue and calm; the persecution of honest people should cease and the rights of Albanian citizens respected just as much as those of the Yugoslav citizens; the Albanian nationality should be recognized and its rights, in proportion with the weight and role it has as a subject of the Yugoslav Federation, be recognized.

It is the wish of Albania that as good and normal relations as possible should exist between the two countries, Albania and Yugoslavia. We think that this is

**press
review**

in the interest of both countries and in the interest of peace in the Balkans and beyond it, in Europe. Our country sticks to the line defined at the 9th Congress of the PLA in which it is said

that if they begin to think differently in Yugoslavia about Albania and the Albanians, if they want to live in friendship and peace with them, they will find us partners ready to collaborate and

advance in all those directions which serve the freedom and independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our countries, good neighbourliness and friendship between the peoples.

THE LESSONS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND OUR TIME

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Forty-four years separate us from the end of the Second World War and the historic victory over fascism. And the memory and lessons of this war are still alive in the minds and hearts of the peoples.

The victory in the Second World War and the defeat of fascist forces marks one of the greatest events in the history of mankind. It was one of the heaviest blows at world imperialism, which contributed to the radical change in the ratio of forces in the world in favour of the freedom-loving forces, democracy and socialism.

The Albanian people, under the resolute leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) and Comrade Enver Hoxha, took an active part in and made an outstanding contribution to the common anti-fascist

war of the peoples, with their struggle within and outside their state borders. They gave 28,000 martyrs, one for every square kilometre of the country's territory, to the cause of victory over fascism. Apart from this the country was ravaged and suffered other damage in the years of occupation. With their heroic war and contribution to the common cause for the destruction of fascism our people won the right to live free and as equal among equals.

But whereas the PLA and the Albanian people cherish pure and unsullied and promote the ideals of the great anti-fascist war, the modern revisionists betrayed these ideals and liquidated the historic victories won at the cost of so much bloodshed and innumerable sacrifices. They changed the Soviet Union from the homeland of

socialism and the liberator of peoples, to a social-imperialist power, and an oppressor of the peoples, which rivals with American imperialism for spheres of influence and world domination.

At the present time, the overt anti-communists and the modern revisionists, and the Gorbachovian revisionists most of all, have made common cause in their broad-front attack of vilifying the socialist order, and of unscrupulously distorting the historic truth about the Second World War for their ends. In this framework, efforts are being made to present the homeland of socialism, the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin, almost as the cause of and accomplice in the outbreak of the war, to put the equalizer between the socialist order which existed there, and the Hitlerite order of massacres

**press
review**

and extermination camps, etc. These efforts are doomed to failure. The monstrous slanders and the vicious attacks of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda cannot wipe from the memory of the peoples the colossal role of the first socialist country in the demolition of fascism and its liberating and humanist role, nor can they darken the great contribution of the enslaved peoples to the achievement of the final victory.

At the present time and in the conditions of new world developments, the lessons from the Second World War on imperialism, its crises and contradictions, as the deep cause of the emergence and the advent to power of fascism, and the outbreak of the world conflict, the lessons that can be drawn from the policy of concessions pursued by the Great Powers of that time, which encouraged and fanned up the fascist aggression, etc. — all these assume a special importance.

The Gorbachovian revisionists, in particular, have mounted an unbridled campaign in order to confuse the consciousness and to bemuddle the minds of the peoples, and to lull their vigilance in face of the dangers to the destinies of the security of the peoples and peace in the world, which emerge from the hegemonic policy of the two superpo-

wers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Great publicity is being given to the opportunist thesis that allegedly in the conditions of the existence of nuclear and other weapons, imperialism has changed or is changing its nature, that it has already given up or is prepared to renounce its policy of expansion and exploitation of the peoples, militarization and the arms race, the wars of aggression and suppression, etc.

The peoples, and our people among them, the progressive and peace-loving forces, hail the realistic steps and developments towards demilitarization and disarmament, détente, security and peace. But a realistic stand is required over these questions. The source of wars in our time is imperialism. As long as it exists, it will always remain a threat of wars, including that of a new world war. As Lenin has shown with argument, «wars can be avoided only when the division of society into classes is entirely liquidated».

The main danger of a new general conflict today comes from the two superpowers, from their expansionist policy, from their militarization and the super-armaments race, as well as from their rivalry for hegemony and world domination. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the 9th Congress of the

PLA, the efforts to avoid war and secure peace require a firm opposition of imperialism by everyone, and the exposure of the aggressive policy and enslaving plans of the superpowers, because retreat in face of the imperialist pressures and illusions about the possibilities that they could correct their policies have brought great damage to the peoples' freedom and sovereignty and to international security.

That is the reason why our Party has always stressed and insisted on the imperative need that the peoples' consciousness should be liberated from the psychosis of submission to the superpowers, that the destinies of peace and security should not be left in the hands of the superpowers, and that the superpowers should not be allowed to become the arbiters of world affairs. On the contrary, it is imperative and vital that the peoples themselves should take up the question of the preservation of peace and avoiding the threat of war. Facts have shown that even when the superpowers reach an agreement or compromise about a partial limitation and restriction of the arms race, or about temporarily toning down in their rivalry over this or that zone, this is always done at the expense of a third party, in order to preserve the equilibrium between the superbig and

press review

to impose their domination and hegemonic role on the others.

By trampling on the entire historic experience of the development of the human society, the modern revisionists, and the Soviet revisionists in particular, have been overzealous in spreading the thesis that in the conditions of the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, such forms of the road of social progress as the class struggle, the revolutions, the anti-imperialist wars, etc., should be considered as superceded and unsuitable, and even as undesirable and dangerous to the cause of peace and the destinies of civilization. They preach that class and national confrontations should retreat to yield their place to the «general human consensus», in other words to

conciliation, to the agreement and collaboration among the exploited classes and the exploiters, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, between the two opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism — in order to save the world from the danger of a nuclear holocaust, and so on and so forth. With this they want to justify the preservation of the status quo of the capitalist and imperialist domination.

All these and similar preachings are a great humbug and a disservice to the cause of peace. On the one hand, the world historic experience shows that the class struggle, the revolutions and the liberation wars are unavoidable as long as the exploitation of man by man and the plunder and suppression of the peoples by imperialism in whatever form conti-

nues. No one can stop the workers and peoples from fighting for their legitimate rights, for shaking off the capitalist and imperialist yoke, for freedom and social justice and for a new better life. On the other hand, historical experience, including the experience of the Second World War, has shown that the revolutionary and liberation wars have never opposed, but on the contrary, have assisted the efforts for avoiding imperialist wars or for putting an end to them, when the imperialists have succeeded in kindling them. Besides this, the just wars represent the only real road for the definitive solution of the questions of war and peace, for excluding wars once and for good from the life of society in a new world based on the principles of socialism and communism.

THE COMPROMISE DECLARATION AND THE NATO CRISIS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

A compromise declaration was the only solution the high officials of the NATO member countries could achieve at the high-level mee-

ting they held in Brussels recently. «The NATO high officials left Brussels satisfied that no complete split had occurred among them-

selves,» commented the news agencies about the conclusion of the high-level meeting of the NATO member countries. The British news

**press
review**

agency «Reuter» pointed out that the agreement reached there was a concession to the Federal Republic of Germany on the part of the United States and Britain, as both Washington and London insisted that no talks on the «Lance» short-range nuclear missiles should be held in Brussels. However, the more years go by, the more evident become the splits and contradictions within NATO, which is explained by the enhancement of the identity and independence of its member countries. This was clearly seen in Brussels recently. Taking into account the different stands within the alliance on American policy, conventional weapons, short-range nuclear missiles, and talks with the Soviet Union on the problems of disarmament and East-West relations, the final declaration was couched in compromise terms. According to this declaration, the future of short-range nuclear missiles will depend on the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. The NATO high officials agreed that, as soon as the preparatory phase of the reduction of conventional weapons sets in, the United States would enter talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of short-range nuclear missiles.

As is seen from the final declaration, this time the

United States was forced to listen to the voice of the majority of its European partners, indeed to take it in serious consideration. At first the Americans came with great self-assurance to this meeting. The conflict about the «Lance» short-range nuclear missiles stationed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany was seething for a long time. On one side stood a group of West - European countries like the FR of Germany, Greece, Spain, Denmark, Italy and others, which called also for the reduction of some other kinds of armaments, and on the other side stood the United States, Britain and some other countries, which were for the modernization of these missiles and the strengthening of the nuclear potential of NATO. The United States tried by all manner of means and pressure to overcome any West-European opposition. During his visit in Europe, the US Secretary of State, Baker, told the West-European leaders more than once that, «We are against the liquidation of any kind of nuclear weapons, including short-range nuclear missiles, on the continent.» For his part, President Bush tried to capitalize on the aspirations to peace of the European peoples when, at the cemetery of the American soldiers killed in the Second

World War at Nettuno of Italy, he declared that «Having no experience of a horrible and destructive war, they (the younger generation) may have some difficulty in understanding why we must keep powerful means of military dissuasion to prevent war.» The message was clear. He was addressing himself to the fifteen other NATO members. However, Europe is no longer the minor of forty years ago for the United States. This is being increasingly felt within NATO. West Germany does not see it that way, and opposes the modernization of the «Lance» missiles at a time when there are cries for disarmament in Europe. In this direction it is backed up by other West-European states. Thus, the Greek Prime Minister, Papandreou, pointed out, «We support the West-German stand and I think that it is a grave mistake to turn to medium — range weapons, which, after their modernization, would be called short-range weapons.»

This atmosphere could not be to the liking of the domineering American policy. In these conditions Washington was forced to change its tactic and put forward a package of proposals on the reduction of conventional forces. President Bush declared that the United States would cut down by 20 per

Press review

cent the number of US operational troops in Europe, bringing them down to 275 thousand, and demanded from the Soviet Union that it should reduce its forces to the same amount. As regards the West-German proposal on the reduction of the medium-range nuclear missiles, the American president said that it could be adopted after results were achieved at the Vienna talks between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on the reduction of conventional forces. In this way the American policy achieved two aims. First, it created a situation of «disarmament» within the Atlantic alliance and, second, replied with a counter-proposal to the many Soviet proposals so that it, too, might capitalize on world opinion. In the meantime it must be noted that Bush puts the stress on the con-

ventional forces, whereas the Soviet Union emphasizes the nuclear armaments. This, too, represents a contradiction, within each superpower trying to weaken its rival on its strongest point in order to gain military supremacy.

It is true that in the history of international relations in Europe the military policies of the superpowers have occupied an important place and have been reflected in East-West relations. In the present conditions the European countries are more and more seeking to replace military policy with diplomacy. But this does not suit Washington, which bases its hegemony in Europe precisely on its military control. On the eve of the NATO high-level meeting President Bush openly expressed this objective of Washington's European policy when he said:

«I will not allow the United States to withdraw from the continent. The defence of Europe is in our interest. We are not there for mere philanthropic reasons.» Here we have an expression of the political philosophy of the American leadership, which wants to maintain at all costs its supremacy in Europe, regardless of the fact that this supremacy is in opposition to the easing of tension, disarmament and democratization of international relations. Bush expressed this also at the Brussels high-level meeting, at which he sought to impose himself upon his allies. Times, however, have changed, and the United States has to be satisfied with a compromise declaration, a declaration which conceals neither the contradictions, nor the crisis of the Atlantic alliance.

THE «KISSINGER» PLAN FOR THE DIVISION OF EUROPE BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Recently the former US secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, came out with a plan for a new grand political regulation of Europe,

which has become the object of much discussion in diplomatic and political circles. The discussion arises not only because the propo-

sal is made by a politician well-known in international circles, but also because Kissinger now has entered the narrow circle of the sha-

**press
review**

dow-advisers of the Bush administration and exercises strong influence on the formulation of the European and world policy of the present American government.

The «Kissinger» plan for Europe envisages a historical pact between the United States of America and the Soviet Union which would bear on a political regulation and a whole system of security in Europe. The plan is made up of two main elements: first, the United States and the West in general, recognize the legitimate and vital interests of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. Second, the United States should be ready to give the Soviet Union guarantees that it would not create problems for these Soviet interests in Eastern Europe on the condition that Moscow would allow the liberalization of domestic policies and recognize the autonomy of its allies.

Kissinger calls his plan a new Treaty of Westphalia, after that which put an end to the thirty-year war in the middle of the 17th century. The new treaty between Bush and Gorbachov is intended to put an end to the 40 year-long cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. American political and academic circles give the «Kissinger» plan more importance than the

Yalta and Potsdam agreements concluded between the victorious Great Powers after the Second World War. The analogy has a strong political implication. This will mean that, with the conclusion of this new historical treaty for Europe, the two superpowers will retain the status of the victors and the right of veto on any regulation in Europe. This will also mean that the countries of both Eastern and Western Europe not only will not take part in these forums, at which the future of their continent will come under discussion, but also will accept the consequences of the agreements concluded between the two superpowers. The «Kissinger» plan unceremoniously excluded the European countries from the «new grand political regulation» of the continent.

The concept of the bipolar world, the division of the continents and the whole of the globe on the basis of the spheres of influence between the United States and the Soviet Union, is clearly expressed in the essence of this plan. Here the question is not merely about the former US secretary of state's nostalgia for the time when he was at the head of American diplomacy and one of the main architects of the many American and So-

viet agreements of the past decade, which is known as the decade of the bipolar world. The insistence of the American big bourgeoisie on a bipolar policy is expressed here. Kissinger maps out the future policy of the United States and his plan is not simply the thesis of a well-known student of international relations. As the well-informed US newspaper *New York Times* puts it, «the great «Kissinger» plan is entering the operational phase and the present US secretary of state, Baker, has made it his own». In a statement to the above newspaper, Baker said that, «the «Kissinger» plan has become a working thesis of the Bush administration in the context of the strategical review of the American policy. It must be taken into consideration because it is a new stand.»

The division of Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union on the basis of a bipolar scheme is not something new. Actually the two superpowers have recognized the dividing line between the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as the dividing line of their spheres of influence in Europe. This was clearly reaffirmed at the time of the Soviet aggression on Czechoslovakia in 1968. A new fact is the im-

press review

plementation of this scheme in the European and global policy of the Bush administration. Now this dividing line should be sanctioned by means of official treaties. The «Kissinger» plan refutes the illusions and hopes of some European circles that the American-Soviet dialogue and agreements on the limitation of weapons would put an end to bipolarism. The «Kissinger» plan sheds light on two aspects of the European situation. From the military stand-point, withdrawal of some weapons or some military contingents of the superpowers does not change the military strategy of the superpowers towards Europe. A change in numbers does not mean a change in the character of the American or Soviet military presence in the European countries, which is supposed to guarantee security, or more precisely, the interests of hegemony of the two superpowers in their spheres of influence. In one of its recent issues the American journal *Newsweek* stressed that one of the results of the «Kissinger» plan would be «the perpetuation of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe». From the political stand-point, the détente between the two superpowers and the agreements concluded between them on easing tension in zones of conflict imply the solution of world problems between them only. Europe

is no exception to this, and the kind of political regulation the superpowers are after on our continent includes the legalization of their interests and influence.

On a broader plane, the «Kissinger» plan brings out once again the nature of the talks and agreements concluded or about to be concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union. The assurances Washington and Moscow give the capitals of their allies after every American-Soviet meeting do not go beyond the limits of routine propaganda. The true nature of the European policy of the American administration comes out clearly in this context. America recognizes the Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, but does not do this for nothing. As a counterpart, the Soviet Union should recognize the vital interests of the United States in Western Europe, and give the relative guarantees for this purpose. The «Kissinger» plan is reminiscent of the Sonnefeld doctrine which was named after Kissinger's close assistant in the d.s. (state department) and according to which the United States recognizes Soviet rule in Eastern Europe. The American plan suits Moscow, so there was no reaction on its part, whereas only some days ago the

Kremlin high official Alexander Yakovlyev reminded the Eastern and Western European countries that «there is no Europe without Russia,» which should never be forgotten when the future of Europe comes under discussion.

The «Kissinger» plan of the Bush administration about a regulation in Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union was a bitter pill for the European countries. It aroused a wave of protest and great concern in Europe and, as the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* writes on April 14, «some European governments voiced their concern to the American government about the «Kissinger» plan».

The concern and indignation aroused by the plans for the division of Europe between the two superpowers are fully justified. Kissinger makes his proposal at a time when Gorbachov is speaking about a perestroika in international relations and coming out with a Soviet plan for «the common European home». Kissinger does not reject «the common European home», but he intends to divide it according to the influence of this superpower or that. In the succession of these plans of the imperialist type, like the one proposed

**press
review**

by the Americans, it cannot be expected from the two superpowers to renounce of their free will their bipolar

policy and their strategy of bipartite control of the world. Bitter experience has taught the European countries so

much that they should not allow the superpowers to divide up Europe and take decisions on its behalf.

FOR OPEC UNITY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The oil producing and exporting countries (OPEC) have reached unity now, and they aim at promoting it further through co-ordinating the oil production quotas and selling prices of their Organization. The meeting of the oil ministers of the OPEC countries in Vienna is evidence of this.

The OPEC members had to overcome great difficulties to achieve this unity. However, they have to cope with still greater difficulties to preserve and strengthen it, because past disagreements lingering among various countries may crop up again because of the influence of various factors. «If proper account is not taken of the present situation, it may become very unstable,» the Nigerian oil minister, Luckman, warned at the meeting. This warning had to do with the implementation of a new agreement which was signed at this meeting. Here

there is no question of a long-term agreement, but of an agreement valid for only some months. The meeting decided to raise the OPEC daily production quotas by another million barrels daily, with a total of 20 million barrels for all the OPEC members.

Apparently this looks like a return to the old disagreements which led to a spontaneous increase in oil production. The reason seems to be that in summer oil quotas and prices should go down, whereas the contrary is true. What counts is not the increase in production (which is dictated by market contingencies), but the fact that the OPEC has come to a joint decision for all future activities, either raising or reducing production quotas and selling prices. This decision sanctions the practice of the 13 OPEC member countries to take joint decisions

to the common benefit. Still, the new agreement is also liable of giving rise to new conflicts, of which Luckman warns, and their emergence will depend on how personal quotas are allotted. A daily increase by 1 million oil barrels is envisaged in the OPEC framework. However, this quota should be portioned among the 13 members on the basis of a previous agreement. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates want to increase their individual production quotas, pointing out that, in case they are not given their fair share from the general quota, they will transgress the limits set by the OPEC agreement.

OPEC has already taken measures to deal with this danger which is possible in an organization of 13 members with different economic and oil-extracting potential. After the bitter experience of the disagreement

**press
review**

caused by the relatively long intervals between two meetings, they decided to shorten these intervals. Here they did not want so much to increase the frequency of their meetings, as to make the implementation of the collective decisions of the Organization as fruitful as possible. In particular, they decided to assess the implementation of the oil production quotas and selling

prices under the agreement and make eventual corrections. So, last week the oil ministers took the decision of viewing the situation in the oil world market by next September, as well as on the implementing the agreement and lowering oil production quotas and selling prices of the OPEC countries for winter. Considering these good developments the results of joint efforts, the ef-

forts of the OPEC itself, in the first place, as well as the results of collaboration with several oil non-producing countries, the president of the Organization, the Nigerian oil minister Luckman, stressed at the Vienna meeting that unity can be «preserved only by promoting cooperation and co-ordinating the plans and interests of all the OPEC member countries.»

Delegates in the intervals between the sittings of the Congress



Albania today

«ALBANIA TODAY», a bimonthly political and informative review, appears in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian.

«ALBANIA TODAY» helps you to become acquainted with the Albanian reality and the Albanian view about the most important international problems.

Read the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

Subscribe to the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

Subscriptions are made with the «Ndërmarrja e Librit» Tiranë, Albania.

Price for subscription for a year 4,25 dollars USA
or the respective value in other currency.