

# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

Nº 4 (113) 1990





◀ **OUR SCHOOLS HAVE TRAINED ABOUT 80.000 HIGHER CADRES, THAT IS ONE IN 38 INHABITANTS; WHILE 400.000 PEOPLE HAVE COMPLETED SECONDARY SCHOOLS, THAT IS ONE IN 7-8 INHABITANTS. UNDER THE PRESENT PROGRAM, BY THE YEAR 2000, THIS KIND OF EDUCATION WILL PRACTICALLY INCLUDE THE WHOLE POPULATION OF THIS SCHOOL-AGE.**

*Mosaic on the façade of the Museum of National History in Tirana; it is the work of the group of painters Vilson Kilica (People's Painter), Anastas Kostandini, Agim Nebiu, Justin Droboniku and Ateksandër Filipi. It evokes the wars and efforts of the Albanian people in the centuries for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.*





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# ALBANIA—AN ACT IN WORLD DEMOC

## COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA'S ADDRESS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. President,

It is a special pleasure for me to take the floor and speak before this Session of the General Assembly, which is held on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Likewise, it is an honour for me to warmly congratulate you upon your election to the high post of the President of the UN General Assembly, and wish you success in fulfilling this noble task.

We have come to this important meeting with the desire to contribute, within our possibilities, to the strengthening of the spirit of international co-operation, and the safeguarding of peace and security for all countries and peoples, big or small.

The year which has elapsed since the meeting of the previous General Assembly was replete with events which at times have been hopeful and at times threatening. However, they have resulted in the hope that at last, on the eve of 21st century, reason, not force, is leading mankind to the solution of conflicts, to co-operation and not to confrontation, to understanding and not to distrust.

It is very encouraging that, despite many difficulties, the concept is affirming itself that the security of the peoples and nations can be real and permanent only if general security is established for all, and that political détente can have a solid basis only if the gap of unequal economic development among various countries is narrowed down, and if the poorer countries are assisted to embark on the road of modern development and the utilisation of the material and spiritual values of our time.

Certainly, various political, ideological, economic and social conflicts have not ceased existing, nor have the causes and factors which have given rise to them been eliminated. Nevertheless,

the important thing is that a general consensus is being created that international problems cannot be solved, nor can threats and dangers to peace and general security be eliminated through old concepts and methods.

We would like to consider the process of the easing of tension, if it is crystallized and further affirmed, with the active participation of the whole international community, not only a major achievement, but also a fundamental positive change in the building of new international relations.

In our view, what is happening in Europe and has taken the name of the process of security and co-operation in Europe is going along in that direction. Europe, the situation on this continent, and relations among its nations and peoples have been, at least up to this day, the source of the majority of positive or negative developments in the world

The hotbeds of the major conflicts which then set the whole world afire had their source here, the same as the origins of major political, ideological and cultural currents which have predominated over the centuries. From the great European wars, with all their suffering and superhuman sacrifices, the reflection of all European tragedies, illusions and dissillusions, bold and noble initiatives have emerged so that the peoples and nations of Europe may live in peace and friendship among themselves.

Mine is a small country. The Albanian people, however, are among the most ancient inhabitants of the European continent. During the thousands of years of their existence, they have never attacked anybody, never provoked any aggressive war, never threatened or encroached upon the security of their neighbours. On the contrary, they have gone through fire and flames to preserve their existence and assist others. George Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, our National Hero of the 15 century, has



# IVE PARTICIPANT RATIC PROCESSES

## IS TO THE 45th SESSION OF THE BLY OF THE UNO

(September 28, 1990)

been and remains the symbol of the brilliant fighter for the defence, not only of his own people, but also the first champion of European humanism and civilisation.

History, has not caressed the Albanian people, either in ancient or in modern times. But it has also taught them that, for their freedom, independence, national sovereignty, originality and identity to be protected, they must boldly fight and oppose any attempt at their infringement, just as it has taught them that they must support and back up all international actions and initiatives that contribute to the strengthening of peace and general security.

We have proceeded from this necessity, this reality and this aim when we have opposed the policies of military blocs and divisions into spheres of influence, closed markets and neo-colonialist policies, the armaments race and, in general, the policies of interference, arbitrariness and dictate.

We have been and continue to be for the democratisation of international relations so that the voice of all countries is listened to and reckoned with. It is true that the great powers have special responsibilities for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. This, however, does not give them the right to dictate and impose peace according to their particular interests and political and ideological criteria. The norms of international relations, the position of states in their relations to one another, and the maintenance of peace must be the fruit of the thought, experience and contribution of the whole international community and the consensus of all the peoples.

In this context, we cannot fail to evaluate and consider as promising the changes that have taken place in the relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the agreements they have concluded on disarmament and,

in general, the way they consider mutual and general security. If détente between the two superpowers were to become global and extended to other fields, apart from that of armaments, this would be to the benefit of everybody.

Nevertheless, in the situation we find ourselves now, we cannot say that the policies and practices produced by the bloc concepts have been overcome. Worse still, the arrogance inspired by the policy of strength, which is reflected in the continuation of attempts at imposing various models, standards and schemes of political or social developments on others has not been overcome, either. Life has shown that pressure to make them compulsory for every country has led to conflicts from which the world is suffering to this day.

Mr. President,

Albania has followed with keen attention and hailed without hesitation the democratic processes that are developing in Europe today. We consider the process of the CSCE, which our country has already joined by participating in a number of its activities, as being of particular importance, and this not only for Europe.

The Albanian people have at all times and in all epochs shared the fate of the peoples of this continent. Precisely for this reason Albania feels itself an active participant in the processes that are unfolding in Europe. It looks forward with interest to the Paris Summit which, proceeding from the basic Helsinki Acts and other CSCE, documents, will decide its institutionalisation.

Albania, which would like to be a full participant in the Paris Summit, will work in the spirit of the obligations deriving from it. All the efforts, initiatives or ideas which are aimed at liquidating the division of Europe into blocs and

spheres of influence or other forms inherited from the past, while respecting the freedom, independence and sovereignty of every people and country, have the unreserved support of our country. Any proposal for and step towards the easing of tension, the strengthening of peace through dialogue and understanding, in complete equity and mutual respect, and any decision or suggestion contributing to the defense of human rights and national and democratic freedoms will also have our full support.

The changes that are taking place at present in Central and Eastern Europe, the complex and still undefined situations that are being created in this wide region, and the new and varied differences that are emerging, of which one does not know what forms they will assume and what forms they will bring about, call for serious and wise reflection and actions on the part of all and everybody. Exaltation of democracy and human rights alone cannot be the magic key to the solution of the major, indeed we would say, dramatic problems of those countries. It is an evident fact that in some countries this exaltation is leading to anarchy, decline and degradation of political, social and economic life, and conflicts and clashes with characteristics of a civil war.

Just as the whole world, so the European countries, too, stand at different levels of economic, social and other fields of development, which are the result of their different historical roads of development and which, all taken together have also determined and conditioned the way of their political life.

It would be desirable for all the European countries to be at the same economic, political, cultural level, etc. However, in our opinion, this level cannot be attained, and contradictions and conflicts cannot be eliminated only by giving advice, no matter how wise it may be.

Life has shown that without the development of all countries in the economic field, without fruitful co-operation which creates possibilities of advance for others, too, and without establishing sincere and equal relations among states, which exclude prejudices and interference in internal affairs of any kind, no genuine security can be achieved, nor can democratic progressive and permanent community of the European peoples be created in that way.

Changes in Europe led also to the reunifica-

tion of Germany, which eliminated one of the acute problems that have dominated the European political stage over the last 45 years. The right of the German nation to be reunited is a right that cannot be denied. The solution of such problems as that of the unification of Germany on the peaceful road is a good example also for coping with other problems of this kind which history has left for us to solve. They also greatly contribute to the democratisation of international relations, the strengthening of peace and security, and the creation of conditions for sincere and constructive co-operation among the peoples.

Albania wishes sincerely that united Germany, which represents a great economic and political power, will constitute a factor of peace and stability in Europe and further afield and serve the creation of a better future for our old continent.

In the context of the process of European co-operation and security, regional co-operation is also assuming particular importance. Such is also the process of Balkan co-operation, to which Albania attaches special importance and exerts all her efforts to make the maximum contribution to its advancement and success. We think and are fully convinced that this process contributes not only to the strengthening of security and co-operation in this very sensitive region, but also directly serves the cause of peace and stability in Europe and the Mediterranean.

However, the Balkans has also its specific problems, which have caused its lagging behind in many respects and hamper its joining in the European currents and becoming an integrating factor of our continent.

The fundamental problem, or rather say, the source of all conflicts, squabbles and hatred among the Balkan states during this century, has been that of national minorities. It is high time, and the democratic processes taking place in Europe and the whole world call for it, that the Balkan countries tackle this problem with wisdom, realism and objectiveness. However complicated and difficult it might appear, if they set themselves the aim of transforming the minorities from an apple of discord into a bridge for communication and co-operation, then the ways and means to settle this problem can be found.

As far as Albania is concerned, it has the go-



od will and is ready to make its contribution to the advancement of Balkan co-operation on a democratic road so that it serves the vital interests of the peoples of this peninsula.

One of the more acute and more disquieting problems in the Balkans today is that of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, towards whom the Government of Serbia is pursuing an open policy of genocide, something which has been affirmed also at many international forums and brought to the knowledge of world opinion.

In Kosova and other regions in Yugoslavia where Albanians live, such crimes are being committed that would have been monstrous in the dark Middle Ages. The main point is not merely that the Albanians are not recognised only the standard human rights. It is already known by all that they are violated in the most barbaric way. The basic thing is that the Albanians are denied their right to exist, their right to live. The illegal dissolution of the Assembly of Kosova by Serbia, the occupation of the Radio and Television centre, the banning of the Albanian press, the dismissal of thousands of Albanians and their replacement by Serbs, are clear expressions of the intentions of the Serbian official authorities to solve the problem of the Albanians through violence and terror and not through dialogue.

The international community cannot and should not be indifferent towards this situation. The more so Europe which, having drawn up the map of the Balkans at the outset of this century, has not only the moral but also the historical responsibility for the martyrdom of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia, who represent the oldest autochthonous population among all the peoples of this state and who occupy third place in population number among the nations which make up Yugoslavia, who for centuries have been living on their soil and on a compact territory, are demanding no more rights than the Serbs, the Slovenians, the Croatians or the Macedonians have. However, they will not accept anything less. They want to be equal subjects with all the other nations Yugoslavia is composed of.

The Albanians are demanding recognition of their right to self-determination. They want to live in a Yugoslav federation or confederation if the other nations stand for these forms of government.

The right to self-determination of nations is one of the greatest rights mankind has won, that is why it is sanctioned in the UN Charter and has actually been transformed into one of the basic principles of the democratic processes which are taking place in Europe and the world.

As far as Albania is concerned, it is for relations of good neighbourliness with Yugoslavia, for a broader and all-round co-operation with it. We will strive in this direction in the future, too, and wish that reason and wisdom prevail in the settlement of the Kosova problem, so that Serbia does not turn it into a conflict that would pose a threat to peace and security not only in Yugoslavia but also in the Balkans and beyond.

The Albanian people have always sincerely wished to live in friendship with all the neighbouring peoples. Albania's good relations with Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, as well as with other countries, and the closest possible co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and benefit, constitutes one of the fundamental strategic directions of our foreign policy.

Mr. President,

In this marked anniversary of the founding of the United Nations Organisation, along with our best wishes for its strengthening and advancement, Albania would like to reiterate its commitment to the UN and its Charter, and its support for the activities it carries on to the benefit of peace, security and international co-operation.

Our respect for and appraisal of the UN Charter stems from the fact that it carries a democratic ideal about regulating international relations, an ideal that reflects the tragic experience of the devastating wars which swept over Europe and the whole world in the course of this century, and in particular, the struggle of the peoples, the Albanian people included, against fascism.

The UN Charter and its correct implementation, we hold, is the best instrument to protect and harmonise the interest of sovereign states and peoples, and the whole world community. If we are going to abide by this Charter, the different conflicts flaring up could be settled in a peaceful way and to the benefit of the sides concerned, as well as to the benefit of general peace and security.

We maintain that the significance of the United Nations is further enhanced at the present time when many problems, like disarmament, protection of the environment, war against drug trafficking, backwardness in economic development of many countries, protection of children, development of education, science and technology, have been turned into global issues which can hardly be settled with the individual efforts of one state or group of states; they can be settled only with the contribution of all the international community. The United Nations can do much in these directions. It represents the most suitable place where ideas can and should be thrashed out, initiatives taken, etc.

The UN has rightly devoted particular attention to economic problems, assistance to revive the economy of poor countries, encouragement of their progress, easing their debt burden — a consequence of neo-colonialist expansion and the armaments race. We hail the initiatives that have been taken in these directions, such as the North-South dialogue, etc., while maintaining that the big industrialised countries, which enriched themselves also with the sweat and toil of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia, have many obligations towards them.

The steps that have already been taken towards easing of tension and solving many regional conflicts, as well as the efforts that are being made to settle many international issues preoccupying the world have created an atmosphere which gives rise to hope for the whole mankind. However, events like Iraq's aggression on Kuwait spoil this atmosphere and raise obstacles to this positive process.

Albania has condemned the Iraqi aggression on and annexation of Kuwait. It has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait and respect of the freedom and national independence of this sovereign and peaceful state. Were it not condemned, Iraq's aggression would constitute a dangerous precedent.

Iraq should observe the UN resolutions and the well-wishing and constructive suggestions of the Arab states and put an end to its adventure. Withdrawal from Kuwait would be to the benefit not only of Iraq itself, but the whole Arab cause, which it claims to defend and support.

The international community has adopted a correct stand towards the Iraqi aggression. These events should not however, become an excuse for leaving aside the Palestinian problem, the right of Palestinians to have their own Homeland and state. The international community should not forget this right, the fulfillment of which is the key to the settlement of Middle East conflicts. Current events in the Middle East, unfavourable as they are, should serve as an encouragement in this direction.

Mr. President,

The Albanian people are working resolutely to build a better life for themselves. The path they choose by their free will and desire, brought them freedom and national independence and extricated them, within four decades, from backwardness to modern life. The transformations that have taken place in Albania are in sharp contrast, like day to night, with the past. This is not a figure of speech, but a reality for everyone to see.

This big advance called for sacrifices and imposed on us many privations in many directions. The more so when one bears in mind that our development was carried out in fierce struggle against the backwardness inherited from the past, as well as against interference by external forces. Hardly has any other country suffered more than Albania from the cold war. Anger, pressure, threats and blockades, at times from the East and at other times from the West, have swept, almost constantly, this tiny country on the shores of the Adriatic. And we do feel their consequences to this day, just as not infrequently we feel their revival.

Our country has actually embarked on a new stage of its development. We have to utilise with greater efficiency the material resources our country is rich in. This requires up-to-date technology, knowledgeable and emancipated people, it calls for the promotion of creative initiative and the extension of co-operation with other countries. Our people are working in all these directions.

What we call deepening of democracy through the enhancement of the role of masses represents a broad process of changes and transformation that is embracing all sectors — the economy, politics, social relations within the country and foreign relations, etc. We do not follow this policy either because it is in vogue, because someone is imposing it on us, or proceeding from tactical motives. It is a necessity of development and meets the needs of the country. That is why it is understood and well received by our people. It represents a fundamental component of our socialist ideal about the building of a fair and democratic society in which every citizen lives on his own sweat and toil, free and respected, on the basis of his contribution to the development and progress of his country.

Mr. President,

Wishing the proceedings of this Session of the United Nations General Assembly most fruitful work to the benefit of peace, I would like to assure you that my country will not spare its endeavours for the attainment of this lofty aim.

Thank you.



# ALBANIA HAS CONSIDERED CHILDREN THE MOST PRIVILEGED PART OF THE POPULATION FOR WHOM SOCIETY AND THE FAMILY DO A GREAT DEAL

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDIUUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA, RAMIZ ALIA, ADDRESSED TO THE WORLD SUMMIT ON CHILDREN

Albania sincerely hails the World Summit on Children, who are the future of mankind. This meeting is a clear expression of the will to bring about an improvement of the situation.

In the last decades, the condition of children has changed in a number of countries; there have been perceptible achievements in the prevention of diseases, the reduction of illiteracy, the improvement of nutrition, schooling, etc. Everybody rejoice at the lowering of infant mortality and the extension of life-expectancy. This indicates what mankind is in a position to do today. However, we are also witnesses of grave facts and situations which arouse great concern and which come about as a result of pronounced discrepancies and contrasts existing between the industrialized and the developing countries. Not everywhere do children enjoy the fruits of the technological revolution. Indeed, we often come up against a polarization between children of the various strata of the population, a great part of whom live close to plenty, but in poverty.

It is a bitter fact, which nevertheless, must be admitted, that in many countries of the world children, the sapplings of mankind, every minute have to cope with poverty, the degradation of the natural and social environment, and the violation of elementary rights, including the right to existence. UNICEF figures which illustrate the reality of children living in absolute poverty, dying of mainly preventable diseases, unable to attend school, etc, are shattering. Let us not forget that children have been and continue to be the first vic-

tims of armed conflicts, natural calamities and family dramas.

Proceeding from the premise that the future of the country tomorrow depends on the way children are brought up today, Albania has considered children the most privileged part of the population for whom society and the family do a great deal. In Albania, a small country which inherited from the past only poverty and backwardness, with a population which at present is three times that of forty-five years ago and has an average age of 27 years, life expectancy has reached to 72.4 years in 1989 as against 38.3 years it was in 1938.

Ever better protection of children and fulfillment of their requirements, both sanctioned by law and ever better implemented in practice, has had and continues to have special importance. Albania has signed the Convention on the protection of the rights of the child, this important document of the UNO, which determines the more urgent needs, the fundamental rights, freedoms and aspirations of the child to a better life.

Albania supports the efforts of the UNO for encouraging the development of children, their well-being and their rights. Its aims in the field of children's life for the year 2000 deserve attention and support. Achievement of them calls for correct, effective and humane policies.

It is a noble work to be involved in building a better present and future for our children. So let their happiness be our ideal, and let us join our efforts for the achievement of this lofty and humane aim.

# THE 11<sup>th</sup> PLENUM OF THE

## COMRADE RAMIZ

From June 6-7, presided by the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party held its proceedings with the following agenda:

1. Report on the perfection of the educational system and the further qualitative strengthening of the school.
2. Information about the implementation of the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA.
3. Account on the further improvement of the organization and the raising of the level of services in artisan production and trade.
4. Miscellaneous.

The debate about the first point of the agenda of the meeting was held with the participation of members and deputy-members of the CC of the Party, as well as guests, including teachers and educational specialists, working people from the sectors of culture, science and the economy, leading cadres of the Party and the State in the districts and the centre leaders of mass organizations and others.

Many contributions were made to the discussion of the report prepared by the Educational Commission at the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, «On the perfection of the educational system and the further qualitative strengthening of the school», which was submitted by the Minister of Education, Skënder Gjinushi.

At the end of the discussion, comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor and spoke about the problems arising from the need for perfecting the educational system.

### Comrades,

I, too, am in agreement with the report which the minister of education, Comrade Skënder Gjinushi, presented to us, with the problems it raises and the proposals it makes about various aspects of the development of the people's education and our school. Likewise, I am in agreement with the contributions to the discussion which have been made at this meeting. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party I want, especially, to thank the invited cadres and experts who, with their valuable ideas and suggestions, have contributed to the clarification of problems which were raised.

In education, as in all other fields, the Party, and our people have accomplished great historic transformations. In the past 45 years, an unprecedented revolution has been carried out in the field of education. This is a clear indication of the vitality of our socialist order, which opens horizons and creates possibilities for the masses to be equipped with knowledge, education and culture.

Throughout the whole 45-year period since Liberation, in education we have had to accomplish three fundamental tasks which remain vital to this day.

first, to create a school system with all the necessary levels from pre-school to post-graduate education;

second, to build a school which is new in its content and methods of teaching and education, and which aims to accomplish an all-sided harmonious education with a socialist and national spirit;

third, to give the school a truly modern character on the scientific pedagogical plane, too.

Our educational, school and pedagogical developments have been wide-ranging and complex. A special feature of this complexity lies in the fact that these three major lines have not proceeded and do not proceed one after the other, or separately from one another. They have alternated, with the first one and then the other taking priority. This is what will occur in the future, too.

Our people's education and socialist school ha-



# THE CC OF THE PARTY

## ALIA'S SPEECH

ve played the role of a powerful weapon in the struggle for the all-round progress of the country and, especially, for the cultural progress and spiritual formation of new generations. But the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have taught us that we must look ahead without neglecting the problems which are accumulated, even those which have just emerged, and that we must strive to anticipate new phenomena. This stand is especially important for education and the school, which, while working for the present, are working even more for the future.

From this stand-point, as the report and the discussion of it pointed out, it seems that the time has come to take the measures which are proposed, so that we raise the level of the school in conformity with the requirements of the time. The spirit of the 9th and 10th Plenums must pervade the school and education, too.

Many of the problems proposed to be solved are of a very vital character, not only from an educational and pedagogical stand-point, but also from the social stand-point. Thus, let us take the rapid development of secondary education. We must examine some aspects of it with a critical eye.

For some time we have given priority to vocational secondary education, while in the countryside, secondary agricultural education is predominant. However, it turns out that most of our vocational schools, especially the agricultural ones, are weak. Life demands that some corrections must be made. It seems to me that the structure proposed for the vocational schooling is more rational, more progressive. Of special importance is the creation of technical secondary schools for the training mainly of workers with a high level of technical qualification and modern specialization or as we call them, middle technicians. At present, production probably has greater need for these than it has for engineers. Likewise, another valuable proposal is the creation of a type of unified secondary school in the countryside, where a solid, general education will be imparted with an emphasis on agriculture, but which ensures an

all-round preparation for work and for higher schooling. This is a step forward not only of an educational and pedagogical character, but also of a cultural and social character, in general.

Another problem, which is difficult so solve completely at the moment, is that of admissions to university. At present, and for some considerable time to come, too, we will not be in a position to fulfil all the requests for admission to higher school. Of course, the organs of education must see and find various possibilities and ways to increase the contingents of students in higher schools. This alternative must not be denied to the youth. The existing possibilities and those that will be created step by step must be utilized to the maximum to increase the new admissions beginning from next year, drawing the biggest possible contingents into higher schooling, both full-time and that by the correspondence system. However, it must be borne in mind that this problem is connected with factors which have to do with material and technical possibilities.

Another obstacle has to do with quality. At present, the students who complete the secondary schools do not have the necessary cultural baggage to enable them to cope with the requirements of the higher school, which must not simply award diplomas, but must train capable and cultured experts. The maintenance of the quality of higher education, indeed, the continuous raising of its level, is of decisive importance for the future of the country.

We have achieved 8-year schooling for all, but it must be strengthened from all aspects and, especially, from the qualitative one. It must be relieved of many unnecessary and excessive things, just as the effectiveness and productivity of its work must be enhanced.

We have many problems to solve, also, in regard to the content and methods of teaching and education. The principle of the linking of the lessons with productive labour and physical and military education has been applied in the school. In practice, however, a number of difficulties have emerged. Educationalists, the youth and the



public see that in the implementation of this idea there are unnecessary repetitions and waste of time. Then there is no reason why we should not make the necessary and reasonable corrections to this without relinquishing the aims of solving these problems in more fundamental ways in the future.

In raising such matters, I want to point out that what we are working on is a new educational reform in the full sense of the term. The setting up of unified, secondary compulsory general education in itself is a lofty reforming act for the educational system. This is especially so when secondary education of all types is conceived on a new higher level.

The changes we are making in education are linked with the new problems of the time which the Party has raised for the further revolutionization and democratization of the life of the country. In this context, a major problem is how we are to make the education of the younger generation more vigorous and vital, more militant and creative. Another major problem is how to ensure that socialist democracy penetrates broadly and concretely into the life of the school.

The strengthening of the all-round communist education of the younger generation remains our main aim. We presented this task long ago, and we have achieved considerable successes. Our socialist school has played and is playing its role in the sound situation of our youth.

Nevertheless, we still have many shortcomings and defects in the formation of our youth. The formation of a free democratic opinion on a sound revolutionary basis must be conceived in close connection with the deepening of the socialist democracy in the life of the whole country and of the school itself. Our children and youth must be taught to communicate freely and naturally, courageously and without hesitation. The school, as a traditionally humane and democratic institution, and especially, our socialist school, must teach and educate them to be free, active, and revolutionary subjects of the teaching and educational process.

I cannot fail to stress here the major role of the Youth Organization in this process of the further revolutionization and democratization of school life. The youth has been and is a great progressive force, an ardent fighter for the new. Its potential and energy are inexhaustible. This role it has is obvious. It becomes more important today when we have entered a stage of new, intensive, and revolutionary social developments. In the schools this youthful potential demands

wider vistas, and freer fields of action in all the components of school life. This must find expression, first of all, in the lessons, but also in the special educational activities, in the vocational practice and productive labour, in physical and military training, and in every useful social activity, without ever forgetting cultural and artistic activities, and activities in physical culture and sport, which temper and entertain the youth. Our school and student youth have the legitimate right to live a rich life with a healthy content and with a variety of forms.

The front of our work and struggle in education is very broad. Therefore, we all must attend to the work to accomplish the tasks that we have discussed, to carry the development of our people's education ceaselessly forward and to raise the level of the school work from all aspects.

Now I want to say something about the political situation.

Comrades,

The progress of the country and the guarantee of the freedom of the people demand that today all of us are on our guard and vigilant. We must pay close attention to the situation all round us and, especially, to the current policies which certain forces are pursuing towards Albania.

While we observe with satisfaction that international public generally has a proper appreciation of the recent measures we have taken for the further democratization of the country and believes that Albania will advance in this direction according to its own specific conditions, we notice that there are other forces which want to hinder us in this development, to alter its direction, and to lead us up a blind alley with no future.

The worst of it is that these forces have now found some support, conscious or otherwise, within the country, and this was expressed clearly in the recent events in front of foreign embassies in Tirana.

We brought out the law on the provision of passports for all citizens who request such a thing. This is a completely democratic measure which has been welcomed by our whole people. But immediately, certain individuals, without reading the law thoroughly, began to force their way into the foreign embassies. It is natural to ask: Why did such an influx into the foreign embassies happen, when the doors are open for anyone who wants to go abroad?



It is clear that this is an effort to create distrust towards the law and the measures that have been taken and will be taken on the course of democratization, which the Party itself has chosen and is determined to follow to the end. Of course, the people who seek asylum in foreign embassies are neither patriotic nor honest citizens of this country. Nothing can justify their act. We may be poor, undoubtedly we have difficulties and shortages, but our problems, the problems of the Albanian, have never been solved by foreigners. We, the Albanian people, and no one else, can and have to build and ensure the progress of our country.

However, it is quite obvious that the problem here is not of these confused elements, but those who stand behind them inside and outside the country. The aims and actions of these destructive, anti-democratic and anti-Albanian forces are far-ranging. They want to create a general spirit of distrust towards the measures we have taken and will take in connection with the democratization of the life of the country, to create an artificial political tension with the aim, if possible, of leading up to a confrontation between the state and the masses. The Party, every communist, every patriot, and every citizen of our country must understand these aims of our enemies clearly. That is, we must understand that here the question is not about a passport, a mistake, a shortage, or a criticism, but about seizing power from the people and eliminating the freedom and independence of the country. No one must ever forget this. Therefore, there is no room for indifference, big-heartedness, or underestimation of the situation.

As I said above, the democratization of the life of the country is developing in many directions, in the economy, the state power, culture, the leading cadres, and the policy of the Party itself.

In a completely correct and logical way, we have given priority to the implementation of measures in the economy, which not only will lead to its improvement and advance, but will also exert a direct influence on the democratization of the whole life of the country.

However, these measures will be implemented gradually, and will come fully into force at the beginning of next year. In the economy, the decision that we will take tomorrow on the organization and improvement of services and craft production will bring a real revolution in this field.

At present, work is being done to prepare the new electoral law for the People's Assembly, which is intended to democratize the fundamental institution of the people's power. You can imagine what great influence this action will have on political and social relations.

In the first half of the next year we shall hold the Party congress, which will not only review the measures we have taken hitherto, but will also define the directions for the further democratization of the life of the country, as well as the measures for carrying this out.

As you see, the thought has been given to ensure that all these necessary changes and corrections are made in complete harmony to avoid creating any vacuum in any field; they must be made in a natural way, without haste and improvisation, avoiding disproportions and counter-balances.

While beginning with the economy, which is the priority field and the basis for all the other changes, we proceed from our own reality, but we have also taken account of some bitter experiences in other countries, which went the wrong way about things.

There is a balance between all these directions and activities which must be maintained, otherwise we would fall into dangerous spontaneity and incorrigible anarchy. Besides this, such changes cannot be carried out within a day, or by assault, without being thoroughly thought out, well-coordinated, without studying and analysing the objective conditions, without consulting the opinion of the people, without preparing the technical aspects of their application, and many other things. Those who demand the opposite, posing as super-democrats and super-radicals do not want democracy, but want to hinder and ruin it, do not want the progress of the country, but its destruction.

The Albanian people are characterized by prudence and realistic estimation of the situation, and not by anarchic haste. They never have and never will fall for provocations, and will not enter the anti-democratic traps which have been set for them, especially when destructive activities like those of the 2nd of July in Tirana have a marked anti-national aim, in which incitement from abroad is quite obvious.

We all know that the stability, harmonious development, and further democratization of Albania are a great assistance and support for the Albanians of Kosova, especially today when they

are struggling with legendary courage to win the autonomy and national rights which are due to them.

It is obvious there are forces which pose as democratic, humanist, etc., but which in fact are reactionary and obscurantist, and want to see the Albanians not united as they have always been, but divided and in struggle against one another. But, as always at the key moments of their history, the Albanians will know how to cope both with their external enemies and with their internal traitors. Their ideal of freedom and independence, sovereignty and justice, and national and individual dignity cannot be shaken by any pressure or force.

Nevertheless, we must not underestimate any hostile activity wherever it comes from. Everyone must do his duty: the organs of the Party, the organizations of the masses, the patriots and social activists must explain the policy of the Party and our state; the families must educate their children with genuine patriotism and in the sense of honest citizens; the organs of the state must defend the legislation and apply the law.

All those who are for the progress of the country and the freedom of the people must be on their guard and vigilant. The unity of the people in our country has been created in numerous national and social struggles. Now we must protect this unity by combating all those who want to divert us from our course, all those who want to place in doubt not only the political and social victories we have already won, but also our future as a people and a nation.

Finally, I want to say and I desire to emphasize forcefully that neither have we imported the process of the democratization of the life of the country, nor has anyone imposed it on us. We have commenced it ourselves, proceeding from the conditions and needs of our socialist society, from a new stage of its growth and development.

It is natural that we are entering a new class struggle, with internal and external forces of reaction which want to hinder and undermine our development. Therefore, we should not be surprised or alarmed by whatever flag they will raise and by whatever slogan they may use to fight us. Neither should we be surprised at the activation of hooligans or demagogues, turncoats and rumour-mongers in the cafés who always pop up like toadstools after the rain. Political demagoguery, ideological distortion and the manipulation of opinion today are the preferred means of the struggle against socialist ideals, the

democracy of the masses, and true patriotism.

But whatever pressures are exerted on us, we must stand firm on positions of principle, remaining cool-headed and wise, and, especially, maintaining a clear view of our way ahead. The course of the changes we have begun is irreversible. But today it is of fundamental importance that the Party should lead the masses on this course, because it was the Party which embarked on it. Nobody, no force in our country, no interference from outside, can achieve genuine democracy, human rights, the progress of the country and the protection of its freedom and independence, except the Party and our people united around the Party.

For the cause of the people, for the cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for the cause of socialism, let us raise the militant spirit ever higher, let us work with determination and courage, sparing no strength or effort.

Long live our heroic people and glorious Party!

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*During the second day of the Plenum, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, following the agenda of the meeting, informed the Plenum about the implementation of the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the CC of the Party and presented a report on the further improvement of the organization and the raising of the level of services of handicrafts and trade. Discussions of the report followed.*

*Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.*

*Speaking about the reorganization of services and handicrafts, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:*

We listened attentively to the report Comrade Adil Çarçani gave on the work that has been done up till now for the implementation of the decisions taken at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee and the recent session of the People's Assembly.

We can say that important steps forward have been taken in the three main directions — that of enhancing of the initiative and independent action of the economy; democratizing social relations, improving the juridical protection of the rights of citizens; and integrating our co-

untry into the European and world processes in the field of foreign policy.

The fundamental thing is that the decisions of the Party on the revolutionization of life through enhancing the role of the masses and all-round democratization have been understood correctly by the people and enjoy the support of the working masses, the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia. It is important that we advance consistently and resolutely and do not stop half-way.

The new economic mechanism is in the centre of the attention of social opinion. It has been welcomed on the whole. Our whole society is at a moment of reflection about the prospects. The essence has been grasped correctly that this mechanism is the ground-work of our economic democracy at the present stage.

People feel the need for the administration of the economy to be freed of the methods infected by bureaucracy, which are based on outdated criteria and practices, and have replaced the economic management, based on laws, with administrative management, with management through orders.

The new economic mechanism will begin to be applied next year. The decisions which have been taken regarding the economic management define the basic framework within which the enterprise will carry out its activity, the main ways in which it must eliminate the forms of bureaucratic work and subjective defects. That is, the law which has been adopted and the decisions which have been taken must serve as a support for creative initiative and concrete solutions to surmount the difficulties which are encountered in different enterprises, sectors and institutions. Without the active participation of the workers, economists and managers of the work centres, without their concrete opinion about how the enterprise should work, we cannot make any changes or achieve the results we expect. Therefore, it is here, in the enterprise, that we should concentrate our attention. The workers, specialists and cadres there must find the most rational ways to increase the production and profits.

The new economic mechanism requires work, indeed a great deal of work; it requires initiative, indeed much initiative, to ensure the raw materials and transport even when these must be sought high and low in the country; to change the structure of production in conformity with the conditions which are created and the demands which are made so that the enterprise

has a profit and the workers get bonuses even when this appears impossible, etc.

It is in these efforts that the principle of self-reliance finds expression, and not just in theory and on a national plane, but right there at the grass root level, in the enterprise and in the factory. From these efforts the new men, the men of our time, the capable cadres with initiative, who, through their creative potential, can give new impulses to our economy, will emerge and distinguish themselves. Understood in this way, the new economic mechanism will yield positive results both in increasing production and the incomes of the working people.

The law on the Enterprise, which the People's Assembly adopted at its last session, gave both the collective and the individual worker the necessary room to manoeuvre to gain more from their work. This is expressed in a number of powers which were transferred from the ministries to the enterprises, from the centre to the base.

The state must treat the enterprise as its partner. This relationship stems from the fact that the former is the owner and the latter the user of the means of production, a status which is accompanied with rights and obligations sanctioned by law.

An economy such as ours which functions on the whole according to the principle of self-financing, cannot continue like this for long if it does not extend self-financing down to its basic cells. The 10th Plenum resolved this question definitively.

Under the new economic mechanism, the enterprise is entitled to the real ownership of its net incomes. However, the state retains for itself the right to orientating and determining the destination of the funds thus created. The harmonization of these aspects — financial and material — raises the need for the structure of investments to be changed.

In preparing for the year 1991 we have one advantage — the experience which we will be gaining in the experimentation that has begun in some enterprises in the current six months.

At this meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee we are examining another very important question: the need for the reorganization of services for people with the aim of increasing and improving them. Discussions have been held and useful opinions have been expressed about this question in the press. The decisions of the 9th and 10th Plenums, which provided the necessary principled solutions to the



economic questions in general have encouraged this spirit of debate.

Since it is valid for production, the present economic mechanism can and should be just as valid for services, too. In this field, however, it must assume a specific aspect, a specific form.

Currently, both regarding the volume of the work done and the number of workers employed, artisan production and services are still at the minimum level. Consequently, an obvious contradiction has been created between the needs, the purchasing power and culture of the people, on the one hand, and the possibilities which the state offers to services, on the other. We have the tradition and specialists in this field, but the demands of the population are not being met. In these conditions, a sort of domestic private artisan production has emerged, as it was bound to.

We have said previously and life has demonstrated that there can be no services and artisan production only on the basis of concentrations on an industrial scale. In this field, it is essential that we make corrections, with the aim that the working people in this sector have direct contacts with the service craftsmen.

Our aim must be to ensure that the network of services is extended to the maximum by opening more shops and workshops, beginning from those of artisan production, and including the whole range of services; to have more dressmakers, shoemakers, barbers, bicycle repairers, silversmiths, saddlers, painters, photographers, watchmakers, etc., down to sellers of rissoles and candies, mobile sellers of soft drinks, almonds, fruit and vegetables, etc. To this end, the most varied forms must be employed.

To achieve these aims, undoubtedly, artisan activity in the existing state enterprises should continue. But these must give up excessive concentrations and create a broad network of specialized shops and units, which can work according to the principles of the new economic mechanism, that is, they must have their own independent accounts and realize the incomes of the workers on this basis. The state will exert its control over the activity of shops and units by setting the financial obligations which they should pay into the enterprise. Consequently, the workers in these units and shops may not have fixed wages. Their wages should be formed from the income left after deducting the costs, the obligations to the state (the enterprise), a sum for depreciation,

and premiums for social security. In regard to securing raw materials, the state will concern itself with this, as up till now. However, the units or shops of these enterprises can enter into direct relations with the enterprises to which they are subordinated, or with cooperatives and other enterprises on the basis of contracts. They themselves, in agreement with the citizens, will decide on the charges for the services. The state enterprise can exercise control to protect the interests of citizens against any tendency towards abuses.

Besides state enterprises, however, there can be services organized according to the previous experience, that is, in the form of cooperatives of craftsmen, which can be created on the initiative of workers. In this case, too, the units, shops, or individuals in the cooperative will be obliged to pay to the state a standard proportion of their income and their premium. For their part, the organs of the cooperatives must exercise control over the activity of units and charges.

After all, it will only be to the benefit of the people if there are individuals who can be engaged independently in providing craft and other services in private enterprise. I shall dwell a little on this question. In fact, there are such people today: dressmakers, knitters, repairers of clothing and footwear, timber and metal workers, repairers of domestic equipment, painters, photographers, watchmakers, etc., etc. And what about the peasants who sell their different products? Are they not private traders? However, it must be said that private enterprise, as it is today, is uncontrolled, and what is worse, in most cases it operates with materials which belong to the state.

I think that by allowing the activity on an individual basis at home, in the streets or in the shops of craftsmen of various services, artisans, communal workers and traders, an obvious gap in the services to the people will be filled.

The restricted and uncontrolled activity of the private individuals is not contrary to our moral and ideological norms. There is no danger of creating a category of exploiting owners. These people will make their incomes through their own individual work or that of their families. Of course, it is essential that the state organs lay down certain regulations and obligations by law.

The laws and regulations must be extended to the peasant market, too. Our organs of finance must not be afraid of the fact that taxes and duties are not applied today. If this new organization and conditions require, we must set and apply these financial categories. We are making great changes in many economic relations. The sphere

of production and circulation of goods is being extended, so the influence of the market in the economy is growing. Why should it be so difficult to alter some things in the fiscal field, even if some amendments to the Constitution were needed for this? In general, I want to stress that the state organs must operate with more consistency, by means of laws and regulations.

I think that we should act immediately on the above questions. The studies have been more or less completed. The reorganization of these vital services should be carried out according to the decisions which we will approve at this Plenum, whereas the necessary laws and regulations can be formulated during the process. In this way the services will be extended and possibilities will be created for a more rational exploitation of material resources and reserves which exist in town and countryside, new jobs will be created, the workers' incomes will be raised and life will become more varied. This is no time for very long experiments. This is the time for work and for immediate results.

The measures which we are taking are intended to fulfil the needs of the people ever better and to improve their living conditions. At the last Plenum we took some important measures in the interest of the peasantry, which had to do with the distribution of livestock from the small

herds to the cooperativists household and increasing the purchase prices of livestock products, etc.

The new economic mechanism, the reorganization of services and artisan production favour mainly the urban population. However, life shows that other supplementary measures should be adopted. Therefore, I propose that the Council of Ministers should study the possibility that not later than the third quarter of this year the following measures should be applied: first, to increase the lowest pay of workers, generally from 10-20 per cent; second, to base wages everywhere on the job or process of work; third, when work is interrupted for lack of raw materials or other objective factors such as shortage of electric power, etc., the workers should be guaranteed 80 per cent of their wages. These measures should be implemented immediately.

About three quarters of the workers of the state sector (that is, about 250 000) will benefit from these improvements in the pay.

These important economic and social measures are in line with the consistent implementation of the Party's policy for raising the well-being of the people. They will certainly exert a powerful influence to increase production and sources of accumulation and to reduce costs, while strengthening the possibilities for new development in the future in the interest of the people and the Homeland.

# COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA MEETS THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA AND ECONOMISTS OF THE CAPITAL

On August 10, the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met a group of representatives of the intelligentsia of the capital in the Palace of Congresses. Among them there were writers, journalists, actors, musicians, workers of science, teachers of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana, and others. At this meeting, which was also attended by the 1st Secretary of the Party Committee for the District of Tirana, Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, an open and clarifying talk took place about the problems emerging in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the recent Plenums of the CC of the PLA.

Problems of the current international situation occupied an important place in this talks. Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke extensively about the recent developments in the world, especially the events in Eastern Europe, the directions of the foreign policy of our country and the stands of the Party of Labour and the Albanian state on concrete aspects of these situations. He pointed out that in all their actions the Party and our state had proceeded and would continue to proceed from the sacred aim of defending the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the people's power and socialism in Albania.

Assessing the role of our intellec-

tuals, who have constantly been closely lined with the fate of the people, the Homeland and socialism, Comrade Ramiz Alia demanded from them that, just as they had done up till now, they made their indispensable contribution to the clarification of the masses in a convincing and cultured manner for the solution of the problems our country is faced with in the present complicated international situation.

Those present at the meeting made many interesting and constructive suggestions and expressed opinions about the more rapid and more effective implementation of the decisions of the recent Plenums of the CC of the Party. They stressed that a deep-going and all-round analysis should be made of these decisions so that they are correctly understood and implemented, and expressed their readiness to take an active part in this process. For this to be done as well as possible, they pointed out, the organs of the Party and state, the scientific, cultural and social organisms should give better and more extensive information about their activity. They also emphasized the special role of the press and propaganda in general, which should radically revolutionize their information. All this should serve better the clarifying, convincing and educational work with the communists and the masses and their mobilization to cope with the emerging situations and the fulfilment of tasks.

There was heated discussion about some problems bearing on aspects of the democratization of the life of the country, such as relations between cadres and masses, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, implementation of socialist law, etc. Many correct suggestions were made on these problems, and it was concluded that with more resilient, better thought and better organized work there exist all possibilities for shortcomings and weaknesses to be overcome.

In his interventions Comrade Ramiz Alia repeated once more that the process of democratization in our country is irreversible. He explained the political, ideological and practical meaning of the many measures the Party and the state have taken in the political, economic, cultural, social and other fields. He dwelt especially on the explanation of some key aspects of the new economic mechanism, the consistent implementation of which will certainly bring about a perceptible and rapid transformation and advance of our country. For this purpose, he said, we must not only work with greater mobilization and devotion, but also with more knowledge and imagination to overcome difficulties which face us and which are natural.

Of great importance, he said, are especially improvements in the political situation, enhancing the role of the elected organs; the strengthening of the independent role of the organizations of the masses; better definition of the relations between the Party and the state; perfecting the system of elections to the People's Assembly and people's councils; demo-

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cratic appointment of leading cadres to state and economic organs, etc.

The talk which went on for some hours in a warm and openminded atmosphere, was characterized by a high spirit of readiness and sentiments of patriotism, serious concern and determination to put all the creative forces in the service of the people and the socialist Homeland.

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On August 13, the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, had a meeting with economists of enterprises and central institutions of the capital in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses. In this meeting took part planners, financiers, and leading cadres of economic enterprises, specialists of scientific institutes and sectors of the economy, teachers of the Economic Faculty of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana and the High Agricultural Institute, cadres of the Ministries, and others. Present at the meeting were also the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, Xhelil Gjoni and Abdyl Backa, ministers, the General Secretary of the Council of Ministers, Niko Gjyzari.

At this meeting, which went on for some hours, through a warm and lively talk, many opinions were exchanged about the meaning and implementation of the new economic mechanism, especially problems that have emerged in those enterprises in which it has started being implemented, or which will apparently emerge in the future. The new economic mechanism, will make headway, it was said at the meeting, when enterprises base everything on economic laws and rules,

when problems are sorted out right at the basic production unit. Something new is being created, so not everything can be immediately understood and implemented, and not every problem can be solved to perfection right now.

The new economic mechanism comprises all fields — management on the basis of independent accounting and planning, participation of workers in the sharing of profits and the profitability of the enterprise, productivity and costs, wages and remunerations, etc. Hence for this mechanism to be fruitfully implemented, the conviction should be created about its effectiveness among workers, managers, specialists and other people. Those contributing to the discussion spoke about their experience, but also about shortcomings that have been observed in their work.

In his interventions and conclusive address, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, among other things, that for the implementation of the new economic mechanism economists must be bolder in their conceptions about the advancement of the sectors in which they work.

The economy, is the base for the whole development of our society, he said. The new economic mechanism will give fresh impulse to this development. A primary condition for this to be done is to correctly understand the decisions and directives of the Party. It must be understood that the new economic mechanism is a demand of the time, of the intensive development of our economy, one of the more effective ways for the expansion of production and the renovation of the technology, and the harmonization and encouragement of interests.

This mechanism is a complex one, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on, and it has to do with self-financing, the par-



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participation of workers in the distribution of profits, the organization of services and handicrafts, the cooperativists' personal plots, the further development of economic cooperation with other countries, etc.

It was said at the meeting that the whole society, all the workers and cooperativists, cadres and specialists at the base and in the central institutions and organs are interested and involved in the implementation of the new economic mechanism. In this context, assessing the great role of economic thought, Comrade Ramiz Alia set the economists a number of tasks. They are required to give their competent opinion, to be more creative, to display more initiative and more boldness, to be always in search of ever more fruitful solutions and improvements.

The new economic mechanism is applied when more work is done, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, when laws and rules are implemented, when people display more fantasy and more initiative to open the road for the affirmation of the new. Plans of branches, districts and enterprises, of methods of management, of statistical information, etc., should be thoroughly new. People must think everywhere about new initiatives and activities which expand

production and improve services for the people and about new work fronts and higher profits. In regard to this, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed the very great importance of understanding and implementing the tasks the Party has set for the reorganization of services, pointing out that, in their present situation, they do not respond to and do not cope with properly with the needs of the people. Over these things and many other problems, the new economic mechanism presupposes more freedom of action and more competences for the base from the ministries. Everybody, and the economists in the first place, Comrade Ramiz Alia recommended, should know how to employ correctly such economic categories as cost, profitability, prices, wages, the fiscal system, etc.

Implementation of the major tasks that face us for the development and strengthening of the economy, the supply of the people and the improvement of their well-being, it was said at this meeting, are related to both subjective and objective factors. While stressing the difficulties and obstacles our development has gone and is going through, Comrade Ramiz Alia set again a number of tasks for enhancing the militant spirit of the party organizati-

ons, the state organs and the mass organizations, for enforcing discipline and control. True, he said, we come up against many difficulties, but more work must be done, and the many possibilities and reserves at our disposal must be made better use of. More dynamism and energy at work, and more persistent struggle against sluggishness are needed. The leading organs should be more active in their struggle against routine, bureaucracy and obsolete methods everywhere they manifest themselves.

Optimism about the future pervaded the whole discussion and the warm talk that took place with the beloved leader of the Party and the people. This optimism relies on the economy we have set up, in the large resources of our country, on our human and intellectual potential, and on the fact that ours is a country without debts, that ours is a small country in which both good and evil are quickly felt. All this, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, enable us to undertake large-scale and all-round developments. But for these possibilities to become a reality, we should work and struggle with determination, a creative spirit and initiative, while always defending freedom, the independence of the country and socialism.

## EXPRESSION OF THE STEEL UNITY OF THE PEOPLE ROUND THE PARTY

### HUGE RALLY IN THE CAPITAL

In the afternoon of July 13, 120,000 residents of Tirana, veterans of war and work, working people of the cen-

tres of work and production, institutions and ministries, militarymen, students, pupils, pioneers of Enver came

together in a huge meeting on Skanderbeg Square to express again their ardent love for the Party and their invincible unity round its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, their unshakeable and opti-

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mistic determination for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. The Square was adorned as in days of great festivities. Everywhere there were posters with the words which came from the hearts of all: «Party-Enver we are always ready», «We defend freedom, we defend socialism», «Long live Comrade Ramiz Alia!», «The Party-Albania...». The Square resounded with these enthusiastic slogans.

On the tribune erected in the front of the Palace of Culture stood the Member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Çarçani, the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, and other comrades.

Xhelil Gjoni addressed those present on behalf of the CC of the PLA.

After speaking about the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, both those bearing on the reform of the school and those bearing on the economy, he said:

All these measures have not only economic importance and bring along economic advantages for the working people, they have also political importance, because they further democratize relations of production and, as a consequence, contribute to the democratization of the whole life of the country.

In his address to the Plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the Party was studying and working out new plans to carry ahead and further democratize other sectors of our life such as that of the state power and in general, the policy of the Party. All these good tidings, which express an

irreversible process, rejoice and enthuse us. They strengthen even more our trust in the correct line of our Party and State, in the strength and wisdom of our people and in our sure future.

The forward march of our society with wisdom and determination on the road of the further democratization of the life of the country, on the road of socialism, freedom and independence comes up against difficulties of various kind. It comes up against the attempts of the enemies who want to create tension, to sow distrust and, in this manner, to stop our advance. The enemies want to wreck our life, our present and our future, to destroy the freedom we have won and the people's power we have built. Trampling on the blood and bones of our martyrs, defiling the honour and the respected name of Albania, with their conduct and actions some people without ideals and morals, deceived or simple-minded, directly serve the plans of the enemies who want to bring back to power the bourgeoisie and the boys whom we have overthrown.

It is clear that our people's power, socialist Albania, is a sore in the eye of our enemies. They are furious at our national independence, the victories of our laborious peace-loving and brave people, full of noble virtues who, within a short period came from the Middle Ages over to modern times and are living free, on their own toil, indebted to nobody and molesting nobody.

Within half a century of struggle and creative work our people, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, renewed their ancient civilization and gave it new di-

mensions. Overcoming colossal obstacles, they acceded in a natural manner to the progressive currents of the contemporary European civilization. This came about not as an imposition from somebody, but as an inner need of outgrowth, as a general tendency of our historical development. Our foreign policy is a policy of friendship, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect. We have affirmed and re-affirm today, too, our spirit of readiness for peace and cooperation, for equal and unconditional international relations. As for our enemies, we tell them unanimously: nobody shake Albania and the people's power, and less so some disorientated people who left their Homeland like thieves. They are not Albania, nor do they represent its people. The Albanian is born and has grown in struggle and efforts. He has always shown to be wise and indomitable, and coped with the storms of history with rare bravery. He has been and continues to be a relentless fighter for freedom and social progress, so he has always looked and continues to look to his future with unshakeable confidence.

It is not only a coincidence, but a diabolical combination and a pre-arranged scenario the fact that the events of July 2 in Tirana took place at the same time when a new blow was struck at the autonomy of Kosova and when the barbarous Great Serb violence was stepped up in Kosova. It is clear that there are some forces which do not wish our national well and do not want to admit the existence of our nation.

We resolutely condemn the denationalizing policy and the chauvinist terror of the totalitarian Serb state. However there is no force in the world that can humiliate the Albanian nation or bring them to their knees, or extinguish the identity and ancient

culture of the Albanians, their right to live free, independent and sovereign. Albanians everywhere in the world are well when their Mother, Albania, is well.

We are aware that we also have difficulties and shortcomings. We do not yet have an economy and a standard of living such as we would like them to be. We are aware of these realities and exercise all our efforts to cope with them. Foreigners will never solve our problems, which can be solved only by ourselves. In the great

battle for the development of the economy and the further democratization of the life of the country, certainly we come up against many hindrances in the form of old mentalities, bureaucracy, the inertia, incapacity and detachment of some cadres from the problems of the people, morbid friendship and injustices.

*In conclusion Comrade Xhelil Gjoni said:*

Work is being done everywhere in our country today for the implementation of the historical decisions of

the 9th, 10th, and 11th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party, to fulfil plans and to overfulfil tasks. The minds and energies of all and everybody are working to find effective solutions to political, social and economic problems. Clarification of prospects is a guarantee for achieving ever new victories, for making our Albania stronger and more beautiful. In this decisive battle we have in our hands a powerful and tested weapon: our ardent patriotism and our steel unity round the Party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

## ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

On July 31, 1990, the Presidium of People's Assembly convened under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia. Among other problems it adopted two important decrees on the extension and further materialization of the foreign relations of economic cooperation of our country through the implementation of more advanced forms of cooperation and on the provision of the necessary legal guarantees for foreign partners in this cooperation.

The decree, «On the protection of foreign investments in the PSRA», said that investments and other econo-

mic activities connected with them can be made in the territory of the PSRA by foreign enterprises, firms or physical persons or by Albanians residing abroad, in conformity with the legislation which regulates those activities.

The decree points out that the foreign investments in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania enjoy complete protection and security. Such investments are not subject to expropriation and nationalization, and will not be subject to any other measure similar to expropria-

tion or nationalization, except in very specific cases when public interests require this step, and this always against payment of respective damages.

The decree explains that the foreign enterprises, firms or physical persons, whose investments suffer losses in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, due to war, state of emergency and earthquakes, floods and other natural elements, will be treated in the same manner as Albanian enterprises in connection with compensations, damages, etc. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the decree goes on, will publish all the laws, rules and procedures which are connected or bear in any way upon the investments.

# CHRONICLE

The decree «On the economic activity of joint enterprises in the PSR of Albania» points out that economic enterprises with the participation of foreign capital can exercise their economic activity in various sectors of the economy of the PSR of Albania in conformity with the objectives set in the plans of the current and perspective development of the national economy.

The decree points out that these enterprises are intended to serve the modernization of the existing industries or the setting up of new industries with advanced technology, which basically operate for the extraction and manufacturing of local primary materials, the increase of export or the lowering of imports, the increase in the range of consumer goods, the opening of new jobs, the introduction of modern methods of organization and management of production and services, and so on. The economic activity of the enterprise and the investments of foreign persons in it enjoy state protection; the state guarantees them the same rights as the Albanian juridical persons.

Likewise, the decree stresses that the authorization for the conclusion of the contract or for changing it is issued by the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania at the instance of the Albanian juridical person, through the ministry responsible for the sector in which the enterprise will carry out its activity. In the field of banking operations, authorization is issued by the Albanian State Bank. The request for such authorization should contain the name of the enterprise, its centre of activity and information about the foreign persons, the object of the activity and the subjects and forms of the enterprise, the complete study including the technical and economic

analyses of the activity of the enterprise, and so on. The authorization is issued for a period of ten years and the request for extending the term is presented one year before the expiry of the validity of the authorization in force.

Further, the decree points out that the enterprise has its own financing sources in Albanian or foreign currency and opens its own account with the Albanian State Bank; it can open such account with a foreign bank, provided it has the previous consent of the Albanian State Bank. The foreign person is entitled to transferring abroad his own part of the profit.

The decree goes on to say that the enterprise is entitled to receiving credits in foreign currency from the Albanian State Bank. It can also receive such credits from a foreign bank in agreement with the Albanian State Bank. Likewise, the decree points out that the enterprise is obliged to keep its own accounts according to the rules set by the competent Albanian state organs. Upon the demand of the competent financial organs, the enterprise gives yearly information of the accounts and the economic activity it has carried out during the period.

This meeting of the Presidium, also, adopted the decree «on the meetings, gatherings and manifestations of citizens in public places». This decree is issued regarding the implementation of Article 53 of the Constitution, which provides for the right of the citizens to meetings, gatherings and public manifestations.

The decree lays down that those gatherings, meetings or manifestations in which calls are made to rebel against the constitutional order, to carry out penal acts and violations of the

law, or which are aimed at disrupting the relations of the country with other states, are prohibited. The decree points out specifically that the participants in these activities should not carry weapons, or posters, emblems and symbols and other figurative means which have an anti-popular, fascist or racist content, and which incite hatred among nations. It also lays down the rules on the dispersal of these activities in public places, when they are in opposition to the present decree or the laws in force.

The provisions envisaged in this decree are aimed at ensuring that the meetings, gatherings and manifestations in public places are held in conformity with the law.

The decree lays down that all these activities can take place only after the organizers of these events have given beforehand information to the competent state organs. This information should include also the aim of the activity, the number of participants, the time and place in which it will be held, etc.

The decree envisages sanctions against the persons who disregard the rules herein defined.

The above-mentioned decrees will be published in the next issue of the «Gazeta zyrtare».

This meeting of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania also decided to present the 8th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly with the proposal for the creation of a Special Commission. The said commission will examine the need for the changes to the Constitution in force, as well as for determining the manner and the time of corrections or amendments which should be made to it in conformity with the developments that have taken place in Albania from

1976, when the Constitution was adopted, until today.

In the end, the Presidium of the People's Assembly decided on the creation of a special committee which will draft the law, «On elections to the People's Assembly», which, in turn, will be presented for examination and adoption to the 8th Session of the 11th Legislation of the People's Assembly that will be convened in the beginning of October 1990.

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At its meeting of the 26th of July 1990, the Political Bureau examined the implementation of the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party on the improvement of supplies for the cooperativist peasantry through the transfer of livestock of the small collective herds to the personal care of the cooperative members. It observed that this measure

was welcomed everywhere by the peasants and has aroused their interest in increasing the number of livestock and the agricultural and livestock products.

To further strengthen and stimulate these developments, which are in the interests of the peasants and the whole country, the Political Bureau, Decided:

1. To recommend to the agricultural cooperatives that they re-examine the question of the size of the personal plot of the cooperative member in relation to their concrete conditions, as follows:

a. In the hilly and mountainous zones, apart from the garden lot around the dwelling house, the cooperativist family should be allotted up to two, dynyms of land for raising forage crops for the animals of the personal plot and vegetables. There where the area of arable land is scarce and limited, each village should decide

for itself as to where new land will be opened and by whom, or which part of the meadows and pastures can be used as common pasturing grounds.

b. In the lowland zones, the cooperativist family should be allotted up to two dynyms of land, including the area of the garden plot around the house, which it can use for raising forage crops for the personal animals and vegetables.

c. These measures should be implemented everywhere without delay, after a discussion of the decisions in each village.

2. Depending on the extent of the needs and requirements for livestock products, vegetables and potatoes, the state farms must continue their efforts to strengthen the small collective herds and the small collective plots for personal use. According to the experience, they can be organized on the basis of the village or sector.

## JOINT ALBANIAN-SOVIET DECLARATION

The Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, proceeding from the common desire of developing relations of friendship and cooperation on the basis of respect of sovereignty, complete equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, agreed to the normalization of their bipartite relations and the resumption as soon as possible of the activity of embassies in the capitals of the two states.

On July 30, the Protocol «On the

Normalization of Relations between the PSR of Albania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics» was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For the Albanian side the Protocol was signed by the viceminister for foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, and for the Soviet side, by the vice-minister for foreign affairs of the USSR, Yuriy A. Kvitsinski.

The signing ceremony was attended also by Prof. Sofokli Lazri who represented the Albanian side at the

talks for the normalization of relations between the two countries, as well as by high functionaries of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries.

In the Protocol it is emphasized that the two sides are for a broad development of mutual relations in the political, economic, scientific, cultural, technical and other fields on the basis of the principles of complete equality and in the spirit of friendship and cooperation in mutual interest.

On the same day, the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, received the vice minister for foreign affairs of the USSR, Juriy A. Kvitsinski.

The Soviet vice-foreign minister handed him a message of friendship which

# C H R O N I C L E



the foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Edward Shevarnadze, addressed to the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.

In the message, among other things, it is said that the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the PSR of Albania marks the beginning of a new period in the fruitful cooperation between the two countries.

After stressing the sentiments of sympathy and friendship which exist

between the two peoples, he wishes that, through joint efforts, the Soviet-Albanian cooperation be given a high dynamism in all fields. I am certain, he adds, that mutual Soviet-Albanian understanding will become a good part of the new picture of Europe.

Foreign minister Malile thanked for the message and said that he joined in the assessments of foreign minister Shevarnadze about the relations between the two countries. He pointed out

that the Albanian Government considered the normalization of relations an important event which opened the road for friendly bipartite cooperation. Also, he spoke in brief about the process of the further democratization of the life of our country, as well as the main directions of the foreign policy of the Albanian Government.

During the meeting, which went on in a friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged about the concretization of relations between the two countries as well as some problems of the current international situation.

## CHRONICLE

# ON THE NEW ECO

**by NIKO GJYZARI**  
**Alternate Member**  
**of the Political**  
**Bureau**  
**of the CC**  
**of the PLA**  
**Prof. HASAN**  
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**LUÇI**

The new economic mechanism worked out according to the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the PLA and adopted at the 7th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly is a major and very important undertaking with theoretical and practical values which has to do with the present and future development road to socialism. It is related, at the same time, with the need for the improvement of socialist relations of production, because, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out at the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA: «The new developments ahead of us have made imperative the further enlivening of the movement, especially, through the deepening of the line of the masses and the improvement of the economic mechanism.»

Improvement of socialist relations of production and, in this of our economy and society on the tive forces of our social development-context, the economic mechanism in the present stage has become an imperative need, conditioned by the intensive developments that are becoming predominant in our economy, by the emergence to the foreground of the problems of effectiveness of production, and by the need for the further deepening of the technical and scientific examination of problems, all of which must have priority and become the main factors for the further and high-rate development of the economy. Hence, the measures that are being taken for the application of the new economic mechanism, according to the tasks set by the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, have special importance for the progress of our economy and the further democratization of socio-economic relations. This me-

chanism responds better to the present state of the production forces and the prospect of their development, as well as the tasks the Party has set for the uninterrupted perfecting of socialist relations of production, so as to enhance their active role in the expansion of production and the rise of its effectiveness. Also, it responds to the higher level of our cadres and specialists, and the higher-productivity utilization of the productive sources of the country. At the same-time the new economic mechanism is intended to raise the scientific level of the organization and management of the economy, by liberating the present mechanism of management form obsolete elements, and from borrowed and inefficient practices. For economic methods to become predominant in the management of the economy and social production, they must always and ever better be based on the requirements of the economic laws and categories which objectively operate in socialism, and open broad vistas to the economic thought and logic.

Administrative methods and their application on a large scale to the detriment of economic methods, as experience shows, have had undesirable consequences in the extended reproduction and in the organization and management of the economy in all its links. They have curbed democracy and the relative economic independence of economic subjects, as well as the initiative and independent activity of working people, hampered the full utilization of the mental and physical energies of the working people, and weakened their interest in, and their material, individual and collective, responsibility for

# ECONOMIC MECHANISM

work and the final results of production. In these conditions, replacement of administrative methods with economic ones make the application of the new economic mechanism absolutely necessary.

Perfecting of the socialist relations of production and, in this context, application of the new economic mechanism are a logical consequence of the objective conditions that have been created in our economy and society. «We make changes on a broad front,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his address to the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «because the economic situation of the country has evolved, the ideo-cultural level of people has risen, a rich experience has been gained and links among economic subjects have become stronger.»

These are the fundamental reasons which led to perfecting the economic mechanism whose experimental application has begun in about 100 enterprises since July 1 1990, whereas it will start on January 1st 1991 on a national scale.

The measures the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA adopted in the field of the economy are in the nature of our socialist economy and respond to its aims. They are based on the protection and strengthening of the socialist ownership on the means of production, the planned development of the economy, and a policy of maintaining and improving the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the masses. As such they have nothing to do and have nothing in common with self-administration and the free market economy, characteristics of which remain the capitalist ownership of the

means of production, the existence of the free market of the means of production and the working force, which is turned into a specific commodity, crises and other phenomena typical of the capitalist economy.

The changes that are being made to our economic mechanism are neither partial nor simple. On the contrary, they are all-encompassing and affect the more important aspects of the relations of production and economic mechanism. They have to do with essential improvements which involve all the branches of the national economy and which will be materialized in all of its productive links.

The economic and social essence of these changes bears on several fields and follows several aims at the same time. The more important of them are:

*First*, to open up new prospects for the all-round and highrate development of the economy; to increase the social productivity of work and enhance the effectiveness of social production:

*Second*, to democratize the economic and social life of the country by deepening the line of the masses through the establishment of such relations as the time demands between centralism and the competences of the base, making the working masses the main subject of the working out and implementation of plans;

*Third*, to expand the concept of management of enterprises on the basis of independent accounting, extending it to meeting the needs of the extended reproduction with the financial sources of enterprises as well as with bank credits;

*Fourth*, to harmonize better the

economic (material) interests among the individual, the collective and society, applying the criterion of the participation of the working people in the sharing of the net income of the enterprise, or its relative units organized on the basis of independent accounting. So the working people are linked better and more directly not only with the quantity and quality of work, but also with its final results, the increase of production, productivity and economic effectiveness:

*Fifth*, to raise the scientific level of the organization of economic management so as to put the solution of the technical and economic problems arising from the demographic and social development of the country on sounder bases through economic means and levers which stem from the system of the economic laws and categories which objectively operate in our socialist economy, such as cost, profitability, net income of the enterprise, centralized net income of the state, prices, offer and demand, etc.

The measures adopted do not represent mere changes of denominations, indices and competences, or their mechanical transfer or transition from one denomination to another, but relations of interest, rights, and responsibilities which are established and implemented between the centre and the base, and harmonized better in such fields of major importance as production, distribution, exchange, export, investments, construction, remuneration of work, prices, the state budget, bank credits, etc. In the field of economic and financial planning they are aimed, on one hand, to extend the competences of the base so as to enable it to operate with more initiative, and

on the other, to maintain some centralized indices and balances, in kind or value, of the state plan and budget, which may be limited, but are sufficient to determine the main rates and proportions of development. All this enables the base to exercise control on the development of economic processes, production and distribution, the amount of work and consumption.

In these conditions, the planning of the economy assumes a new content. Up to now it has been based on a broad system of quantitative and qualitative indices, in kind or value, economic and financial, directive and non-directive, general and particular, analytic and calculative. Under the new economic mechanism the number of general indices is greatly reduced: about 50 per cent of those of the economic and financial plan go over to the competence of the base, districts, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions.

Although a good part of the planned indices, analytical or calculative, of production, consumption and services, as well as financial operations go over to the competence of the base, with priority being given to enterprises, society on a whole plans and determines the social production and national income, the volume or investments and fundamental constructions, the structure of the tariffs system and the fund of wages, the structure of prices, the centralized net income of the state, etc. Balances in value have to determine: the balance of the hard currency and finances, the income and the monetary expenditure of the population, whereas balances in kind have to determine: the balance of the bread grain (only procurements), the balance of fuels, steels etc. as well

as some balances of the main foodstuffs such as meat, fats, rice and sugar. There are also planned overall indices for those items and articles which have to do with the above balances.

Under the economic mechanism enterprises are given more independence. Their relations with the State are built, on the basis of their obligations in regard to sales outside their districts or for export, whereas agricultural cooperatives are answerable only for procurements. Also in the field of production, the independence of enterprises is extended because, as a rule, they determine the utilization of up to 20 per cent of the production capacities which are not covered by the plan. Just as the enterprise itself decides on its production capacities according to plan and secures itself its primary materials and carries out the distribution of its finished products, so it is recognised the right of distributing its production above plan, which, in particular cases, it may also sell directly on the market.

This right extends the competences of enterprises in such fields of major importance as production, supply and distribution, thereby creating the conditions for enterprises to decide on and strengthen their mutual links on the basis of direct contracts. In this manner the new economic mechanism will create real possibilities for enterprises with independent accounting to increase their source of supply because they will decide on the distribution of part of their products, which they will exchange with other products they need, just as they will be able to dispose part of the production realized above the plan, entering direct economic relations with producers, users, etc. At the same time,

enterprises with independent accounting become more interested in saving on material values and anything that leads to lowering production costs and raising effectiveness, that is increasing the net income, and increasing the material profit of the working





people from the distribution of the half of the overfulfilled production, or the creation, or expansion of the fund for guaranteeing work.

The regular and rythmical supply of enterprises with raw and primary materials, fuels, etc. is a

problem which calls for great attention on the part of everybody. This demands, in the first place, that production plans be fulfilled and overfulfilled in quantity, assortment, quality and within schedule, that operative and security reserves of enterprises be

increased and that more work be done for the correct implementation of the new economic mechanism so as to profit from the favourable conditions it creates in this field.

In agriculture, the measures implemented under the 1990 plan

*A shop-floor in the Radio-TV plant in Durrës.*



for the extension of the competences of the base should be carried further, ahead. The districts and agricultural economies are recognised more rights and competences in working out production plans, deciding on the acreage of the arable land, the utilization of the arable land for fruit-growing, the structure of cultures, the yields of crops and the productivity of livestock, the production per head of livestock, the number of plants in production, etc.

The main aim of this manner of planning with broader competences in industry, agriculture, investments, building construction, in transport, the communal economy, etc. is to create more favourable conditions to raise the level of management and planning, to find and apply more rational and more economic solutions to increase production, export and income, thereby raising the degree interest in, and responsibility for, the plan and its implementation. It links more directly production with distribution, consumption and finances, because it coordinates better the material aspect (in kind) of the extended reproduction with the value (financial) aspect of it. At the same time, this manner of planning takes better account of the concrete possibilities of every district, every enterprise or agricultural cooperative, as well as tradition, experience, climate and soil conditions, market demands, etc.

Improvements are also made in the indices of industrial and agricultural production. Under the new economic mechanism, instead of total industrial production in value, industrial production is given, in sold commodities, whereas in agriculture the indices of the finished products will be used. The index of the sold

industrial commodity has some positive aspects, because, first, it eliminates the inner turnover which has no effect on the volume of the goods turnover in the economy; second, it enhances the interest of the enterprise delivering products and commodities to their final destination and in coordinating and implementing production plans with those of distribution and transport, and third, on this basis to create the income which serves the extended reproduction and material stimulation of the working people.

The new economic mechanism confronts socialist enterprises with new, higher demands, strengthens their role and their economic, social and juridical positions in the extended reproduction and in the socialist system of our economy. As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in his address to the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «in conditions when the needs of extended reproduction will be financed from the sources of the enterprise, and through credits; when part of the income of the workers and managers will be made conditional on and determined by the degree of the realization of the net income of the enterprise; when obligations towards central organs for production in kind will be made up mainly of supplies outside the district and exports, management of the enterprise on the basis of independent accounting assumes real importance.» So the Law On Enterprises adopted by the People's Assembly extends the concept and competences of management on the basis of independent accounting. The period of more than four decades, since 1947, when our economic enterprises began organizing and operate on the basis of independent accounting to this day, has

convincingly shown the great usefulness of the economic methods of management. In practice however, because of objective and subjective causes, the difficulties of growth and those caused by external factors, the overevaluation of administrative methods, bureaucratic and liberal manifestations and practices which, despite the struggle carried out against them, cannot yet be considered overcome, etc., individual elements of the method of management on the basis of independent accounting have been weak or limited. The management of enterprises assumed more of a character of administrative dependence, whereas its financial relations with the state budget were not greatly different from those of budgetary institutions.

Elimination of shortcomings and weaknesses observed in practice and the further strengthening of the method of management on the basis of independent accounting becomes clearer when we consider the new tasks set by the development of the economy in the coming five-year plan. Experience shows that the economy is sound when all its cells are sound, and that what is useful to society must also be useful to the enterprise or the cooperative.

The first problem which is posed under the new economic mechanism is that the enterprise operating on the basis of independent accounting must at any time make a balance in monetary form of expenses and income, and cover not only its production expenses, but also those of the extended reproduction with the income it realized from the sale of its products and thereby create accumulation for itself and society. For this task of primary importance to be realized, the economic mechanism and economic

levers, especially prices, norms and profitability, as well as the net income of the enterprise must be such as to create for it conditions and possibilities to work with economic effectiveness, to extend and renovate production, in the first place, with its own financial means, to encourage the material interest of the working people in their work and its results, to enhance their initiative and independent action for higher achievements, to cope with its obligations and to secure accumulation for society.

That is the reason that, under the new economic mechanism, the net income of the enterprise is considered the main income it uses for its extended reproduction, for the creation of the fund for the material stimulation of its workers (the special fund and the fund for inventions and rationalizations), as well as for the state insurance of its assets, for deposits to its main fund and as a means of control on the general financial condition of the enterprise. At the same time the enterprise is recognised the right to use for financing its extended reproduction also other funds, which itself creates, such as the fund of amortization not only for part of major repair operations, but also for part of investments, etc.

In practice, centralized budget financing for their development will still be kept, for some individual sectors and items, because of insufficient rates of profitability, as well as greater demands for fundamental investments and the extended reproduction. This will be done by special ordinance by the Ministry of Finances.

The net income of the enterprise is one of the more important of its economic and finan-

cial indices. It is a real reflection of the economic and productive activity of the enterprise working on the basis of self-accounting. Its size is determined by the volume of production, its structure and assortment, the cost of its products and the price at which it sells them. In conditions when prices are more or less stable, the net income of the enterprise depends directly on its work. The additional income which derives from the increase of production, the extension and renewal of assortment, the improvement of quality and, especially, the lowering of costs are to the direct benefit of the enterprise.

The right given to the enterprise working on the basis of independent accounting to dispose of the greater part of its net income and use this income for the extended reproduction is a new conception of this problem under the new economic mechanism. This puts production, income and expenditure in direct inter-dependence; the enterprise becomes more interested in and more responsible for solving with its own forces and sources the problems of the extended reproduction. It will determine the economic objects which should be extended, set up or renovated, proceeding from the interests of the working people and the economy, while at the same time being fully responsible whether investments or constructions are necessary and profitable or otherwise, because it will use its own financial means and, when these are not sufficient, long-term bank credits for investments and short-term bank credits for additions to the fund of turn-over means. Under the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA and the laws approved at the ordinary session of the People's As-

sembly and the Council of Ministers, the functions of bank credits for meeting the needs of the extended reproduction, for new investments of a productive character, for technical and technological reconstructions of the existing production objects as well as for the expansion and improvement in the sphere of services will be extended.

Participation of the bank in granting credits to meet the needs of enterprises for the extended reproduction is a correct economic measure, for it leads to the further enhancement of its role and interest in the economic life of the country in such field of major importance as production. In this manner the bank will become more interested in any investment or construction carried out by enterprises, especially those done on its credits, because here it invests its own means. With these new functions the bank will increase its contribution to studies or other documentation on the necessity or economic profitability of any investment or expenditure.

On the other hand, utilization of bank credits for the needs of the extended reproduction makes enterprises more interested in increasing the economic profitability of their investments, as unlike budgetary means, bank credits are returnable on certain interest rates. This plays better the role of an economic lever for the achievement of the main aims in this field, which is increase of production for every lek of investment, as well as reduction of terms of self-extinction of debts.

The functions of the bank have also been extended in granting credits of hard currency not only to the enterprises of foreign trade, but also to production enterprises and agricultural

cooperatives, the ministries and other institutions for their economic activity in increasing exports and reducing imports.

All this extends the concept of management of the enterprise, on the basis of independent accounting, because it enhances its independence and strengthens the role of the financial and banking levers for the development of the economy, the increase of production and the rise of its effectiveness.

Under the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the CC of the Party, material incentives are better utilized through linking worker's wages with the net income of the enterprise or other institutions working on the basis of independent accounting. This has importance of principle because it adds to the interest of the enterprise and its workers in their material responsibility of the enterprise as a whole, but also for the results of its individual sections, construction sites, factories, etc. As a consequence, positive or negative economic results do not affect mainly the product for society and, within it, the part which is used for investments and other needs of the extended reproduction, but also the enterprise and its collective.

In the context of the new economic mechanism, the right given the enterprises to find the more suitable forms of pay and remuneration will also enhance the individual material interest of workers and especially contribute to its combination with the collective interest of the enterprise. This requires that, in conformity with the conditions of every sector, forms of pay according to planned results, achieved tasks, contracts, etc. be used with resiliency and economic lo-

gic, linking them not only with the fulfilment of norms, but also with improvement of indices of the social profitability of work like improvement of quality, reduction of expenditure of primary materials, proper utilization of machinery, etc.

Utilization of methods of individual stimulation is very important. But for it to fulfil its functions better it must be carefully built so that, on one hand, to encourage the material interest in increasing the social profitability of work and, on the other, to enhance the economic effectiveness of production, that is, to lead to the growth of the net income of the enterprise. Knowledge and utilization of new forms of pay and stimulation for increasing production, improving quality and effectiveness has great importance because pay is a powerful economic lever for encouraging the material interest of the working people. This calls, in the first place, for the specialized opinion of economists and economic managers, because various forms of individual remuneration, unlike those of collective stimulation, have a more immediate character and greater encouraging power, and create real possibilities also for the realization of forms of collective stimulation envisaged under the new economic mechanism.

In this manner, the broader use of economic interest, or as they are called otherwise, the material interest of the enterprise and its working collective represents a distinguishing criterion of the new economic mechanism. This makes the worker feel himself the real owner of the factory and socialist property, and be more interested economically in increasing production and its effectiveness in protecting and

expanding common property. This makes a better differentiation between those who work well from those who work with lower profitability and effectiveness.

Implementation of the new economic mechanism for improving the management of the enterprise working on the basis of independent accounting, as well as the new conception of its net income call for creating proper conditions for this purpose not only in the enterprises in which this mechanism has begun being experimented in this semester, but also in all other enterprises.

In the first place, people must understand that the new economic mechanism will achieve its aims and purposes only if the sector, the enterprise or the cooperative will make efforts to work out as a real a plan as possible, which should at the same time be an encouragement for higher achievements as compared with the past periods not only in the volume of production, but more so in the qualitative indices of its effectiveness, such as work productivity, cost, net income, etc. We emphasize this because the tendency to work out plans with hidden reserves fully devalues the stimulating character and effectiveness of the new economic mechanism, because in these cases are not created the necessary sources of accumulation which are indispensable to meet the demands of the new economic mechanism such as self-financing, encouraging of the individual and collective interest and material responsibility of the enterprise and its working collective, etc.

Another condition for the implementation of the new economic mechanism is the improvement of the organizational structures of the enterprise, so as to make them more rational, more



resilient, less costly and, at the same time, to create possibilities for management on the basis of independent accounting to be extended to the smallest production units of the enterprise.

Re-examination of the organizational structures of the enterprise and reduction of personnel must be utilized to improve the work for the introduction of the new economic mechanism into sections, working sites and factories of the enterprise. This has great importance, because just as the fulfilment of the plan in the whole of the country depends on its fulfilment in every enterprise, so the success of the fulfilment of the plan in every enterprise depends to a great degree on its fulfilment in all its constituent units. On the other hand, the extension of the new economic mechanism and economic levers to the constituent links of the enterprise will create real possibilities for economic relations to operate more actively and more really there where they have their origin and where the concrete results of work are materialized. This is an important step forward to encouraging the initiative and independent action of the working people. Their organization on the basis of independent accounting is in the competence of the enterprise itself and the bank branches in the districts, but without extending this up to the recognition of their rights as a juridical person. Closely related to the organizational structures and the strengthening of the constituent units of enterprises is also the composition and quality of the management apparatus. It is a fact that in our enterprises there are workers and administra-

tion personnel who do not justify the place they occupy or have limited capabilities, just as there are disproportions between main workers and auxiliary workers, etc. As is known, under the new economic mechanism the enterprise is given the fund of wages and it determines not only the organizational structure, but also the indices of work, such as the average number of working people, including those on the staff list, work productivity and average wages. However, this competence which is recognised to the enterprise does not mean that it has the right to reduce the existing number of workers without finding other jobs for them. This is a major social problem which calls for serious involvement on the part of all, enterprises, executive committees of the people's councils of districts, the Ministries and the central organs of the state and the economy. The primary task in this field of the enterprise working on the basis of independent accounting is to increase and expand production so as to economically justify the use of a larger fund of wages, to assume other workers on condition that it fulfils and overfulfils the production plan when demands exist for this and contracts have been signed for this purpose, without exceeding the fund of wages. This is the right economic method which, when used competently, like in some agricultural and construction building enterprises, has yielded good results. This becomes even more important with the strengthening of the management on the basis of independent accounting of the enterprise when control on the fund of wages is done on the basis of final production (in value).

The important here is that the

enterprise frees itself from some superfluous operations and burdens like inefficient workers, lost hours of production, administrative leaves, excessive and often formal involvement in artistic and sports activities, which without any right they pay with money from the fund of wages or the special fund of the enterprise, or the engagement of the enterprise in other social activities which have no relation to the rise of work productivity and no impact on the improvement of economic and financial results. At the same time enterprises should clear up accounts, liquidate their insolvency, their unsold stock or their goods which sell very slowly, and strengthen the function of money in their mutual relations, etc. All these are problems which must be coped with and solved as quickly as possible, eventually within this year, so that the beginning of 1991, when the new economic mechanism is implemented in the whole, necessary conditions be prepared. Likewise, it has great importance to clarify economic relations between enterprises over machines, equipment and material values, which today is done in the form of transfer of the inventory of main means, as well as supplies, without caring much whether enterprises have or have not the financial possibilities to pay for the goods supplied to them, a thing which weakens the role of money in its function as a means of payment.

Implementation of the new economic mechanism calls for knowledge and complex utilization of the requirements of the economic laws and categories which objectively operate in socialism, in the first place, its specific laws. It is also organically linked with the fundamental economic laws of so-

cialism, the law of the planned and proportionate development of the economy, the law of distribution according to work, the law of thriftiness, the law of socialist accumulation, etc. Along with all this, knowledge and utilization of the requirements of the other common and general laws like the law of value, the law of the rise of work productivity, etc. have also great importance. Complex implementation of these laws under the new economic mechanism is of major importance because each of them taken separately from the others is in no position to characterize more or less completely the situation and the development of economic processes and phenomena which are closely related to but also conditioned by a number of other economic laws and levers like cost, productivity, net income of the enterprise and centralized state net income, wages, prices, finances, credit, etc.

The content and forms of manifestation and operation of these economic levers which stem from the law of value differ from one socio-economic order to the other, but regardless of this, they inevitably carry along and are carried out through some similar economic mechanisms and levers, although they pursue different aims and further the interests of different classes and socio-economic systems. In these conditions it is necessary that these technical and economic mechanisms, and the forms of organization of work and production be used in an as active and productive manner as possible, especially in the field of organization and management in enterprises, finances, banks, foreign trade, etc., and always to the benefit and in the interest of the working masses. In this respect our economists

should boldly overcome some hesitation on the achievements of world economic science, which is usually motivated with ideological interpretations but which life has shown that are not always justified.

The role of the new economic mechanism in the management of the economy and production is closely linked with and, to a large extent, conditioned by the creation of a new economic education and culture. As Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his address to the 10th Plenum of the CC of the Party, «The measures we discussed will be accompanied with new norms of economic and moral education, with a new psychology and another, more active stand towards work and social property.»

Comparing income with expenditure, the economic methods of management on the basis of independent accounting and the new economic mechanism as a whole teaches the working class, the specialists and cadres to live with the feeling of responsibility for concrete results at work, increases their material interest and responsibility, teaches them to administer better the means they have at their disposal, to manage production, distribution, finances, wages, credits, etc. with greater competence, so as to reckon well any investment and expenditure, and find and utilize new possibilities and sources which lead to the increase of production, productivity and effectiveness, as well as the increase of income on this basis.

For its part, by means of the categories of value, society has greater possibilities to exercise and strengthen its control through the lek, which is the main, although the weakest, point of our control. Experience shows that

control through the lek is the most efficient, so it must occupy the place that belongs to it, the more so in the conditions of the application of the new economic mechanism. In control through the lek an important role is played by the financial and banking organs with their activities in the field of distribution and re-distribution of the national income and socialist accumulation, the fund of wages (through economic and limit control), long-term credits for investments and short-term ones for the turnover means in order to liquidate the insolvency of enterprises, as well as in other fields of financing and banking operations, etc.

On the other hand, the skilful use of these economic levers calls for and enables the precise and timely extraction of the economic and financial results, as well as the carrying out of detailed periodic economic and financial analyses so as to know the situation better, to prevent undesirable economic tendencies, to uncover and utilize inner possibilities and reserves for the increase of production and the raising of its effectiveness. In this sense we can say that the new economic mechanism gives due weight to economic thought and economists in general, especially financing economists. We think that the new economic mechanism makes very topical the Leninist thesis that the duty of the economist is to make the anatomy of economic processes and phenomena, to detect mistakes and shortcomings and suggests ways for their elimination.

It conditions where greater and more resilient work is demanded from the workers of finances and accounting, major tasks emerge for strengthening and renovating the centre of accounting, the pro-

fessing of statistical information, the extension of the mechanism of calculating operations, the large-scale introduction of economic informatics, the improvement of the statistical programme for the precise and full extraction of economic and financial indices of the enterprise or unit organized on the basis of independent accounting and within as short a period of time as possible, up to the scale of the whole national economy through the organization of accounting on a national scale.

Prices are a category of value of great importance and a component part of the new economic mechanism. They are an important lever to implement the economic policy of the Party so as to increase production, effectiveness and income, to assess the social product, to strengthen economic links between city and country, to plan and follow up financial indices and the greater part of economic indices, to exercise control through the lek, to improve the material well-being and raise the cultural level of the working masses. Being measures and expression of value, prices play a major role in reckoning the socially necessary work for the production of goods and commodities, the distribution and redistribution of the national income, the implementation of economic methods and logic in the management of production.

Based on all these considerations, the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA adopted important measures in regard to the criteria of the formation of wholesale prices in industry and state buying prices for agricultural and livestock products. The Plenum decided that buying prices for agricultural products be set on the basis of expenditure and income of the land with the lowest productivity, classifying agricultural economies into four zones (or ca-

tegories) which take account of economic and natural factors, expenditure and production costs, climate and microclimate, existence of differential rent in socialism, interests of producers, etc.

Under the new economic mechanism, essential changes are made in the field of industrial wholesale prices: they are set on the basis of optimal productivity instead of the minimal one, and include the centralized net income from the means of production, too, not only from the broad consumer goods, as has been done up to now. The aim is that, within the possibilities allowed by the existing level of retail prices, wholesale prices be brought closer to value and ensure the conditions for the extended reproduction of enterprises through their own financial means as well as for the material stimulation of the workers. We emphasize that, because retail prices for basic foodstuffs and other essential commodities remain unchanged. This is another evidence of the constant care of the party for the well-being of the people and its constant improvement.

Re-considering wholesale prices for the coming five-year plan according to these criteria, as this was formerly done without taking fully into account the whole system of direct and indirect productive links between products and the various branches of the economy, as has resulted in practice, implementation of these prices for individual products does not secure the necessary productivity for individual enterprise and, in particular cases, makes them work at a loss. Detection of these cases on the part of the economists and coordination of efforts on the part of productive organizations to find ways for the elimination of this phe-

nomenon through reviewing the ratio between the net income of the enterprise and the centralized net income of the state, or through lowering production costs is a concrete direction, of their involvement in the work for the application of the new economic mechanism.

The new economic mechanism creates conditions for expenditure and income to be set in more correct relationship, which provides broader possibilities for the enterprises to work more productively, to cover their expenditure with their income and cope with the extended reproduction through their own accumulation. For this to be achieved, state subventions should cease, apart from some special cases, so that there are no differentials in the productivity of individual products. A constant task of planning and finance organs is not only to properly define the obligations of the enterprises towards the centralized net income of the state as well as other obligations, but also to follow them up consistently and make the necessary improvements and corrections in their size and ratio according to the levels and dynamics of the cost and the tasks posed by the economic method of management on the basis of the independent accounting of enterprises.

The new economic mechanism calls for qualitative changes in the method and style of work of state and economic organs throughout their pyramid. The new economic mechanism gives enterprises much more independence, increases their degree of interest and responsibility according to the principle of management on the basis of independent accounting. Enterprises become subjects with real weight in the economic life of the country.

# THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

by Prof. ALEKS BUDA

The problem of the formation of the Albanian people, their autochthony and continuity, and the formation of their historical territory is linked by many threads with analogous problems of the history of the neighbouring Balkan peoples, with which the Albanians, as one of the more ancient peoples of this peninsula, have been living for long centuries in close economic and cultural, language and political relations. These inter-Balkan links are apparent not only to the acute eye of the specialists. The individuality of the ethno-cultural and ethno-psychological figure of these peoples formed through the centuries is clearly discernible. In the study of these both general and particular questions, Albanian scientists raise neither problems of ethnic and cultural priority and superiority, nor, even less, «biological and racial» problems, nor do they behave as romantic nationalists who want to proclaim and affirm their «truth» as the only and the highest value for all. Posing for study the problems connected with the history of the formation of the Albanian people, their language and culture, we remember, among other things, the words of the well-known Croatian Albanologist and Balkanologist, Milan Šufflay, to the effect that the wholeness of the Balkan macrocosmos and its stratifications from the most ancient times are reflected as in a monad, better than anywhere else. In this sense, with their history, the Albanian ethnos shows, like a giant oak with its annual circles, also the historical growth of this ancient Balkan world.

In the political, but also scientific language of a number of modern Balkan archaeologists, historians and anthropologists, especially Yugoslav, we come across a doubt which goes so far as to negate a priori the scientific term of ethnos.

It is to be regretted that such well-known archaeologists and historians like M. Garashani, S. Cirkovic and others declare today that one must renounce the study of the problems connected with the ancient formation of ethnies, and their territories and cultures, because allegedly it is a field of operation with «biological and racial» concepts, that such formations as those of ethnies and ethnic territories, in general, allegedly are linked with primitive societies, and represent an anachronism in our times. According to them, science has given up or must give up the study of problems like those of ethnogenesis.

As an argument for this stand serves the opinion that the main component of an ethnos is of a biological and radical nature; at most the term is given the meaning of a mere cultural and language community, for the existence of which allegedly there is no need either for relations of exchange, no matter how loose, among people or for a common territory for them to develop. It is clear that this definition divests the concept of ethnos from its objective concrete historical content which science has already accepted in general: a social community formed historically on the basis of coexistence, with a kindred or common language, with a similar or the same material and spiritual culture, with relations in the field of production and a change, all this on the basis of a well-defined territory, without which these factors could not exist and operate. So, the ethnos is a historical product given a priori and

unchangeable, which does not exist without a connection with the social formation by which it is in the last analysis determined. So, the ethnos lives on as a nucleus also in the tribal and slave-owning society in forms characteristic of them, also in the people and nationality as forms of organization of the feudal society, also in the capitalist nation and society and in socialism — but always with a new content which responds to the relative socio-economic formation. In all these formations the ethnos has those components which are always present, regardless of the fact that in primitive society, for example, the territorial and, especially, economic factors are much weaker in their development; whereas in more developed societies precisely these factors assume greater importance, while by no means eliminating the other factors, among which language is one of the more important criteria for the formation and definition of the ethnos.

We think that progressive thought in modern science is fully justified to devote ever greater attention precisely to the investigation and study of the road of formation of ethnic communities and their cultures, as well as national territories conceived as a result of socio-historical formations. Developed on an objective scientific basis, these studies represent a powerful theoretical weapon in the hands of the oppressed peoples, nationalities and nations, or those in the process of liberation, for affirming on legitimate historical bases their national political identity, and their aspirations to an independent democratic culture which responds to their ethno-historical history and their demands for social advance, and carrying out their struggle for freedom and national in-



*A straight line goes through periods with an ever richer economic and social, political and cultural content; it brings the Albanian ethnos, the Albanian nationality, to a formation of a higher socio-historical level—the present-day nation, the Albanian socialist nation, one and indivisible in language, culture, its territories and everything best it has inherited from history.*

dependence against any form of exploitation. These are major problems and tasks which are objectively posed and to the realization of which science must try to make its contribution.

With its broad territorial extension from the Sava River to Epirus, the initial Illyrians' ethnos shows a very loose unity. According to circumstances it splits, regroups, merges with other ethnies or is assimilated. However, precisely because of a particular territory which finds itself in more favourable conditions, a group of this large ethnos, the Southern Illyrians, begins to stand out as an ethnic and cultural community on its own, with common features — in the documents of the time they are called «the Illyrians properly called» (Illyrii proprie dicti). The coexistence of a people with a similar or the same language and material and spiritual culture, near the coast, in the sphere of irradiation of a number of cities, at the head of major roads of communication, in an environment which favoured their economic development, their inclusion for a relatively long time in the more important political formation of the eastern coast of the Adriatic — the Illyrian Kingdom, all this enabled the Southern Illyrians on this territory to crystallize into an ethnic community of their own, made up of a number of tribes with the Albania of present-day Central Albania at the head, as Claudius Ptolemy mentions them in the second century of our era. These circumstances taken together explain while this ethnic community, with their main distinguishing features, lived on through the Antiquity and withstood the language and cultural pressure of the Roman and Byzantine Empires which, however, left their imprint, and later,

through the Middle Ages, despite its relations with its Slav neighbours. With its ancient roots, but with a new social content, this community survived in the Mediaeval people of Arbën, which is mentioned on the same territory from the 9th century on.

This example and others alike show that none of the factors which are involved in the formation of these communities would alone be sufficient to explain the formation of an ethnos. Consequently, none of the historical and cultural sciences could alone say the final word for the elucidation of ethno-genetic processes. Here the results of the work of the linguists must coincide with those of the ethnologists and archaeologists and all together with those of the historians. These sciences can and should assist one another; when their results coincide we can say that the conclusions derived have a sound basis: but none of them has the right to disregard the results of the other or impose its opinion in a unilateral manner.

Unfortunately, there are whole periods for which the lack of materials forces the students to operate with insufficient arguments derived from one field only. However, the silence, for example, of written sources, as in the case of some centuries of our mediaeval history, should not lead the students to simplistic solutions or free them from the obligation of finding other arguments and auxiliary sources. Absolutization of this circumstance has led, in a number of cases, to theses which give a distorted view of the historical reality, especially when extra-scientific factors interfere with scientific research.

The fact here is that between the

Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in the Balkans there is a gap in documents, a complete void caused by major political, social and ethno-cultural upheavals which characterize the period from the 5th century to the 10th century of our era. According to the opinion of some students, the more or less complete Romanization of the Illyrians was followed by the just as complete Slavization of the Romanized Illyrians. This negation of continuity cannot explain the presence of the Albanians on their mediaeval and present-day territories other than with later migrations from different directions — from the Thracian territories of the Eastern Balkans or farther afield, beyond the Danube, from the former Illyrian territories in the Central or Western Balkans to the south of the Danube and, finally, for a humorous note not to be lost, from today's Scotland! Remained to be determined only the time when the Albanians were supposed to have come to their present territories through a migration of which there is no trace in historical documents, pushed on by the Slavs, or together with them, or after them, from the 5th to the 11th century of our era.

This fundamentally erroneous thesis has two other theses as its corollary: on one hand, that of the later Albanization by violence of the territories invaded by the Albanian newcomers, and, on the other, that of the very low degree of socio-economic development of the Mediaeval Albanians, in order to explain their migrations as movements of nomadic herdsmen which came from a remote mountainous zone, from the most isolated and most backward zones of the coun-

try, where these fragments of a half assimilated ancient population were supposed to have escaped to a certain extent complete Romanization in conditions of extreme primitivism. It was a whole contrivance built with a certain logic which tried to base itself on facts and arguments, but more particularly on a number of theses taken at their face value, full of inner contradictions and in contradiction with the facts, in the first place. We cannot conceal our opinion that behind these arguments, in a number of cases, lay not only methodological weaknesses, but also more or less disguised political aims. It was not by chance that some of the more extreme champions of these theses, with a few exceptions, came from the ranks of the Slavists with pronounced concepts of the old pan-Slavism (A.M. Selišć, I. Popobic, I. Zaimov, and others).

While saying this, we do by no means deny the scientific merits of a number of students of various nationalities who, even in circumstances in which conditions were not yet ripe, with their well-weighed judgements, made a successful attempt at carrying their studies forward and opening up new paths. The new Albanian science mentions these names with respect; let us mention here, one among many others, the unforgettable name of Norbert Jokl, the passionate student of the Albanian language, a friend of the Albanian people and their culture, and a victim of the abominable fascist atrocities.

We may say that the study of the problems that interest us entered a new and higher stage when the new Albanian science was able to say its word. It based itself on a richer language, archaeological and ethnographic material, which enables it, based also on a scientific methodology, to see a number of problems more clearly and more fully and argue them in a more balanced manner, without claiming to have the last word. With the inter-related achievements of the Albanological studies in our country after Liberation, the picture that we see today is radically different from that presented in Stadtmueller's well-known work **Research on the Early History of the Albanians** (1941), second editi-

on 1966), which, we may say, is the first research work devoted entirely to the problem of the formation of the Albanian people in the Middle Ages.

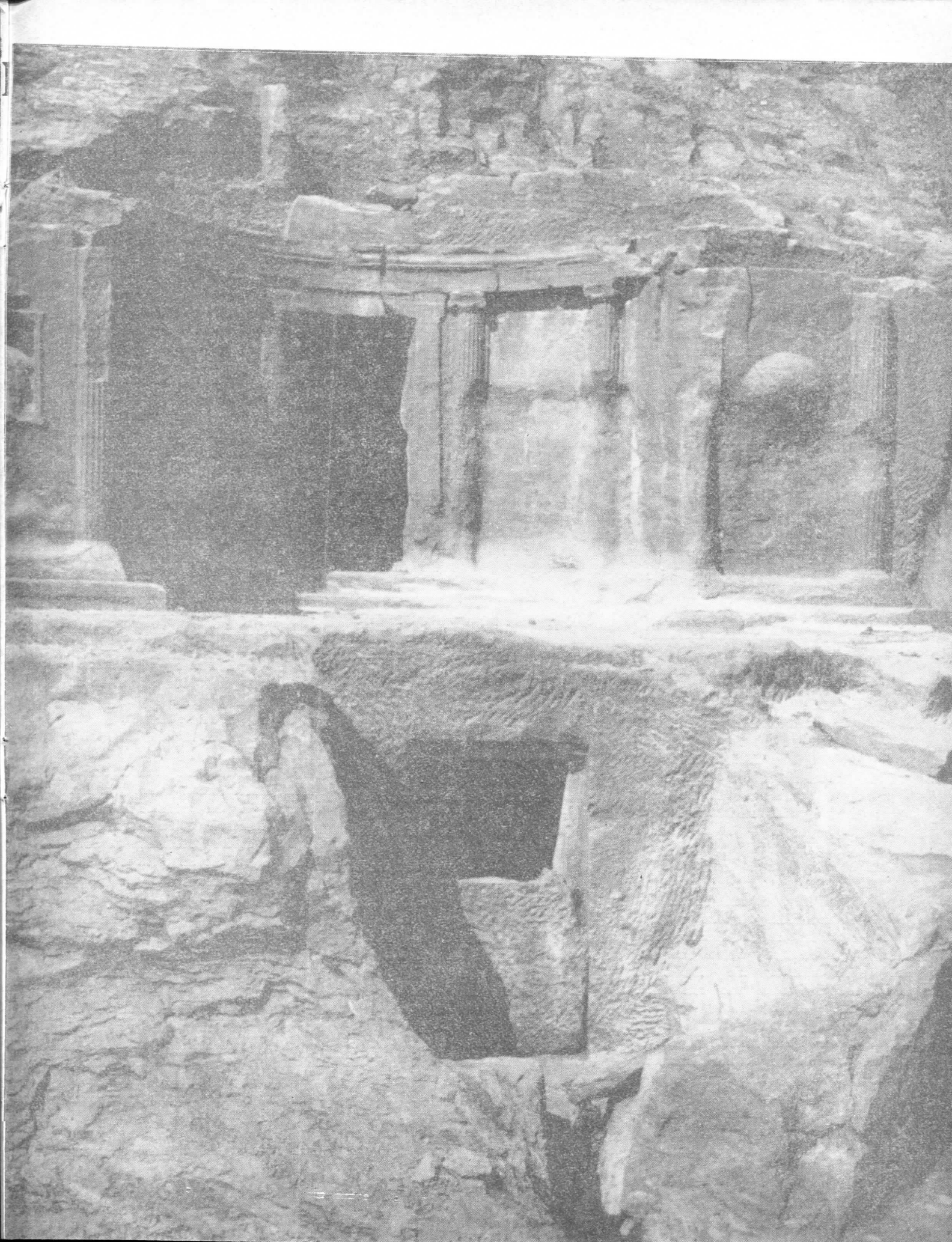
Under the strong influence of the German reactionary geo-political concepts of the thirties, Stadtmueller saw in the «laws» of space and «demographic explosions», which allegedly have characterized and determined the degree of the social and cultural development of the early Albanians, the determinant factor operating in their society. The law of violence, characteristic of a society of nomadic warring tribesmen, as Stadtmueller a priori and one-sidedly considered the Albanians, was supposed to have operated especially in the conditions of the lack of a strong central political power, such as represented by Rome, Byzantium, or the Serbian state at the acme of their power. It must be said that these were more stereotyped constructions which neither in their time nor, even less, today could claim a more or less sound methodological base coinciding with the historical and cultural reality of the time. Nevertheless Stadtmueller published his work without any alteration.

Doubtlessly linguists had and would for a long time have precedence in the studies of the problems that interest us. The question here was not only about a powerful tradition, but also about the fact that the materials at disposal were mainly of a linguistic character, while archaeological and ethnographic research lagged still behind. So, one of the conditions to come out of this situation was for this research to develop at more rapid rates, putting the study of the culture of the autochthonous inhabitants at the centre of attention, disregarding the traditional orientation which recognized only the culture of the higher strata, the Roman or Byzantine «imperial culture», in the Illyrian regions. Precisely this mistaken starting-point had led to the opinion of the complete Romanization of the Illyrians. The Albanian students carried out this new important orientation with a rich harvest of results, which enable us today to pose the problem of the ethnic and cultural continuity and the autochthony of the Albanians



*Lower Selca in Pogradec — Monumental tombs hewn in stone, 3rd century B.C.*





on their historical territories from a starting-point higher than that of some tens of years ago.

The linguists tried, before all, to solve the problem of the origin, the continuity of the Albanian from an ancient Balkan language — the Illyrian or the Thracian. Without doubt this was an important and legitimate question. However, as the process of studies shows, it could not be resolved in isolation from other questions. As it was posed at that time, it was tantamount, in our opinion, to explaining the secondary before the primary, to seeking the solution of the problem of the origin of the Albanian in isolation of and before the solution of the problem of the location of the ethno-historical territory on which the phenomena of the language continuity had to be sought. The territorial factor is known to have always played the main role in this question.

A result of this kind of methodical approach was a game of «rope pulling» between the «Illyrianist» and «Thracianist» linguists, the representatives of the Illyrian or Thracian origin of the Albanian and the Albanians. According to each case, basing itself on one or the other Albanian-Illyrian or Albanian-Thracian isogloss, now one side now the other tried to pull the solution to its side. It was clear that this could be a long road without certain results, especially as long as the inner laws of the Albanian and its phonetics were not properly known. Still results were not lacking on this road, either. It can be said that thanks to the long comparative work started by G. Meyer, N. Jokl and others and continued to our day, the linguists managed to provide new convincing arguments about the connections of the Albanian with the Illyrian, a thing which was clearly formulated by the linguist R. Katičić lately, with the conclusion that there is no convincing linguistic argument to reject the Illyrian origin of the Albanian and the Albanians.

Yet, the history of the Albanians and the final reflection of the ethnic-cultural development of the people that spoke it, called, along the language factor, also for the inclusion of the just as important cultural and

territorial factor, hence, the geographical and historical territory of the formation of the Albanian ethnos with its ancient roots.

This was the road started by Thunmann, I.G. Hahn, N. Jokl and others. They and Katičić more recently saw in the fact that the present-day Albanians lived precisely in the territories of the ancient Illyrians, a direct evidence supporting the thesis of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and a factor confirming the autochthony of the Albanians on their historical territories. To this view adhered also some of the representatives of the Thracian thesis like G. Weigand, P. Skok and H. Barić, who were forced to accept the autochthony of the Albanians in these zones before the arrival of the Slavs.

Eqrem Çabej devoted his activity over many years to the central problem of the autochthony of the Albanians. With a number of studies in the field of the history of the Albanian language and the historical toponymy of Albanian territories, E. Çabej laid the corner stone for the elucidation of this so important a problem. It was clear to him that Illyrian-Albanian concordances indicated a relationship between the Albanian and the Illyrian. Only determination of the place in which the transition from the ancient Balkan language to the Mediaeval Albanian took place would say the final and decisive word on this problem. This called for a comparative analysis from the linguistic stand-point of the historical toponymy of the ancient territories of the Western and Central Balkans. On the road started by Jokl, with new materials, but also with a more precise and more perfect methodological approach, Çabej indicated the territories of South Illyria as the historical territories of the formation of the Albanian and the Albanian people, which more or less coincide with the present territory of the spoken Albanian. We may consider the centuries of the Late Antiquity, when the Albanian began forming itself in the bosom of the Illyrian, the period in which the first stages of this important ethno-genetic process developed. In fact, from the already unified manner in which the

Albanian responds to the more ancient influences of the Latin, it must be inferred that at that time it was an already formed language, with fundamental and common structure for all its dialects. Later contacts with the Slavonian could not affect or alter this structure. True, a number of place names in South Illyria show that they have passed through a foreign language environment, of a Slavonic character, as a result of the ethnic changes that took place in the second half of the millennium all over the Balkans, but along with them we discern a great number of place names, names of rivers, mountains, and especially towns, which, through the characteristic evolution of the Albanian language, indicate that they have remained without interruption in the language of the same Albanian-speaking population and, from it, in a number of cases have also gone over to the language of their Slav neighbours. Such place names as **Ulqin, Shkodra, Drin, and Buna, Mt. Sharr, Nish, Shkup and Shtip, Mat and Pult, Drisht and Ishëm, Durrës, Shkumbin, Vlora, Ohri and Çamëria**, represented, among other things, points of coordination for a territory on which, in the pre-Slav period, there lived an ancient Illyrian population which, through a complex ethno-cultural process, turned into the Arbëreshi, the Albanians of the Middle Ages. With this region coincide also the data of our archaeological research which give clear testimony to the presence of a Mediaeval material culture formed on the basis of an autochthonous culture, which on one hand, lives on pre-Roman Illyrian elements and, on the other hand, which develops under the influence of the Roman-Byzantine culture of the Late Antiquity.

This position of the territory of the formation of the Albanian language and the Albanian people explains the ancient inter-relations in the formation of the Albanian ethnos and their language. In the Early Middle Ages, the easternmost branches of this territory met somewhere with the westernmost branches of a Rumanian-speaking territory. Dardania of the Antiquity, which was inhabited by Illyrians, was no longer the westernmost



extension of the Thracians, but the component part of a linguistic and cultural territory which bounded with the Adriatic and Ionian coast. Evidence of this are ancient Greek and Latin borrowings which link this centre of ethno-genetic formation clearly with the coast; their archaic character and their origin from the literary Latin, their central position between the eastern Balkan Latin of Dacia and the northwestern Balkan Latin of Dalmatia, as well as the western Latin, shows that this linguistic territory occupied a special place, both in regard to its ethno-cultural position and the chronology of its formation. Compared with the vulgar Latin or Late Roman Empire, the Albanian started on the road of its formation at a relatively early phase. All these circumstances enable us to place the time bounds of this ethno-genetic process in the first centuries of the first millennium.

With these conclusions, as we said above, archaeological research agrees, too. The fact that until the 6th century, Latin and, to a smaller degree, Greek had limited extension as inscription languages, connected especially with the richer strata, means that we have to do here not with ethnic changes affecting the whole stratum, especially in the towns of South Illyria. The open resistance of the exploited masses to the imperial rule was a decisive factor which worked also for the conservation and even consolidation of the Illyrian ethnos in the conditions of Roman and, later, Byzantine rule. This expressed itself, especially, in the preservation and continuation of the culture of the lower strata, with elements, features and tendencies inherited from the pre-Roman period, which, just as the language, developed further, both under the pressure and influence of the dominant culture of the higher strata and the changes brought along by new populations which could not fail to affect South Illyria, as well. In these conditions, in language no more than in material culture there can by no means be question either of a break in continuity or of the disintegration of the territorial compactness of the ancient inhabitants.

With a number of common features and regional variations, the Arbëreshi culture of the Middle Ages, on the contrary, shows that in the conditions of the disintegration of the slave-owning order and the decline of the Western and Eastern Roman Empire, the local ethnic element lived through a phase of revival which expressed itself not only in material production, but also in the new forms of culture. These artistic elements were retained even beyond the 6th-8th centuries as important determining elements of the Arbëreshi ethno-cultural community.

The silence of the Latin and Greek courses of the time about the successors of the ancient Illyrian population, which they record in great detail the different phases of the great upheavals and major ethnic changes that set on since the middle of the millennium, do by no means invalidate what is said above. The logic of the historical situation makes it understandable why the imperial Roman and, later, Byzantine historiography records all migrations, destructions and changes, events of a political and military character which posed a threat to the state power, as is clearly seen in the case of Constantine Prophyrogenetes. The same author keeps silent about the autochthonous population of South Illyria which in these circumstances posed no threat and had no cause to be mentioned and singled out of the whole mass of the population included under the general political denomination of subjects of the Empire. To that population he applied the traditional denomination of the ancient provinces or the new terms of the Byzantine administration. Only when this population of Illyria, which represented an ethnic community on its own, became an active political factor through its uprising directed against the central state power from the 9th century on, it was quite understandably mentioned in the Byzantine sources.

In part of the literature it is commonplace to say that the characteristic features of Albanian society from the Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages were those of a society of nomadic herdsmen, who lived outside

the laws of normal socio-economic development and unrelated to a fixed territory. The argument that this population knew no higher forms of civilization, like those of the urban and state life, has been missused by some authors to such an extent as to deny, for example, a very important argument for the Illyrian-Albanian continuity: the continuity of the ethnic name **Albania** from the 2nd century of our era to the 11th century of our era. To Stadtmueller, for example, this passage of Ptolemy could not be authentic, but a later interpolation, precisely because the Albanians-Illyrians could not possess cities. (Let us mention, on this occasion, that a number of sources and place names which come from the Late Antiquity, gives us authentic endemic forms of the root **arb** and **alb** in the western zone of the Balkan coast and on the territories of South Illyria!).

Analysis of the ancient heritage of the word treasury of the Albanian and its elements borrowed from the Latin, together with important data of Mediaeval archaeology, as well as palaeotopography, indicates that in the Mediaeval Albanians we have to do with a population which ab antiquo leads a developed agricultural-stock-raising and artisanal sedentary life in a milieu which knows an urban civilization. Evidence of this are frequent archaeological finds not only in the zone of the plains and hills, but also in the inner mountainous zones; they convincingly prove that the process of formation of the Albanian people did not develop in conditions of stagnation or socio-economic regression, but in conditions of relative development, despite the consequences of devastating foreign migrations and invasions. These data speak about extension of the cultivated land, preservation of ancient inhabited centres and creation of new ones to which neither the urban character of their economy nor the Albanian ethnic character of their population can be denied. Let us mention here the example of the city of Kruja with its Albanian name, which is mentioned as early as the 9th century, without doubt a metastasis of a city of the Late Antiquity — perhaps Albanopolis. A num-

ber of other inhabited centres, monuments of culture and necropolises are evidence of the cultural continuity through their names, their geographical position, their fortifications, etc. They are part of the general picture of the ethnic continuity.

The 7th-12th centuries represent a new and higher period in the history of the Albanian people which shows itself in their socio-economic and political development. These centuries represent a new and higher stage of development also for the ethno-genetic processes — the crystallization of the mediaeval Arbëresh-Albanian ethnos as a continuation, with a new content, of the ancient ethnic community and its component factors. Along with the linguistic community, the cultural community was also strengthened — on the basis of the culture of the masses of the people, in the first place, while acquiring new elements from relations and contacts with the contemporary neighbouring cultures of the Balkan-Adriatic area. Now those of its characteristics which we know as fundamental ethnic elements of our present-day national culture begin to be crystallized both in the material culture and in the spiritual-artistic culture, dresses, ornaments, dances and music, customs, institutions of popular law, etc. In all this stand out components which come from the old heritage, but enriched with a new content, as well as new phenomena in a dialectical relationship of conservation and innovation.

Such expressions of conservation and innovation of particular and universal ethnic elements are found also in the «high» culture, that is, the culture of the ruling classes — the monuments of architecture and art, as well as some social institutions, etc., in which there is no trace of a deep break which could be linked with the changes of the second half of the millennium. Here, too, characteristic features become ever more apparent, which shows an autonomous development of the provincial culture. Under the seemingly uniform surface of the universal imperial culture, the culture of the autochthonous popular strata begins to make itself felt everywhere as an important factor which gives

provincial culture and, in some respects, even the culture of the higher strata, some of its unitarian peculiarities.

The converging factors which become apparent on the road of the unitarian development of Albanian society, the common ethnic heritage, the economic relations, although limited, and the common territory have an influence also on the unitarian development of the Albanian language. Levelling out of distinctions among tribes and their dialects, and creation of larger ethnographic and administrative-territorial units found their reflection on the formation of two territorial dialects as the main groupings of the Albanian dialects. Regardless of a number of peculiarities, with its fundamentally unitarian features in structure, phonetics, word treasury, etc., this is a new and higher stage in which the Albanian language develops itself in the Middle Ages.

The territorial component of the Albanian ethnos, although it remained compact and unitarian along its fundamental lines, could not fail to be affected by the consequences of the wave of Slav migrations and, later, invasions on the Balkan territories. In these conditions there can be no question of the expansion, as has been claimed, but only of the shrinking of the regions formerly inhabited by the ancient Illyrian-Albanian population, especially in their eastern part to which the organized states of the Bulgarians and Serbs extended.

Linguists like the Dutch Slavist, N. Wan Wije, have noticed that in the Early Middle Ages the Serbs and Bulgarians were divided by a non-Slav population; this population could be, as the Slavist E. Petroči indicates, only the Albanians, proceeding from ancient place names which are phonetically Albanian, as shown above. The fact that the Albanians have had sufficiently broad territorial contacts with populations which spoke languages of the Bulgarian or Serb type proves that the Albanian territories must initially have had a very broad extension which thrust itself like an edge between Serb and Bulgarian territories.

Ethno-genetic process cannot deve-

lop in an undifferentiated environment. It is precisely the development and consolidation of feudal relations which created the conditions to carry the tendencies of unitarian development of the Albanian ethnos further forward.

Extension of feudal possessions on broader territorial bases, and constant expropriations with the result of peasants abandoning their communities led to the disintegration of traditional links and the further mixing of the local population. The ceaseless flow of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions, in which arable land was scarce, the lowlands and the hilly regions, as well as seasonal migrations of herdsmen to summer pasture, made a contribution in this direction.

Taken together, these socio-economic changes of a deep going and comprehensive character make the 7th-12th centuries a new and higher stage in ethno-cultural development, the stage of the consolidation and crystallization of the Albanian ethnos. Compared with the false splendour of the last stage of the already condemned slave-owning society, the new situation marked in fact a period of barbarity, which becomes apparent in our country, too. However, it was a situation pregnant with new elements, it was characterized by «the birth pangs» of a society, as Engels has it, which was emerging from an old world of destruction, mixtures and mergers, new beginnings and transformations. The Mediaeval European peoples were emerging. «From the mud of the decaying Roman world,» as new and higher ethnic communities, with their developed class organization and an already new social content in the place of ethnic communities based on tribes, or federation of tribes, or the ethnically amorphous territorial units of the slave-owning society. The characteristic features of language, culture, and common territory, on which constant exchanges, although limited within the shell of the feudal economy, took place, continue to remain as constructive factors on the basis of these peoples. Precisely these more developed ethnic characteristics make the people the nucleus of «nationality», the highest product

of the ethno-cultural development of feudal society.

Ethnic elements which have remained or established themselves in these zones as a result of the various migrations and invasions of the first millennium, have also merged with the basic autochthonous population. In this merger social and political factors play an important role. The question here is, on one hand, about the existence amid the people of a class of dependent and exploited peasants; this was a class with social features and interests which in essence were the same for the whole territory and which included in fact the larger part of the population; and, on the other hand, the question is about the ruling class, also unitarian in its features and interests — the Albanian feudal class which already possesses a well-defined and ethnically homogenous territory to which it is linked by its class interest. Both divided and united in the class struggle that developed between them on the same ethnically unitarian territory, the two classes constitute a dialectical unity which led the process of ethno-genetic unification further. They form a unity on the basis not only of language, territory, material culture, or customs, regardless of class differences in the content of their culture, but also of political interests in particular historical stages and circumstances, which may unite the two classes for a time in order to defend themselves against a foreign rule, as, in the case of our country, in the struggle against Byzantine rule or invasions from neighboring regions — the Serb and Bulgarian states, invasions and rules which, moreover, because of their exploitative character affected and damaged the interests of the peasant masses, in the first place, but also of the higher strata of the local society, although the latter had started to rise in the framework of the Byzantine Empire. For the new ruling class which was strengthening within Albanian society, these states were becoming an obstacle to the free development of its political power, for the exploitation of the local peasant masses on its own account only. These contradictions which lived on for cen-

turies made the external factor actively contribute to the consolidation of the «people» formation; objective tendencies called now for the political secession of the Albanian territories in the framework of a separate state, according to ethnic peculiarities. «Immediately after the definition of language groups and, on this basis, of ethnic territorial distinctions,» Engels teaches us, «it was natural for them to serve as a basis for the formation of states, too».

The process of formation and consolidation of a people with its own language and culture, is in general, more rapid when it develops within the framework of a state with an ethnically homogenous and politically independent population. In these circumstances, socio-economic and political differentiation goes on at more rapid rates and allows the local exploiting class to more effectively carry out its external function, the defence of the country from foreign aggressions, and its internal function, the extension and strengthening of its rule on the broadest territory possible, including in it ever larger regions of the same people, in the first place.

As a socio-historical phenomenon, the ethnic union and consolidation of the Albanians into a «people» found its expression also in the extension and generalization of the ethnic name **Arbën** over all the inhabitants of this large territory. This was a phenomenon which had nothing to do with conquests, but with the creation of a general socioeconomic and cultural community made up of the historical territories of the Albanians. The fact that with the same ethnic name **Arbën** the Albanians are mentioned both in early Greek-Byzantine sources (from the 9th century on) and the western sources of the same period, as well as in Serb and Bulgarian sources (12th-13th centuries), regardless whether the question was about the southernmost, or northernmost or easternmost Albanian territories, shows already the consolidation of the features of this ethnic community in its higher stage as a «nationality», a process reflected precisely in this common denomination.

In his studies dealing with the Early Middle Ages, Engels discove-

red the operation of those objective factors which prepare the nation as the highest expression of consolidation of the medieval people. Among these factors, the territorial factor is an indispensable condition for the development of regular economic links, while itself being an expression and result of these links.

In conditions of normal development, with these links which characterize it, the nationality became one of the active bases for the formation of centralized states or monarchies which in the Middle Ages represent the future national nuclei of Europe. On this course, nationalities represent the forerunners of the modern nations. The historical conditions of our country made this normal road difficult for the Albanian nationality and its expression in a national state. This was a circumstance which had an inhibiting influence, because as is known, states are powerful factors for ethno-cultural integration and consolidation. In this direction, the Albanian nationality represents a rare case in which, even in these conditions, the unification achieved is preserved and developed further, although since the Antiquity it had to live with the political and cultural interference of great empires and universal cultures represented by them, indeed included for some centuries in the territories of several states and under the influence of several cultures at the same time. Under this foreign rule there were also a number of cases of migration of more or less ethnically alien elements to the territories of the autochthonous population, as happened in the south east under the rule of the Bulgarian great state, in the north and north-east under the conditions of the expansion of the Serb state in Kosova. In general, the protracted domination on the Albanian territories of ethnically alien ruling classes, the Byzantine ruling class, in the first place, which wielded a powerfully centralized political, administrative and ecclesiastical apparatus, was one of the factors which slowed down and held on the formation of a local ruling class and its political activity. In these conditions must be sought the reason why the Albanian feudal class was still weak

in the 11th-12th centuries until it succeeded in separating and emancipating itself from the feudal class of the Byzantine Empire. The same held true also for the situation existing in the region of Kosova where, in the conditions of Serb rule, until the 14th century, class differentiation amid the Albanian population was very slow.

Another inhibiting circumstance was the fact that the foreign ruling class controlled the church and its apparatus, including its language which was not only the language of the liturgy, but also the language of culture. If we take into account the important ideological role of religion and the church in the Middle Ages, we must say that the fact that on the Albanian territories there never was a church which served the local ruling class and, even less, which used the local language, was a factor which had a negative effect. It is known that three mutually hostile religions expressing opposite political and ideological tendencies clashed in our country in the Middle Ages. In these conditions religious or church allegiance could not become, as it occurred in a number of cases, a more or less specific ethno-cultural characteristic. The cultural community, no matter how superficial, created by allegiance to the one church which also wielded political power in the zones of Serb, Bulgarian and other conquests, is known to have led to phenomena of ethno-cultural assimilation in a number of cases, as the Slavization of the autochthonous Albanian population in some regions of Dioeclea, Zeta, Kosova, Macedonia, etc. Even in these processes, the old local population managed to cope with the threat of this assimilation, the explanation must be sought in the coincidence of the social and ethnic factor in the autochthonous population which was opposed to the foreign rulers, as well as the reliance of the autochthonous population on an ancient ethnocultural base. In these situations, Engels concludes, it was «the vanquished that assimilated their lords». And he continues: «Modern nationalities are also the product of the oppressed classes.»

The history of the Albanian people in the Middle Ages is character-

ized by a number of constant factors which determine its development. The result of these deep-going processes found its expression also in the awareness of foreigners about the unity of the Mediaeval Albanians as a nationality distinct from other neighbouring nationalities and, as the local people saw it, as a nationality with origin from the one tribe, with the same history, the same customs, the same land and the same interests; these expressions formulated by the Albanian humanist Marin Barleti in the 15th century are a subjective reflection of this objective process of the formation of the Albanian nationality.

There is no doubt that here we have to do with the experience of the great struggle which all the territories and regions inhabited by the Albanians carried out for about a century against the onslaught of the invading Ottomans since the end of the 14th century. The irreconcilable class contradiction between the masses of the people and the foreign occupiers which operated in this case, too, helped the strengthening of the political and military cohesion of this nationality; this consciousness became an effective weapon which served the popular war the local ruling class under Skanderbeg's leadership.

This protracted head-on clash of the masses of the people with «the foreigners» explains an apparently strange ethno-genetic phenomenon: precisely after this period of struggle we see the ancient ethnic denomination *Arbën* being relegated to a second place and gradually replaced with the denomination «*shqiptar*», a name just as old by which this nationality distinguishes itself from the foreign occupiers a separate unitarian nation different, in the first place, through its distinct, common and generally understood language, the Albanian language.

The new situations which were created on the Albanian territories under the many centuries-long Ottoman rule could not alter in essence the already established fundamental ethno-cultural structure of the Albanian nationality, nor could they interrupt the road of unified political and cultural develop-

ment carriers of which were again the masses of the people which were frontally opposed to the Ottoman ruling and exploiting class. In these new circumstances the Albanians were forced again to go through a process which they had gone from the Early Middle Ages, but now at a new and higher stage in order to emancipate themselves politically and culturally, to cope as a consolidated ethnic community with the assimilating tendencies of the universal Ottoman Empire and its theocratic ideology which recognized no nationality.

In these conditions, the example of the Albanian nationality is fresh evidence that no external force is in a position to undo what centuries have built, to turn back or hold on the development of the socio-economic and cultural forces of the masses of the people.

This was a long historical road not only of conservation, but also of all-round development and innovation. It was the best evidence of the inexhaustive creative capacities and potential of this people who, even in the most difficult conditions of history, succeeded in developing and strengthening their inner cohesion formed on the basis of objective laws.

A straight line goes through periods with an ever richer economic and social, political and cultural content; it brings the Albanian ethnos, the Albanian nationality to a formation of a higher socio-historical level — the present-day nation, the Albanian socialist nation, one and indivisible in language, culture, its territories and everything best it has inherited from history. Withstanding many centuries-long storms, this giant oak with its roots deep in its historical territory, today is going through a revival in all fields. With the working class at the head and with the Party which has emerged from its bosom, which are the flesh of the flesh and the blood of the blood of this nation, those great processes of unification, development and advance, which make up our already millennial history, are finding their realization with a new and richer content. The strength of this cohesion tempered through the centuries has challenged the centuries. Ancient and ever young, this nation will always know how to withstand the centuries.

# MAJOR VICTORY IN THE FIELD OF THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

by **MUSA KRAJA**

The struggle to liquidate illiteracy in Albania has its beginnings in the efforts for the creation of the Albanian alphabet. It has traversed a long and arduous road through many difficulties, but it was never extinguished. The history of this struggle has its source in the distant 15th century, or even 13th century, in the early tradition of Albanian letters. If we are guided to search for the beginnings of Albanian writings beyond the first Albanian book, which from what is known until today is the «Missal» of Gjon Buzuku (1555), it is precisely in this period that we must direct our investigations for the beginnings of the work and efforts for the teachings of this language.

There is a whole series of scholars, with Bogdani about 300 years ago, and continuing with others in later times, who wrote books intended specifically for the Albanians. In this work they had to give solution to a number of problems, the greatest of which was by all means the lack of a unified alphabet of the Albanian language. Such were also the difficulties that emerged before Gjon Buzuku in 1555 and later before Lek Matrenga, Pjetër Budi, Frank Bardhi and Pjetër Bogdani. Many authors invented their personal alphabets, but the historical and social situations, and especially the growth of trade, helped the spread of one Albanian alphabet with specific characters only for some sounds, while other alphabets using Greek, Arabic and Turkish characters remained in use for some time.

In these efforts original alphabets were also created, which began to have a certain circulation. Noteworthy efforts were made in the

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period of Albanian National Renaissance, when Albanian alphabets were used in writing and publishing the «Primes» and «Readers» for children and adults. Each inventor of alphabets had his own circle or circles of friends who passed the books in secret, under the threat of being discovered and imprisoned or exiled for this offence. These efforts continued with renewed energy by Naum Veqilharxhi, Kristoforidhi, Pashko Vasa, Hasan Tahsini, Jani Vreto, Sami Frashëri, Thimi Mitko, or among the Arbëreshi in Italy by Jeronim De Rada, Dhimitër Kamarda and others, whose work was taken up and continued by Mjeda, Gurakuqi, and Logoreci and many others.

The leading figures of the Albanian Renaissance turned their attention to the struggle against illiteracy especially in the 1880s, when education and learning began to be considered with greater seriousness as part of the national movement. Proceeding from the political and social conditions of our country and the plight of the people, who lived in different vilayets under Turkish administration, stepped in backwardness, poverty and ignorance, the men of Renaissance correctly evaluated the importance of writing the Albanian language and of raising it to the level of a national literary language. They worked according to the idea: one nation, one language. Thus, the struggle against illiteracy became a powerful weapon in the struggle against the foreign occupiers for freedom and independence.

In his article «Shkodra», the scholar, publisher and People's Teacher (post-mortem), Mati Logoreci pointed out as early as 1908 that three major dangers constantly threatened Shkodra: first, an eventual foreign attack from outside; second, Drini, the ri-

ver which flooded the fields and even the whole marketplace; and third, the ignorance, because what was being written in the newspapers with so many risks could not be read by the illiterate masses, and so the message did not reach its destination. At the final phase of the Albanian National Renaissance, some patriots, like Shahin Kolonja, Thanas Tashko, Josif Bagëri and others, called illiteracy the enemy that had to be defeated at all costs. Jani Minga in Vlora addressed his evening school pupils in 1909 with the following words: «...our enemy is also illiteracy», therefore, he instructed the youth to learn how to read and write their language and teach their parents, their brothers and sisters, too.

After the proclamation of independence, the struggle against illiteracy remained one of the priorities for the progressive movements of the 1920s. For this purpose, the progressive democratic forces of the country, especially those organized in the Federations «Atdheu» and «Vllaznia» of Shkodra, «Lidhja e mësuësve» and others, had in their membership such people as Mati Logoreci and Halim Shpuza in Shkodra, Vasil Llapushi in Elbasan, Jani Minga in Vlora, Shyqyri Lakra in Berat, Dhori Liperi in Përmet, Sami Dalipi in Gjirokastra, and others.

Under the regime of King Zog the rates of the spread of education in Albania were very slow. From 1920 to 1939, only 190 primary schools were opened, and these mainly in the period 1920-1924, which was accompanied with some events in the educational life of the country. At these rates, in 1938 nearly 90 per cent of the population was still illiterate, whereas in the most backward regions illiteracy among women exceeded even this high figure, and in



some distant mountainous villages of Northern and Central Albania the total population could not read or write. At the end of King Zog's rule, Albania had primary schools that could house less than one third of the children of school-age; in the villages the situation was worse (one fourth), and in some of the regions of Northern Albania, especially in the mountains, primary schools could not draw even one fifth of the children. In these conditions new generations of illiterates were rapidly emerging.

The struggle against illiteracy remained then a front of work which was sustained only by the efforts of patriotic teachers. In the school year 1937-1938, many of them opened courses for 3 503 pupils, but they found no support by the government organs.

With the Anti-fascist National Liberation War began the movement for the national and social liberation and the struggle against illiteracy. Within the framework of the political action, the fighters and the participants in the Liberation Movement worked for the clarification of the masses about the situation and the prospects of the country after the war, and especially, for the need of solving the immediate tasks which called for the total commitment of the masses. This measure of a direct political and cultural character began to be implemented gradually in organized and individual forms, in the Partisan Unit of Peza and other partisan groups and units.

The Party did not leave the struggle against illiteracy to spontaneity. At the Conference of Peza, which laid the bases of our people's power, the struggle for the liquidation of illiteracy was considered one of the chief duties of the national liberation councils. The 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania, held in March 1943, raised with special emphasis the question of introducing elements of cultured life in the countryside by opening schools and courses in which children and adults could learn how to read and write. To implement this orientation, a number of measures of an organizational and educational character had to be taken. In the first place the teachers were called upon to open schools and courses for the liquidation of illiteracy

and to keep them going at all costs in the zones where they worked. The Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee, in one of its circular letters, ordered the committees of the national liberation councils in the regions to open courses for adults, stressing that they should continue for a term of three months, with two or three classes each day, depending on the circumstances and possibilities. Many were the teachers and pupils who, having abandoned schools to become partisan fighters, distinguished themselves in the struggle against illiteracy. Qemal Stafa opened the course against illiteracy in the Partisan Unit of Peza; his example was followed by Margarita Tutulani, Shejnaze Juka, Qybra Sokoli and others, to mention only some. The partisan ranks included many simple people, workers, shop-assistants and peasants who had joined the war directly from the fields and farms, or the girls and women had come directly from their isolation at home, without any schooling at all. Apart from the thirst for knowledge, the desire to read the Party press in the partisan units and battalions, in the brigades and divisions, increased the attendance of the courses against illiteracy. Thus, «Zëri i popullit», «Kushtrimi i lirisë» and other organs of the Party and the Army became the first reading matter after the abc classes. For some other people, the first lessons of reading and writing began also in the prisons, as part of the political and cultural work that was carried out among the prisoners by the underground network of the Party.

Later, in the liberated zones, the work was better organized. In December of the year 1943 the 1st Conference of the teachers of the Gjirokastra region pointed out that the teacher must set up courses for the elimination of illiteracy in the villa-

ges. The teacher's conferences which followed in the regions of Korça, Vlora and Tirana set down a series of tasks for the organization of the educational work, putting the struggle against illiteracy on the order of the day. This problem was treated, at the same time, in the organs of the partizan units. An article entitled



*Secondary education is expanding rapidly, including 74 per cent of all pupils from the 8-year schools. In the photo: At one of the secondary schools in the city of Korça.*

«The School», published in the newspaper «Pishtari» (the torch) — the political and military press organ of the 8th Shock Brigade — said: «Immediately after the battle or the march, you can see the partisan sit down somewhere, produce his notebook and pencil and start his working. This earnest application of our courageous

fighters», the article pointed out, «will soon wipe out illiteracy from the ranks of the National Liberation Army». In the 4th Shock Brigade, as the «Gazeta e xhepit» (pocket newspaper) reported in September 1944, 72 partisans, out of 341 illiterates, have learned how to write and read in 20 days of work...» The partisans carried

the pencil and the book in the same sack as the munition. During the war no classical forms for the organization of the struggle against illiteracy could be adopted. Reading and writing were taught in the partisan units, in underground conditions in the cities, in ordinary people's houses which served as shelter for the



guerrilla, and in the partisan staffs. In this way, the people were fighting both against the invader and its tools and against another enemy, which served the physical enemy of the people and the homeland-illiteracy.

The struggle against illiteracy was a national action of a political and cultural character, which had to be carried through to the end until the liquidation of this ulcer of the past. Therefore, the program of the first Government of the People's Republic of Albania which was presented to the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania on March 24, 1946, defined the struggle against illiteracy as a lofty duty of the same importance as the School Reform and the other educational measures which would be carried out in conformity with the conditions and the requirements for the construction of the new Albania.

The broad masses of working people had already started this work with success since the early days after liberation. Schools and courses began to be opened everywhere. The existing schools resumed their normal work; their capacity was increased with the aim of drawing the maximum number of pupils. Likewise, new schools were opened and, in some zones, courses for children and adults, which began work as such, gradually became regular schools. The example of the teacher Ndrec Ndue Gjoka, who, without waiting for the decisions of the Government, opened about 50 such courses for the children of the people, imparted an exceptional impetus to the struggle against illiteracy in Mirdita, a region in northern Albania.

The struggle against illiteracy was further intensified with the setting up of the commission for the co-ordination of this major action. The commission was attached to the Secretariat of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, while, in the second phase, it was transferred to the Ministry of Education. It supervised the drafting of suitable programs and the printing of text-books. All those who had learned how to read and write were asked to teach in these courses. Those who ran the course were teachers, but gradually, as the work extended, the teachers were put

to handle only the organization and the methodical guidance of courses, while the teaching was entrusted to the former pupils who had finished only the primary schools. They were mainly workers, young people, employees and housewives who did the work of teaching under the continuous control and help of experts.

The campaign against illiteracy was the first important step towards the liquidation of ignorance. It was a struggle for the social emancipation of the country and the liberation of the masses from the leftovers of the old society. The attendance of courses kept growing in all districts. In February of the year 1947 the country counted 468 042 illiterates among people up to 42 years old. The drawing of people into anti-illiteracy courses was a problem, because there were many impediments: backward customs, lack of school materials and qualified cadres and so on. Therefore, this unusual situation had to be coped with unusual means — emulation in the press and the radio, assistance by the mass organizations and, especially, by the intensive work of the teachers in the cities and villages.

The years 1944-1948 were marked by a considerable effort in the struggle against illiteracy. The teachers and their pupils were more and more convinced that, with the slogan, «Let no one in the New Albania remain illiterate», and as the network of activists was growing wider, the experience of struggle to overcome this stumbling block to the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution would be enriched. The propaganda to convince the illiterate to attend the courses became more and more convincing. The experience of the work of 1408 courses, which were functioning throughout the whole country in 1946, with the attendance of 12 759 people, encouraged the authorities to adopt more vigorous measures regarding attendance and the opening of regular classes according to the requirements of the program in the year 1947. The decision of the Council of Ministers of February 28, 1947, defined the concrete measures for the liquidation of illiteracy among all those who did not know how to read

and write, except for the children of compulsory school-age. In this manner, the total number of illiterates up to 40 years old dropped from 702 333 to 468 042. In the year 1947, the way was paved for the more complete attendance of the courses against illiteracy by women and girls. The major projects of construction which were built with young volunteers became, at the same time, active centres for the liquidation of illiteracy and the uplifting of the cultural level of the youth. In July of the same year, 11 000 young volunteers on the Durrës-Elbasan railway site informed the Party about the completing of the railway section from Durrës to Peqin ahead of the schedule and the completing of the courses against illiteracy by 2100 volunteers.

Just as the progress of the country could not be imagined with illiterate workers, so the army could not be modernized with soldiers who could not read and write. Therefore, strong organizational measures were adopted in the Army by setting up more than 300 yearly courses against illiteracy within one single year, and many more others in the following years, which turned the whole Army into a school.

The attendance and progress of the work in the courses was impeded by reactionary people, who feared that this persistent struggle for social emancipation would lead to the liquidation of illiteracy and the uplift of the cultural level of the masses. The reaction was especially active in the zones of the North, where backwardness had been greater. In that year, people in the service of reaction perpetrated a number of crimes, murdering some of those who ran the courses against illiteracy and active attendants of these courses. In the summer of the year 1947, reactionary bands in Dukagjin murdered three youths who were outstanding in the setting up of courses. A gang of mercenaries shot and killed Pjetër Ndue Prenga, who ran the course against illiteracy in the village of Livadhas in Mirdita. They also killed Marta and Prenda Tarazhi, Mrika Zef Loka, Shkurte Cara and Dila Pjetër Marku — proclaimed People's Heroines postmortem — who had gi-



ven a splendid example in the struggle against illiteracy. Dile Pjetër Maraku, known as Dilica or the Lass of the Kashnjet Highlands, had been at the head of the work running two courses, one for men and one for women, until the day when she was murdered. The example of these courageous women was followed by many other activists in this field. Today they are honoured as the first martyrs who fell for the noble aim of spreading the light of learning and progress in the northern Highlands of Albania.

In the year 1948, the struggle against illiteracy assumed still wider proportions, especially among the peasant women and girls, who strove to break free from the shackles of phanaticism and backward customs. In this period, many youths worked on the Durrës-Tirana railway. Their number reached to more than 6500 in the peak season. There were 110 courses against illiteracy, which were attended by 1539 volunteers in the first shift, and by 1509 in the second one.

The Two-year Plan, 1949-1950, envisaged the compulsory liquidation of illiteracy for people of the age-group 12-14 years old. This new step, accompanied with the work among other age-groups of the population, raised the level of the struggle against illiteracy to new heights and larger proportions, channelling it more and more along the lines of rigorous state planning.

The year 1949 saw the expansion of the struggle against illiteracy in the ranks of the working class and the youth. The concrete work done until then was taken up for examination in the organizations of the masses.

The struggle for the liquidation of illiteracy marked a higher stage in the 1950s, when, along with the explanatory and persuasion work, the state issued decisions under which all citizens up to 40 years of age were compelled to attend courses to learn how to read and write. Such courses were opened in the city quarters, in villages, at work centres and military detachments. On January 12, 1950, this decision was converted into a law, which was endorsed, and its implementation was rigorously observed and extensively discussed in workers' gatherings. The new law made the edu-

ational state organs, the school directories and teachers responsible for the coordination of their activities with the organizations of the masses. The holding of national conferences on the struggle against illiteracy, according to the orientations of the Party, faced the state organs with concrete responsibilities for the promotion of this work.

In the year 1951, under the program proposed by the State Planning Commission, about 6200 courses with an attendance of about 70000 people had to be opened immediately. This step would help to liquidate illiteracy in all working centres within one year.

To speed up the successful work done so far throughout the country, the Party mobilized the organization of the Front and the other organizations of the masses; it set in motion the propaganda with all its means more thoroughly; from time to time, it drew attention to the assessments and criticism about the work done in some regions, work centres, city quarters and villages.

The struggle against illiteracy remained the priority of the teachers in cities and villages. It was considered a patriotic action for all those who ran the courses against illiteracy and gave their assistance with teaching methods for all those who had no special training and qualification. The 2nd National Conference of Teachers, which was held in Tirana on September 8, 1952, on the same day as the 2nd Congress of the Party began its work, analysed the work done in the section of education and culture according to the directives of the 1st Five-year Plan and charged the teachers with the duty of raising the level of their work and spreading education in general. It called on them to carry ahead the work for the liquidation of illiteracy and remain on the vanguard.

The implementation of the program for the compulsory primary, and later 7-year schooling, was more and more helping to avoid the emergence of young illiterates and semi-illiterates from the ranks of the younger generations. The problem was taken up seriously by the whole society and the state.

Vigorous measures were adopted es-

pecially in the period 1953-1954 to wipe out illiteracy before schedule. The Party instructed its respective organs in the districts and the state apparatus to handle the problem carefully, to organize direct control and assistance for the courses not in a bureaucratic manner, through papers and reports, as was often observed in some zones, where the situation was not properly under control. The authorities in the district of Tirana launched the campaign for the liquidation of illiteracy one year ahead of the plan. For this purpose, the lists of illiterates were drawn and published; individual cards were kept for each case; organizational measures were taken to ensure the necessary teachers, classrooms and materials; assistance and control were strengthened. As a result illiteracy was eliminated ahead of the schedule in many villages.

This great action was proceeding apace in the whole territory of the country. In places like the district of Gjirokastra, which had 31060 illiterates before 1944, this figure was reduced to 1470 in the year 1965. Illiteracy was totally liquidated in 76 villages of this district, in 10 villages in Këlcyra, in 12 villages in Përmet, in 6 villages in Saranda and in 21 villages in Delvina.

One of the sharp problems of the last year of this major action had to do with the efforts to stop the new literates from relapsing into illiteracy of semi-illiteracy. This could be ensured by keeping a steady supply of books and printed matter for them. Therefore, in many districts, work began on the second-degree courses of the struggle against illiteracy. These courses provided a higher level of knowledge, consolidated the reading and writing habits and provided elements of sums, etc.

In this manner, the struggle for the liquidation of illiteracy was crowned with success and in the time forecast. The news was made public from the rostrum of the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, on May 25, 1956: illiteracy for people up to 40 years of age was wiped out. This was a major victory of the Party and the people's state power in Albania.

The struggle against illiteracy was

carried out in the conditions of the great changes which accompanied the building of the base of socialism. It was part of the efforts for the implementation of the program of popular education. This struggle had the powerful support of the state organs and the new legislation, such as the law on the educational reform, the law on the compulsory primary education, the law compelling all citizens under the age of 40 to learn reading and writing, etc. All these legislative acts were accompanied with other explanatory, educative, cultural and propaganda activities.

This nation-wide action was a reflection of the patriotic spirit of the Albanian people, who coped with immense difficulties, especially in the mountainous zones of the country, where fanaticism and the force of backward customs were greatest. The action was carried out with success although, frequently, it had to curb the resistance of fierce class enemies. The 10 years, from 1945 to 1955, served as a period of test for the improvement of the methodical-pedagogical experience in this field.

This major historical victory, the complete liquidation of illiteracy for

people from 12 to 40 years of age, became a reality thanks to the contribution of teachers and all people working of education, who, coping with many tasks and difficulties in the education of the younger generation, worked earnestly and seriously and with a spirit of sacrifice and patriotism — passing whole years of their youth in the highlands, far from their families and homes — succeeded in attaining the expected goal, the liquidation of this grave ulcer which the Albanians and Albania have now completely relegated to the past.



# A great 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary

by Prof. **DHIMITËR SHUTERIQI**

We call the first State of Arbër that which is mentioned for the first time in 1190. This is rightly called so, because we know of no other state of Arbër before it, although prior to it there were many Illyrian and Epirot states on the present Albanian territories.

The Albanoi, our forbears of the one blood and name, are mentioned as early as the 2nd Century A.D. David Araniti, the first of the best-known feudal dynasties of the country, is recorded in 1001. A heresiarch called Leka is forced to take refuge beyond the Danube about the years 1040-41, and is found fighting against the central Byzantine rule still in 1078. An Arbëresh Comes Cortis defends Durrës in 1081. Feudalism in the Byzantine Empire, that is in Albania, too, exists since the 8th-9th centuries A.D. Its representatives in Albania are more than those we mentioned above. To them we may add the Chrysilles, the Kurtikis and others. Arbëresh feudal states, no matter how small or short-lived, managed to emerge in the decentralized Byzantine Empire, especially in its periphery, in the period of the creation of the neighbouring Bulgarian state and in the situation created in the Arbëresh territories in the years 851-1018.

Another example. In 1407, the then ruler of Arbër, Gjon Kastrioti testifies to the Bishopric of Arbër

being 800 years old in the regions under his rule, that is at least Mirdita and Mat. A bishopric presupposes a local administration in the regions in which it is set up. In 1167 the Bishop of Arbër, Lazar, with another three bishops of the regions of Arbër and a number twice as large of abbots convene in the centre of the bishopric, Tivar. Andrea, the Prior of Arbër, is also there. The title «Prior» presupposes a state ruler. According to logic, Andrea must have been the head of an Arbëresh state, no matter how limited in its extension, in North Albania. We have reasons to see in him a predecessor of the lords of the State of Arbër of the year 1190. In the Middle Ages, the temporal rule went along with the spiritual rule. The Pope praises Lazar, who resides in Tivar in June 1167, for relinquishing the Greek rite for the Roman one. At that time Arbër tried to link up with the great Western Church which wielded immense temporal power, too, and was able to do and undo kingdoms.

In 1190 — the day and month are unknown, unfortunately — in Arbër there ruled a man called Progon, a typically Arbëresh name. In 1199 he was succeeded by his son, Gjin, who in turn, was succeeded by his brother, Dhimitri, who died in 1215. He held the title «Panhypersebastos», a princely and kingly title, which co-

uld be held only by those who were in relations of blood with the Byzantine Emperor. Dhimitri's wife was the niece of the Byzantine Emperor. Innocentius the 3rd, the most important pope of the Middle Ages, addressed him in this manner: «Nobleman Dhimitri Prince of the Arbëreshs» (Albanensi Principi).

The rulers of the first state of Arbër were hereditary at first. With Progon we see the beginning of a dynasty. However, Dhimitri left no son after him, so it is supposed that the dynasty went over to the female line, through his wife Comnena, which remarried to a ruler of Kruja, Dhimitri Kamona. Hence one may infer that the centre of the state in question must have been Kruja. There is no reason to invalidate this opinion. Be as it may, I had the chance to discover in the cathedral of Ndërfanda at Gëziq of Mirdita an epigraphic inscription which had only partly been quoted and not read altogether. A Progon and a Dhimitri along with a neighbouring Slav ruler of their time are mentioned there, and the inscription has been dated back to the years 1190-1215.

After a careful reading, I. Zamputi assumes that this Progon, who carries the title «Protosebastos» — another of the highest titles of the time — must have been another Progon, not the former one, that of the years 1190-99.

I like it to be so, because so the dynasty of the State of Arbër becomes still older. So this dynasty may be very nearly related in time to a Gulam of Arbër of the year 1253, whom Georges Akropolites mentions as a not unimportant ruler, then with the captain of Arbër, Andrea Vrana, who is mentioned in the years 1265-66 when he had burnt the church of Rubik. It may well be supposed that the dynasty may have lived on at least three quarters of a century, from 1190 to 1266, if it was not created earlier and had not continued after the latter date.

In the second part of the 13th century, when Charles Anjou the 2nd of Naples becomes the ruler of Albania, he appoints a feudal lord of Mirdita, Gulielm Blinishti, marshal of Arbër, which was the highest military title of the time. So there emerges again the zone of Mirdita where we have found documents to prove that the princes of Arbër ruled from 1190-1215 or even after these dates, when they are mentioned also in the years 1265-1266. That Charles the 2nd could proclaim himself «Rex Albaniae,» as he did in 1272, is another fact that the first State of Arbër had some importance for the time. Extending from Drin to Devoll, including the hinterland of Durrës, it had an opening to the sea, it conducted talks with Ragusa and was in a position to stand up not only to Venice, but also to the great crusades, dispossessing the Catholic Church of some lands in the vicinity of Durrës itself.

State traditions, which were known since the Antiquity were to develop in South Albania du-

ring the Middle Ages, too. In 1204 the Despotate of Epirus, extending from Vjosa to the Gulf of Prevesa, with Byzantine princes, but with an Albanian and Greek population, was set up there. Later the Albanians would play the main role in these regions with the Shpata Dynasty and others in the 14-15th centuries. The Despotate managed to live on with difficulty until 1266. His first ruler, Mihal Engjëlli the 1st, for a certain time annexed the Principality of Arbër to his possession, which later came under the domination of the rulers of South Albania. A member of the high clergy of the Despotate, Bardanes — a name which would read Bardhan in Albanian — tried to secure the autonomy of his church from that of Constantinople. So the temporal rule tries to strengthen its positions by creating its own spiritual rule, a thing which occurred frequently in those times.

We mentioned Charles the 2nd of Naples. He landed on our coast with the intention of extending his possessions, to the east. The Anjous still held Durrës and its hinterland in the thirties of the 14th century in constant battles with the Kingdom of Raša, which had the same ambitions. Czar Dušan succeeded in creating a short-lived Serbian Kingdom, which fell apart after his death in 1355. Soon the greater Arbëresh principalities — those of the Balshas, Thopias and Buas emerged. These new dynasties were in the tradition of the State of Arbër of Progon and his sons of the 12th-13th centuries. The state-forming tradition was further developed by the Balshas who succeeded

in extending their rule to Berat and Vlora. The Thopias, who had Kruja as their centre, for a certain time annexed Durrës, too.

The fact is known that in 1332, a French arch-bishop of Tivar, Gulielmus Adae, writes about «various books in Albanian and in the Latin alphabet». He describes the suffering of the Arbëreshi under the Slav yoke and their yearning to liberate themselves at any cost, representing them as a strong and valorous people. It is certain that for a language to have its books, it must have a more or less tradition of writing. So it is natural that we must trace the writing of the Albanian back to the first State of Arbër. With the establishment of the feudal relations in the Byzantine Empire many a language of the non-Greek peoples managed to have its written expression. Take the case of the Slav languages, for example.

Having a state of their own, the Arbëreshi succeeded in their church's having its main centre in Tivar (in the middle of the 13th century). They must have been writing their mother tongue very early. At that time all these things went together — the state, the church and the written language — so research must be conducted for the three of them together. This is one of the tasks of the Albanian historiography of the Middle Ages.

The year 1190, although the first State of Arbër must have been some years older, with the upheavals the Byzantine Empire went through after the death of Emmanuel Comnenus in 1180. this year, being the first in which the existence of the first Arbër

state is recorded, is an important date in the history of the Albanian people today. This state was situated somewhere between the Drin and Devoll rivers and it had some importance, as was seen from its relations with the Pope, Venice, the Despotate of Epirus, Byzantium itself, Ragusa, and Rasha. The Principalities of the Thopias and Kastriotis, round Kruja and Durrës on its territories would rise a century later. The Shkumbin river, the main artery of Albania, flew through it. In these regions Skanderbeg would carry out his operations at a time when our country was one of the shields of Europe of the Renaissance and the Balkans tottering under the Ottoman onslaught. This went on for at least a century, from 1389, the time of the

Kosova Battle which was led by the Serb overlords, to 1479, when the Republic of Venice hurried to hand over heroic Shkodra to the Turks. The Albanians continued to play this role even further, when, for example, the Ottomans could not hold longer on to Ot-ranto or when they reached the gates of Vienna. In modern Times the Albanians set up the first states in the Balkans which were autonomous from the Sublime Porte, those of the Bushatis and Ali Tepelena, which was of great assistance to the national movements of our northern and southern neighbours.

But is there an ethic of history. Since at least 1878 Albania has gone through several invasions and partitionings, it had to wage many struggles for freedom, and

the Albanian people were the victims of one genocide after the other.

Students may draw more important lessons from the origins of the state of the Arbër and the state-forming capacities of the Arbëreshi. Archival, archaeological, linguistic and literary (including both written and oral literature) research must be stepped up. The Albania Middle Ages is the mother of our legendary and historical epos. There is today a collection of over a thousand glosses of the Albanian language before the first written text of Albanian, that of Buzuku. The first Albanian books, those of Buzuku and Matrënga, are sure evidence that there existed a written Albanian literature before the Ottoman occupation.

# THE STATUS OF KOSOVA CANNOT BE DECIDED WITHOUT THE ALBANIANS AND AGAINST THEM

*by Prof. KRISTAQ PRIFTI*

Kosova and its Albanian population are facing a decisive moment, when the future not only for them, but also for the whole of Yugoslavia, will have to be decided. The present Serbian regime has resorted to all means — military, police and political — to deprive the Albanians of the autonomy they won in the war at the cost of innumerable sacrifices, to subdue them, to deprive them of the national and democratic rights and, eventually, deny their identity as a nation and people.

Only in recent times the Albanians of Kosova have bled twice: once in February-March of the year 1989, when they came out in defence of the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova, and again in January-February of 1990, when tens of thousands of people staged peaceful demonstrations demanding their freedoms and democratic rights. Although they lifted the military rule, which was imposed by the Federative organs, in effect nothing is changed. The whole of Kosova has been placed under the uncontested control of the forces of the Serbian militia and the Secretariat for the Internal Affairs of Serbia, at a time when the army still remains inside the barracks ready to intervene at any moment to crush the Albanians. The laws and other special administrative

measures, which the Assembly of Serbia has imposed on Kosova by means of force in recent days, are a grave violation of the autonomy of the Province and have given the judicial organs and other branches of the Serbian establishment the right to concentrate into their hands the competences of the respective institutions of the Province.

Consistent in its anti-democratic and anti-Albanian activity, Serbian nationalism committed another arbitrary act which is in flagrant opposition to the laws of the Yugoslav Federation. On June 25, the Assembly of Serbia, with a majority of votes, carried a motion on the drafting of a new constitution of Serbia and the holding of a popular referendum for this constitution in the whole territory of the Republic of Serbia on July 1 and 2, 1990. By so doing, they try to impose on the autonomous Provinces a still more chauvinistic constitution than the one which was brought into force by means of tanks in the bloody events of last March and deprives them of the shreds of autonomy that are left.

This act constitutes a violation of the national and political rights of an ancient people, like the Albanians, who are native and inalienable masters of their own territories, and who, in numbers, come third among the nati-

ons making up the Yugoslav Federation. Serbia has no right — constitutional, juridical, or political — over the territories of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova. The sovereignty over them belongs to the Albanians of Kosova and the other nationalities which live there and which must make the decision about the status of the Province.

But some people in Belgrade would not accept that it was neither Milošević nor his Great-Serb predecessors who gave the autonomy to the Province of Kosova. The Albanians of Kosova secured it from the time when they fought in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, with the sacrifice of the lives of 60 000 fighters of Kosova and with the blood of thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives for freedom and national rights.

The status of the Autonomous Province of Kosova cannot be liquidated or changed by the force of tanks and the Serbian militia, or with the ruling of the new constitution of Serbia. The issue whether Kosova will be a federative unit with the attributes of an autonomous state, or with the attributes of the same rank as the other republics of Yugoslavia, will and can be decided only by the people of Kosova, by the Albanians who constitute 90 per cent of the population in the province

# OT ANIANS

and by the other nationalities which inhabit its territories.

It is high time now that people in Serbia and Yugoslavia understand that in our days, when the whole world has stood up in defence of democratic and national rights, it is not easy to deny the rights to 2.5 million Albanians in Kosova and in Yugoslavia.

The new Constitution of Serbia is permeated through and through by a Great-Serbian chauvinistic spirit. Its authors are in no way worried about the fate of the Albanians or any other people; they strive only to appease the great appetite of the Miloševices and the Great Serbia at the expense of the other peoples. By means of such a constitution Serbia wants to fulfil an old idea of the creation of a single Serbian nation, which implies the assimilation of the Albanians and the other non-Slav peoples. It is an abortive idea which the Great-Serbs of today have inherited from king Alexandar Karageorgievic. The proposal for the adoption of the Constitution at the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia was accompanied with hienous threats against the Albanians and with calls by the Serbian deputies for the Albanians to submit, not to dare to make any opposition, other wise they would be declared enemies or, worse still, they would be suppressed by vio-

lence. Everything in this situation weighs heavy over the heads, on the souls and shoulders of the Albanians. It is always the Albanians who are made to pay the burden of such tributes. Sometimes they have been branded as irredentists, sometimes as counter-revolutionaries, at other times they have been described as separatists and terrorists; and all these attributes are accompanied with imprisonments, massacres and massive discrimination against the Albanians.

As always, the Great-Serbs have never used the logic of argument, have never sat down in a dialogue with the Albanians; they have spoken with them in the language of the police force, the imposition of laws, and, as Milosevic threatens to do now, with the suppression of the Assembly of Kosova. Compared with all these threats, the declarations from the Assembly about the «equality» of all citizens, which the new Constitution will allegedly guarantee, sound as a demagogy without precedent.

In the present conditions of exacerbation of ethnic conflicts among nationalities in Yugoslavia, as the work of the Assembly of Serbia of June 25 has shown the Great-Serbs, will not content themselves with only the liquidation of the autonomy of the provinces of Kosova and Vojvodina.

This is the prelude to the tragedy which they are preparing for the peoples of Yugoslavia. With this new constitution, Serbia takes upon itself the task of settling the Yugoslav crisis through force. As for those republics which will not accept the Serbian hegemony in the Federation of Yugoslavia, the new constitution provides another alternative: the organization of Serbia as an independent state. Serbia plans to include in itself the 2.5 million Serbs living in Croatia and in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and subdue Macedonia as well as the whole of Yugoslavia. Instead of providing a solution to the political crisis of Yugoslavia, as the Serbian leadership pretends to do with the new constitution, this step will sharpen the ethnic conflicts there. These acts are fraught with grave consequences not only for Yugoslavia, but also for the Peoples of the Balkans and Europe. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania as always, abides by the view that only a stable Yugoslavia, as a unit consisting of all nationalities with equal rights, is in the interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and its Balkan neighbours.

In this complicated situation which is being created by the Great Serbs, the Albanian population of Kosova and of Yugoslavia has remained unflinching in the face of the pressure and threats from Belgrade. All the social and political forces including the Democratic League and the other alternative organizations of Kosova, the Academy of Sciences and Arts and other educational and cultural institutions, all the people who have the national question at heart, are actually resisting the new constitution of Serbia and those ammendments to



the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia which violate the autonomy of Kosova. They insist on the drafting of a new constitution for the Province of Kosova, which will place the Albanians in the same positions as the other nations of Yugoslavia. The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova has unanimously requested that the Assembly of Kosova should proclaim the constitutional position of Kosova in the Yugoslav Federation in a declaration in which it should demand that the Albanians no longer be treated as a national minority, but as a nation like all the other nations which make up the Federation. The members of the Academy regard this step as an act of the political self-determination of Kosova. The defence of the autonomy of this Province has become a general issue which has involved most of the outstanding personalities of the Albanian science and culture in the Province and the broad masses of the people in all its communes.

At the meetings and rallies organized in cities and villages, the youth and the masses of common people have unanimously demanded that the new constitution of Kosova should be drafted as soon as possible, that the Province be properly regarded as a subject of the Federation and that the Albanians should enjoy the status of a nation in Yugoslavia. All these demands are insisting on the full autonomy of the Province of Kosova, which is to the best interests not only of the Albanians,

but also all the nations of the federation. They insist that it will guarantee the freedoms and democratic rights of all the inhabitants of Kosova. The Albanians see Kosova's autonomy not as an exclusive privilege for themselves, as «a nationalist and separatist» act, which is what the Serbian propaganda tried to make out, but as a legitimate right for all the nationalities in the province of Kosova. They consider any denial of this right as a discrimination both against the Albanians and against all the other nations in the Province. By expressing the will of the Kosovar people, the Albanian delegates to the Assembly of this Province, who participated in the meetings and gatherings held from 18th to 21st of June, demanded that this Assembly should discuss the annulment of the amendments to the Serbian constitution adopted on the 23rd of March 1989 under the threat of military and police force and with a manipulation of the votes. Instead of these amendments, they proposed that a new constitution for Kosova should be drafted, which will guarantee its complete autonomy.

The negation of the constitutional rights of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova, and the means of violence resorted to against the Albanians, have met with condemnation in the public opinion in Europe and in the world at large, it is described as an act which goes against the democratic and national rights and, especially, against human rights.

The concern of European public opinion about the violation of

the political and national rights of the Albanians in Kosova was clearly expressed on the 26th of June 1990, at the Conference on Human Rights which held its proceedings in Copenhagen, while the Committee of the US Senate for Foreign Relations, adopted a special resolution on June 22, in which it expressed the great preoccupation over the violation of human rights in Kosova by the Yugoslav and Serbian Government, and demands that the complete status of Autonomous Province be restored to Kosova.

The recent events in Serbia and Yugoslavia have aroused the profound indignation of the whole Albanian people. They are rightly worried about the fate of the Albanian brothers in Kosova and Yugoslavia, who are deprived of their national rights. The Albanian people in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania cannot reconcile themselves to such anti-democratic acts. The people's Socialist Republic of Albania considers the defence of our Kosovar brothers as a lofty national obligation and as a humanitarian and democratic act which lies at the foundations of its internal and external policies.

Being deeply preoccupied over the discrimination against their Kosovar brothers, the Albanian people express their confidence that the democratic forces of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the progressive opinion in the world will not permit the revival of the racial policy of apartheid in Yugoslavia which still remains from the colonialist spirit of the 19th century.

# ENERGY-AN IMPORTANT FIELD OF BALKAN COOPERATION

by LLAZAR PAPAJORGJI

- *Albania is one of the few countries with an active energy balance,*
- *The production of energy has nearly doubled in about 7 years, and that of electric energy, in particular, in 6 years*
- *Hydro-power plants account for about 80 per cent of the total energy production*

In the process of Balkan cooperation hitherto there have been some major activities in the economic field, including transport, foreign trade, the transfer of technologies, and so on. Part of these events is also the meeting of energy ministers of the states of our region, which was held in Tirana at the end of May 1990. This is a major step forward towards carrying ahead cooperation in energy, because the experience of each of the Balkan countries in this field has revealed interest for all of us. The Balkan countries are more and more orientating their energy policies towards the exploitation of internal energy resources and, in many directions, they have come up against the same or similar problems, which can certainly be overcome more easily in a spirit of constructive cooperation which is in the interest of all parties concerned. In this context, the coordination of efforts for putting the existing energy resources in the service of the economy assumes particular importance. This can be achieved through the effective utilization of reserves, through the study, discovery and increase of new energy resources, in which our region is rich, especially in solid energy materials, lignites and brown coals. The coal reserves of the region are estimated at about 76 billion tons;

whereas extraction of them has reached up to about 235 million tons, or about 20 per cent of the total production of Europe, which would be sufficient to fulfil the requirements of the countries situated in this region for the next 280 years or so, considering the requirements of energy consumption by the economies of our countries. The countries of the Balkan region have a good technological level and a rich experience in the exploitation of energy reserves. The demands for energy in the Balkans continue to increase at high rates and preliminary estimates show that at the year 2000 they will double in comparison with 1985.

Production of electric energy in the Balkan region in the 13-year period 1973-1986 has almost doubled, amounting to about 260 billion kilowatt-hours in 1986. The increase is mainly due to thermal power plants, which account for 72 per cent of it, and only about 23 per cent to hydro-power plants, while 6 per cent from nuclear power plants. This dynamic of growth of production of electric energy in our region has been nearly twice as great as that of the EEC countries for the same period.

In 1987, oil reserves in the region were estimated at 409 million tons, of which 274 million tapped resources which can be

exploited. These reserves can cope with the needs and requirements of consumers for about 4.4 years, while, at the present rates of the oil production, for about 19.5 years; as for gas, the needs can be fulfilled for about 6.6 years, because gas reserves are estimated at about 360 billion cubic meters.

Energy consumption per head of population in the 13-years period 1973-1986 has increased about 29 per cent, reaching up to circa 1.81 ton, against 4.72 ton which is the level in the EEC countries. As for the intensity of consumption of energy per unit of social product, there is a fall of 8 per cent for the same period, or 0.76 ton per thousand dollar, against 0.475 which is the level of the same index in the EEC countries. As can be seen from comparative figures, this last index results almost twice as high as the developed countries of Europe.

In future, until the year 2000, it is envisaged that the requirements for primary energy, as we pointed out above, will double against the level of the year 1985. To cope with this higher demand, it will be necessary to increase by about 47 per cent the import of energy from the other countries, especially to fulfil the requirements for liquid fuel.

In these conditions it is impor-

tant that the countries of our region coordinate their efforts for securing the more effective exploitation of energy resources with the aim of reducing the dependence for energy materials on regions outside the Balkans. In this context, the coordination of forces for putting the existing and new reserves into industrial exploitation and for improving the technologies and equipment which consume energy, would be a major source of reserve.

Considering the vital importance of this branch, the Albanian state has attached special attention to harmonizing all branches of the energy industry with the aim of anticipating the growing demands of all the sectors of the economy, relying mainly on the exploitation of local resources of energy. Today Albania is one of the few countries with an active energy balance. It completely fulfils all the local needs and exports the rest, or about 20 per cent of the amount of primary energy produced. The total production of energy in Albania has doubled in about 7.4 years, and that of the electric energy in about 6 years.

In electric energy production, priority has been given to the exploitation of all water potentials, through the study, designing and building of a series of hydro-power plants, some of which contain hydro-power plants of high contemporary levels. In the present structure of the production of electric energy, hydro-power plants account for about 80 per cent of the total. Nevertheless, until today we have put to use only about 30 per cent of the hydric resources of the country. Possibilities exist for continuing in this way by building more hydro-power plants. Since 1970 Albania has completed the electrification of all its villages, which has contributed to raising the level of well-being for the working masses, assisted the intensive development of agriculture and

other branches of the national economy, which in turn, have contributed to the continuous narrowing of the distinctions between countryside and city.

Considerable investments have been made in the oil and gas extraction industry, in the industry of oil and gas processing and the opening of coal mines. Enrichment factories have been set up. Many oil wells up to 6400 m have been drilled according to contemporary technique.

Albania has a long practice of bilateral relations in the field of energy. It exports electric energy since the 1970s; our national electric-power grid is connected in parallel with that of Greece and, through it, with Europe. Albania also exchanges and exports transit electric energy also to Bulgaria and other countries. A study for the parallel working of the electric power systems of Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece, as well as the other Balkan countries, is underway. When this project comes into operation, it will impart a further boosting to the exchange of electric energy and the increase of the effectiveness of energy consumption. Likewise, Albania has trade relations for energy with almost all the countries of our region, including Bulgaria. Concrete problems in the field of energy are included in the protocols of cooperation for industrial and technical matters between Albania and all the Balkan countries. The further expansion of bilateral relations with the countries of the Balkan region constitutes a constant orientation of the policy of our country, but in our time everyone is growing more and more aware of the importance of multi-lateral cooperation in the region, regarding it as an objective and requirement for all our countries. The extensive exchange of opinions regarding problems of energy shows that there is every possibility to achieve concrete cooperation on a multi-lateral level in the region.

In the field of energy, as elsewhere, there are considerable possibilities for a more useful and concrete cooperation, which should respond to the present interests and requirements and to the prospects in this important and vital sector of the economy for each country. Bearing in mind the interests and the resolve of these countries for strengthening multi-lateral cooperation, the ministers of energy, who met in Tirana, expressed the opinion that joint efforts are needed for the further extension of cooperation in the context of international obligations. They pointed out that the economic advance of the countries of this region and the economic and industrial potential of them offers possibilities for deepening technical and scientific cooperation in the field of energy and making it still more effective.

For multi-lateral cooperation among the Balkan countries to be realized, it is important, first, to ensure the extension of some forms of work, including the exchange of information and technical documentation, the technical-scientific and industrial-technical cooperation, cooperation in the field of production of equipment and machinery which are employed for the effective exploitation of the energy materials, the arrangement of joint activities, mutual specializations and qualifications of experts in specific problems of energy, the extension of trade of energy goods, periodical meetings of the senior officials of the sector of energy, and so on. In this context, the joint decision adopted by the ministers of energy on the connection of the electric energy systems of the Balkan countries, which would create premises for an optimal production and consumption of electric energy through its exchange among the countries of our region and beyond, with which our systems work in parallel, assume particular importance from now on.

The cooperation which exists

among our countries in the context of the regional project for the improvement of the technology of combustion of low calory coals, for the improvement of the combustion technology in the existing plants, and the introduction of new technologies of combustion is especially valuable for all of our countries. Likewise, we are all interested in cooperating for the study and designing of technologies of coal mines with difficult technical-mineral conditions, for their enrichment and, especially, the improvement of coal combustion in an effort to avoid the pollution of the environment by the residues and the products of burning. Since we have proof of the existence of oil and gas resources in our regions, it is also of interest to ensure coo-

peration and exchange of experience in the field of geological prospecting and the improvement of the technology of oil extraction through the adoption of new methods for increasing the outputs.

Consistent in its policy of cooperation and understanding with all the other countries, especially with those of the Balkan region, Albania considers the meeting of **Ministers of Energy in Tirana** as a realistic and **useful alternative**, because not only geographical affinity, but also closer ties in other fields, which have always existed between us, constitute a sound basis for the further extension of cooperation in this important field of the economy.

The further democratization of

the economic and social life in Albania, of which the present new economic mechanism is a part, creates still greater possibilities for the encouragement of cooperation among our countries and on a wider scale.

As Comrade Adil Çarçani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, pointed out in his message of greetings to the meeting of Tirana, the Albanian Government is confident that the process of Balkan cooperation is an expression of the sincere desire of all the Balkan peoples and states to strengthen fruitful cooperation in our region and to contribute to the positive European process in the interest of peace and international security.

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## **AN IMPORTANT STEP ON THE ROAD OF FRIENDLY BIPARTITE COOPERATION**

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

The signing on July 30 in Tirana of the Protocol «On the Normalization of Relations between the PSR of Albania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics» is an event of special importance, for it paves the way for the development of new relations and bipartite cooperation on the basis of respect of sovereignty, complete equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

Re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union is a concretization of the stand of principle which was expressed once again at the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, where it was emphasized that, with the developments that have taken place in the world today, the problem of re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union had emerged on the agenda and that, if they really had changed their stand towards Albania, the latter, had no reason not to welcome it.

The Albanian people and Government have never desired such a long interruption of relations between our two countries, because, as Comrade Ramiz Alia decla-

red at that Plenum we have neither wanted nor do we want to live in enmity with anybody. On the contrary, we reply to friendship with friendship.

Time has shown that, regardless of what happened in the relations between our two countries, the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples have known how to preserve their feelings of friendship towards each other. This is a good basis for the future. Albania welcomed the correct assessment by the Soviet Government of the causes and consequences of the Albanian-Soviet conflict of 1961. The positive spirit of the message of the minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, Edward Shevardnadze, addressed to the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, and his declaration that we should look to the future with the aim of making joint efforts for the bipartite cooperation to be given great dynamism in all fields, coincide with our desire and are a good premise which strengthens us in our confidence that the new relations between the two countries can and must be built and developed on the road of fri-

endly cooperation. This would be to the benefit of both peoples, peace and security in the world.

Today we are living through important changes in the international arena, especially in Eastern Europe. Gradually and through joint efforts, a suitable atmosphere is being created for the development of multipartite cooperation and the solution of problems. There is a tendency to the democratization of international relations, which can only be welcomed. That the concept of general security is gaining ground more and more is an encouraging fact now.

These developments also helped the normalization of relations between the PSR of Albania and the Soviet Union. With the normalization of relations now the realization of a normal and fruitful cooperation, based on the known principles regulating relations between sovereign states, becomes possible.

The visit of a Soviet delegation headed by the vice-minister of foreign affairs, July A. Kvitsinski to our country, the talks conducted with it, the readiness of both sides, expressed in the Joint Declaration and the relative



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Protocol for resuming as quickly as possible the work of the embassies in the capitals of the two countries show that there exist the political will and desire to develop relations and make them as fruitful as possible. There are great possibilities for gradual progress in the development of mutual links

in the political, economic, cultural and technical and scientific fields. Talks at the level of vice-ministers of trade will take place in Moscow soon to coordinate economic and trade relations, whereas a meeting of a group of experts of the two sides will take place in Tirana to examine the actual relations

and to define objectives for the future.

Re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the PSR of Albania and the Soviet Union marks an important step of mutual benefit, as well as a contribution to the defence of peace and the strengthening of general security in Europe.

## A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF THE SWISS PEOPLE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The 1st of August is a marked event in the history of the Swiss people. Love of the homeland and freedom have been their constant guide throughout the centuries in the wars against different invaders. As a result of their strenuous efforts for national independence, the Swiss people succeeded in uniting the principal cantons of the country and, on the 1st of August 1291, created the Swiss Federation, which completes 699 years since its creation.

Preserving the ancient traditions of love of homeland, the Swiss people have defended their independence with success against all storms of history. Relying on these traditions and the work for the advancement of their country, Switzerland today has

become a country with a developed industry and agriculture. Being a typically mountainous place, it has adapted the development of agriculture to these conditions. It is renowned for the cultivation of bread grains and especially for the forage crops, which has enabled the raising of farm animals with great success.

Along with good agriculture and livestock farming, this country has various branches of industry, among which watchmaking, a family tradition, has made Switzerland famous in the world. There are also other industries, including the heavy and the manufacturing industries, the branch of the production of pharmaceutical articles, chemicals, etc.

Putting the water resources to good use, Switzerland has set up a broad network of hydro-power stations.

Switzerland has always pursued a neutral policy in the international arena and has expressed itself against the military blocs in Europe and in the world and in favour of peace, the defence of independence and freedom of the peoples.

The Albanian people have always cherished feelings of respect for the friendly Swiss people and their history. These feelings became stronger and stronger and finally assumed a new content with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries in the year 1970. Since then, based on the recognized prin-

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ciples which regulate relations among sovereign states, the relations between our two peoples and countries have reached higher levels. The exchange of delegations of our two countries, including parliamentary delegations, those of the ministries of foreign affairs, trade, science and culture, have served to consolidate these positions. The mutual activities in the field of science, culture and education,

especially those carried out in the last years, have led to a better and more profound knowledge of the values and cultural traditions of the two peoples and their achievements in various fields of the economic and social life. Among them we can mention the opening of the different photographic expositions, the concerts of the artistic groups and ensembles, the organization of the Swiss film show in Ti-

rana, the publication of collections of works by Albanian and Swiss authors in both countries, and so on.

Relying on these achievements and on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, there are greater possibilities for the further development of the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries.

## **THE TIME OF «ANSCHLUSS-es» HAS ENDED**

### *«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

The Iraqi aggression against Kuwait has followed the most classical pattern of invasions, known very well in modern history; a sudden attack and occupation of the territory, creation of a puppet government which thanks the invader, publication of the «call for help» and in the end annexation of the invaded country. The proclamation on annexation of Kuwait on August 8 as an attempt to liquidate a state and a people from the map, could not fail to arouse a fresh wave of condemnation throughout the world, which considered this annexation as null and void and a flagrant violation of international law. The highest international fo-

rum, including UNO, the great and small states on all continents expressed their preoccupation over this anti-historical step of the annexation of an independent and sovereign state by the invader.

The act of annexation shed more light on the motives behind the aggression against the sovereign state of Kuwait and showed that the instantaneous condemnation of this act and the request for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupation troops are both correct. It reveals that the factors of risk in the Gulf and in the whole of the Middle East are numerous and that the consequences are unpredictable. Seen on a broader plane, the

situation in this region raises many problems which require a thorough analysis, because they have to do with the international relations in general. The code of behaviour of nations and the norms which regulate the relations among states should be respected in the most rigorous manner in international relations. In the centre of these norms is the respect for sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and social and state organization which each people has chosen for itself. Without independent, sovereign and equal states there can be no regional and international security and no way of achieving equality in the internati-

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onal democratic relations. This is a truth from which no state can take exception. The Iraqi aggression and the annexation of Kuwait forcibly raise the great problem of the defence and protection of national rights of small peoples and countries. The genuine democratization of international relations and the creation of a situation of peace and international stability are connected closely with the treatment of small peoples and countries in an equal manner, regardless of their size. Great power and potential can never serve as a right to annex a smaller people and country.

Therefore, no argument is valid at a time when brutal force is used in an effort to wipe out the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of another state. The points of debate among states are and can be settled through discussions and talks, in peaceful ways and means. The problems that have emerged recently can never be solved by referring to the so-called historical rights of

one people over other smaller peoples who live on their own territories. The evoking of the time of the Ottoman Empire as an argument to justify the annexation of Kuwait reveals the dangerous equivocations that accompany this act of aggression. The real logic of history and the right of the peoples cannot accept the pseudo-historical or pseudo-religious evocations, which are part of the logic of all invasions and annexations. One can easily imagine what would happen if this or that state set out to subjugate those peoples and occupy those territories which at one time were under this or that empire. Therefore, at the present time, when the peoples of the world are striving to realize the tendencies for easing tensions, for strengthening understanding and living together in a great community, such flagrant actions as the annexation of peoples and states are unacceptable and intolerable. Annexations are the product of the invader. They are an outright violation of the rights and opi-

nions of the annexed state and people. This makes annexations illegal and, consequently, anti-historical.

History teaches us that in our contemporary world, the peoples and states cannot be annexed with invasions or with the proclamation of a state of emergency, by means of armies, tanks and police, by means of military rule or quisling governments. Annexation can be achieved for a moment or for a short term, but it is bound to be a temporary situation. The time of «anschlusses» has ended and will never return. And what experience and history teach us is that the invaders and the «Anschluss-es», which they resort to, have always been the losers in the major duel of the time. As comrade Ramiz Alia has said: «The right of the peoples to be free and independent cannot be denied. It was born together with the man and with human society, and has been a constant unchanged element of all epochs of history.»

**ON THE FESTIVE ANNIVERSARY OF AN ANCIENT PEOPLE**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The Egyptian people celebrate on July 23, the day of the final blow at the monarchy, as their national festivity. A year later, after the successful conclusion of this

act of its history, in 1953 Egypt was proclaimed a republic. These historical victories paved the road for the development and advance of the country, and the

strengthening of freedom and national independence. Four years after the overthrow of the monarchy, on July 26 1956, the Egyptian sovereignty on the Suez Canal was es-

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established. The nationalization of the Suez Canal was accompanied by a number of measures of a democratic character, which opened up broad vistas for the economic and cultural development of Egypt.

The achievements of the Egyptian people after July 23 1952 are many. The power industry went through higher rates of growth. The discovery of new oil sources at Hurgarda, in the Suez Gulf, in the desert and other places led to a considerable increase of the production of oil and its reserves, which also favoured the development of the other branches of the economy. Great efforts have been made for the development of the extracting and processing industry for such minerals as phosphates, bauxites, etc. The results scored in Egyptian agriculture complete the picture of the endeavours of the Egyptian people for the progress of their country. Through the improvement of the irrigation technology, the building of dykes and other installations along the Nile banks, frequently recurring floods have been avoided and the arable land has been extended. Egypt is one of the first countries of the world in the export of high quality cotton.

Important achievements have been made also in the fi-

eld of education in Arabic and the development of the national culture in general. Much has been and is being done for the study of the historical, social and cultural values which are represented by the treasures of Ancient Egypt. A result of this serious work are the rich collections of statues and other objects of the Antiquity discovered in the Mahtaria and Ain Shams quarters of Chairou as well as in world-famous Luxor. Also, in cooperation with UNESCO studies have recently begun which will eventually result in the restoration of the Library of Alexandria. Many monuments of the Egyptian culture are under the protection of UNESCO which, in cooperation with the Egyptian authorities, sees to it that this great national wealth is transmitted in the best state possible to the coming generations.

The Albanian people have followed with sincere joy the successes of the Egyptian people in the development and advancement of their country. They also highly value the traditional friendship which links them with the people of this country, these traditional relations are also represented by some of the more important figures of our National Renaissance who found in Egypt a favourable and friendly milieu to carry out

their patriotic activity in the service of the national cause.

The sentiments of friendship and mutual respect which have linked the two peoples keep strengthening ever more in our days too, when between the two countries there exist many commercial, cultural and scientific relations. To the concretization of these relations have, among other things, served also the exchange of delegations of various levels between the PSR of Albania and the AR of Egypt. In March this year, the Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Comrade Pali Miska, paid an official friendly visit to Egypt. In the course of this visit the two countries affirmed once more their common desire for the further development of the existing friendly relations and studied the possibilities of their expansions in the future. Exhibitions, days of the Egyptian or Albanian film, as well as other events of this kind are frequently organized in Tirana and Cairo, contributing to the mutual knowledge of the cultural values of either people.

It is in the interest of both the Albanian and the Egyptian people that friendly relations and bilateral cooperation between them are developed further in the future.



*At one of the scientific-research institutions in the capital.*





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