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OUR CHILDREN, THE FUTURE OF OUR BELOVED HOMELAND,  
GROW UP HAPPY AND CHEERFUL, UNDER THE CONTINUOUS  
SOLICITUDE OF THE PARTY AND OUR ENTIRE SOCIALIST SO-  
CIETY.

— A COMMON DAY FOR THE HOLIDAY-MAKERS OF THE  
CAPITAL OF THE HILLS ROUND THE ARTIFICIAL LAKE ON TIRANA.





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# **RAMIZ ALIA**

## **TRIBUNE OF THE FREE C**

### **-SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE OF THE DEMOCRATI**

This meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania takes place in a situation which is characterized by important and positive changes in all fields. The decisions of the 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, and the laws passed at the latest session of the People's Assembly have created a sound atmosphere of work and civic involvement everywhere. As the comrades who contributed to the discussion put it, they have further enlivened the socio-political thinking of the working masses and enhanced their creative role. Everybody, workers and peasants, intellectuals, old and young, are forging ahead with determination on the road of the all-round development of our society.

The unanimous approval of the decisions of the Party, the People's Assembly and the Government on the part of the masses of the people and their enthusiasm comes about from the fact that these decisions not only respond to the present requirements, but also open clear prospects for the development and advance of the country. The all-round revolutionization of the life of the country and its further democratization are a sure means for constant development and an encouragement to carry the economy, culture, the whole political and social life, forward.

This atmosphere was felt also at this meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, which, as Comrade Nexhmije said in her report, is intended to set the tasks this organization should carry out in accordance with the current phase of development of our socialist society.

The role of the Democratic Front has been important at all times, but its tasks increase and multiply at the moments such as those we are living through, when our people are required to wield and directly exercise more power and rights, when the line of the masses should be more forcefully expressed, and when the creative thinking and initiative of the working people should be

raised to a higher degree. Without the Democratic Front, without this organization for the cultivation of people's democracy, and without its intensive activity, the advance of the country, its freedom and independence, the constant strengthening of the people's state power, and the freedoms and rights of citizens which stem from our Constitution would stop half-way.

The Democratic Front is the more representative and the more authoritative social organization in our country. In the Marxist literature and in our propaganda the organizations of the masses are often called «levers of the Party» or «transmission belts». I do not think that this definition, if we take into account the tradition and practice up to now, is appropriate in the case of our organization of the Democratic Front.

The Democratic Front was set up on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania at one of the key moments of the history of the Albanian people and as a concrete expression of their needs. It was not created proceeding from a universal ideological postulate, but because there existed an ardent yearning of the people for freedom, democracy and progress. Its aim was to rally all the sound and self-conscious forces of the nation for the salvation of Albania and the Albanian people from the fascist plague. Its program was clear, understandable and unequivocal: the creation of a free, democratic and people's Albania, fully independent and sovereign. Its organization was based on an ancient Albanian tradition, that of people's assemblies, which starts at least since the time of Skanderbeg, and which entailed the broad and pluralist representation of the various popular strata, or individuals who were outstanding for their devotion to the cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

It is true that the Democratic Front has been led by the Party, that its political program was not different from that of the Party. It could not be otherwise, because their political objective was in essence the same. However, especially

# OPINION OF THE MASSES

## MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL FRONT OF ALBANIA-

during the National Liberation War and for a long period after it, the Democratic Front had a broad initiative of thinking and operating. It had a political personality and identity of its own, which was expressed in its close collaboration with the Party, the mutual inspiration for joint political activities, a fruitful mutual influence on taking major political decisions. Between the Party and the Democratic Front there existed the same relationship which exists between the leaders and the masses, when there is democratic communication between them, when the masses of the people have not only the possibility to voice their opinions on various problems and developments, but also play a decisive role in their solution and management.

This tradition we must take into account so that today, too, in the new conditions, the role of the Democratic Front should be a special and irreplaceable one in the activation of the patriotic forces of our people, of outstanding people with an affirmed personality in the ranks of the workers and intellectuals.

The Democratic Front has carried out and continues to carry out a broad range of activities in many fields. It makes a major contribution to the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses, as well as their mobilization in the work for the construction of socialism, the social and cultural transformations, the establishment of new moral norms, etc., etc.

However, the political magnetic pole which has always united the masses round the Democratic Front has been and remains the ideal of freedom, the independence and national sovereignty of the country, which this organization symbolizes, it is an imperative condition for the national and popular unity and the struggle for its achievement. The question of freedom and national independence has not been, nor could it ever be, a question concerning only the Party, or a question of ideological belonging or cultural

preference. Being the fundamental condition for the preservation of the identity, originality and national individuality of the people, and their very existence, being an indispensable premise for the people to be a subject on their own in international relations, the basis for their independent spiritual development, it is the concern of all, regardless of any other allegiance.

All have the sacred duty to defend this freedom and independence, just as all have the right to freely express their opinion about how they should be defended. The Democratic Front creates precisely these possibilities for all citizens and all the patriots of this country.

The second political pole which attracts and unites the masses in the Democratic Front is the defence of the people's state power, its strengthening and perfecting, and its further democratization. Freedom and national independence and the people's state power cannot exist without each other. They are closely inter-related through the same historical fate, because if either of them is lost, both are lost. They make up the two pillars of the existence and development of the new Albania.

Another vital question which links the masses with the Democratic Front is the building of the new life, the creation of a just society, the socialist society, without social and national exploitation and oppression, a society in which there is equality, in which everybody lives by his own work and is valued and respected by the contribution he makes to the development and advance of society.

These clear ideals round which the political union of the people is realized make up the basic factor of the strength of the Democratic Front as an organization; they also represent the spiritual force which sets the political activity of the masses in motion.

Another basic factor of the strength of the Democratic Front as an organization has been

and must ever better be the representation in it of the broadest strata possible of Albanian society, the free discussion and the democratic spirit in taking decisions. The Democratic Front has never worked in closed cabinets and in narrow circles of persons. It has taken up and discussed its problems directly with the masses.

The organization of the Democratic Front should preserve and continue this tradition and practice. It must preserve and develop further the outstanding traditions of organization of people's assemblies on major political and social problems, just as it did with the mobilization of the masses in the National Liberation War, the collectivization of agriculture and voluntary work, the emancipation of the woman and the elimination of backward customs, the assistance and solidarity among the various regions of the country, etc. The tradition of people's assemblies, of all-village discussions, of conventions in which not only seniors and men, but also women and youth participated, is a tested road, very popular and very democratic.

The masses have listened to the Democratic Front and have always followed it. For its part, it must be more careful not to call them up at the wrong time and place. Especially it must guard itself against being carried away by the current needs of the party or state organs over matters which they must perform themselves or through other organisms. There is nothing worse than when the members of the Democratic Front are called together to listen to dreary lectures or to meet incompetent people both functionally and professionally. When the Democratic Front calls them together, the people come with a will if the question which is raised has special national, regional, or civic importance, when they feel that they are seriously being asked for their opinions and that these opinions are being taken into account. They come to listen to anybody who speak on behalf of the Democratic Front, but they are particularly pleased when the man is, as our people say, «a real speaker, and not a mere functionary employed in this office or that, or a man or woman delegated by this forum or that, people who do not know how to touch people's minds and hearts with their word.

The Democratic Front must always remain a tribune of the voice of the masses. This, however, does not mean that this voice must always be in unison. Had we only one voice, we would not need the Democratic Front. The Democratic Front is there to listen to various voices and to harmonize them through debate, criticism and self-criticism, through the confrontation of opinions

and ideas, analyses and syntheses, sound logic and general interest.

If the Democratic Front takes up real political, economic, social and cultural problems posed by life and calling for solution, it is only natural that there will be a diversity of opinions and a pluralistic treatment of the ways for the realization of the objectives desired, from which a logical consensus after thrashing out opinions, as well as conscious mobilization to implement decisions, will be ensured.

However, were the Democratic Front to remain only an institution that analyses and comments party and state decisions, it would only be an instrument, a centre of education, which would be too little for it. It must always be closely linked with its roots and faithful to its traditions. This is one of the guarantees for the strengthening and advance of our big organization — the Democratic Front of Albania.

Comrades,

The prospects that have been opened up today for the all-round development of our socialist society encourage people to useful activities. We are on the right road. Our people have always looked ahead and have taken fresh strength from their clear prospects. It is the duty of all, of any state or social institution, any patriot and citizen of the Republic, to work tirelessly and creatively to carry forward the process of the revolutionization of the life of the country through the enhancement of the role of the masses and the constant democratization of society.

The process of revolutionization of life, which comprises the sphere of the economy, and the further democratization of relations in society and in the field of our foreign policy, is a process which will follow up our development today and in the future. The more the economy and culture advance, the more profound the process of revolutionization should be, the more decisive and broader the role of the masses, both as a group and as individuals. Hence, work and knowledge, determination and consistency are required from everybody.

This task becomes imperative if we take into account also the present international situation in general, and the anti-Albanian aims of foreign reaction, in particular.

In conclusion I express the conviction that just as up to now, in the future, too, the Democratic Front will know how to unite people in this noble work and struggle, which has ensured our beloved people and Homeland their freedom and independence, peace and socialism.



# TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN THE PROCESS OF THE FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

***-From the speech of Comrade  
Nexhmije Hoxha-***

*On June 5, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania was convened in one of the halls of the Museum of National History in the capital.*

*The President of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, delivered the report «To Enhance the Role of the Democratic Front in the Process of the Further Democratization of the Life of the Country».*

The 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches are major events of historical importance on our course for development, emancipation and socialism. They established measures of exceptional importance for the fate of the Homeland in the present and the future, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said among other things.

Our entire people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, the women and the youth supported and approved with joy the ideas and decisions for the further democratization of the life of the country. They expressed once again the great political unity and spiritual cohesion of the people, which was created and forged by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. At present there is no more important task for the Democratic Front, which unites the broad masses of the people, than the struggle to enhance the role of the broad masses of the people in all fields of social activity so as to carry the process of democratization forward, with the profound conviction that only in this manner are the freedom and independence of the Homeland guaranteed and our achievements defended and developed further.

It is up to the Democratic Front to engage in a broad activity of clarification with the masses about the new and great values entailed by the democratic process which is developing in the life of our society, which includes the extension of the democratic rights

of the working people and the encouragement of their interest in work and production so as to enable them to take an active part in working out state policies in various fields and wield further competences in taking decisions and defending civic rights.

Care for man, for his life and all-round rights, makes up the essence of socialism. Hence, the state and its laws have always been aimed at creating the best conditions possible for the working man. All this has been done in close connection with the development of the economy and the culture of the country, taking into account both the internal and international conditions. The changes we are making at present should be seen through this dialectics of the development of our country, she said further on. These changes and reorganizations, improvements and amendments in the field of the economy, legislation, enhancement of the role of the masses and the further emancipation of our man and the whole society are a demand of the time. They respond to the present economic and social development of the country and the higher educational and cultural level of the people, and express the strength of the socialist order and its democratic and humane character.

After calling for the better work for the juridical education of the masses, as well as for the assimilation and implementation of the new economic mechanism, as a qualitative change in the improvement of the relations of production, she pointed out that, confronted with the tasks set by the 10th Plenum, the educational work of the Democratic Front assumes a new significance.

The analyses made at the 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and in Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches on current world developments and the stand of our country have vital importance for the freedom, independence and national sovereignty, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha went on further. The orienta-



tions and clarifications given by the Party about the new situation created in the countries of Eastern Europe aroused the entire people and strengthened their unity in the Democratic Front and round the Party, enhanced their vigilance and readiness to defend socialism against «the most aggressive and most dangerous» attack undertaken against it up to now.

The Democratic Front fully supports the steps taken by the Party and our state in the current situation in the world and Europe. The foreign policy of socialist Albania has always been open, realistic and independent.

The PSR of Albania follows a realistic policy which openly says that our economic relations, our trade and other exchanges with the foreign world, cannot be carried out without taking into account the existence of the European Community and Common Market. In this phase of consolidation and intensification, the People's Assembly adopted such laws as to open up to our economy broader horizons of economic cooperation with other countries, emphasizing at the same time that our country will never accept such credits as would affect its political and economic independence. Albania has considered relations with the foreign world necessary not only in the economic aspect, but also for the purpose of mutual acquaintance and benefit through exchanges in the general interest in the field of culture and science, experience and achievements.

Then, she pointed out that the peoples have achieved a high degree of political consciousness and struggle for freedom and their democratic rights. In this context we see the determined struggle and resistance put up by the Albanians of Kosova to defend, or better say, secure their elementary democratic rights which the Serbian chauvinists are depriving them of one by one through violence and the tanks. The Albanian people have followed with particular anxiety, day and night, the development of events in Kosova. Through the organizations of the Democratic Front all over Albania, people of all walks of life, workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, old and young have expressed their admiration at the bravery of their Kosova brothers, at the maturity and coldheadedness they are showing in these turbulent and explosive situations. With the determined struggle they are waging to win their national and democratic rights, the Albanians of Kosova, united round new, wise and brave figures, are steeling their unity without distinction as to social stratum, age or religion.

The sacrifices the Kosovars have made and are making will not be in vain, for they have torn down the mask off those regressive, chauvinist and anti-democratic forces which are eroding Yugoslavia from within, and made the bitter reality of Kosova known all over the world.

The Democratic Front unanimously endorses the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee so that our country proceeds along the general tendency of the world today — the lowering of tension and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. We want a constructive and democratic dialogue with neighbouring Yugoslavia and the other Balkan countries,

in the first place, which is to the benefit of friendship, cooperation, peace and international security.

With its stands, Albania shows the world its national vitality, its sound moral and political situation, its internal security and unity, as well as its optimism and faith in the future.

The Albanian people are certain and confident that the peoples of other countries, too, big or small, our neighbours or far from us, will know how to understand and rightly assess our stands, and will know how to recognize the originality of Albania's stand and voice among the voices of the other peoples.

Nobody can decide better than the Albanian people about their political power and nobody can impose it on them to share this power with those forces which have oppressed them and kept them in ignorance, or with other parties which would represent only themselves, nor can anybody impose it on them how they should administer their country or its economy, what sort of market they should have, what ideology they should follow and according to what model they should build their present or their future. Those who want to introduce party pluralism into Albania want its division, because it is known that after that foreign domination, political, economic, cultural and spiritual, if not military, ensues.

To the Albanian people, especially a small people like ours, national unity is of vital importance for their existence, like the sun is to life. Everything that divides them or weakens their unity is unacceptable to the Albanians.

Those contributing to the discussion emphasized the enthusiasm and optimism the decisions of the 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and the laws adopted by the People's Assembly on the improvement of the economic mechanism and legislation have aroused all over the country. They voiced the great ideas of the extension and deepening of socialist democracy. They expressed the experience of the organizations of the Democratic Front of the various districts of the country in the work for the strengthening and democratization of state power, the juridical education of the masses, the further steeling of the unity of the people, the promotion of the democratic process of the country, and the deeper involvement of man, the broad masses of the people, in this process.

Amid the enthusiasm of those present, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, rose to speak.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was listened to with great attention.

In the break between meetings, Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the Antiquarian Exhibition which has been put on in one of the halls of the Museum of National History. He looked attentively at various exhibits like home furniture, vessels, jewellery, artifacts of wood and porcelain, silk and woollen fabrics, etc., produced by Albanian and foreign masters in the 14th-20th centuries.

# THE 7<sup>th</sup> SESSION OF OF PEOPLE'S

The 7th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings on May 7-8.

After the unanimous appro-

val of the agenda, the floor was given to Comrade Adil Çarçani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who submitted the report of the Council of Minis-

ters, «On the improvement of the economic mechanism».

The vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, submitted the report, «On the perfection and

## **ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF**

**-Report submitted by Comrade Adil Çarçani  
on behalf of the Council of Ministers**

Comrade deputies,

The period of time from the last session of this legislature of People's Assembly is full of major events in the political and social life of the country. Our whole people are living in the revolutionary and mobilizing atmosphere created by the historic decisions of the 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, which mark a higher stage in the further revolutionization and democratization of the life of our society. These decisions have devoted an important place to the problems of the improvement of management of our socialist economy so that it responds better to the present levels achieved and the great tasks which lie ahead.

In the light of the decisions of the recent plenums, the Council of Ministers presents the respective draft-laws on the improvement of the economic mechanism for examination and endorsement by the People's Assembly. They have to do with the

essential aspects of the economic and social policies of our state, the major qualitative changes in the economic mechanism, and the organization and management of production, by giving priority to the economic methods and levers in conformity with the nature of our social order. The aim of these improvements is to open new prospects to the all-sided expansion of the economy, relying on the initiative of the working masses, to put the economic and financial system in the service of progress, to make the most rational utilization of the material-technical base we have created with our own forces so as to get the maximum profit, as rapidly as possible, from our natural riches, to uplift the well-being of the people and further strengthen the defence capacity of the country.

The measures which we are adopting are not partial improvements. They are overall essential changes of the economic mechanism, which respond to the requirements of an in-

tensive economy in uninterrupted growth. They enhance the role of the working people, their direct participation and initiative in the management of the economy, making them more interested materially in the increase of production and its efficiency, the growth of the social productivity of labour and the increase of their own incomes. In this manner, responsibilities and decision-making on many questions are transferred from the centre to the base, for better harmonizing interests in our society.

The Party considers the economic mechanism not as something unchangeable, given once and for good, but as a living organism, always in alteration and improvement. It changes in conformity with the requirements arising from our internal growth and the influence of the external factors. In regard to this question, the Party has adhered to the Marxist-Leninist dialectics and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. All changes, adjustments

# THE 11<sup>th</sup> LEGISLATURE ASSEMBLY

democratization of the penal legislation and some organizational measures», on behalf of the Council of Ministers:

Contributions to the discussion of the report followed.

After a detailed examination, the reports and the draft-laws connected with them were adopted.

During the sessions, the deputies asked many questions, made suggestions and discuss-

ed in a democratic spirit. They unanimously endorsed the draft-laws and other decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, in principle, article by article and as a whole.

## THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Chairman of the Council of Ministers,  
Council of Ministers-

and improvements which take into consideration the achievements and the new conditions created, and open new vistas to the advance of the country, are progressive and imperative. In the opposite case, stagnation and marking time hampers progress and may even cause retrogression.

The adoption and implementation of measures for the improvement of the economic mechanism is, therefore, a need and a demand of the time. «We are making changes on a broad front,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee, «because the economic situation of the country has evolved, the ideological preparation of our people has reached a higher level, a rich experience has been accumulated and the relations between economic subjects have become stable.»

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The experience of our socialist construction in these more than forty

years has shown that the further improvement of organization and management of work in the enterprise, relying on economic logics, within the framework of the single state plan, is the effective way for the increase of production.

Work until today has shown that improvements need to be made. In practice, due to objective and subjective factors, some specific elements of management of enterprises with independent accounting which have to do with production, material-technical supply, labour, wages and material stimuli, and the utilization of financial and valutory means, have been weakened and restricted.

On the other hand, at present, the enterprise receives most of the economic, financial and technical indices in a concentrated and centralized manner from the government. This situation cannot stimulate enterprise and initiative, weakens the interest and responsibility of the worker in

increasing production and its effectiveness.

The difficulties of growth and those caused by the external factors and the bureaucratic and liberal practices, which, despite the efforts to combat them, we still have not under control, have brought about a situation in which the productive and financial activities in enterprises are dominated by administrative methods of management. There is also an excessive concentration of planning competences in the establishment. As a consequence, the financial relations of the enterprise to the state budget is not greatly different from those of the institutions financed by the state budget, which causes a great weakening of the management of the enterprise with independent accounting.

The qualitative growth in all branches of the economy raise the imperative that the activity of the enterprise should be enlivened with economic ways and methods, freeing it of some old elements and practices

which have proved ineffective. The question is raised that the activity in all links of the economy should be always subjugated to economic thinking and logics. This is realized, in the first place, by expanding the competences and powers of the enterprise and by applying the concept of independent accounting also in the field of financing of its extended reproduction with its own means.

The changes that are being made and the measures proposed, in their complexity, are not merely of a technical-organizational character; in the first place, they have a profound political, economic and social content. That is why they should be regarded not just as questions of nomenclature, indices and competences, but as relationships which are established and ought to be materialized on new bases through the existing centralism and democracy, through the levers of the interests of society and those of the collective and every individual working man.

The draft-laws which have been presented to this session for examination and approval determine the main directions and criteria on which the relations between enterprises, state organs in the districts and the ministries, institutions and other central organs, are going to be organized and regulated. In conformity with these criteria, the powers of the enterprise will be expanded as regards the planning and distribution of export-import, labour and wages, the utilization of financial and valutory means which it creates on its own.

In the field of production, the volume of the sold industrial commodity-product in value will be determined by the state for the enterprise. Whereas the enterprises which work for vital products of the economy such as oil, chromium, copper, coal, electric energy, textiles, sugar, flours, and fats, will be indicated, apart from the above indices in volume, the size of these products in kind, in concentrated terms.

The inclusion of the sold industrial commodity-product as an index in itself has major importance and a profound economic significance. It responds better to the aim of our

socialist production — the fulfilment of the real needs of the economy and the people, and blocks the way to globalism and the tendency «of producing for the sake of production», regardless that the final product remains useless in the warehouses. This will make both the producer and the consumer enterprises equally interested in the final product. In this manner, the responsibility of the producer for the rapid dispatch of the final product to destination will increase, and there will be greater pressure both on the part of the producer and the buyer on the transport enterprises to carry goods on time, in the quantity and with the quality stipulated in the contracts entered with them.

In the field of distribution, the enterprises will be told in advance about the size of its obligation to the state, in which are included the volume of production for export and the part earmarked for sale to the other districts; as for the remainder of the product, the enterprises, in cooperation with the executive committee of the people's council in which it operates, will be free to decide about its disposal.

As a rule, the enterprise will have the right to determine the structure of its products in kind for up to 20 per cent of its productive capacity, which will not be covered by the plan. It can put these capacities to increasing the quantity of goods for the internal market and for export. In this manner, new possibilities are created to encourage more enterprises, apart from those which work for export under the plan, to produce goods which are in demand on the foreign market.

To cover the capacities left at its own disposal, the enterprise will secure the raw materials and find the ways of distributing the finished products. The enterprise will operate in the same manner, also, regarding the product which it will create above the plan. It can sell this part directly on the market as retail goods, by opening its own shops for this purpose. As for the enterprises which produce consumer goods made of metal, wood, glass, ceramic, pottery and

other articles, they will make their own decisions about the whole plan and the structure of production, depending on the possibilities of securing the primary materials they need for their regular work.

In this way, the above-mentioned enterprises and others of the same type as these, as well as the agricultural cooperatives, will be free to sell their products on the market at prices which they will fix according to the offer and demand.

The state farms will be given the concentrated indices regarding the volume of farm and livestock products in kind which they are expected to hand over as dues for export and as supplies for the other districts. The agricultural cooperatives will be answerable to the state only for the planned volume of farm and livestock products for which they are under obligation to the state.

All the agricultural economies, in co-operation with their respective district authorities, will allocate the size of arable land, including the surface of new land that they can open, the structure of plants sown, the yields, the kind and number of livestock, the degree of fulfilment of their own internal needs, etc., for this purpose.

Specific elements of the self-financing system will be extended to cover the sub-divisions of enterprises such as factories, shop-floors, construction sites and sectors, the enterprises of the foreign trade, and the sectors of art, culture and sports.

The enterprise will be entitled to order supplementary imports whenever it fulfils and overfulfils the export plan targets. The amount of foreign currency available for this purpose will be determined by the Council of Ministers, in conformity with the specific requirements of the different branches and sectors of the economy. With these additional valutory incomes, all the enterprises will be able to operate through the respective export-import enterprises, especially those attached to the production departments, to order machinery, equipment, particular production lines and supplementary primary materials, which they need for in-

creasing the production of goods destined for export and for improving quality. This will serve as a new incentive for all the economic enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives and other institutions, will help them to find new ways and outlets for export, both with goods and services which are in demand on the foreign market.

The sale and purchase relations among enterprises will be regulated by means of contracts. To increase the role of these relations in the drafting and implementation of the plan, we have judged that the contracts be supplemented with new elements of mutual obligations and strengthened with economic sanctions up to the complete payment of all damages, as well as with more severe measures and penalties, when the buyer fails to meet his obligations in time, or one of the sides violates the contractual discipline, and so on. The Council of Ministers has studied, in this spirit, the ulterior measures that must be taken for the strengthening of the role of State Arbitration in the solution of juridical disagreements which arise between enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives.

As regards labour indices, the enterprises will receive orientations from the government only about the wages fund. They will be free to decide for themselves about the number of workers, including those who will be taken on outside the regular lists, about the productivity of labour, the average pay, and so on. Within the total fund allocated for wages, the enterprise will have the right to assume as many workers as it judges necessary for fulfilling its production plan. It cannot be forced to take on work hands above its real needs, nor can it cut the existing number of workers without guaranteeing them, jobs within or outside people's council of the district. As until today, the enterprise will be entitled to an expenditure above the fixed fund of wages in the same amount as the quantity of the product in excess of the plan.

The competent organs will approve the fundamental investments of the enterprise only as regards the objects

that require more than the limit expenditure foreseen; as for investments under the limit and for those not included in the plan the enterprise will have greater competences.

Major changes are envisaged, especially, in the financial relations between the enterprise and the state budget. The amount of its obligations to the state, or the net centralized income of the state, the part of the net income of the enterprise, that is, the part of its own profit which is deposited in the budget, and the reduction of the costs — all these will be set by the government. The enterprise will be free to use the greatest part of the profit (90 per cent of it) in its own way; likewise, the sinking fund for the main means and the other incomes which it ensures and which at present are deposited almost completely in the state budget, will be left to the enterprise to use for itself.

The transition of the enterprise to the independent accounting system necessitates, in turn, some changes to the legislation regarding the utilization of its profits. The draft-law proposed suggests that no less than 85 per cent of the profit should be allocated to the extended reproduction of the enterprise for the financing of fundamental investments and constructions with the aim of extending production, renewing the technique and technology, and increasing the norm of circulation and other means; and 10 per cent be deposited in the state budget as a control level over the fundamental means which are allowed to it for its own use; the rest will be available for the creation of funds for the material stimuli of the working people, the improvement of their working and living conditions and paying to the state the quota of insurance of its own assets. The enterprise will be entitled to transferring its profit and other funds which it creates and lie idle in bank deposits, and will employ them and the bank interest accruing from them in a cumulative manner.

When the financial means of the enterprise are not sufficient to cover the requirements for the extended reproduction, it is entitled to short- or

long-term credits from the bank, because from now on the practice of non-repayable budgetary financing of extended reproduction will further increase the relative independence and the initiative of the enterprises with independent accounting.

The improved mechanism of management with independent accounting will be expanded to include also those enterprises which so far have worked with a loss and were accepted as such. In these cases, the loans will be made up by the state budget through dotations for each unit of product, so as to guarantee the necessary incomes for reproduction in it. The enterprises will be left to deal for themselves with the unplanned losses which are caused by poor management, the increase in the costs, the deterioration of quality, the unjustifiable alteration of the structure of production, or by failure to attain the planned targets. The total amount of such losses will be made over to the economic-financial results of these enterprises in the next year. The bank will give them credits on higher interest rates so that they can cope with their situation. When despite all these measures and those taken by the enterprise, by the district authorities and the central departments, as well as by the bank and the Ministry of Finances, these losses occur in the next year, the respective enterprises will be liable to sanctions ranging from the dismissal of its management and administration to the transfer and even the suspension of its productive activities. In such cases, the state will guarantee the placing of workers in other jobs.

Our society and the working collectives themselves are not interested that such extreme measures be taken. Therefore, the enterprises, the organs of the state and the economy in the districts and in the centre, and the working collectives themselves, should systematically follow up the situation, course and its effectiveness of production, make profound economic and financial analyses to point out the difficulties and problems which emerge for objective or subjective reasons, and propose effective



measures to stop losses and recurrence of the phenomenon.

The strengthening of the independence of self-financing enterprises guarantees a more complete harmonization between its economic-productive and the financial aspects. The latter now assumes particular importance in the entire activity of the enterprise, which becomes more interested in and has greater responsibilities for the fulfilment of the plan and the sale of its product, the profitability of investments and the implementation of the new technique and technology, the changes in the structure of production and the improvement of the quality of its goods, and so on.

The improved mechanism of enterprises with independent accounting will further enhance the role of the bank and extend the sphere of its operation. All this will be seen, especially, in the growing weight of the functions of the credit, as an economic lever, in the extended reproduction of the enterprise, which will replace the present financing with non-repayable budgetary means.

The bank, which also will work according to the self-financing system, will participate actively in the process of planning, by giving suggestions as to the inclusion of investments in the plan and the decision of their order of priorities. Being the creditor of investments, the bank is entitled to examining and checking up on studies, designs and estimates and will finally decide whether or not to accord the credit, judging from the indices of economic and social profitability of the investment to be made. The bank will also follow up the process of work, comparing the progress with the designs and financial estimates, will make sure that the projects are commissioned in time, and whether the indices of effectiveness are true, up to the time of the complete repayment of the credit accorded.

As for the investments which are to be financed by the state budget or by the funds of the enterprise, the role of the bank will be to control the studies, profitability, planning and financing of investments

on the basis of the documents deposited in it. When the bank observes violations of the rules and deviations from the final aim and destination of the investment, it is entitled to suspending the financial means and order the interruption of work, informing the organ responsible for the given project.

The bank control on the wages fund will be more flexible from now. It will be exercised on the amount of production and the planned pay per unit of product; whereas, in the case of institutions financed by the state budget, the limit control will remain in force, as until today. The enterprise will be entitled to transferring the savings from the wages fund of a term to the next terms of the year.

In the future, provisions are made for the more extensive utilization of short-term bank credits, especially for those enterprises which have temporary insolvency. This will apply at the stage when the insolvency is created for the first time, with the aim of restricting such a negative phenomenon, avoiding it altogether and preventing the unjust aggravation of the financial situation of the enterprises which fulfil their tasks.

The aim of the measures proposed for the further strengthening of the management of the self-financing enterprise is to ensure that the situation and progress of extended reproduction depend directly on the result of its own work. In this manner, the enterprise itself will have to think and act together with the whole collective, without waiting for everything to be resolved from above and expecting financing from the state budget, as has generally happened until today. This new course will arouse the individual and collective interest and responsibility for the economic and financial result of the enterprise and will expand the sphere of operation of the economic methods of management.

The implementation of the economic methods of management and the expansion of powers of the organs at the base will enhance responsibilities, both for the enterprises and for the central organs. In this manner, conditions are created for the organs of

the state and the economy in the districts, the central departments and the Council of Ministers of concentrate better and more seriously on the implementation of those economic and social policies of the Party for the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of economic and social relations. These organs will have to deal not only with routine problems, but also with the study and forecast of the rates and proportions of the technical and technological progress in its different branches and sectors, with the order of priorities of investments on a national and local scale, with summing up of problems which emerge from practice, the contacts with and control on the enterprises of their system. At the same time, the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts and the central departments and other such institutions will work to find quick and effective solutions to the problems and difficulties that emerge during the implementation and execution of the plans of the enterprise, especially the problems connected with the material-technical supplies, the occupation with work of the new human forces created by the demographic growth of the country, and so on.

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The material, individual and collective interest and responsibility of the working people are the essential characteristics of the management of enterprises included in the system of self-financing. This is realized, in the first place, through the system of wages and the supplementary material stimuli, combining them with the moral ones.

Our wages system is built in conformity with the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done, which guarantees the equality of working people in the distribution of incomes. This is one of the major achievements of our socialist order.

Under the continuous solicitude of the Party, the system of wages has been improved repeatedly and is

connected not only with the work done, but also the material expenditure and the quantity of production. In recent years, some branches which carry great weight for our economy and export have been using special stimuli for the overfulfilment of work quota, by allowing progressive remuneration. Likewise, the criteria for the creation and use of the special fund for the stimulation of innovators, rationalizers and other outstanding workers in production, have been better defined. Following the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the forms of remuneration, especially for the agricultural workers, have been improved and the results are visible in the increase of some agricultural and livestock products and the incomes of the individual and society.

However, the further strengthening of management of enterprises with independent accounting will require the adoption and carrying out of new measures which stimulate the material interests and responsibility of the individual and the collective of workers for their job and the result of their labour. To this end, the draft-law which has been presented for examination and adoption proposes that the pay for the work done in the state sector of the economy should be connected also with the final result of the enterprise or the unit of production which operates according to the system of independent accounting, i.e. with the net income of the enterprise.

When the enterprise or one of its sectors which works according to this new system plans the net income with an increase against the fact of the previous year and the result is positive or better than planned, then the workers are entitled to use up to half the difference thus created between the two periods for supplementary bonuses. But in case the enterprise proposes a plan of net income, under the fact of the previous period, the workers are entitled, always according to the above rule, to only the part of the profit above the planned amount. The rest of the excess in the net income remains to the enterprise, which puts it over to

the needs of the extended reproduction, i.e., to the financing of investments, the improvement of technique and technology and the working conditions.

The income which the working people gain from this fund will amount to nearly three monthly salaries each year, which, as a rule, will be distributed after the enterprise draws its economic and financial balance. This right is enjoyed both by the workers and the engineering-technical staff and the administration of the enterprise. The outstanding workers, innovators and rationalizers will be stimulated with material bonuses also through the other funds which the enterprise creates from its net income, and which consist of the special fund, the fund of remuneration for innovators and rationalizers, and other resources.

The workers with their own consent can transfer part of the net income which is set apart for their remuneration to the reserve fund to guarantee their pay and to put it to other uses, with the right of recovering this amount in the next period of the current year, that is, in the next term or in the next year.

When the enterprise fails to realize the planned net income, the working people, including the specialists and the management, will make up the deficit from their own pay. In this case, the amount detained from their pay will not be in excess of 10 per cent of the pay calculated for the work done. The same rights and obligations will apply to the workers in case losses are greater than planned.

The aim of this measure is to ensure that the collective and each individual member of it become more interested in drafting a most realistic plan with greater net income and in fulfilling and overfulfilling it. In this way, the tendency to snatch unearned for incomes without increasing production and accumulation will be restricted.

Other forms of organization and remuneration of labour such as time work, piece work, progressive remuneration for overfulfilment of the work quota, and other forms, which are reflected in the respective draft-

law are actually practised with the aim of stimulating productivity and quality of work, of coping with the peak of production in some enterprises and of shortening the time needed for some processes of work. These forms will be put into practice after careful study, according to the conditions of each branch and sector; this is important especially in the case of time work, which can be practised only when all the materials needed for are guaranteed and provided the quality will not be prejudiced. In each case, things have to be studied according to the economic logics and the effectiveness of the final result. Experience shows that the revision of work norms must be always done on the basis of sound economic arguments and, when there are alternations in the technology, not more frequently than once in three years.

All these measures in the field of remuneration for the result of the work will arouse the interest of the workers and cadres in the fulfilment of the plan of production and distribution of labour. It will further strengthen the demanding of account from one another, from the administration of the enterprise, the executive committee of the people's council of the district and from the central department. In these conditions, the workers, the specialists and managers are made more conscious of the fact that it is they who are the masters of the enterprise and that their own well-being depends on the progress of their work, on the economic and financial results. Therefore, they will have their say with greater strength and competence and will insist on the introduction of the most advanced technology, the imposition of strict discipline and rule, the thrifty administration of the material and monetary values, the saving of primary material, the election of the most capable people to the management of affairs and a reasonably light staffed administration. Thus, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the revolutionizing measures for the extension of socialist democracy will not remain general



principles, but will be connected with the material interests of the working people.

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The policy of prices has been implemented in a correct manner and has ensured the financing backing for the growth of the economy and culture, the gradual raising of the people's well-being and the narrowing of distinctions between the countryside and the city. The improvement of the economic mechanism requires some changes in the criteria established for determining prices, the level of wholesale prices, the prices for the purchase of farm and livestock products and the competences of the organs that make them. The final aim is that prices, as indicators of the value of product and important levers of control on the amount of labour and consumption, should correctly reflect the necessary social expenditure and stimulate the management of production according to the system of economic accounting.

An important step in the policy of prices will be the bringing of prices closer to the value. Wholesale prices will be determined on the basis of the costs of production and optimal profitability, instead of the minimum profitability which operates at present. In the branches of the manufacturing industry, the basis for the determination of prices for wholesale goods, as until today, will remain the mean or highest cost of the branch. In the mines, prices will be determined on the basis of the average expenditure made for the extraction of mineral from poor resources and not on the basis of the average cost calculated for all resources indiscriminately, as is done currently. Whereas in agriculture, prices will be calculated on the basis of the expenditure made for the production from low-fertility soils, instead of the average expenditure made in mean- and low-fertility soils, which is in force today. This will further increase the economic interest of the enterprises work-

ing on independent accounting to put into economic circulation all possible mineral resources with a low metal content in the mineral, as well as to cultivate the poor soils in agriculture. Acceptance of these criteria will enable all the enterprises included in these branches of the economy to work with profitability and avoid activities with at loss, which, so far, have been supported by means of donations from the state budget. In this manner, profitability and prices will better play their role as economic levers and stimulating factors.

Implementation of these criteria in determining prices for wholesale goods requires the establishment of differentiated norms of appropriation of the centralized net income by the state from those enterprises of these branches which work in more favourable geological, mineral, and soil conditions. The final aim in all this is to ensure that the centralized net income of the state is appropriated in the place where it is created, not only for the consumer goods, as is the practice currently, but also for the means of production.

To stimulate production above the plan in agriculture and livestock-raising, the purchase prices of the state for the same products which are handed in as planned dues are envisaged to be raised by up to 50 per cent, as against 10 per cent higher which they are today. Under the policy of prices in power today, the agricultural cooperatives of the hilly zones, for instance, are paid 27 leks more per quintal of wheat sold to the state above the planned quota. Under the new criteria, the surplus payment per quintal will be up to 135 leks. The same practice will be followed for other products. The degree of stimulation for them will be determined by the Council of Ministers, depending on the requirements of the economy for farm and livestock products.

With the aim of using prices for further encouraging the increase of production for the market, the prices paid by the state for farm and livestock products are envisaged to be still further differentiated according to the zones, by giving the northeastern re-

gions of the country and some other agricultural economies in similar conditions with these regions the status of a specific zone. In this manner, instead of three divisions which exist today for the differentiation of prices according to zones, there will be four: the plains, hilly, mountainous and northeastern zones.

Provisions are also made for raising prices for state purchases of farm and livestock products, especially of meat, milk and its by-products, beans, grapes for industrial manufacturing, and so on. This increase is bound to bring about a perceptible growth of production and of the incomes of the cooperatives and state farms. With this measure, we will be able to restrict the losses due to the low prices, as against the cost, at which these products have been purchased by the state until today, and better harmonize the profits made from different farm and livestock products.

To maintain a stable ratio of incomes per work-day distributed in the agricultural cooperatives of different zones, the financial situation that will be created because of the increase in purchase prices in the cooperatives of the plains and those which are economically better situated, will be met by means of the redistribution of the differential rent, whereas the financial situation in the cooperatives of the other zones, principally those of the mountains and the northeastern zone, will be met by the state budget.

The raising of purchase prices by the state for the farm and livestock products will not affect their retail prices, therefore the level of people's well-being will not be prejudiced in any way.

Our experience over nearly fifty years has justified the correct policy of maintaining stable and relatively low prices for retail sale goods and for staple goods of prime necessity for the population. This policy will continue to remain in force in future, because the fulfilment with priority and ever better of the requirements and needs of the working man and the whole people has been and remains in the centre of attention of the economic policy of the Party.

But the effort to bring prices closer to their cost value and to establish more correct ratios in the prices of retail sale for some groups of goods of different denominations, a number of partial adjustments must be made forthwith. Here are included the prices for the retail sale of compots and jams. The price henceforth will be determined according to the kind of primary materials; wines according to the kind of grapes, ageing and bottling, furniture according to the kind of wood with which they are made. The prices for textiles and footwear will be such as to stimulate production with synthetic and less costly materials, which respond better to the law of demand and offer.

The Council of Ministers will monitor the application of these adjustments in the field of retail sale prices and will adopt all necessary measures to correctly harmonize the requirements of management of enterprises operating according to independent accounting with the interests of the consumers and the level of incomes with the cost of living.

The Council of Ministers has also studied the possibilities of extending the competences of the state and economic organs in the determination of prices. In general, the prices for the retail sale of some mass consumption goods, such as the products of rubber, plastics, pottery and furniture, goods of a slow turnover and others, will be determined by the enterprises themselves on the basis of some criteria which will be given by the respective ministries. At the moment contracts are entered into between the agricultural economies, on the one hand, and the manufacturing and trading enterprises, on the other, the prices are fixed within the maximum limits of prices for the purchase of vegetables and fruit, as provided for in the decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts.

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The enhancement of the initiative of the base in production and distribu-

tion requires the further extension of its competences in the drafting and execution of the plan.

The methodology of planning, as a whole, with the improvements we have made to it from time to time, has served to raise the level of organization and management of the economy and culture. But the new stage the country has reached and the perfecting of the economic mechanism call for still more radical changes also in the field of planning, so as to open broader horizons to the economic thinking and to stimulate initiative and increase the responsibility of the organs at the base. The aim is to ensure the more thorough utilization of the material, human and financial resources which continue to grow.

The principal economic and financial indices, such as the total social product, the national income and its utilization, and the overall financial state expenditure will continue to be in the competences of central organs. The same applies also to some balances in kind and in value for bread grain, fuels for the production of energy, steels, some staple food articles, for the foreign currency, for the monetary income and expenditure of the population, and so on.

With the improvements envisaged in the methodology of planning, about 50 per cent of the economic and financial indices, which until today have been in the competences of the central organs, are transferred to the base, to the executive committees of the districts, enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives. In this manner, the competences of the base are extended, its initiative encouraged, the line of the masses deepened, while the degree of their responsibility in the drafting and execution of the plans is also raised.

Greater competences are allowed in the field of fundamental investments and constructions, too. In this manner, all the limits of fundamental investments and constructions which are within the competences of the enterprises, the executive committees of the district people's councils and the ministries. Likewise, the executive

committees of the district people's councils will be entitled to making changes up to and under the limit of planned investments, for projects of the social and cultural sphere, regardless of the ministry or institution to which they belong.

The strengthening of the independent accounting system in the enterprises will be accompanied with changes to the structure of the income and expenditure of the state budget. Its main source of income will consist of the centralized net income of the state; 10 per cent of the planned net income of the enterprise; the contribution paid for social insurances; the sinking fund for investments in projects which are financed through non-repayable budgetary means, and so on.

The expenditure of the state budget will be concentrated on financing the people's economy, with the exception of the extended reproduction of the existing enterprises which is to be provided for by the funds of the enterprise and bank credits, the requirements of the social and cultural sector, the defence of the country, the keeping of the administrative apparatus, and other sectors.

In the future, the budget will remain the principal part of the general financial plan of the state. It will finance the growth of the people's economy, the new projects of particular weight in the economy, and the reconstruction of other projects, such as the building of hydro-power plants, sea-ports, railways, and large reservoirs. Likewise, the state budget will continue to finance the social and cultural sectors and the other expenditures of a general social character.

Meanwhile, the presence, control and role of the state budget of all the financial organs in the ministries and other central institutions, and of the Ministry of Finances in the extended reproduction of the enterprises with independent accounting assume a qualitatively new content. As until now, they will continue their check-up and control on the effectiveness and the way expenditure is made. Moreover, they will have a greater role and responsibilities. By means of thorough

studies and analyses, they will help to correctly determine the priorities of growth of individual branches and sectors of the economy.

They arouse greater interest and encourage the initiative of the district people's councils. The budget of these bodies will include, apart from expenditures envisaged under the plan, the income which will be realized by the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions which operate under their jurisdiction. The executive committee of the district people's council will be entitled to utilizing up to 30 per cent of the amount in excess of the incomes or of the yearly saving from expenditure for its own purposes. When it fails to fulfil the indices of budgetary income, the planned expenditure allocated to it will be proportionately limited and, apart from this, the executive committee will not be entitled to creating its own reserve fund for the next year.

Alterations are also made to the procedure of the drafting of annual and five-year plans with the aim of avoiding the involvement of the masses repeatedly and unnecessarily in the same process and the manifestations of formality. In the preparatory stage for the drafting of the five-year plan, our aim is to avoid the phase of studying the outlines for the plan, whereas the preparation of the draft for the annual plan each month of May will be completed only by the engineering, technical and managerial staff of the enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives, whereas, in the month of October, the draft-plan will be discussed in complete with the participation of all the members of the collective. In this way, the masses can participate and have their say in the drafting of the plan and make decisions, because this is the final stage of the process. Thus, the sense of responsibility of the working people towards the drafting and execution of the plan is raised, while all the deviations which appear between the plan drafted in the beginning by the workers and that which the Ministries, the State Planning Commission and the other state organs approved in the end, are avoided.

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Putting all the measures proposed for the improvement of the economic mechanism to effective use opens the roads and creates the conditions for production to go up, for the occupation of new work forces which result from the demographic growth of the country, for the renewal of the technique and technology of production, the increase in the budget incomes, in material, and greater monetary and valutory reserves of the state.

Of special importance in this package of measures which have to do with the economic mechanism, is the drafting of most realistic and mobilizing plans which envisage a growth of production of the enterprises, the economy of the districts and its branches, and which take into consideration the exploitation of all the material and human reserves and possibilities, the advanced experience and the achievements of contemporary science and technique, their correct analysis for each three-month period, and so on. This is in the interest of the economy and the working people.

The putting into operation of this economic mechanism will certainly help to resolve many problems which arise in guaranteeing the material-technical supplies. The stimulation which this mechanism imparts to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan, the thrifty use of the materials and technique, the raising of everyone's interest in and responsibility for the protection and good administration of the property, will create possibilities for a more rhythmical supply with materials and technical means and the building up of the material reserves of the producer and consumer.

Upon the adoption of these draft-laws, the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Commission, the State Bank and the ministries and other central institutions will issue the respective acts and decrees on the improvement of the economic mechanism in all its links, which are being prepared.

The measures proposed for the perfecting of the economic mechanism

include all fields of the economic and social life of the country. Understanding, analyses and full implementation of them cannot be achieved with ordinary technical work. It must become a great political, economic and social action for the present and a long time to come.

To ensure the complete implementation of the new economic mechanism in a creative spirit, which will begin to be put into practice partly this year and completely upon the drafting of the plan for 1991, the Council of Ministers demands that all the state and economic organs, the press and propaganda, carry out an especially intensive work to acquaint the workers and cooperativists, the engineers, technicians and cadres with this draft-plan, to make them aware of the need for the changes we are making. For this purpose they must use all forms of work — lectures, seminars, talks, special short and long courses. In this all-sided activity, duties emerge also for the higher schools, especially for the Faculty of Economics, the economists and the economic thinking, in general, with the aim of ensuring that the measures proposed to this session of the People's Assembly for examination and approval give the expected positive effects as rapidly as possible in the increase of production, productivity of labour, the effectiveness of the economy and the incomes of the working people. The implementation of these measures is of decisive importance, therefore what is required of the state organs at the centre and the base and of all the working people is creative work, thinking and action, persistence in overcoming difficulties and attaining the objectives we have set.

The measures which this session of the People's Assembly will examine and adopt for the improvement of the economic mechanism, the legislation and the institutions of the people's state power, will impart a new impulse to the advance of the country on the road of socialism.

This advance is inseparable from our relations with the world and the changes which have occurred and continue to occur in the international

arena today. At any time and on any occasion, the processes of our internal and external developments have the unshakeable aim and objective of enhancing and guaranteeing the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the victories we have achieved until today.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech to the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee clearly laid down the stands of our Party and State towards the new situations and events which have been created in the world. We rejoice at the fact that, in general, this speech has been received positively and the concrete ideas and proposals made in it have met with understanding in the leading circles in many countries of the world. The Government of the PSR of Albania will resolutely follow the work for the implementation of the tasks set by the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in the foreign policy of our State and put them into practice with consistency.

Our state attentively watches all the new developments and relations in the international arena and the possibilities which are offered in the new circumstances for coping with eventual dangers and for fighting still better for the strengthening of peace and general security. Albania has always been and is interested in avoiding confrontations and the spirit of blocs, in a positive atmosphere in the international relations on the basis of the fundamental principles which regulate the relations among sovereign states, and in an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation on our continent.

Our preoccupation for and commitment to the cause of peace, security and fruitful cooperation among the European states has been and remains constant. This is the source of our desire to join in the process of European cooperation and security and to make our possible contribution to its advance.

In the present situations, when a number of projects have been developed to find roads and methods for lowering tensions and when the pressure of international opinion for the reduction and halt of the arma-

ments race and their political and economic consequences is building up, our participation in the forums and meetings which are held in the framework of the process of European cooperation and security responds to Albania's policy and interest in making its direct contribution. But the processes of strengthening the security in Europe and wider would be devoid of any meaning if they were not accompanied with an intensive and fruitful economic cooperation among the different countries of our region, with trade, technological, scientific, cultural and other exchanges.

The desire for such equal cooperation of mutual benefit has never been lacking from our part. In recent times, the Government has adopted a series of concrete measures to facilitate and encourage the relations of economic cooperation with other countries.

Today there is a great number of forms of economic cooperation. We study them attentively and we will adopt those which suit our economy and do not go against our economic and social system. We are prepared to do this because we are confident that they will be useful both to us and to the others. The measures for the perfecting of the economic management, which the Council of Ministers has proposed to the People's Assembly for approval, will also assist us in this direction.

The new situations logically lead to recognition of a different reality, which is already confirmed in Europe. We are of the opinion that the establishment of diplomatic links between us and the European Community in the future will create possibilities for cooperation in various fields of mutual interest.

Albania has wanted and has sought friendship and cooperation with all countries, regardless of size, social system and wealth, when this does not violate the rights of each one to live in complete freedom and independence, to make its own choice about its own social system, without interference from outside.

In this context, we appreciate the

recent official statements made by the United States of America and the Soviet Union about establishing relations with the PSR of Albania on the basis of respect for the universally accepted principles of peaceful coexistence.

Since Albania is interested in taking further steps towards fruitful relations with the European countries, with the Arab states and with other countries on all continents, it is much more interested in developing its relations with its neighbours so as to resolve the problems and difficulties through dialogue, tolerance and understanding.

We think that constructive dialogue is necessary, also, in the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania with the aim of overcoming the difficulties and creating an atmosphere of good neighbourliness. Renunciation of the practice of violence and discrimination against the Albanians in Kosovo and all over Yugoslavia and respect for their rights, as for all the other peoples of the Federation, would contribute to this dialogue.

Our country has sincerely greeted and supported the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation which has started in the last two years. It has committed itself seriously to the advance of this multilateral process. We judge that the reduction of confrontation in Europe should be also felt in our region, because it creates space for cooperation among the Balkan countries and between our region and Europe, as a whole. This would positively influence in achieving real Balkan cooperation and enable our zone to play its role in the good of peace and security in Europe and the Mediterranean. We are confident that, through joint efforts, the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, which will be held in October of this year in Tirana, will serve this purpose.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which consistently follows an active policy in defence of the interests of its own people and the Homeland, will support all the efforts of the peoples for peace and international security.

The measures which are to be examined and approved by this session of the People's Assembly for the improvement of the economic mechanism, the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the programmatic speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia, which have been received with great enthusiasm by the whole people, are of major political, economic and social importance for the advance of the country at still more rapid rates on the road

of socialism, for the defence of its freedom and independence.

Comrade deputies, I assure you that the Council of Ministers will adopt all necessary measures to put them completely into practice and within the shortest time possible.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers are fully confident that the improvements which we are making in the economic mechanism will impart new impulses to the economic and social develop-

ment of the country. The implementation of this new mechanism will enhance the mobilization of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the intelligentsia, will further strengthen the unity of the people around the Party and will assist the economic and social progress of the country on the road of socialism, on which our Party of Labour, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, is resolutely leading us.

## **ON THE IMPROVEMENT AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF PENAL LEGISLATION AS WELL AS ON SOME ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES**

**- Report submitted by Comrade Manush Myftiu, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Council of Ministers-**

The 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party reflect the beginning of a new stage, when the task of further promoting democracy, as the natural road of the development of our society, is on the agenda.

On our road we have come across many difficulties and hindrances, but we have carried out radical transformations and have scored great achievements in the political, economic and social fields.

With us, the problems and tasks set from time to time, and our achievements alike, are regularly expressed through laws. Our legislation of all levels has

responded to the development of society and requirements of time. As a whole it is a progressive contemporary legislation and on its basis the juridical relations in the field of labour, family, the civil and penal law, as well as other fields are regulated. The main characteristic of our laws is that they not only formally proclaim the rights of collectives and individuals, but also create conditions to really apply them.

Observation of legislation and defence of human rights have always been in the focus of the attention of the state organs and our Party. Laws have always expressed the interests of the

people. But it is our constant duty to enhance the care for human rights, so that the relations between the state and citizen, society and the individual respond to the current stage of material, cultural and social development of the country and the demands of the present stage.

All the processes that are taking place in our society, the transformations and achievements in every field, make indispensable not only the improvement of material conditions, but also of the legislation intended to defend the personality of every member of our society as well as possible. To an advanced so-

cialist society should correspond a citizen emancipated to the highest possible degree. Moreover, there exists a mutual connection in this sphere. There is a prerequisite for the non-stop development of the society, which, on its part, gives an impulse to enlarging and promoting democracy. It has always been our intention and still is to improve the socialist society in general, and the legislation in every sphere of relations, in particular.

Actually, our Party is engaged in an intensive activity to strengthen the economy and increase production which is of first-rate importance for the progress of society. But every progress requires the continuous improvement of the state order. Precisely to this end the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party set as an imperative duty to make amendments in the field of legislation. The main idea is the further promotion of the democratization of the whole country's life. These changes have to do with the improvement and democratization of penal legislation, as well as with the necessary organizational measures such as the creation of the Ministry of Justice, advocacy, etc.

Accordingly, the Council of Ministers adopted measures to prepare the respective draft-laws, which were subjected to discussion in several districts of the country. In principle these measures were also endorsed by the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and now are forwarded to the People's Assembly for discussion and final approval.

Relying on the several years'

experience in the struggle to protect the socialist social order and the rights and freedoms of citizens, the Council of Ministers has worked out the draft-law «On some changes to the Penal Code», which deal with the following problems:

— The establishment of the institution rehabilitation or abolition of the penal sanctions-

Our society is interested that those persons, who in the past have been sentenced for penal offences, be re-educated and become worthy citizens. The rehabilitation institution complies with our lofty humane principles that people can be corrected. After all the penal sanction itself aims at educating the offender. This is also the aim of the educational work of the society with the convicts.

The practice of our country shows that the educational role of society has been very effective and most of the persons who have undergone punishment, have been recuperated and now work and behave well in society. In this way, social rehabilitation has been translated into practice. But the Penal Code in force does not foresee the legal rehabilitation for those who have committed penal offences.

In order to combine social rehabilitation with the legal one, it is foreseen that the Penal Code should include rehabilitation by law and by court. Rehabilitation by law means avoiding punishment by law itself, automatically, when, after undergoing punishment on probation or privation of freedom up to 5 years, according to respective length of the period of detention, the con-

vict has not committed any other penal offence. Rehabilitation by court means avoiding punishment by trial upon the request of the state organs and mass organizations. This institution is applied to persons sentenced to privation of freedom for more than 5 years, depending on the time that should have elapsed after undergoing punishment, under the condition that during this time these persons have committed no other penal offence and through their behaviours show that they abide by the rules and laws of society. Establishment of rehabilitation institution in the Penal Code, dictated by the democratic and humane content of our socialist order, is an important measure to improve and further democratize our legislation, according to which the rehabilitated, either legally or *de facto*, will fully enjoy, just as the other citizens, the rights granted by the Constitution and laws in force.

With regard to the rehabilitation institution the draft-law envisages also the institution of the prescription of the prosecution and the execution of sentences, which is the abolition or suspension of the prosecution for a penal offence, or the execution of the sentence when the legal terms are overpassed, not only for penal offences, as it is at present, but for the crimes, as well. With the establishment of prescription it is accepted that the person who has committed a penal offence does no longer present any threat to society and there is no need to prosecute or sentence him. This is a logical and humane solution.

The prescription envisages terms from 5-20 years according to the level of social threat the penal offence represents. These terms double should the author of the penal offence have circumvented the prosecution, but in no case should they be over 25 years for crimes against the state, which presuppose the death penalty; there will be no prescription either of the prosecution or the execution of the sentence.

Another aspect of the further improvement of our penal legislation is the establishment of the institution of pre-term release on probation.

The pre-term release on probation is granted when the convict is corrected and educated, and this is reflected in his behaviour and work while under detention. The convict should have completed no less than half of the sentence so as to be granted the pre-term release on probation.

The pre-term release on probation is envisaged by the Penal Code, because an organized educational work is done with the convicts in the detention institutions so as to make them again worthy members of society. This institution creates new possibilities for the further democratization of the penal policy and the implementation of the mass line, because the social organizations, too, along with the state organs, have the right to propose this measure in favour of the convict.

— Limitation of the cases of the application of the death penalty —

At present, the Penal Code envisages 34 cases of the death

penalty. As a rule, it is applied exclusively to crimes posing a major threat to society.

Although the death penalty is formally envisaged in the Penal Code, for many crimes it has not been applied over many years. Besides this, in 11 articles the death penalty is envisaged for crimes committed in time of war or state of emergency, thus, artificially extending the Penal Code, which is applied in normal conditions of the country's life.

Therefore, the death penalty, as an extraordinary measure, is limited to only very serious crimes such as betrayal of the Homeland, and espionage, terrorist and sabotage activities, embezzlement of socialist property in special conditions, plundering of socialist and individual property and qualified murder. Therefore, this kind of punishment is limited to 11 cases.

Of special importance is the proposal that the death penalty should be lifted not only in the case of pregnant women, as in the past, but also women, in general, which is another manifestation of socialist humanism characterizing our state order.

The amendment of the provisions on the crimes against the state occupies a special place in the forwarded draft-law. These crimes pose a serious threat to society. Here are included also the penal offences of defection and agitation and propaganda against the state. Since the practice so far has proved that most of those involved in flight attempts were immature and generally not prompted by political and counter-revolutionary motives, it has been envisaged that

defection, which still remains an offence, should not be considered as betrayal of the Homeland, but as an illegal border trespassing.

We inform the People's Assembly that the Council of Ministers has worked out a draft-law which is complementary to the existing decree on passports, according to which, on request, any Albanian national will have the right to be given a passport for travelling abroad.

The creation of the foreign or joint companies and other economic and financial institutions with the foreign monopolies or states, as well as receiving credits from them is abrogated as a form of the betrayal of the Homeland, because it is not indispensable that any prohibition envisaged in the Constitution should be sanctioned in the Penal Code. In the future, too, we shall not accept credits or shall not sign various economic agreements under political conditions infringing our national sovereignty. If an employee or a state organ carries out acts which run counter to the above norms, he will be responsible before the law for misuse of his post. Therefore, the abrogation of this form of betrayal from the Penal Code is completely justified.

Among the crimes against the state, for which changes are proposed in the Penal Code, is also the crime of agitation and propaganda. Today the Penal Code foresees the punishment for fascist, anti-democratic, religious, war-mongering and anti-socialist agitation and propaganda. The formulation of the crime of agitation and propaganda is very

broad, leaving a loophole for various subjective interpretations, which practically might bring about undesirable consequences, because even persons who are not such might be described and condemned as enemies. The Party and Government have always taken care that the citizens be defended from the arbitrary interpretations and actions of any organ. Therefore, in the draft-law agitation and propaganda against the state is reformulated and defined more clearly, considering crimes only those acts of oral, written or other forms of agitation and propaganda aimed at overthrowing the social and state order established by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, whereas fascist and war-mongering propaganda remains a crime against the state and is envisaged in a special paragraph.

With this formulation the new draft of the Penal Code on agitation and propaganda avoids the danger of subjectivism and interpretations that might lead to the violation of legislation and the democratic rights and liberties of citizens sanctioned by Constitution, ensuring simultaneously the defence of the state's interests.

Narrowing the definition of agitation and propaganda against the state as mentioned earlier, amongst others, the punishment foreseen for religious propaganda is lifted. This is in conformity with practice, because such acts have never been penally prosecuted until now. In our country the state is separated from religion and the question of religious belief is a matter of conscience of every individual. The

lifting from the Penal Code of sanctions for religious propaganda does not mean that we are giving up atheist propaganda in our all-round educational work with the masses of the people. We are unflinchingly convinced that this contributes to the consolidation of patriotism and national consciousness, that the interest of the nation and the Homeland has been and is above any religious distinction. Our great patriots of the Renaissance, with their unique historical saying, regarding the relationship between religion and the Homeland, that «the faith of the Albanian is the love for Albania,» have left us a heritage of great permanent value for the present, too. Our Party and state will continue to follow in the future, too, our patriotic and revolutionary traditions, so that the question of the defence of freedom, independence, sovereignty and unity of the people should be always above any religious belief.

Internment and deportation, as administrative measures, have been established in our country under certain historical circumstances, and for that time they have helped to safeguard and strengthen the socialist social order. But under the current circumstances, with the general development of our social and state order, with the changes aimed at strengthening the legislation and defending the citizens' interests, it is no longer justified to maintain and apply the decree on internment and deportation as administrative measures. Another reason for lifting this decree is that under it, unlike the whole

of our legislation, state coercive measures are not applied against an act against the law, involving individual responsibility and personal guilt. Besides, this decree runs counter to the changes introduced to our legislation, including the extension of the legal defense under investigation and during the court proceedings.

The invalidation of this decree will not create any legal vacuum, because now internment and deportation are foreseen as penal sanctions, issued by the court for certain penal offences. Besides, a draft-law «on preventive measures against persons posing a threat to social security,» which covers part of the measures previously included in the law of internment and deportation as administrative measures, will be forwarded for examination and approval to the People's Assembly.

Preventive measures are adopted against persons conducting activities which, though not constituting penal offences, run counter to public morality and social aethics, against persons with criminal predispositions to commit penal offences, who live fully or partially on unlawful profits, prostitution, corruption of children or large-scale gambling and who refuse to be employed in socially useful work, or take part in criminal groups or associations.

These measures are liable to be taken towards persons having completed 18 years of age.

These preventive measures will be given only by the court, on the basis of a regular and speedy procedure, providing to the con-



vict the presence of barrister and the right of complaint.

The 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party adopted decisions, also, on the improvement of the organs of justice and the guaranteeing of the legal defence of the citizens.

In order to strengthen socialist legality, assistance to and control of the courts of the zones and the districts, to ensure the improvement of the quality of their juridical activity and to carry out a more qualified and systematic work for the continuous improvement of legislation, the draft-law for the creation of the Ministry of Justice has been worked out. Through it the Council of Ministers will have the possibility to better follow the problems of justice and a series of other problems having to do with the juridical relations in our country.

The draft-law on the creation of the Ministry of Justice has been worked out in full compliance with the content of the norms of the Constitution, sanctioning the independence of the courts in judging the cases. This Ministry will take care of the organization and functioning of the courts and guide and control the activity of the administration of justice, without interfering with the judicial proceedings. It is envisaged that the minister of justice, for the purpose of the consolidation of the socialist legality and in the interest of citizens, should have the right of objecting, for the sake of defending legality, to individual decisions of the courts and forums of the districts and zones, which

is a right that does not violate the principle of the independence of the courts.

Besides the above-mentioned competences, the Ministry of Justice will also see to the organization and functioning of advocacy, bailiff's and notary offices, as well as elaborate draft-codes, draft-laws, etc., related to the organization and activity of courts, offering at the same time its opinion on all the drafts of juridical acts prepared by the ministries and other central institutions before being submitted for examination to the Council of Ministers.

It will also be in the competence of the Ministry of Justice to co-ordinate the work for the training of lawyers of various instances, to co-ordinate the activity in publicizing laws, running the criminalistic and legal medicine service, etc.

Up to now, according to the provisions in force, the protection of the legal interests of citizens, the state and social organizations is realized through the offices of juridical assistance which have ensured, in cases envisaged by the law, also the defence of the defendant at court, but the re-establishment of advocacy is an important measure, which broadens the defence of citizens' rights and contributes to the strengthening of legality. Advocacy will not only render juridical help to citizens, state organs and social organizations for the defence of their legitime interests at court, under investigation and arbitration, but will also influence the meting out of justice. The measures envisaged in the draft-law will contribute to the fuller

and more effective implementation of Article 102 of the Constitution, according to which the defendant enjoys the right to have an advocate, because the citizens will now be guaranteed qualified assistance in both civil and penal cases, whenever they demand it. Moreover, this assistance assumes a more complete content, being extended for the first time also to investigation, something which marks a new phase in the democratization of the penal process in our country.

Besides the defence of the legitime rights and interests of the defendant and of the parties to the investigation and legal process, advocacy will also ensure all sorts of juridical assistance such as the formulation of indictment, the requests of penal prosecution, claims towards the administrative organs, etc.

In carrying out these tasks it is envisaged that advocacy should be organized in special orders as voluntary associations. The aim is to create suitable conditions to the advocates in order to fulfil their tasks properly, ensuring independence and objectiveness in their activity.

In the context of simplifying the organs of justice it is envisaged that the courts of villages, cities and city quarters, which have so far examined penal offences and passed sentences for them, having in this way an official character, should be abrogated from the judicial system.

Their abrogation is justified also by the act that judgement by them of penal, civil and administrative cases has been of little effect. According to the draft-law, they are converted into organs

of a social or unofficial character, social courts which will operate at the people's councils and will be elected by open votes by the people every 3 years. They will be comprised of social activists who enjoy authority and confidence among the people. These social courts will cooperate closely with the social organizations and exercise a powerful influence on the strengthening of the people's unity solving through conciliation the conflicts on complaint such as insult, beating, etc., without enforcing penal sanctions. As far as the administrative violations are concerned, it is envisaged that they should be dealt with by special organs (police, inspectorate, etc.).

The said amendments, envisaged in the draft-laws, on the institution of the Ministry of Justice, advocacy and social courts, call for the respective amendments and completions to the codes of penal and civil procedure, which

are also forwarded to the people's Assembly for approval.

The measures proposed for the improvement and democratization of our legislation and for the better functioning of the organs of justice do not mean at all demobilization or slackening of vigilance in face of the enemies of the people's state power, evildoers of any kind, all those who dream to overthrow our socialist order. On the contrary, these measures are another stone on the foundations of our state and social order. They are intended to consolidate it in the struggle against the anti-state and anti-social activity, as well as against any bureaucratic distortion.

The decisions of this Assembly, in the course of the concrete realization of the directives of the 9th and 10th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, will be another step towards the strengthening of socialist demo-

cracy, which is a constant requirement of our society. On this road the decisions of these plenums will, in the future, too, be a platform for the further promotion of the process of democratization and improvement of legislation in all the fields of life.

As Comrade Ramiz Alia said in the speech he delivered to the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, our society has all the possibilities for progress. We are faced with a great program of work, with urgent problems and tasks in every field. We will cope with them with courage and optimism, full of confidence and commitment and with the profound belief that on this road the freedom, independence and sovereignty of socialist Albania will be safeguarded and consolidated and the present and better future of our people and Homeland ensured.

# THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, VISITS ALBANIA

## **COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA MEETS JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR**

*On invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, from May 11-13, the Secretary General of the Organization of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his wife paid an official friendly visit to our country. He was accompanied by the assistant-director for special problems, Giandomenico Pico, the spokesman for the Secretary General of the UNO, François Giuliani, and the high official in the Executive Office of the Secretary General, Florence Barillon Pomme.*

*In the afternoon of May 12, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met Javier Perez de Cuellar and those accompanying him in the premises of the People's Assembly.*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm and friendly talk with Javier Perez de Cuellar.*

He welcomed the distinguished guest and expressed his pleasure at this meeting, pointing out that he considered the visit of the Secretary General to Albania very important and a special ho-

nour done to Albania and its people.

He made a high assessment of Mr Cuellar's wisdom and concern for peace not only at the UNO, but also in the efforts to find proper ways to solve various crises and conflicts. He said that he would always enjoy the support of the Albanian Government in his noble mission.

During the open and friendly talk in which many problems of the current international situation were discussed, Comrade Ramiz Alia also spoke to the UN Secretary General about some internal and external problems of our country, which were also reflected in the proceedings of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and in the decisions of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia declared that, in the building of our state, society and policy, we proceed from the socialist ideas, the lessons we draw from our national history, and the realistic assessment of the peculiar conditions

of Albania as a small country and people, with a certain geo-strategical position.

For us socialism is not a single model, nor is it a single practice. Hence, as we have said, Albania cannot be judged proceeding from the socialist name, or an experience which somebody calls often unique, or the experience of others, which may also call themselves socialist.

We are a peace-loving country and want to live in friendship with all. We do not pretend to impose neither our policy, nor our ideology or our economic model on others. We do not intend to exploit anybody, nor do we try to regulate the world according to our liking.

Our only aim is that our citizens should live free in a free country, be employed, educated, provided with medical help, and live in harmony, without quarrels, conflicts, or discrimination or privileges stemming from their nationality or social status.

We are convinced that only free people can create and build a free life, that only free people can cooperate with other

peoples in the spirit of peace and friendship.

Albania has carried out many transformations within a short period of time. Our progress is great if we compare it with what we were in the past. Those who do not know socialist Albania and criticize its development forget that for us to arrive at what we are today we had to make many sacrifices and accumulate huge means, tightening our belts.

The generation which waged the war and carried out the revolution consciously accepted all these sacrifices, because they wanted to create a future for their children, to give them education, to build for them an economy which would meet their main needs and guarantee their freedom and independence.

In the conditions of Albania, all these deep-going transformations could not be done without a centralized leadership and strict discipline. This could not fail to be accompanied with some privations and limitations of various character, either.

With the strengthening of the country, the improvement of the well-being, the development of culture and education and the democratic aspect has been constantly strengthened with the concomitant relaxation of the strict discipline which was needed for the accumulation for the development of the country. This process, led by the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has been carried out in a natural way, and the people were conscious of it. Otherwise, our state power would not exist even for a single day.





Time after time we have made changes which responded to the development of the country. The changes which we are making now also prove this dialectical consistency. Any change, the strengthening of democracy, or the enhancement of the initiative of the masses, do not come of themselves or through decrees, but they are related to the traditions, the level of material and economic development, culture and education, etc.

Every country has its own process of development, its own road of democratization. Being a small people we need a strong unity. Unity is necessary for us, and we cannot accept divisions, as a greater country would allow itself. I think that it would be an absurdity if every country were recommended the English or French model of democracy. The English parliament has hundreds of years. Ours, for example, has only fifty, and in what conditions!

Speaking about the problems of security and peace, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the problem of the security of the peoples and the elimination of wars and conflicts has always been of general concern. The UNO was created precisely for this purpose.

From the end of the war to this day, the problem of finding roads to security has gone through many vicissitudes. Various blocs and alliances were set up, some states entered under the tutelage of this superpower or that, and so on. All this did not lead to the strengthening of peace and security, but on the contrary, increased rivalries and conflicts all over the globe. It

resulted that there cannot be security only for some, if there is no security for all.

It is a good thing now that the concept is gaining ground that through the mentality of closed alliances and blocs no general security can be achieved. This is apparent in Europe and in other regions, and the UNO is also making a special contribution to the strengthening of this concept.

Related to this problem, he added that there can be no security without economic cooperation, without the economic development of all. If wealth is accumulated in one part of the world, while the other part lingers in poverty, conflicts and quarrels will inevitably arise and security will be impossible. If life has proved that no security can be achieved through closed blocs and alliances, then new roads must be found for economic cooperation, too, so as to lead to the general development of the poorer and more backward countries.

It was thought once that development could be achieved through credits, but results in this field were negative. Credits produced debts, and the poor countries became poorer still. And it could not be otherwise. In many respects, credits were only the economic aspect of the armaments race. The great powers and superpowers wanted to have these countries bound to them, in order to exploit them economically and militarily. The creditors were not concerned about the development of the poorer countries.

At the same time it must be said that there can be no secu-

rity and economic cooperation without independent, sovereign and equal countries. It must be accepted that only free, independent and sovereign countries can guarantee true cooperation not only in their own interest, but also in the general interest.

As for European security, we are of the opinion, which we have also expressed before, that its conception now should change: from a mutual security through blocs, as it was previously, it must be transformed into a general security of sovereign countries, in which the identity and originality of each must be preserved. If the so-called right of the great powers to interfere in the affairs of others, to give advice, to lay down norms of behaviour, to dictate how they should manage their inner life is maintained, then we will have no security but will return to where we stood before.

We think that the responsibility of the great powers for the preservation of peace and general security, which is also recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, is also a major obligation for them, which must be accompanied with a further democratization of international relations, and the establishment of complete equality among the various countries. The great powers must be more sensitive to the rights of others, especially the medium and smaller countries. Through their blocs, interference and dictate they brought about rivalries and confrontations which caused the peoples great suffering. All should draw lessons from this negative experience.

Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt in particular on the problems of the Balkans. In general, he said, the problems of the Peninsula are long-standing. The Balkan peoples have lived five hundred years under the Ottoman Empire. When the independent states were created, they fell out with one another, each trying to grab more for itself. To these quarrels was added the interference of the great powers who set the peoples of this region one against the other. The confrontations and rivalries following the Second World War have also left their sinister traces. Worse still, the changes that took place recently in this region, instead of leading to cooperation, are leading to the strengthening of nationalist ideologies. This is a calamity for the peoples of the Balkans.

We think that the problems of the Balkans can be solved not through quarrels and confrontations, but through friendship and cooperation. The Balkan peoples have old common interests. However, it would be better if more new common interests were created which would open the road for the creation of conditions to expand cooperation and maintain peace. Such new common interests would be the strengthening of economic, cultural and human links, the establishment of a code of good neighbourliness and security in the Balkans, the expansion of regional cooperation within the framework of European security, etc.

In this light, he said, we see the problems of the Balkans, Balkan cooperation and the quarrels which exist in this region.

We are very sorry about the quarrels that have broken out today in Yugoslavia, as well as those between Romania and Hungary, between Bulgaria and Turkey, Greece and Turkey, and so on. If we start with cooperation, these differences could be overcome. They cannot be overcome by trying to find «who is to blame», «who has done it», «who was the first to do it», and so on.

Speaking about the problems of Europe, Ramiz Alia told Mr De Cuellar that Albania has decided to adhere to the processes of security and cooperation in Europe.

However, he added, we shall need some time for preparation and acquainting ourselves with the many documents and acts that have been adopted, the existing practices of the implementation of various obligations, or what is more important, with the legal procedures which are necessary for this adherence.

In the meantime we would like to take part in the meetings and talks on European security and cooperation in one form or another, and, proceeding from the conditions we mentioned above, we hope that we shall find the understanding and support of the participating countries.

*The Secretary General of the United Nations said:*

I am very happy to meet you and thank you for your warm and cordial reception, and consider myself honoured to be received by you and the other Albanian higher authorities. I also thank you for the constant backing you give the UNO in the solution of various problems.

*After the reception, the spokesman for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Petraq Pojani, distributed among the journalists a summary of Comrade Ramiz Alia's talk at this meeting. He also informed them that the UN Secretary General thanked President Ramiz Alia for his comprehensive explanation of the Albanian conception of freedom, independence and development of the country, its relations with other states, its international cooperation, its cooperation with the UNO, Europe, etc. Your conception of these problems, Mr De Cuellar said, coincides with my opinions, and the principles of the United Nations on the problems of peace, security, international solidarity, which should be upheld by all nations. Today, the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, inter-dependence has become inevitable in the world. Neighbour must necessarily think about neighbour. Developed countries must think about the developing countries. Major problems face the world today, political problems which call for sincere political will for their solution. There are economic problems which call for all-round efforts for their solution. I am extremely happy that Albania has no debts. The nations today are confronted with social problems, problems of human rights. Efforts are being made in all directions for these problems to find their solution. Finally, there is also a fourth category of problems, global problems, like the problems of the protection of the environment, the struggle against drug addiction, infectious diseases, which*

again cannot be solved without international cooperation, regional or inter-regional. I am convinced that Albania will make its contribution, just as it has done up to now, in the framework of the UNO, to the solution of these problems.

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*Before meeting the UN Secretary General, Javiér Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia met the foreign journalists present there. After welcoming them, he answered questions on different aspects of Albania's internal and foreign policy.*

*To the question about the processes of change which have recently taken place in Albania and whether they will be continued further, Comrade Ramiz Alia replied: «The whole process of development in Albania is irreversible. Albania never stops on its road, the road of freedom, independence and socialism. There is no force which can stop it on this road. This is the desire of the whole Albanian people, a desire which has the blood of those who have fallen for its freedom at its foundations. Albania will march on this road which the Albanian people themselves have decided to pursue.»*

*Comrade Ramiz Alia asked the journalists about the visits they have made in these days in Albania and they expressed their satisfaction at their stay in our country. «How are your talks going with the Secretary General of the UNO, Javiér Perez de Cuellar, and are you pleased with the visit?» a journalist asked. «I am very pleased and think that it will be fruitful,» Comrade Ramiz Alia replied.*

The journalists put questions about Albania's relations with various countries of the world.

«About the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USA,» he said that «this is a good thing; as for the time of their establishment, this shall be left to the diplomats. As regards Britain,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that «we agree to the establishment of relations with Britain, too, but this depends on it. Relations with Greece,» he continued, «are good, but they might be much better. We are the two most ancient peoples of the Balkans, we live here since thousands of years, and it goes to the credit of both the Albanian and the Greek peoples that they have always lived in peace and friendship, and have never waged wars against each other. We want good relations with Yugoslavia, too. In the speech I held at the 10th Plenum I made a proposal for dialogue.»

The journalists told Comrade Ramiz Alia that the whole world shows great interest about Albania, and that they greatly desire to stay longer in our country, to follow current events here better. «You are welcome,» Comrade Ramiz Alia says. «Albania has never been a closed country. I would like very much to continue my talk with you. I like journalists very much, but, as you see, time is short.»

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On May 11 talks were held at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania, Reis Malile, and the Secretary Gene-

ral of the UNO, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

After welcoming the distinguished guest, Comrade Reis Malile said: «We consider your presence in Albania as an honour you do to our country and at the same time an expression of the respect Albania enjoys at the United Nations. We have always followed with great attention your activities to the benefit of peace. We hail your great efforts and there is no doubt that not only Albania, but also the other peace-loving countries highly value all your efforts to strengthen the United Nations, to make it more efficient and, at the same time, to overcome difficult situations in various regions of the world.

Perez de Cuellar said: «I am happy to visit Albania for the first time, to come here to Tirana in the quality of the Secretary General of the UNO. I took up your invitation with pleasure and great interest, because I know your efforts to promote the activities of the UNO, which include many political and economic problems of the community of nations. I feel it my duty and a pleasure to tell you that during my activity I have always had the support of your country, Albania, and yours, Mr Minister. All these efforts have a common denominator, peace. They are in the interest of both Europe and the whole world. At the same time I am happy to be in your country at a time when you are gradually evolving towards the aims you have set yourselves, in a climate of independence which is precisely yours.»

In the course of this dinner

Reis Malile and Javier Perez de Cuellar exchanged speeches. The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In the morning of May 12, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, received the UN Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and the persons accompanying him in the premises of the Premier's Office.

The Albanian Premier pointed out that, despite its achievements so far, Albania has still much to do in the future, according to the phases of its development, as well as the development of international conditions. In this context he said that in the recent days the People's Assembly adopted a number of decrees and laws which sanction some changes in the socio-economic life of the country in accordance with the ideas expressed by Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 10th Plenum of the Party.

Comrade Adil Çarçani emphasized that these essential changes are not static, unchangeable. In the future, in the process of life, constantly following the implementation of these important measures, the Albanian Government will consider making other positive changes in the socio-economic development of the country after the implementation of these measures. Albania carries out its international cooperation in various forms and it will also develop its links with the organisms and agencies of the United Nations in this framework. The Albanian Premier assessed some aspects of the foreign policy of Albania, and stressed its readiness to develop relations



with all countries, responding to friendship with friendship, including the United States and the Soviet Union. Especially, Albania pays attention to its relations with the neighbouring countries, which will be still more developed in the future, as well as to Balkan cooperation, the strengthening of the spirit of understanding and trust, the development of cooperation both in the Balkans and in the context of the Adriatic Initiative.

The UN Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the spokesman for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs declared, expressed his appraisal of Albania's close cooperation with the United Nations, and its constant contribution to the activities of this organization.

The UN Secretary General pointed out that, as an old friend of Albania, he has followed closely and with pleasure the steps Albania is taking to step up its development. The measures the Albanian Government is taking with farsightedness, wisdom and generosity also include this development, the broad cooperation with the international community, as well as its participation in strengthening European security and in other activities. He said that the Organization of the United Nations will also develop its close relations with Albania further.

During his stay in Tirana Javier Pérez de Cuellar and the persons accompanying him visited the Museum of National History, where they got acquainted with the history of our people in the centuries, and their struggles for freedom and indepen-

dence, as well as their work for the building of the country. Being interested in history and archaeology, Pérez de Cuellar inquired specially about exhibits and documents of the various periods of our history, the Arbër, culture, folk costumes, ornaments and other objects of the Illyrian tribes, etc.

Javier Pérez de Cuellar went also to the town of Kruja where he visited the historical museum «Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg». Through the exhibits, documents, and the works of art of this museum he acquainted himself with the struggles of the Albanian people under the leadership of their National Hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, for the freedom of the country.

In the morning of May 12, Javier Pérez de Cuellar paid homage at the cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation and laid a wreath at the monument «Mother Albania».

In the evening of the same day, on the occasion of the visit of the UN Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, to our country, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, put on a reception at the Palace of Brigades.

At the reception were present workers and leaders of educational, scientific and cultural institutions, deputies, representatives of the mass organizations and other guests. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government were also present. The heads of the

diplomatic corps accredited to our country also attended the reception.

On the following day, Javier Pérez de Cuellar paid visits to the districts of Fier and Berat.

Before leaving our country, the Secretary General of the UNO, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, gave an interview to the Albanian television, in which, among other things, he said:

The formal aspect of my visit has to do with the interest with which I accepted the invitation of the Albanian Government to establish direct contacts with the Albanian authorities in my quality as Secretary General of the UNO. The friendly aspect is the satisfaction I had from visiting and seeing for the first time this country which I have admired long ago, proceeding from its heroic past and the traditions it has preserved with determination and courage. I came also to establish closer relations between the UNO and Albania.

As the Secretary General of the UNO, I consider the contacts I had here very useful. The Albanian authorities, like the President, the Prime Minister, and the Foreign Minister, very clearly and openly presented to me the stand of your country on the major problems of international life. Especially I appraised the openness with which they explained their stands, and I was convinced that this new opening of Albania to the foreign world will contribute to a larger extent to this country playing an even more important role in the solution of international problems and making its stands clearer so

as to contribute to the strengthening of the role of the UNO and, what is more important, the strengthening of peace.

I have emphasized Albania's role in the political, economic and social activities of the UNO, as well as the importance of bilateral relations between Albania and the UNO. I am confident that the United Nations can contribute very well to Albania's efforts to step up the process of development, about which we spoke with the Albanian authorities, through cooperation of a mainly economic character, as well as through incorporation of Albania's social activities in the plan of the United Nations for the implementation of the provisions of the

UNO Charter on human rights, which at present are more important for this Organization for which I am a spokesman.

\* \* \*

*At Rinas Airport the journalists put some questions to the UN Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. Answering these questions, among other things, he said that it is very important to be understood that he did not come here to hold talks about particular problems, but visited Albania on invitation of the Albanian Government and availed himself of this visit to discuss various international problems, as well as economic, political and*

*social problems, with the Albanian authorities. «I am very pleased to say that I had the occasion to discuss all international problems with the Head of the State, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. I leave this country with very good impressions from all those aspects of the foreign policy about which we talked. In my talks with the Albanian authorities, they told me that they have set out on a process, which will be continued, and that they intend to proceed further. I think that these reforms are a movement in the good direction. My general impression is that they, as I said, are advancing in the right direction».*

## ***Visit which contributes to the strengthening of relations between Albania and the UNO***

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Secretary General of the Organization of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, successfully concluded a friendly formal visit to our country. This was the first visit of a General Secretary of the United Nations to Albania during the 45 years of existence of this international organization. This visit is an expression of the ever growing authority of Albania, of its internal and external policy and its active stand towards the solution of international questions and the problems concerning the whole of mankind. During his stay in our country, Perez de

Quellar had meetings with the Albanian highest personalities, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, the Foreign Minister, Comrade Reis Malile, and others. In the course of the visits he paid in Tirana, Fier, Berat and Durrës he closely felt the warmth of the hospitality of the Albanians, a people who hailed him with great respect for his noble activity in the service of peace.

The talks he held in Tirana were

characterized by a constructive spirit and a sincere exchange of opinions about various aspects of international relations, and the problems of peace and security in Europe and in the world. Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar's contribution to the development of these processes, and made a high assessment of his wisdom and concern for peace not only at the UNO, but also in the course of the efforts to find suitable ways for overcoming various crises and conflicts. He assured him that he would always enjoy the support of the Albanian

Government in carrying out his noble mission.

Highly valuing the history of the Albanian people and the recent decisions of the People's Assembly, De Cuellar emphasized that the Albanian concept of freedom, independence and development of Albania coincide with the principles of the United Nations on the cause of international peace, security and solidarity, which should be applied by all nations. Here are also included the amendments, decrees and improvements in legislation, and the economy for encouraging initiative, which respond best to the needs for the development of the economy, security and independence, as well as to the processes which are taking place in Europe today, and which mark a new step forward towards increasing security, averting war and eliminating the spirit of confrontation and the blocs. In the current political developments in Europe there is an ever growing conviction that the future of the continent is not in the military blocs, but in their dissolution, and that only through cooperation between sovereign peoples and states, excluding any dictate, can genuine peace be achieved in Europe and in the world. The role of the United Nations and their growing contri-

bution were emphasized in this context.

In the talks he held with Javier Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia also emphasized the idea that the process of European security and cooperation cannot be achieved without the development of all-round economic cooperation, and without the economic development of all countries. Hence, for the realization of this cooperation, new ways and means should be sought for the development of the poorer and less developed countries. The method practiced some years ago, that of credits and loans, it was emphasized in the course of these talks, proved harmful. Here Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed his satisfaction at Albania's having no debts.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the Albanian concept of European security is based on the fact that from a mutual security based on blocs, as it was formerly, it should be transformed into a general security of sovereign countries, in which the originality and identity of every country should be preserved. The process of Balkan understanding, in which Albania has taken an active part, is a component of the current positive European developments. It was

emphasized at the talks that there can be no genuine European security, or peace and security in the Balkans, without the establishment of a code of good neighbourliness, without strengthening economic, cultural and human relations on our Peninsula. Achievement of all this calls for goodwill on the part of all the Balkan peoples, leaving aside old quarrels and feuds in order to find common points of interest among the peoples, to the benefit of peace and good neighbourliness.

Javier Perez de Cuellar's visit to Albania will give a further impulse to the relations between Albania and the Organization of the United Nations not only in the political field. Apart from the Office of the PNUD Program (the UN organization for development), which will be opened in Tirana, as Perez de Cuellar said, the United Nations might contribute a great deal more to the efforts of the Albanian people to speed up the process of development through closer economic cooperation. He pointed out that he would also take care of the participation of Albania in the social activities and programs of this Organization in accordance with the Provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

# MEETING OF THE MINISTERS OF ENERGY OF THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

The Meeting of the Ministers of Energy of the Balkan Countries was held from the 29th to the 30th of May 1990, in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

The meeting was attended by the delegation of the PR of Bulgaria, headed by Nikola Todorev, Minister and President of the Energy Committee; the delegation of the Greek Republic, headed by Georgios Aposolakis, Secretary General of the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Technology; the delegation of Romania, headed by Adrian Georgesku, Minister of Electric Energy; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by Fahrettin Kurt, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources; the delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by Stevan Santo, member of the Federative Executive Committee and Federative Secretary for Energy and Industry; and the delegation of the PSR of Albania, headed by Doctor of Technical Sciences, Besnik Bekteshi, Minister of Industry, Mines and Energy.

Present at the meeting were also vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Pali Miska, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, Minister of Foreign Trade, Shane Korbeci, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Bujar Kolaneci, chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli. Attending were also titular heads of the diplomatic representations of the Balkan states in Tirana.

Dr. Besnik Bekteshi, head of

the Albanian delegation, opened the meeting saying among other things: The ulterior development of relations of good neighbourliness among the countries of our region constitutes a constant orientation in the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania. At the same time, our country has committed itself in the multilateral activities in the region, confident that by so doing it serves the process of Balkan cooperation. We judge that the recent developments in the Balkans and in Europe give greater weight to the multilateral cooperation in the region as a realistic and useful alternative to our countries and peoples. The economic and commercial cooperation is one of the priorities with great and immediate interest for our countries. In the present conditions, when economic cooperation occupies a place of first-hand importance in the international relations, it is natural that it should occupy the same place in our region, too, and as such it should serve not only the well-being of our countries, but also understanding and peace in the region.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, greeted the meeting with a message which was read by Comrade Besnik Bekteshi.

It is a special pleasure for me to send the 1st Meeting of the Ministers of Energy of the Balkan Countries the best wishes for fruitful work and complete success, on behalf of the Government of the People's Socialist

Republic of Albania and in my name personally, said the message of greetings.

The Albanian Government is confident that the carrying ahead of the process of Balkan cooperation, which began two years ago, is an expression of the sincere desire of all the peoples and states of the Balkans that our region should strengthen fruitful cooperation and contribute to the positive European processes, for the good of peace and international security.

The energy problems, which the Balkans is coping with and will continue to do so in the future, are complex and connected closely with the dynamics of the industrial and economic growth. As in other fields, in that of energy, too, there are considerable possibilities for useful and concrete cooperation, which responds to the current and perspective interests and requirements.

Cooperation in the field of energy between our countries has a positive experience, on which we can rely for the further extension of bilateral relations. It requires new ways and forms for the more complete exploitation of the energy potential and of the contemporary achievements in technology.

There is no doubt that the development of relations of friendship and cooperation among the Balkan states is of major importance for peace, security and the prosperity of our region. I express the confidence that this meeting is an inseparable part of the efforts for the attainment of this lofty objective.

I wish you once again full

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# MINISTERS OF ENERGY IN BALKAN COUNTRIES

success in your work, being confident that the process of Balkan cooperation will see fresh achievements in conformity with the interests and aspirations of our peoples to live in peace and friendship with one another.

*Then the meeting held a debate about the proposals made in the speeches of the heads of delegations from the Balkan countries. Discussions and more proposals were made about the further development and materialization of the multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the field of energy.*

*After bilateral meetings, the last session adopted the joint communique of the Meeting of the Ministers of Energy of the Balkan Countries:*

The ministers of energy, in a constructive spirit and mutual respect, says the communique, exchanged opinions about the ways and possibilities for the development of multilateral cooperation in the field of energy among the Balkan states.

Bearing in mind the interest and the determination of their countries to strengthen multilateral cooperation, the ministers stressed the need for joint efforts in the promotion of cooperation in the context of their international obligations.

The ministers emphasized that the economic advance of the Balkan countries and their industrial potentials offer possibilities for intensifying industrial, technical and scientific cooperation in the sector of energy and extending it to other fields. They recom-

mended that the possibilities for the extension of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of energy planning and the development of energy programs, the exploitation and the use of solid fuels with low calorific values should be studied more thoroughly. Proposals were made about the plans for the enrichment of coals through the utilization of advanced technologies, the improvement of combustion processes in the existing plants and the new ones through the utilization of new technologies of combustion of solid fuels of low calorific values, the adoption of advanced technologies in boring oil and gas wells so as to ensure high coefficients in the extraction of oil; the utilization and exploitation of the shists and bituminous sands; the preservation and effective consumption of energy; the regeneration of thermal power plants which have had a long period of service; the technology of reducing the amount of SO<sub>2</sub>, NO<sub>x</sub>, dusts and ashes, gases, etc., in industrial processes.

The ministers of energy observed that their meeting constitutes a valuable contribution to promoting the multilateral cooperation in the field of energy and of Balkan cooperation, in general. They pointed out the need for an agreement of the concrete measures for the exploitation of possibilities of the Balkan countries for the extension of multilateral cooperation in the field of energy in conformity with the priorities and interests of each country.

The ministers pointed out their common desire to work towards concluding bilateral and multilateral agreements for the improvement of existing services in energy and the creation of new systems and the optimal utilization of the sources of energy which the countries of the region possess. They appreciated the usefulness of technical and technological cooperation through the transfer of knowledge, the exchange of experts and experience in conferences, seminars and symposia, through consultations and the drafting of joint projects of research and development in conformity with the interests, possibilities and the legislation in force in each country.

The meeting made a high assessment of the activity of the Coordinating Committee for the development of the systems of conveyance of electric energy in the Balkan countries and its contribution to the creation of the preparatory conditions for the linking up of the electric-energy systems of the Balkan countries.

Recognizing the importance of joint coordinated work, the ministers agreed on recommending to the respective authorities of electric energy that they examine the proposal for commutating the existing Committee into a committee of the electric energy systems of the Balkan countries, so that, along with the study activities, it could be able to supervise the establishment of the link-up and create the necessary conditions for increasing the exchange of energy among them.

To this end, in the second half of July 1990, a working group of representatives of the electric

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energy systems should meet at Ohri for the preparation of a draft-statute of the above-mentioned Committee of the Balkan countries. This draft-statute will be examined and, if possible, adopted by the authorized representatives of the electric energy systems of the Balkan countries at the next meeting in Ankara.

As for the Balkan cooperation in the field of oil and gas, coals

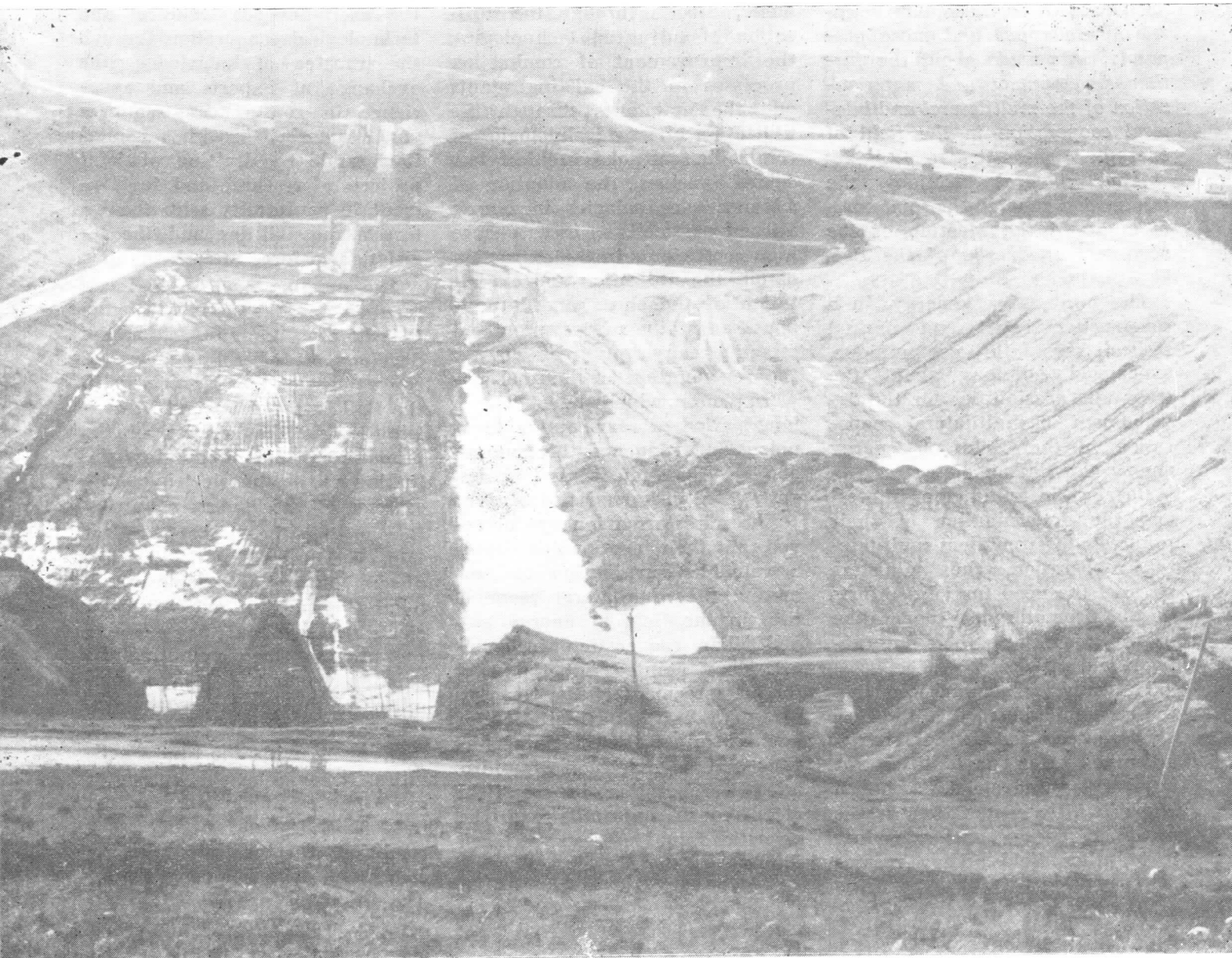
and other energy resources, the meeting agreed on the setting up of joint groups of specialists for general and specific problems of these spheres.

Likewise, to ensure a close cooperation on environmental problems in the field of energy, the ministers agreed on the exchange of all available information and technical knowledge and the setting up of joint groups of

specialists for energy and the environment.

For the coordination of the activities of these groups, the detailed examination of all proposals and the preparation of more multilateral activities in all fields of energy, the ministers agreed on proposing to their governments that meetings of senior officials and experts in the field of energy should be held

*Partial view of construction site at the hydro-energy complex of Banja, Central Albania.*



periodically by rotation.

The first such meeting will be held in Greece in the second half of 1990.

Taking into consideration the exhaustive character of energy resources and the growing preoccupation for the protection of the environment, the ministers expressed their opinions about the need for cooperation with coordinated efforts in the search for, development and utilization of new alternative resources of renewable energy.

The ministers agreed that the trade in primary energy materials is an important field for the strengthening of economic

cooperation and the development of trade relations among the Balkan countries.

They underlined the importance of the creation and development of the respective energy infrastructure in each Balkan country for the intensification of cooperation and the rational utilization of the energy resources and systems.

The ministers agreed that the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania should inform the Economic Commission of the United Nations for Europe about the results of the present meeting.

The ministers expressed their

evaluation that similar meetings serve the advance of Balkan cooperation in the field of energy. To this end they agreed to propose to their governments that the meetings of the ministers of energy of the Balkan countries should be held periodically by rotation. The next meeting will be held in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1992.

The meeting was held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. The ministers expressed their appreciation for the excellent organization of the meeting and the warm reception the Albanian Government reserved for them.

## THE 14th CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF THE BALKAN COUNTRIES FOR UNESCO

*From June 6-9 the 14th Conference of the National Commissions of the Balkan Countries held its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses.*

*In the Conference participated the delegation of the Commission of the PR of Bulgaria headed by its vice-president, Prof. Lubomir Drasaljev, the delegation of the*

*Commission of the Republic of Greece headed by its president, Nicolas Papageorgiou, the delegation of the Commission of Rumania headed by its president Misi Colu, the delegation of the Commission of the Republic of Turkey headed by the general secretary of the Commission, Gaye Oymak; the delegation of the Commission of*

*the SFR of Yugoslavia headed by its president, Dr. Punisa Pavlovic, and the delegation of the Commission of the PSR of Albania headed by the Albanian president of the Albanian Commission for UNESCO, Prof, Sofokli Lazri.*

*Ahidi Ngoma, the representative of the General Director of UNESCO, Federico Mayor, Karin Berg director of the High Education Centre for Europe, and others also participated in the Conference.*

# CHRONICLE

The Conference was attended also by the head of the Committee for the Culture and Arts of the PSR of Albania, Prof. Alfred Uçi, the vice-minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and other guests.

The delegation elected Prof. Sofokli Lazri to chair the proceedings of the Conference. Rising to speak, he said among other things:

The great changes that are occurring in the international arena in general and in our region in particular cannot fail to sensitize the thought of the scientists and intellectuals in many fields of education, science and culture. Taking into account the possibilities offered by the new situations we must do everything possible to encourage this thought, not only for cultural, but also for political reasons.

I want to emphasize this fact because the important changes that are taking place make the creation of a new spirit necessary for building a Balkans of peace, friendship, fraternity and freedom.

On the eve of the 21th century the Balkans must necessarily show itself civilized and modern, not only from the material, but also from the cultural and political stand-point. Its freedom-loving and progressive traditions, which are historically known, are a constant source of inspiration when they are linked with a democratic and humanist spirit, with a readiness for dialogue, tolerance and understanding among its states and peoples.

I would like to express the hope, Prof. Sofokli Lazri said in conclusion, that the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs

of the Balkan Countries, which will be held this Autumn in Tirana, will not only contribute to the improvement of the political atmosphere in the Balkans, but also create better conditions for the cooperation of our Commissions and the successful implementation of the noble initiatives they have taken, both on the bilateral and multilateral plane.

I think that the field of culture may serve not only as a meeting place for the elucidation of the common roots and fates, but also as a means of making aware those creating cultural values of their individual and collective responsibilities for the preservation of peace and the progress of mankind, as well as the constant contribution they should make to its spiritual enrichment.

Then the heads of the other delegations took the floor. The participants in the Conference delivered reports on the main activities of their respective national commissions in the period between the two conferences, during the years 1989-1990. Then they discussed and exchanged opinions about cooperation between the national commissions in the field of the program and budget for the years 1990-1991 and the program for the further extension of the Balkan cooperation in various fields within the competences of UNESCO. The members of the delegations pointed out the importance of the national commissions as institutions of consultation and coordination, sources of information, and organs following up and coordinating various activities on a

national scale within the competences of UNESCO. Also, they dwelt on enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the commissions, their cooperation with specialized scientific institutions, the exchange of specialists in various fields within the framework of UNESCO and other international agencies.

Proposals were made for a more extensive activity and cooperation of national commissions in the field of ecology, informatics, training of cadres, the expansion of scientific, cultural, educational and other activities.

It was also proposed that in the period between two conferences meetings be organized on the problems of getting acquainted with and enriching the Balkanological funds of national libraries, the organization of summer courses for Balkan languages for translators and workers of scientific institutions which study the languages, history and culture of the Balkan countries, the organization of Balkan film festivals, as well as the creation of an information bureau of the UNESCO on the related fields.

The representatives of the Balkan countries came forward with reports which dealt in detail with the activities of the commission in the context of the International Literacy Year for implementing the decisions taken and the recommendations approved during the multipartite consultation of experts for the study and review of school-texts of Balkan countries. Likewise, the national commissions of UNESCO for the Balkans expressed their readiness to implement all the decisions that would be jointly taken at this Conference.

Taking the floor at the closing session of the Conference the representative of the General

# CHRONICLE



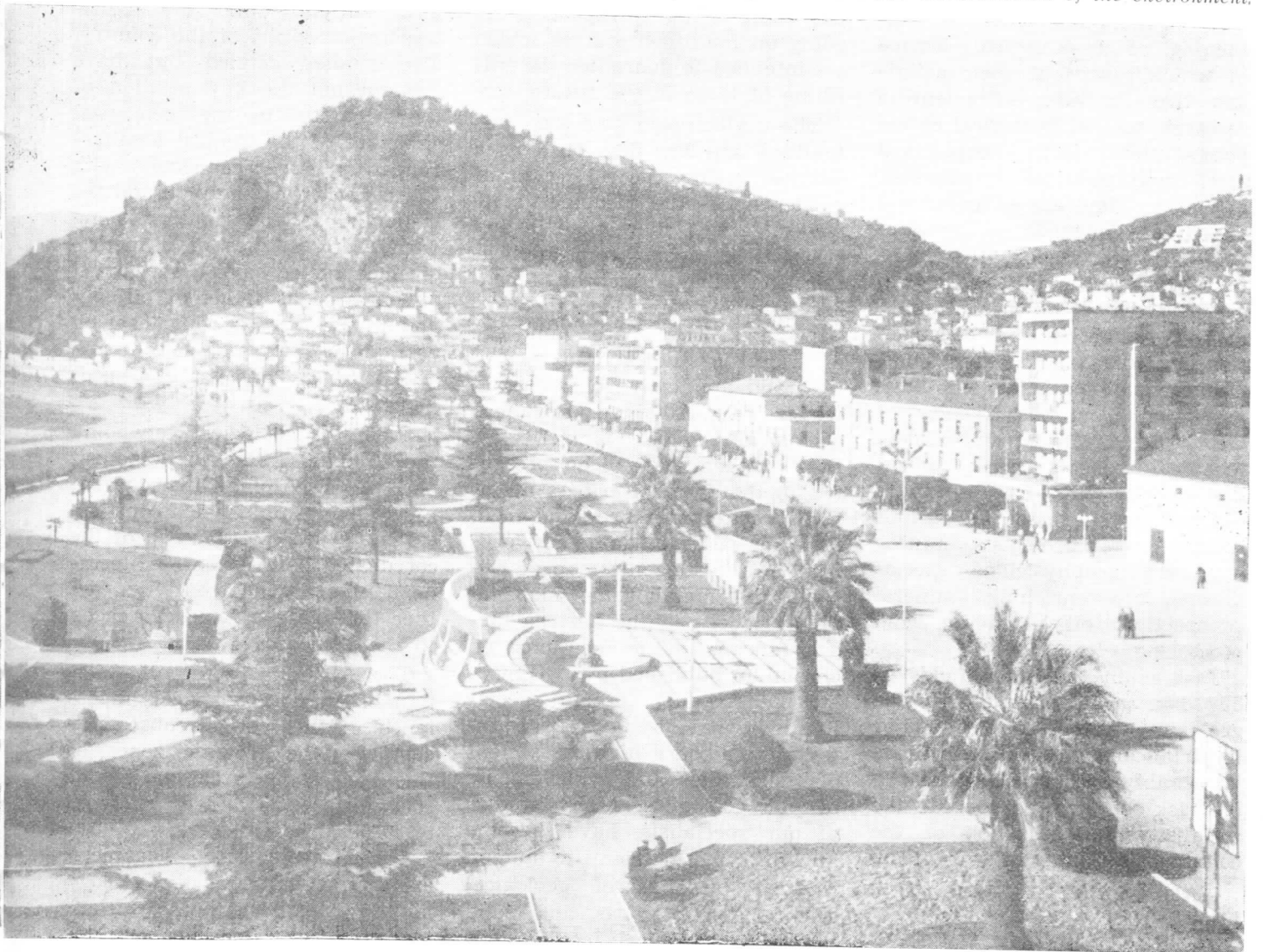
Director of UNESCO, Ahidi Ngoma, after thanking for the hospitality, pointed out, that in regard to its quality and results, this Conference was a complete success for the creation of an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation in the Balkans. In

the course of visits we paid to some districts of Albania, he said, we were closely acquainted with Albania's great cultural values.

Finally, the heads of the delegations of the Balkan countries made a high assessment of the work done for the organization

of this Conference, which was characterized by a spirit of friendship, the desire and will for the implementation of the proposals and pledges over the problems dealt with by the national commissions of the Balkan countries for UNESCO.

*View of the centre of the museum-city of Berat, where, as everywhere else in Albania, care is taken for the preservation and embellishment of the environment.*



# ACHIEVEMENTS, PROSPECTS IN GEOLOGICAL

by **ALEKSANDËR ÇINA**

In implementation of the policy of the Party of building socialism on the basis of self-reliance, the complex industry created in Albania during the years of the people's state power is based on the mineral reserves discovered by Albanian geologists. This has been possible through the building and strengthening of a geological service in which carry out their activities two institutes of scientific research, tens of geological enterprises, three large geophysical and hydro-physical enterprises, as well as hundreds of teams and expeditions engaged in prospecting work throughout the country. Along with this, geological sectors were set up in the mines, as well as in building construction, agriculture and other fields. Thousands of specialists who have graduated from the Faculty of Geology and Mining and middle technical schools work there. Every year this Faculty turns out over 150 engineers of various specialties — geologists, mining engineers, geophysicists, specialists in ore enriching, mineral prospecting, oil extraction and processing, etc.

Just as in the other fields of our life, achievements in the geological sector are of major importance. Our geologists have honourably accomplished the noble task set them to precede the socialist industrialization of the country. The high rates of pros-

pecting work have ensured the constant development of the extracting and processing industry and its prospects of work for many years. About 300 sources of important reserves of oil, gas, chromium, copper, coal and ferro-nickel, nickel-silicate and asbestos, as well as other 35 minerals. At the same time prospecting is going on for other sources which are intended to guarantee the fulfilling of tasks in the future, too.

The Albanian geology was founded and has developed as a science during the 45 years of existence of the people's state power. In this, more than in any other field, apart from application, the Albanian school of geology is being developed theoretically, too. There are hundreds of scientific studies of a theoretical and applicative character in which the Albanian advanced geological thought is reflected. Part of them have been presented in the form of papers at international conferences and meetings, or reflected in joint works like the metallogenic map of Europe, the metallogenic map of phiolitic belts of the Eastern Mediterranean, in monographs on chromium published by UNESCO, etc. Outstanding foreign specialists who have visited our country have made a high assessment of the studies and achievements of our geologists. Many studies of our specialists have become known to world scientific opinion through bulletins of geological sciences on oil, gas and solid minerals. Geological, tectonic, hy-

dro-geological and metallogenic maps on the 1:200 000 scale of the territory of the PSR of Albania, many generalizing studies in the field of stratigraphy, tectonics and seismotectonics, magnetism, mineralogy, and geochemistry have added to the knowledge of the laws of the geological structure and the metal-bearing prospects of the country. The studies carried out have brought out the key position of the Albanids in the geological structure of the Central Mediterranean and their connection with the Dinarids to the north and the Hellenids to the south. Along with them, studies of a methodical character have been carried out in various fields of oil, gas and mineral prospecting, as well as in the computerization and geo-statistical processing of geological data.

From the geological viewpoint, the Albanids are a component part of the Alpine-Dinarid-Albanid-Hellenid arch which constitutes the southeastern reach of the corrugated belt of the Mediterranean Alps, which continues further through the Aegean arch on to the Taurids.

The Albanids represent a section of special geological importance in this belt, because they comprise the tectonic zones of this arch and a great variety of rock formations and many types of mineralization.

Some geological phenomena are characteristic of the geology of the Albanids: the broad extension of carbonaceous and te-

*ALEKSANDËR ÇINA — Director of the Institute of Geological Prospecting and Chairman of the Association of Geologists of Albania*

# PRESENT AND FUTURE, GEOLOGICAL PROSPECTING

igneous rocks with an age range from the Palaeozoic to the Tertiary; considerable development of magmatic processes and rocks, especially those of the ophiolitic complex connected with manifestations of global plate tectonics; the corrugated nature of rocks with extension from southeast to northwest reclined or overthrown to the west; movement of whole overlapping zones westwards; presence of all types of mineralization, with major potential, which is linked especially with the ophiolitic complex such as chromium and associated elements of the platinum, copper, iron-titanium, ferro-nickel and nickel-silicate, asbestos, magnesite, olivinite, talc, and other groups.

Among the more important achievements of geological studies in the recent years we may mention:

— **In the field of stratigraphy.** More profound studies were made of deposits of the Palaeozoic with detailed sections and abundant faunistic arguments based on the examination of graptolites and conodonts. The levels of the Triassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous periods of Mesozoic deposits were defined better through more complete data, as well as their facial features, which enabled the achievement of better based palaeogeographic and structural interpretations of the Albanids, especially the inner zones. Also, further elaboration was made of the stratigraphic studies of Cenozoic deposits, with biozoning into

faunistic zones and subzones, with a view to the complete unification of the stratigraphic scheme of the whole Mediterranean.

— **In the field of tectonics** more complete ideas have been formed, bringing out the peculiarities of the structural building of the Albanids. Formation features have been made clearer, distinguishing a number of sedimentary, carbonate, platform, carbonate-silicate, pelagic, terrigenous, flysch, flyschoid, paramolassic and molassic, volcanic-sedimentary and magmatic, plutogenous and volcanogenous and other formations. On the basis of the determination of transversal placements, structural disconformances and formation alterations, tectogenous phases have been defined, which represent key moments in the geological development of the Albanids, such as the conclusive phase of variscan orogeny, the phases of the major tectogenesis of the Jurassic-Cretaceous boundary, of the end of the Cretaceous, Eocene, Oligocene, Tertiary and Plio-Quaternary. Of importance is also the determination of the phases of Triassic and Jurassic rifting, as well as the Mirdita oceanic extension during the Late Jurassic, which represents the culminant moment in the development of the Albanids.

Step by step the role and importance of the Shkodra-Peja and Vlora-Dibra transforming faults is being made clearer and some other transforming faults have

been determined, like those of Qafë Murra, Mollë e Lurës, Qafë e Thanës, Strelca, Delvina, Mali i Gjërë, Griba, etc.

— **In the field of magmatism,** among many studies, stand out especially those dealing with Late and New Jurassic ophiolitic magmatism of extremely varied composition. Albania's ophiolitic complex, as a huge deposit of solid minerals, with an extension of about 4200 square miles and a thickness to a maximum of 10 miles represents a rare case in all the Alpine region. Through detailed and regional studies their inner structure, time, place and mode of formation have been defined, thereby making a special contribution to a more correct and original interpretation of the region of the Eastern Mediterranean.

— Elucidation of the laws of geological structures has enabled a more objective definition of **the fundamental metallogenic features** of the Albanids, which are very complex. With the completion of the metallogenic map of the PSR of Albania on a 1:200 000 scale, metallogenic belts of the useful minerals already discovered, as well as those which are expected to be discovered in the future, were defined. Two belts of ultrabasic rocks have been distinguished: the eastern and the western one, of which the former begins from the northeast and ends in the south of the country and has the main metallogenic potential.

In their peripheral part there

are two belts of volcanic rocks combined with sedimentary ones in which there are important sources of high concentration copper ore, whereas in the central and northern part, which is made up of volcanic and gabbro-plagiogranite rocks there are many sources of sulfurous minerals, especially copper.

— The development of geological work is characterized by the constant improvement of the complex methods of study and research. Today no geological prospecting work is carried out without support from petrographic, mineralogical, geochemical, palaeontological and other studies. At the same time geophysical and geochemical methods are playing an ever increasing role in geological prospecting, being of powerful assistance in prospecting for oil- and gas-bearing structures and solid minerals, as well as in explaining the geological structure of the country.

**Oil and gas prospecting** has been carried out by complex methods, achieving correct ratios of prospecting in sandy and limestone soils, in shallow and deep waters, etc. This has led to the discovery of many oil and gas sources in sandy soils and encouraging results in limestone soils. So, the contours of the existing sources were extended at Marinza, Stalin City, Ballsh, Cakran, Divjaka, Kryevindh, Frakkulla; new sources were discovered at Povelça, Panaja, Durrës, and more recently a source was discovered at Delvina which greatly increases the oil deposits of this region. The task of the oil geological service now is to consolidate these results in order to increase the production of oil and gas, as well as to carry out studies in the new structures so as to ensure continuity in prospecting work. For this purpose

measures have been taken to improve quality in the application of complex methods and achieve their better combination. In this context thematic and regional studies for the definition of the laws of distribution of oil and gas layers have special importance. The aim here is to achieve more precision in stratigraphy and the laws of tectonic belts, especially in the determination of the relationship between tectonic belts, through complex work and the palaeogeographical and palaeotectonic interpretation of these zones. Application of new concepts and methods about plate tectonics, sedimentology, seismic stratigraphy, etc., has special importance and should be dealt with at a high qualitative level and in a creative spirit.

Special tasks are set for the application of the method of the geological-geophysical-geochemical complex with a view to enhancing their role in the interpretation of geological structures and factors which condition the presence of oil and gas in layers of greater prospect so as to achieve more precise correlations and conclusions about the generation, migration and trapping of carbo-hydrates. Another direction of research work is the improvement of quality in the processing of seismic signals so as to take from them all the possible information and constantly improve the quality of seismic service as an auxiliary means for the precise interpretation of geological structures.

As to solid minerals, complex studies and research, as well as geological prospecting are aimed at increasing the reserves of chromium and copper ores, especially those with a richer content, as well as at prospecting for other minerals, either known or new ones.

Chromium is carrying an ever greater weight in the economy of Albania, becoming an important and sure factor of its exports. For the extraction of about 1.2 million tons of chromium ore per year complex geological-geophysical and geochemical studies and surveys have been made and geological-prospecting work has been intensified. Priority has been given to the existing sources, as well as to the more rapid and better preparation of new prospecting spots. The question today is not about individual sources of chromium but of whole chromium-bearing belts with many sources, manifestations and signs, in which intensive work is done for increasing reserves. Thanks to the passionate and bold work of our geologists the Bulqiza and Batra deposits have been linked into a single huge source, the largest in all the ultrabasic massifs of the Alpine Mediterranean region.

The massifs of Bulqiza, Kukës, Tropoja and Librazhd-Pogradec are particularly promising as far as prospecting for chromium mineral is concerned. Many new projects are being built on these massifs. We know already the fundamental laws of the concentration of the chromium mineral and have gained great experience in prospecting for it. It must be said, however, that with the intensive prospecting on the surface the fund of mineralized manifestations is being constantly reduced, while prospecting in depth becomes more and more difficult with each passing day. This confronts us with extremely complex tasks not only in the intensification of drilling work, gallery construction, etc., but also in achieving an advanced scientific opinion and applying as broad a complex of studies and research as possible. Extension of the

structural analysis of ultrabasic massifs and geochemical studies for a better knowledge of the conditions of formation and establishment of chromium-bearing rock formations and the mineralization of chromium itself, as well as utilization of these sciences to assist direct prospecting, knowledge in depth of fault tectonics; constant following up and precise interpretation through subsoil mapping represent an important reserve for increasing the effectiveness of mining work and for achieving more complete conclusions about the geology of the sources under exploitation. In order to speed up prospecting for chromium and to increase the effectiveness of geological work for this purpose, subsoil drilling is being used on a large scale. So long galleries, up to some kilometres in length, are being built for carrying out prospecting drilling on a broad front. Another task is assessing chromium mineral in order to single out valuable associated elements, as well as elucidation of prospects and orientations of prospecting for mineralizations of these elements, employing specialized petrographic and mineralogical studies on a large scale. Results in this direction are promising.

As to **copper ore**, geological studies and prospecting work have been carried out with great intensity and results have been good, thereby supporting ever better the development of extracting and processing industry of this branch.

Along with the increase of reserves in the existing sources, new sources are constantly being discovered, as geologists discover about three times as many reserves as the mines consume. The rich belt of Qafë Mali — Lak Roshi — Munella — Spaç — Përlat (the volcanic series of

the zone of Central Mirdita), the regions of Gjegjan — Surroj — Pragj Lura and Rubik-Palaj-Perrava (the peripheric volcanogenic and sedimentary series of the Mirdita zone), the mineral-bearing structure of Rehova, as well as the gabbro massifs of Kaptina and Kurbnesh of the ophiolitic complex of the Albanids make up the more promising regions in which most of the prospecting for copper, pirites and polymetals has been concentrated. Here work will be done, in the first place, for discovering reserves of better quality, as well as for deepening the complex evaluation of polymetallic minerals. For this purpose specialized volcanological, sedimentological, mineralogical and geochemical studies are being extended and deepened over problems of the structure of the mineral belts in the volcanic and volcanogenic sedimentary rocks, the conditions of their formation and their copper mineral sources, as well as the material composition and the structural peculiarities of complex minerals. Along with this, to increase effectiveness of prospecting work application of geophysical methods is being extended further and the level of their interpretation is constantly being raised, which is very useful in prospecting for copper mineralizations, polymetals and pyrites.

**There are large reserves of coal and ferro-nickel**, so geological and prospecting studies and work should be concentrated on the more promising sectors, with minerals of good quality, in favourable technical and economic conditions and nearest to the major consumers. On the other hand, the study of the already known sources must be intensified, and other studies undertaken for a better knowledge of newer sour-

ces — the petrography, mineral components and physical and chemical properties of coals with a view to their ever more efficient use, especially their utilization in coke production. Along some coal basins which are known, prospecting is going on for their extension and the discovery of new basins in some other regions of the country.

Apart from oil, gas, chromium, copper, coal and ferro-nickel, our economy, as a complex economy, needs other metallic and non-metallic minerals which are not lacking on our territory. Our specialists have done fruitful work in this direction, discovering many sources of those minerals, among which we mention bitumen bituminous sands, bauxites, phosphorites, kaoline, magnesites, olivinites, mineral salt, asbestos, manganese, fluorites, quartz sands, schists, clay for bricks and pottery, bentonites, volcanic glass albitophites, barrites, minerals of rare earth elements, etc.

Studies and geological prospecting are being carried out on a large scale for a broad utilization of those minerals in the various branches of the economy and for export today and in the future. At present research is being done to get to know better the composition and properties of these mineral substances, while prospecting for new sources of good quality and convenient technical and economic conditions. Along with this, fruitful cooperation is going on with technologists to expand the practical utilization of these mineral substances.

The hydro-geological and geological-engineering services are also being expanded both in the direction of prospecting for and utilization of ground waters, studying the hydrogeological conditions of useful minerals and irri-

gation schemes, as well as studying the geological and engineering conditions of the rivers of our country for the construction of major hydro-power projects, railway lines, automobile roads, industrial plants and dwelling centres, as well as the abundant supply of the dwelling centres with drinking water.

The geological service of the country has coped with major and difficult tasks thanks to the constant concern of the Party, the selfless work of the workers of the geological sector and the extension of the study and prospecting work of the specialists and scientists of geology, as well as the huge investments the state has made in this sector.

The sector of geology possesses such a human and material and technical potential as to enable it to fulfil its ever growing tasks of permanently supporting the socio-economic development of the country.

A balance of the achievements to date in the field of geology in our country was drawn also at the national scientific conference «Geological Prospecting, Extraction and Processing of Solid Minerals, Oil and Gas», which was held in the middle of November this year in Tirana. It determined the more effective

roads for a constant high-rate development in the future. One of the scientific aims of this Conference, as is known, was raising the effectiveness of production, complex and in-depth exploitation of mineral assets, introduction of new substances into economic circulation, and extension of new directions in prospecting.

Our specialists in the field of geology are working with revolutionary vigour according to the teachings of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Enver Hoxha, as well as the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party, on the discovery and broader utilization of the mineral assets of the country, the further increase of their reserves, the raising of effectiveness in the processing industry, etc.

Constantly considering geology as the forerunner of the socialist industrialization of the country, our Party and Government have attached special importance to its high-rate development by making huge investments in this sector of vital importance for the economy, which is understandable if account is taken of the fact that fuels and minerals have long ago become determinant for the development of the productive forces of a country. As Comrade

Ramiz Alia has pointed out at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, «... the concern of the Party and the sacrifices of the people for the sector of geology are being repaid with multiplied values.»

In implementation of the decisions of the 8th and 9th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party on the further improvement of scientific research work and the fulfilment of production tasks, the workers and scientists of geology are confronted with a number of important problems bearing, in the first place, on improving the quality of their scientific work and study so as to know better and apply more correctly the technical and economic laws in studies and designs. Proceeding from this, scientific work has served and will ever better serve in the future the further increase of reserves in the known sources of oil and gas and solid minerals, as well as the ceaseless and high-rate growth of production in mining, oil and gas extraction, metallurgy and chemistry. This will also be done through the improvement of existing technologies and the introduction of new technologies.

# DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

by **DHIMITËR TOÇI and HASAN HOXHA**

*The demographic development of the countryside is distinguished for its very positive characteristics and features, for its relatively high and stable rates, for the young age of the population and its favourable structure of sexes and ages, which can guarantee the normal course of the demographic processes in future.*

The features and characteristics of the demographic development of the rural area have been determined by the entire social and economic development of the country, the correct economic and demographic policy pursued by our Party over many years. The main aim in this process has been the continuous increase of the population, its complete occupation with work, the raising of the level of well-being for the gradual narrowing of the essential distinctions between city and the countryside, and among different zones in the rural area. All this has served the final objective of keeping the whole territory of the countryside populated.

In all the social and economic growth in the countryside, we have always directed our attention to the demographic problems, placing them in the centre of our plans and successes. From this point of view, it can be said that the constant directive of the Party that the socialist state should guide all the demographic processes in conformity with the requirements of the economic and social development of the entire country, the countryside in general, and its particular areas, has been implemented.

Even though the rural population

*DHIMITËR TOÇI and HASAN HOXHA: Candidates of social sciences*

supported the socialist industrialization of the country with work forces, again the peasant population of the country has increased at rapid rates. Last year, against 1950, 1960 and 1970, its number has increased 2.1, 1.8 and 2.4 fold, always maintaining relatively high rates of annual increase. On the other hand, this high level of growth has been matched with the stable and rapid rates of development and growth of the national economy. In the period 1960-1988, the total social product increased 2.22 times and agricultural production about 1.5 times more rapidly than the population. Such ratios between the population increase and the growth of the overall social product and its ingredients, from the viewpoint of structures and branches, but also from the different aspects of the extended socialist reproduction, have resulted in the continuous uplift of the level of well-being of the people, the increase in the size of productive accumulation, the increase of investments and reserves, and the strengthening of the economic independence and the defence of the country.

The demographic development of the countryside is distinguished for its very positive characteristics and features, for its relatively high and stable rates, for the young age of the population and its favourable

structure of sexes and age-groups which can guarantee the normal course of demographic processes in future.

Nevertheless, in recent years, in the sphere of the reproduction of the population, new characteristics have begun to emerge, especially in some districts, regions and zones. In the period 1980-1988 the population living in the rural area has increased at average annual rates of 1.8 per cent, the rate fluctuating from 1.9 per cent in the period 1980-1985 to 1.7 per cent in the period 1986-1988. However, the relative levels of reproduction of the population offer different pictures for different zones and districts. The plains and hilly districts have had a relative average increase of the population at the same level as the average for the whole Republic, at a time when the population of the northeastern zone of the country in this period has increased at an average rate of nearly 2.2 per cent. As for the southeastern zone, in the last decade, in particular, we observe lower rates in the relative increase of the population in comparison with the other zones; in the period 1986-1988, the average rates of the annual increase of population do not exceed 1.1 per cent.

The demographic developments to date, both on the national scale and

in the different zones and districts (seen in connection with the economy and the level of development of the productive forces), in recent years, have highlighted a number of different phenomena and trends. Whereas in 1980 there were 61.7 inhabitants per square kilometer (only the rural population), in the year 1988 there were 71.3 inhabitants per square kilometer, which is 15.6 per cent more. Density for different zones and districts shows only slight differences. In the northeastern zone, as well as in Gramsh, Librazhd, and Pogradec, the density of the population has increased by about 18 per cent, at a time when in the southeastern districts the increase is about 10 per cent. At present, the highest density of population in the rural area is observed in the districts of Fier, Durrës, and Lushnja, with 147 and 145 inhabitants per square kilometer.

But the most complete and direct index is the density of the arable land per capita of the rural population and per work hand. This index reveals that, in the last two decades, the size of land per capita of population living in the countryside and per work hand has decreased. In 1980, the surface of land per capita of the rural population was nearly 0.4 hectares and in 1988 — 0.35. In the northeastern zones of the country, where there is less arable land, this index has shown a fall.

Differences are felt also in the density of the land per work hand. Naturally, all these differences are connected closely with the indices of the mechanical movement of the population.

Each year, an average of 3.4-5 people in one thousand have shifted away from the rural to the urban areas, and this is more pronounced in the southeastern zones. The mechanical movement of the population from the country to the city up till 1970 is the result of the growth of the greater urban centres and is conditioned also by the springing up of new industrial towns. Nevertheless, from 1970 to date we notice that there is a more rapid increase in the number of population in the

smaller towns at the average annual rate of over 4 per cent.

Apart from the population movement towards the city, in recent years, the population and the work force have moved also within the rural area from one village to the other, inside and outside the district and inside and outside the cooperative. In the period 1980-1985, the mechanical movement of the population from village to village is more or less in the same level as the movement from country to city; 40-45 per cent of the shifters have settled in the united villages of other districts and the rest have established themselves in the united villages within the same district. This explains the fact that the population of some villages in the hilly and mountainous zone increases more slowly, in some cases remains unchanged and in other cases is in excess of the natural movement of the population.

The mechanical movement of the population, in general terms, is an objective and necessary process. It has influenced the demographic map of the country and city, especially the structure of age-groups and sexes, the ratio of the active forces to the population which has not reached the work age, and so on. This movement has increased the sources of labour in towns and in the plains zone, because 67 per cent of the population which moves from the countryside is mostly of an working age.

The basic motives for the mechanical movement of the population are the differences in the level of economic and social development between the country and the city and between different zones of the countryside. These differences are manifested in many directions: in the level of the industrial production, in the real incomes and in the norms of per capita consumption of food-stuffs, and so on. However, the mechanical movement of the population are encouraged also by the differences which exist between the cooperatives of the different zones and districts, the level of incomes per capita of the population residing in the countryside from the work done

in the cooperative.

The implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the PLA and the 3rd and 7th plenums of the CC of the PLA and the measures which are being adopted for the rapid increase of production and the improvement of the supplies for the population, especially, for the peasantry with food-stuffs, constitute a powerful basis from which the economic gap between the rural and the urban area, as well as between individual zones, districts and economies can be further narrowed. Likewise, the further extension of industries in the countryside, the increase of services, handicrafts activities and the vital and communal services, and especially, the more rapid rates of the growth of agriculture in the hilly and mountainous districts and in the remote mountainous zones, constitute important new directions for the restriction of the mechanical movement of the population and the work hands. More rapid rhythms of development can be secured by means of extending the arable land and by increasing the number of livestock, but also by increasing the material expenditure and the expenditure on live work per unit of land and per head of animal.

The increase in the incomes and the strengthening of the economic factor for keeping the countryside populated and restricting the mechanical movement will be ensured mainly through the increase in the fundamental funds and through the improvement of the structure of agricultural production. The possibilities exist everywhere, especially, in the northeastern zone and in the other hilly and mountainous districts and economies to increase the role of the large-scale fruit-growing in ensuring greater incomes and net product. The practice of building large blocks of fruit-trees, as well as the traditional fruit-growing, as experience in many districts has shown, are economically profitable, therefore they constitute a road for the development of these zones. The transition of some economies to a livestock-raising orientation is showing that the development of livestock, especially of sheep



and goats in the remote zones, is profitable from the economic and social aspect, because in this way the reserves that exist everywhere can be better utilized. On the other hand, in the whole rural area, especially in all the upland country, in which there are great natural assets, it is quite possible for pursuits of a not-strictly agricultural character to develop more rapidly. These zones have every possibility to extend activities of an industrial character such as, for instance, the cultivation and collection of more medicinal plants; the production of makeshift materials for productive and non-productive constructions; the extension and improvement of quality of handicraft services, etc. For the hilly and mountainous zones with a severe climate and with little land per capita of population, these directions constitute a good basis for increasing the general and the per capita incomes of their population.

The distance of the village from the city, especially that from the regional city, determines the level of the mechanical movement of the population. This tendency is more pronounced in the northeastern districts and zones because of the natural and geographical conditions. Therefore, the measures which the Party and the State have been adopting for the opening of new roads and the improvement of communications in these territories are connected closely with the extension and better functioning of the urban transport service, which saves time and helps to raise the productivity of labour, and raises the level of well-being and culture, as factors that operate powerfully in favour of restricting the mechanical movement within the rural area and from the countryside to the city.

One of the main ways for raising the level of income of the population is also the occupation with socially useful work of all the able work forces. The complete employment of the active work forces in our country, especially in the rural area, can be considered as a problem that has been definitively solved. Of the whole rural population of our

country in working relations, 84 per cent is employed in the agricultural cooperatives, while the rest is in working relations to the State as higher and medium cadres occupied in the branches of industry, in the state sector of agriculture, in education and health service, etc.

The number and proportion of the active work force employed in the state sector shows that the rural population is not totally engaged in agricultural pursuits. The countryside has been transformed into a place with complex productive and non-productive activities. Its territory is developing more and more along the orientation of the economic growth with a multy-branched industry and advanced agriculture. These developments and the deepening of these processes not only will help to increase the real income of the rural population and the uplift of its well-being, to introduce the natural wealth into economic circulation, but also will ensure that state organization of work and production serves as an example of better organization, the strengthening of discipline and the uplift of culture, etc., as well as to help the natural transformation of the group property into state property. From this aspect, investments are to be more substantial in some districts in which the level of industrial development, the services and the non-productive sphere is still low. Greater attention will be devoted there to the better harmonization of these activities, and to the preparation in schools and courses of more local cadres and specialists so as to increase the number of working people for the communal and vital services, for health and education, and the number of higher cadres in all profiles.

With the rural territory, about 82 per cent of the working people of agriculture are in working relations to the cooperatives, whereas the rest works in the state farms. These ratios are different in different zones and districts. On the other hand, within the sector of agriculture, most of working people, more than 86 per cent of them, are occupied in the main work fronts, in the culti-

vation of and services for the field crops, in fruit-growing and stock-farming, while the rest works in state farms and in the industrial development of agricultural activities, in constructions and in different services.

The normal ratio between the working people of the productive and non-productive spheres and those in the auxiliary economies which take into consideration and adapt themselves to the natural conditions, the load on the land per work hand, etc., is generally maintained also in the districts of the southeastern zone. But in the northeastern zone and in the central mountainous districts, about 80-90 per cent of all the working people of agriculture work in the main fronts, therefore, in order to ensure a better exploitation of the natural riches and to increase the income per capita from work in the cooperative, etc., it is important that the number of working people occupied in the productive activities should be increased. This can be done by raising the level of mechanization and the activation of the idle forces, especially in the districts with little arable land per capita and per work hand. In this manner, a solution will be found to the problem of providing occupation for the forces which are expected to increase at rapid rates in the future.

The social and economic situation in the rural area can be considered also from the ratio between the agricultural workers and cooperative members, on the one hand, and office workers, on the other. At present, this ratio is 19.3 to 1 on a national scale, but it changes according to the characteristics of the terrain, the structure of the branches of agriculture and the type of its development.

These were, in general, the conditions required and the situation in the efforts for the increase of production, the overall incomes, and the net and per capita and per work hand incomes, the accumulation and the investing power of the agricultural cooperativist sector, which, in turn, will lead to the continuous uplift of the well-being of the rural population.

# Our time and

by **ISMAIL KADARE**

- . The Albanian literature is a great national treasury and, as such, it deserves and dignity and freedom of the Albanian people.*
- . The Albanian writers have made their choice long ago: total commitment on who strive for progress. They have no doubt at all about and are not in a commitment, and so did Dante, Cervantes, Hugo, Brecht and scores of great writers feel honoured in this company and do not seek to enter any other club.*
- . The modern Albanian literature is one of the most emancipated literatures in*

The current Albanian literature, what we ordinarily call the literature of socialist realism, occupies nearly one tenth of the period of Albanian literature, whereas the literature of the period of Renaissance stands for one fifth and that of independence for one twentieth part of it. We needed this comparison to delineate a time scale of the four principal periods of our literature, which is not without a correlation to the dimensions and values they have created. As can be seen, although socialist realism is the last and culminating period of the Albanian letters, it comes third in size, next to the period of the Middle Ages and the National Renaissance. At the present moment, it spans a period of time twice as long as that of Independence and keeps growing. The day will come shortly when it will equal the time-span of the Renaissance.

This time-dimension assists us to form a clearer idea of this period, which is the closest to us, since it is the product of our time and of our socialist social order. It is an asset in making our requirements extremely serious and in weighing our words as strictly and realistically as possible.

The time of socialism in Alba-

nia is one of extraordinary events and the greatest emancipation the Albanian people have seen throughout their whole history. Their literature and culture have also experienced an unordinary growth in this period. We would not be objective if, in the assessment of our contemporary literature, as compared with that of the other periods, we were to automatically attribute all the merits of the time and of the revolution directly to the literature, if we were to place it in a privileged position confronted with the other periods. Were we to proceed in that way, we would be allowing ourselves too much euphoria, self-satisfaction and a complete lack of a sense of self-criticism towards our work.

It is true that the contemporary Albanian literature is the product of its time, but it must be assessed according to its own worth and not be allowed to assume merits from extra-literary circumstances. To put this idea plainly, let us make a hypothetical comparison between our current life and that of a period of a hundred years ago, in 1889, or sixty years ago in 1929. It is impossible to find any common elements which could compare among themselves. The effort it-

self would be ridiculous. However, both in 1889 and in 1929, there were masterpieces of literature, which could stand any comparison.



The socialist literature of our country today has its roots in the dramatic time when the Albanian people, led by the communists, were locked in a life-and-death struggle against the occupiers and the local feudal lords and bourgeoisie for national and social liberation. It grew with each passing year and decade in the time of the construction of socialism. It was extended and enriched against numerous predictable and unpredictable odds which involved problems of ideas and artistic choice of the right or left directions.

Never in the long history of the Albanians had their literature created such broad contacts with the people; and the people and time never acted together with it, serving as a source of support, inspiration and benevolent encouragement. Here we must add that, despite the merits

# our literature

*all our energies, passion and devotion. It is part of the consciousness  
the side of their own people and of all the peoples of the world  
ressed by any philosophy. The Greek tragedians wrote with  
men of world art. The present generation of Albanian  
this part of Europe.*

of literature, it was the nature of the new social order, the very nature of the socialist culture, which created such an unprecedented communication. All these factors converged to determine its emancipating role and character to such a broad extent which was not and could not be created before in the life of the Albanians.

This was a literature of a new type, like the new atmosphere, time and the whole order which was established in this country. At a first glance, it seems as if there was nothing in common between it and the previous literature, but gradually, when the opinion of the time became more mature and the vision more complete, it was easy to notice that this new literature was part of the Albanian centuries-old literature, was its most advanced section, which, together with the new messages, inherited the lifelong messages of the Albanian letters, just as the new time inherited the best tradition of the past.

Our contemporary literature communicates with the three other periods of Albanian letters and, thanks to its indisputable values, unites their values and qualities, which shows that, apart

from other things, it is a real national art of Albania's.

The contemporary literature has one thing in common with the old Albanian literature of the Middle Ages: international recognition. By a paradox of history, it is precisely these two periods — the earliest and the latest, which are best known outside the borders of the country.

The old Albanian literature, a semi-religious, bloomy and extremely élitist literature, with very few readers in Albania, has, nevertheless, played an important role in the creation of all the mechanisms of expression of one of the oldest and most beautiful languages of Europe and in making Albania, the Albanian nation and language known all over the world. We can mention two facts in support of this: first, with its numerous publications in different countries it succeeded in making the epic wars of Skanderbeg and the drama of the Albanians known everywhere; and second, it encouraged the early investigations into the Albanian language and civilization. It was precisely two books of this literature, by Pjetër Budi and Frang Bardhi, which, three hundred years ago, came to the notice of the greatest scientific mind of

that time, Gotfried Leibniz — the initiator of studies on the origin of the Albanian language and of the Albanians from the Illyrians.

The contemporary Albanian literature comes closer to the period of our Renaissance thanks to their great national emancipating mission, their militancy and unreserved commitment to the vital cause of the country. They stand close together also on account of their broad popular character, humanism, lofty civic spirit, and the nobility of art as a bridge which unites the peoples. Today, when the vulgar black winds of chauvinism are blowing in the Balkan Peninsula, these qualities appear still more wonderful.

All these values and qualities of the different periods of Albanian art, were taken up by the contemporary Albanian letters and further enriched with the new ideas of the epoch, assuming a new vitality and brilliance which they never had before. As they rose in full vigour, they built a wonderful reader, who became the broadest and most intelligent support for the development of our new letters.

The road of growth and perfection of our contemporary so-

cialist literature has not been simple and easy.

Its first phase, that which roughly extends from the forties to the end of the fifties, is one of the most interesting ones, precisely on account of the clash of opposed concepts on art. On the one hand, there was the great enthusiasm and the optimistic inebriation following the liberation of the country, the confidence and the noble feelings stirred at the dawn of a new epoch; on the other hand, there was the petty distrust towards the literature and the intellectuals, which had the effect of a cold shower, especially in the early years of this phase.

The sectarianism of Koçi Xoxe and his minions, their hatred towards the national culture and identity, inflicted a considerable damage to literature. The greater the damage since this culture was still in its beginnings, was still «brittle» and could be wounded easily. These enemies of the Albanian culture and nation in their efforts to paralyze the Albanian literature — in an effort to cause the paralyzation of our whole intelligentsia — resorted to an old mechanism: that of the complex of guilt. By making the intelligentsia, and together with it the writers, feel a sense of guilt, they hoped they could easily bring them to serve their own aims, disarm them and destroy their personality, in brief, change them from militants of their time into jesters of old feudal courts.

The overthrow of Koçi Xoxe and his ilk buried this reactionary mentality of ignoramuses, but it does not mean that this barred all possibilities of its re-

crudescence in the same measure as left sectarianism did.

Other difficulties on the way of the new Albanian literature were various misunderstandings in connection with the mission and role of art. They came from different directions, from the right and the left. But, whereas the political atmosphere, the pronounced anti-imperialist character of the entire life of the country emphasized the need for the struggle against the right viewpoints which defended the perpetual character of art and departure from the social problems, we cannot say the same about schematism.

The cut-and-dry views about the positive hero, the ill-famed theory of the absence of the conflict, or of the conflicting not between evil and good, but between the good and the good, and other similar misapprehensions, which appeared under a revolutionary garb, were nothing but manifestations of a sort of decadent trends, imitations of petty-bourgeois rose-water literature known in the West as fashionable literature. This kind of literature had nothing in common with the revolution, although with its arrogance and intolerance, it pretended to be the only representative of it. Whereas, in essence, it was only an expression of servility to the vulgar bourgeois art, in as much as it imitated its mechanisms.

All this was bound to create a lifelessness and superficiality in the Albanian letters and to make it insipid. Nevertheless, while it could more easily fight back and contain this assault of vulgarity, our literature had a much

more arduous task in giving timely answers to the more complicated problems of the relationship between what is national and what is socialist in literature, between the typical and the non-typical, etc. Some of these problems continue to preoccupy the literary thinking today, and it is the urgent task of our criticism and all literary opinion to deal with them and put them to their place.

We are very familiar with the formulation «socialist contents and national form», but in my opinion, today this formulation does not make much sense. The first question we would be tempted to ask is: Why this division? Why the national part of literature and arts should have the attribute of the form only? I am not going to ask any such questions which are difficult to answer.

The above formulation emerged and appeared to make sense in a multinational socialist state, in which different nationalities formed a people with a specific literature of its own — the Soviet literature. In our country, which has a homogenous national constitution, this division of component parts cannot stand.

But whereas the relationships between contents and form in this case remained only within the context of a formula the question of the typical and non-typical appeared much more complex.

The theory on the typical, elaborated in the Soviet Union in the mid 50s, precisely on the threshold of the revisionist processes, has brought about great confusion and incalculable harm

to the socialist literature of all countries.

The theory of the typical, as it was served to us, was the theoretical breeding-ground for mediocrity, the groundwork on which it supported its edifice from which it launched its attacks for the destruction of really great art. It championed the uniform art, conformity, against militancy, against any novelty and originality in art, which form the principles of the socialist art.

Accepting militancy in words, in fact it denied the concept wholesale, because it disarmed the writer and deprived him of any possibility of treating the real problems of society in his work. Any protagonist that happened to be criticized found protection in the social category which he stood for, and, in this manner, the negative character could not be made a physician, artist, police officer or office employee, and even less a peasant or a worker, since the rule of the typical could not permit them to be ordinary people with vices.

It is useless to dwell any longer on the fatal consequences of this theory, if it were imposed on literature. However, we must add here that, although in theory some efforts have been made by our criticism to reject it, still the roots of this phenomenon have not been eradicated, which shows the weakness of this criticism. In the practice of our literature, this theory has been completely denied long since. It is to the credit of our new literature that it resisted this alien theory. Besides other things, it is proof of its vitality and good con-

dition and the solidity of the ground on which it stands.

In the beginning of the 60s, when a non-typical event occurred and small Albania challenged the Khrushchevites, the latter made a gruesome remark about the Albanian letters. They offered two alternatives: either the Albanian literature would be disfigured and transformed into a typical bourgeois literature, or it would disintegrate and end up as a propaganda babble, as was the case with some dogmatic literatures of that period.

The challenge of the Albanian literature to this ill-wishing prophecy was worded in equally strong terms. Not only it did not disintegrate and become a propaganda slop, not only it did not degenerate into an imitation of decadent literature, but, on the contrary, defying any forecast, it gathered new strength and vigour and experienced an unprecedented rise. By this it showed that it was a true literature, and not a temporary flame which the first gale could blow out.

The vigorous development of all genres was accompanied with an emancipation of writers, with the liberation of their minds from all clichés and dogmas, with a renewal of genres and forms. Powerful innovative works created one of the most beautiful literary atmospheres in the history of Albanian letters. This confirmed again the great truth that art is immortal through the renewal and change.

It was not unexpected that the Chinese pressure of the 70s, which did not pass without leaving its imprint on some countries, should meet with repulsion at the gates

our literature. Having reached a stage of consolidation, our literature could not be shaken by outside pressure, from any quarter it came. But, whereas it failed to put its stamp on the Albanian letters, this pressure, due to extra-literary reasons, had a negative influence in the school-books and programs, with which our younger generation made their contact with our national literature and with that of the world, in general.

The 70s were marked by a stern clash on two fronts: against the influence of bourgeois liberalism, on the one hand, and against conservative schematism, on the other. Here an admission has to be made that, whereas in the front against the right trend just as before, the struggle was really efficient the same cannot be said of the struggle against the left trend. Encouraged by the Chinese pressure, it strove for revival, for regaining its lost positions and paralyzing the Albanian letters, which, by then, had grown strong enough to be overcome by schematism. Seeing that this was its last opportunity, schematism launched a desperate attack.

The last decade of our literature has been just as rich, not to say richer, with problems requiring explanations and solutions, with the joint efforts of the writers to overcome the expected and unexpected difficulties which emerged in the literary process.

The unharmonious development of different genres, especially of poetry and the novel, the backwardness of the theatre and the literary criticism, created preoccupations which sometimes were justifiable and sometimes were

not. A problem which had emerged previously, but which the literary life brought into greater prominence, was that of the so-called major and minor themes. The consensus reached about this problem, that is, the total avoiding of such a metaphysical division and the assessment of literary works, not by merit of themes but by the ideo-artistic level, was a sign of the maturity of the common literary and social opinion.

The extension of themes, the inclusion in literature of the great richness of life and the complicated social, philosophical and psychological problems, have been another preoccupation of the writers. This was especially true about some themes which seemed taboos, although no one had declared them to be so, and managed to steal into the literary world. The cause for this situation, I think, should not be sought outside the ranks of our writers. It is they themselves who lacked the talent or the courage to overcome a surmountable obstacle. In our literature there are still blanks in themes and motives from the ethical-moral motives and spheres — those impulses and passions without which the human existence cannot be imagined — and other complicated experiences which are present in the life of everyone, but which cannot be found in the pages of books. Other acute and dramatic themes which are connected with the relationship between man and society, questions of democracy, the struggle against the bureaucratization of legislation, and so on, are scarcely treated or avoided altogether. All these pro-

blems which exist together with literature since ancient time create a marked vacuum if they remain absent. The history of our socialist state, the published records of the Party, Enver Hoxha's works, are replete with facts, events and protagonists connected with the above-mentioned themes, whereas in literature they seldom occur or do not figure at all.

Some of our critics justify this blank by resorting to the mechanism of the typical. Others, always proceeding from the same category, have dared further afield. To the question why the facts of the history of the country should not appear in literature, they respond with the argument that literature has a generalizing effect and is concerned with what is typical, which makes the problem delicate. One must really be a barbarian in logic to accept that the fact treated in the novel or story of a writer, I repeat it, in the novel or story which bears the name of one of the numerous writers of the country, has a stronger generalizing effect, that is, has a more delicate approach, than the fact mentioned in the book of the founder of modern Albania.

The overcoming of the above-mentioned misunderstandings and the establishment of closer contacts with life are an imperative. They will bring a breath of fresh air into the «lungs» of our literature.

Some time has passed since the moment when a basic demand was made for our literature and arts: the struggle for better quality and against mediocrity. The problem which Comrade Ramiz

Alia raised has to do with major things connected with the future of a literature.

Mediocrity, just as schematism and rose-water literature, the trite imagination of the positive hero, the cut-and-dry moralizing and happy endings, is by no means the quality of socialist literature. It is a universal disease of literature, which emerged together with it and will be its life-long companion. A total life and death struggle has continued between real great art and mediocre art from the time when Homer sang the first line of the **Iliad** until our time, right to the moment in which we are speaking about literature.

The outcome of this prolonged wearing clash has determined the fate of entire literatures, of their blooming into effervescence or withering, of their raise and fall.

As a rule, the states and administration, beginning from ancient Rome, have not supported great art against mediocrity, on the contrary, they have put their support behind the latter against great art. An this is in the logic of things, because it is known that great art is a headache to the administration, whereas mediocrity is comfortable.

The fact that our socialist state has raised this problem in the opposite sense, that is, against mediocrity, is significant in itself, and the writers and artists ought to appreciate it for what it is.

In socialism, mediocrity continues to work against real art with unabated fury, although the character of this struggle has its specifics. Like an ailment which is stimulated by other concomitant

diseases and which, in turn, stimulates them, mediocrity draws heavily on schematism and nourishes it and all its sub-products. So, they operate together on a broad front to gain dominating positions in literature and they can easily win if literature and society slacken their vigilance towards them.

In socialism, mediocrity tries to flatter the bureaucrats in office with the aim of fulfilling one of its main dreams: to gain recognition, even without being proclaimed official literature.

The concept of «official literature is unacceptable in socialism, just as its opposite, the «non-official» literature, is also unacceptable. A similar division would certainly cause a diversion of fatal consequences which could have a disfiguring effect on literature.

Speaking about mediocrity as a negative phenomenon, we have correctly stressed previously that the writers and artists of mediocre qualities are not to blame for being what they are. But this innocence ends at the moment when they strive to raise mediocrity into a standard, in short, when mediocrity becomes aggressive.

This kind of mediocrity strives to make the law in art. To this end, it resorts to various methods. One of them is the effort to secure for its representatives the leading positions in places where the fates of literature and art are discussed and decided. When the mediocre writers and artists, especially those with great pretensions who become over-confident, occupy such positions, they become dangerous because they want to impose their tastes and

preferences on literature and art.

This set of officials-writers can by no means help in establishing confidential relationships between the writers and artists, on the one hand, and the state administration, on the other. Sometimes they do the opposite. And this occurs at the moment when they want to show that it is they who have the monopoly of the loyalty to the state, a loyalty which, according to them, is lacking or is insufficient among the writers and artists. According to this sinister logic, the latter, that is the writers and artists, must be kept under surveillance and tutelage. Similar practices and concepts disrupt the unity of the creative forces and lead to painful divisions between the writers and the state.

All this is opposed to the line of the Party on literature and arts. And this is confirmed fully in the fact that in post-Liberation Albania, the institution of censorship has never existed and does not exist, which is to the credit of our socialist state. If there are people who do not like this situation, they are out of touch with our time and are against the advance of the nation, against socialist democracy and the prospects which the 8th Plenum of the Party has opened.

Literature has its own laws of development. Various internal mechanisms protect it from destruction and ensure its rejuvenation and existence. One of these mechanisms is the process of the selection of values.

Selection is one of the basic and most vital processes for the existence of literature. It is similar to the process of metabolism of living beings. Interruption

of it means the interruption of life.

Violation of the process of selection is the gravest act that can be perpetrated against literature. Unfortunately, sometimes it happens that this violation really takes place for different motives: it is due mostly to the pressure of mediocrity, which seeks by all means to occupy a place in the literary treasury of a people. Other motives are connected with sentimentality, literary cabaalism, lack of principles and misunderstanding of democracy.

The struggle against mediocrity cannot be waged without respecting the laws of selection. Mediocrity strives hard to disregard this principle, whereas real art does the opposite.

The principle of selection has been and continues to be flagrantly violated in our country in our school text-books. They are full of passages and evaluations of many literary works that still have not passed through the sieve of selection. To include unselected works into text-books means to put together the good with the bad.

Imagine the colossal amount of work that will be required to root out the bad from them. Whereas, in the case when the principle of selection operates, the bad is thrown out of literature in a natural way, every day and every minute.

That is the reason why in the practice of studies in the world, contemporary literature is cautiously introduced, and that is done without haste. It is true that there are bourgeois conservative schools which have been severely

criticized for ignoring the contemporary literature. But, the extreme opposite, the stuffing of the latter into studies is unwholesome to culture.

In Albania, the contemporary writers occupy a much larger place as compared with the literature of the past. Sometimes the disproportions are scandalous. Things have reached the point that an ordinary writer of our time receives as much space as a whole period of literature. This question has to do not only with ethics, the lack of modesty and a complete absence of a sense of self-criticism, but also with a disrespect for the culture of your own people.

This phenomenon has had and continues to have its advocates. There is a strange symbiosis between the schematic critical opinion and the mediocre literature. Both sides are very comfortable in each other's presence; they nourish one another and, thus, create a closed circle to the detriment of art.

Apart from other things the struggle for raising the quality of our letters and arts is also directed against this dangerous symbiosis.

The Albanian literature is a great national treasury and, as such, it deserves all our energies, passion and devotion.

It is part of the consciousness and dignity and freedom of the Albanian people.

Wherever it is created, in the first place here, in the motherland, and outside the state borders of Albania, wherever the Albanians live in their own territories, the Albanian literature

bears the dramatic stamp of one of the most ancient and civilized peoples of Europe, of the noble race of Albanians.

There is much talk today about the freedom of writing, about its violation, and from time to time, the writers themselves accuse others of this act. The freedom of writing, the sublime gift of the writer, cannot be snatched from him in any way. No establishment can give it to him or take it away from him. Only the writer himself can dispose of it, defend it or give it away, and in so doing, he should not seek an alibi, or accuse anyone, but must be answerable for his actions to his own conscience and that of the nation to which he belongs.

There is a great ado in the world today about how literature should be: with or without a mission, committed to the great problems of the time or disinterested in them.

The Albanian writers have made their choice long ago: total commitment on the side of their own people and of all the peoples of the world who strive for progress. They have no doubt at all about this and are not impressed by any philosophy. The Greek tragedians wrote with a commitment, and so did Dante, Cervantes, Hugo, Brecht and scores of great men of world art. The present generation of Albanian writers feel honoured in this company and do not seek to enter any other club.

The modern Albanian literature is one of the most emancipated literatures in this part of Europe. It follows the great tradition of the emancipation of the old Alba-

nian literature of Naim Frashëri and De Rada, who were among the most illuminated minds in this zone of the Mediterranean, of Migjeni, Noli and Poradeci who were among the leading figures of Balkan emancipation in their time.

The literatures of the Balkan countries have passed through many tests in the last two centuries. Some of these tests have been so bitter that they have left marked distortions in them. One such consequence has been chauvinism, this mortal disease of literature. We have been witnesses to innumerable cases when the Balkan chauvinistic writers and academicians hid their barbarous nature, their sinister hatred, their misdeeds and jealousies against other peoples and cultures behind good manners and fine words, behind titles and degrees.

It is the exceptional merit of Albanian letters, which has its source in the culture and noble spirit of the Albanian people, that they never fell to such lowliness. This literature can be proud of many things, but one of its greatest assets is, without doubt, its love of its own people and, undivided from this, the love of the other peoples and all progressive mankind.

For nearly half a century, the Albanian people live and are nourished with the Albanian socialist literature. Their need for it is great, their love of it is touching. This need and love makes our responsibility before this people, to whom we belong, before the time in which we live, before socialism for which we have been working and fighting for forty-five years on end without interruption, all the more important.



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## **UNO AND ALBANIA'S CONTRIBUTION**

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

The year 1990 is the 45th anniversary of the creation of United Nations Organization and coincides with the 35th anniversary of the admission of Albania in this organization (December 14, 1955). The foundations of this international body were laid in the heat of the Anti-fascist War. This period was full of work for building the foundations of the new democratic Albania. The Albanian people, who paid dearly for their freedom and independence, like all the other peoples, aspired to a new life, therefore they had great hopes and confidence in the important role of UNO. During the 35 years of its full membership in UNO, Albania has respected the principles of the Charter. It has made its contribution by supporting the efforts of this organization and has worked to promote the lofty ideals it upholds for the peoples, for the good of freedom, peace and international security. It has done this by openly expressing its independent

opinions about the problems of the time.

UNO comes to this anniversary with a rich balance of achievements which, among other things, is dedicated to the great and uninterrupted work of its Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. The present reality shows that UNO has justified the confidence of the peoples in it better than ever before; its role has been reaffirmed and strengthened in conformity with the tasks and objectives of the Charter. We rejoice to see the strengthening of the universal character of the Organization, in which each state can state its own opinion and ensure that this international body is not manipulated and exploited for the narrow interests of one state or another. It is the merit of UNO that it has drafted the main principles and norms for the strengthening of peace, to which Albania adheres unreservedly. Our country has carried out the duties deriving from these principles, thus making its

contribution to the preservation of peace and the strengthening of security in the region and in the world at large. In the framework of Balkan cooperation, Albania is actually working to draft the document of the principles of good neighbourhood in the Balkans, which it will present to the next Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan Countries, in Tirana, in October 1990.

UNO is also playing a major role in ending regional conflicts, not only through its resolutions and decisions, but also through the missions undertaken by its Secretary General, De Cuellar, and the stabilizing role of its forces. Worth mentioning is the contribution to and efforts for the settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, or that in Western Sahara, in Cyprus, Namibia and other countries. The UNO Charter charges the General Assembly and the Security Council also, with specific tasks and responsibilities in the

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field of disarmament, to which Albania has given its full support. The PSR of Albania backs up the initiatives and agreements on disarmament, the creation of nuclear-free zones everywhere in the world, including also the idea of denuclearization and dechemization of the Balkans. It has likewise, greeted the treaty for the liquidation of medium-range missiles signed by the USA and the Soviet Union.

The broadest field of activity of UNO has to do with the economic and social advance of the developing countries, with the struggle against poverty, famine, diseases and other calamities. We are of the opinion that, in this domain, it has made its most significant contributions, always in the spirit of the Charter. Albania supports the economic objectives and activities of UNO which are aimed at encouraging economic and social development. In the last ten years, in particular, Albania has strengthened its economic ties and has intensified its relations with UNO. In cooperation with PNUD. Albania has developed a number of pro-

jects with the aim of ensuring an uplift in the scientific level of higher education, the setting up of information network, the improvement of telecommunications, and the updating of production with automatic and computer techniques. The problems of demography, the interconnection of demographic, economic and social factors have been on the agenda of UNO from its creation. Our country has extended its fruitful cooperation with UNFPA in the field of population, by strengthening and modernizing the service of demographic statistics. Our country has recently strengthened cooperation with UNO on problems of children and has developed projects together with UNFPA. Possibilities exist for the materialization of Albania's cooperation also with UNICEF. Albania is one of the first states to have signed the Convention of Children's Rights in New York this year.

By reflecting the preoccupations of the international community in face of the worsening situation of environment, for more than 20 years now UNO has insisted on the need of under-

taking actions on a national, regional and international scale. For this purpose, it has created its special program (PNUE). Our country devotes particular attention to the environmental protection within its territory and its coastal waters. It participates also in the protection of the Adriatic waters on a regional scale, in the Adriatic Initiative and in the protection of the Mediterranean. It is a member of the Barcelona Convention and will participate in the activities within its framework. Likewise, Albania has attended the meetings within the Plan of Action for the Mediterranean and other activities of PNUE. It is currently participating in the Regional Conference on Environment in Norway.

The illicit traffic and use of drugs have become a problem and a social ulcer in many states. To some extent, this has also encouraged international terrorism. Since these problems have attracted the attention of international opinion, UNO has undertaken a number of activities, signed conventions which bind governments to combat drug traffic and use. This social ill has

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not existed and does not exist in Albania. The people's state power has been very careful and has adopted measures to preserve the good traditions of the country. Its measures have been of an educative and legal character. Special acts envisage severe penalties for the use, keeping and traffic of drugs. At the same time, our country has become a barrier to all traffic of drugs from or through our territory to other regions. It has expressed its readiness to cooperate in the struggle to control drugs and terrorism at a Balkan level. Our country supports the

activity of UNO and the efforts in various zones of the world for the eradication of these harmful phenomena, but it is opposed to the manoeuvres which are made for using «the struggle against drugs» to cover up political aims, intervention and acts of aggression.

Our country has valuable cooperation with the specialized agencies of UNO such as INATOM, OMS, FAO, UNESCO and others. On this occasion, scientific laboratories have been set up to assist production, to promote work in nuclear medicine, agriculture, zootechny and veterinary services, seis-

mology and energy industry. Albania participates in a number of regional projects which are monitored by the above-mentioned institutions, in the field of telecommunications, seismology and scientific information in other fields.

In the future our country will make still greater efforts to increase its contribution within this organization, and cooperate more widely in various political, economic and social fields, in the interest of its own development and in the interest of peace and security in the region and in the world.

## ALBANIAN-BULGARIAN RELATIONS ON SOUND BASES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The official friendly visit to our country of the Government Delegation of the PR of Bulgaria headed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bojko Dimitrov, marked another step forward in the strengthening of the ties of

friendship between the two peoples and countries. The warm reception of the delegation and the meetings it had with Comrade Ramiz Alia, 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Pre-

sidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, and the talks it held with comrade Reis Malile, Minister for Foreign Affairs and other Albanian high per-

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sonalities, were further evidence of the greater development relations between Albania and Bulgaria have assumed recently, relations which lie on a sound basis and have good prospects.

Taking place two months after the visit of Reis Malile to Bulgaria, this visit indicated not only the continuation of the historical tradition of good relations between the two peoples, but also the intensive development of these relations in the present days. As such this visit represents a contribution to the further cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria in various fields of mutual interest. There are no obstacles to the further development of these relations, and all possibilities exist for them to expand step by step. The agreements signed in Tirana on maritime commercial navigation and exchanges and cooperation in the field of information are a further continuation and extension of those concluded in Sofia. All this is made possible by the new conditions in which these relations develop and which increase the mutual interest in their expansion.

During the talks conducted at Tirana, the two foreign ministers expressed their desire and confidence that relations between the PSR of Albania and the PR of Bulgaria will always develop in the positive direction they have already taken, which responds to the political good will and the joint efforts made in the spirit of understanding and friendship. On this road of development and on these sound bases, bilateral relations between the two countries will rise to higher levels.

The historical traditions of the two peoples as well as their joint contribution to the centuries-long history of the Balkans have united them in an old friendship. This is a friendship which, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, will contribute greatly to the strengthening of relations between the two peoples and countries. In our days, relations and an ever increasing cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria are developing positively in all fields, always in the national interests of the two countries and peace in the Balkans. All the meetings and visits the Bulgarian Government

Delegation had in Albania took place in a cordial atmosphere fostered by the feelings of the traditional friendship the two peoples have for each other. The further democratization of life in our country and the extension of Albania's active cooperation with the other peoples in accordance with the current world positive developments have created broad possibilities for the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation with Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people to develop in the spirit of the requirements of the time. «Albania is a peaceful country», Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his meeting with Bojko Dimitrov. «which struggles for peace and security in the world, and for the democratization of international relations on the basis of complete equality among countries and the preservation of independence and national identity of each of them».

The visit of the Bulgarian foreign minister to Albania strengthened the atmosphere of trust and the spirit of sincere cooperation between the two countries further. As two almost neighbouring

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countries, they see they are particularly interested in their joint efforts in the context of regional cooperation and attach major importance to the solution of the problems which still continue to preoccupy the peoples of our Peninsula. These problems can be solved through a broader dialogue and cooperation which would also promote the positive processes that are taking place in Europe. On this basis the desire and confidence were expressed that relations between two countries will constantly develop in the positive direction they have already assumed, thereby contributing to the improvement of the climate in the region so

that the Balkans, too, plays a positive role and makes its contribution to the present process of European foreign policy. The foreign ministers of Albania and Bulgaria expressed the readiness of their governments to continue their efforts in this direction. Today when important changes are taking place in Europe it is common duty of all the Balkan countries to carry regional cooperation forward and overcome the existing difficulties by seeking and finding the road of dialogue on the basis of mutual understanding and trust.

In the course of the broad discussion and talks on the Balkans and the

processes and events that are occurring in Europe today, the two sides emphasized the particular importance of the Second Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States which will be held in Tirana in October this year. The conviction was expressed that this important political event in the Balkans will serve the strengthening of peace and security not only in our region, but also in Europe and beyond. The desire of our two peoples and countries is that inter-Balkan cooperation should make a real contribution to the cause of peace and security, so that they do not lag behind the positive processes that are occurring in Europe.

## THE PEOPLES COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

On May 9 this year the whole progressive mankind commemorates the 45th anniversary of the victory over fascism. In the name of freedom and national independence, in

the name of democracy and progress the peoples, and together with them, our people, fought against fascism and shed torrents of blood and underwent great suffering.

In proportion to the area and population of their country the Albanian people was one of the more active participants in the world anti-fascist coalition. In that time in Al-

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bania one in fourteen people had risen arms in hand against the occupier. The armed people and the Albanian National Liberation Army of 70 000 partisan fighters, led by the Communist Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, articulated into brigades, divisions and army corps, went all out for the liberation of their country, nailing down 15 enemy divisions with an effective of 700 000 men and causing them great material damage. They wiped out 21 000 officers and men of the occupying forces, and took prisoner 20 000 of them. They destroyed or siezed 2 110 tanks and armoured cars, 1 331 cannon and mortars, about 2 000 lorries and huge amounts of ammunition and war material.

On orders by the General Commander of the National Liberation Army, in the years 1942-1945 more than 20 000 fighters of our Army went over our state borders and fought heroically to make their contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In this way, with its heroic victorious war, both inside and outside the country, Albania became one of the more active mem-

bers of the peoples' world anti-fascist coalition.

The active contribution of the Albanian people to the anti-fascist world war clearly emerges also from the great sacrifices they made and the losses they suffered in this war. Compared with its population of one million inhabitants and its territory of 28 000 square kilometres, Albania occupied one of the foremost places as to human and material losses during the Second World War. The small Albanian people gave 28 000 martyrs to the liberation war. If we reckon the wounded, too, then 7.3 per cent of the population was maimed in the course of war operations. Tens of thousands of people were jailed or interned in concentration camps. If we also consider the destruction of property then almost every Albanian family suffered some sort of damage from the occupier: 21 per cent of the houses in villages and towns were burnt down or destroyed, and more than one third of the livestock was slaughtered by the occupying armies. Despite the savage fury of the enemy, the Albanian people themselves libera-

ted their country without the intervention of the allied troops of the anti-fascist coalition in their country.

With the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, Albania ranked itself in the system of international relations on the side of the World Anti-fascist Coalition as the ally of the peoples and states which were fighting against fascism. Our country and people have their experience as to the alliances they had to enter with other peoples and countries in the course of history when they had to fight against a common enemy. «The fundamental thing was», Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «that in the field of foreign policy the Albanians always knew how not to put themselves on the losing side.»

Fighting for complete independence and sovereignty, the Albanian National Liberation Movement did not seek to shut itself up in its own shell and did not operate in isolation from the Great Anti-fascist Coalition, with no connections or cooperation with the national liberation move-

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ments of the neighbouring countries. On the contrary, it sought these relations itself, creating a fruitful cooperation in the interest of the common cause of the destruction of fascism and the liberation of the peoples from its bondage.

We have always recognized and valued the contribution the peoples made to the victory of May 9, 1945, and their great efforts for their liberation. Just as we have respected and honoured our National Liberation War, so have we respected and honoured the war of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Britain and France, the United States and the other countries which made up the World Anti-fascist Coalition, and the fraternal peoples of the Balkans with whom we had the same fate. In the course of the Second World War, the Soviet peoples led by J. Stalin carried a major burden and made an outstanding contribution to the achievement of the victory over fascism.

On this 45th anniversary of the victory over fascism, when Europe is undergoing deep-going changes, the Albanian people emphasize once

again their permanent involvement and interest in the cause of peace, security and cooperation among the various peoples and countries. The fact that Albania has not allowed the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops on its territory and participates in no military bloc is no small contribution to peace, security and good neighbourliness in the Balkans and beyond. Throughout their centuries-long history the Albanian people have committed no military aggression on the neighbouring peoples. This tradition of love of peace and good neighbourliness has become a principle of the foreign policy of the new Albanian state the leaders of which have repeatedly and solemnly declared that no evil would ever come to neighbouring peoples from Albania. Pursuing with determination this peaceful and freedom-loving policy, the Albanian people have always been interested in the problems of peace, security, disarmament and cooperation in Europe and wider. They see with interest and hail the concrete steps taken for lowering tension and reducing various kinds

of armaments on the European continent, for cutting down on military expenditure and banning nuclear tests, which contribute to the cause of peace and security in Europe and in the world. In this context we also welcome the initiatives and plans to find ways and means for lowering regional tensions in Europe and farther on. For this purpose we have always been interested in the elimination of confrontation and the spirit of the blocs, in the dissolution of military blocs and the creation of a favourable atmosphere for friendly relations among peoples and sovereign states on the basis of the fundamental principles recognized in international relations. The union of the two Germanies, a problem which has emerged from the recent developments, is a right of the German nation which, of course, must also take into account the interests of other peoples and international relations, in general.

It is in the interest of peace and security that the spirit of understanding and democratization in international relations, which is emerging in Europe today, should be felt in the Balkans, too. This would expand possibilities of cooperation among the Balkan and other peoples,

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and between our region and the continent. This would be a welcome contribution of the Balkan peoples to peace, security

and cooperation in Europe, in general. The Albanian people will do everything possible so as to establish a spirit of

Balkan and European understanding, which is in essence also in the interest of peace and their own security.

## THE BUSH-GORBACHOV MEETING: IN SEARCH FOR NEW EQUILIBRIUMS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Compared with the former Soviet-American high-level meetings, the recent meeting between the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States, which ended in Washington last Sunday, took place in a particular situation. This situation has to do, in the first place, with the great changes that took place in Eastern Europe and, as a consequence, in Europe as a whole, bringing about major alterations on the political map and in the problems to be coped with. The events in the East upset the existing equilibriums and created many unknowns. As was pointed out at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the

PLA, «The United States and the Soviet Union try to give the course of events the direction they want, with each considering its own interests. However, for them, too, it has become difficult to «bring the djin back into the bottle.» As the two major leading powers of the two military groupings, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, in the new conditions the United States and the Soviet Union try to seek and find alternatives which cannot be worked out separately from each other.

The Malta meeting in December last year between the two presidents was the first attempt at

seeking new equilibriums on the continent and a new partnership over European problems. At the June 3 press conference Mikhail Gorbachov declared that «the Malta meeting gave fresh dynamism to the process of overcoming difficulties and establishing a new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States.» Europe loomed large at the American-Soviet high-level meeting in Washington, too, at a time when many new events and developments have taken place after the Malta meeting. Discussion of European problems went beyond the framework of a discussion of particular problems, like the



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question of conventional weapons, Germany or the Baltic countries. At the Washington meeting European problems came under the grand strategy of the future development of the continent, and the architecture and form of the future Europe in the light of the major changes that have occurred or are occurring. Various observers link the American - Soviet talks with the problem of equilibrium on our continent forty-five years after the end of the Second World War. One of the close advisers of the Soviet President, Academician G. Arbatov, sees the Washington meeting not only as the first after the end of the cold war, but also as «a further progress of the new political philosophy which emerged at Malta and which poses the problem of the building of a new order, and not merely the guided death of the old order». From what has been made known so far, «the broad discussion of the transformations and events in Europe», which Bush mentions at his June 3 press conference, does not yet offer all the components to have a clearer idea of the American

or Soviet conception of the transition from the old to the new equilibriums. What the two sides emphasize in these days is the importance they attach to the definition of these new equilibriums in Europe. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov compared his meeting and talks with the American president with the Great Anti-fascist Coalition in which the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries participated in the Second World War against Nazi Germany.

Certainly, the search for new equilibriums is supposed to correct many shortcomings and flaws of the old equilibriums. The creation of various alliances and blocs after the Second World War increased rivalries and conflicts in Europe and all over the world, and proved that no security is achieved through old mentalities and closed blocs. The same may be said also of the armaments race of the two military blocs and various states. At the Washington talks it was observed that the two sides are making efforts to regulate their relations of power, which entails a central problem

in Soviet-American talks, that of armaments control. In this direction the Washington meeting resulted in the signing of a number of agreements like that which will lead to a 30 per cent reduction of the long-range nuclear arsenal or a 80 per cent reduction of chemical weapons. It was declared that a treaty on the reduction of strategic weapons may be signed within this year and the two presidents issued a joint statement in which they dealt with a number of elements of this treaty. The signing and, especially, implementation of these agreements is a welcome step which should be followed by others so that the process of atomic and conventional disarmament assumes broader dimensions and a quicker pace.

From the talks held in Washington it emerged that the two sides put the stress on an equilibrium of mutual interests. «Soviet-American relations,» Secretary of State Baker declared in Washington in these days, «lie on the sure basis of the equilibrium of interests.» This equilibrium of interests includes, as Gorbachov put it at the

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press conference, «all world problems.» Apart from Europe, they also discussed the Middle East, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Cuba, Central America etc. In the present conditions, this equilibrium of interests is not and cannot be an exclusively bilateral equilibrium of interests. The fact that over many problems and regions the two leaders referred to much broader forums, like the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, when the question is about European problems, or that Gorbachov called for considering also the interests of other European countries, when the question is about united Germany, shows that the voice of the international community is making itself more and more felt in world policy.

With the development of events in Europe and the ever greater awareness of the peoples of their identity and sovereignty, the problem of responsibility in international relations assumes new importance. Gorbachov and Bush dealt with the problem of the responsibilities of the United States and the Soviet Union, and the Soviet president called for «understanding the role of the two powers in this time.» In the new conditions these responsibilities entail the obligation to the establishment of more stable international relations and a broader cooperation, from which all may profit and through which all may feel more secure. This is also what world opinion wishes about the development of world political events, including the recent Soviet-American

high-level talks. At his meeting with the UN General Secretary, Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «We think that the responsibility of the great powers for the preservation of peace and general security, which is also recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, also entails a great obligation for them, which must be accompanied with a further democratization of international relations, and the establishment of complete equality among various countries.» This new responsibility calls for finding new, just and peace-bringing equilibriums which consider not only the interests of all countries, but also their participation in the solution of problems in which they are directly interested, unlike what was done in the past.

ALL KINDS OF ART HAVE DEVELOPED GREATLY AND HAVE BEEN RAISED TO A HIGHER QUALITATIVE LEVEL. IN THE PHOTO: A DANCING COUPLE ON THE STAGE OF THE OPERA AND BALLET THEATRE.



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