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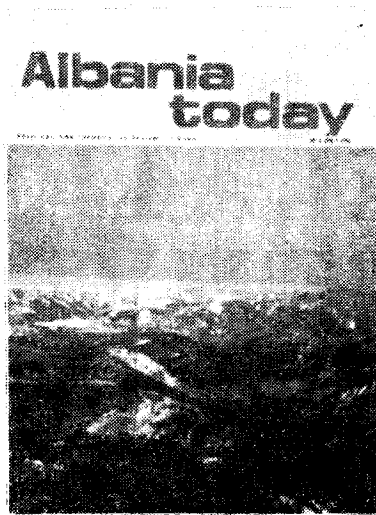




◀ A COLOSSAL AMOUNT OF WORK HAS BEEN DONE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE SURFACE AND THE FERTILITY OF THE LAND, TO SYSTEMATIZE IT BOTH IN THE PLAINS AND IN THE MOUNTAINOUS ZONES, TO TERRACE THE HILLSIDES AND PLANT THEM WITH VINEYARDS, CITRUS-TREES AND VARIOUS OTHER FRUIT-TREES. IN THE PHOTOS: VIEW OF THE TERRACES OF THE HILLS ROUND TIRANA AND A PUMPING-STATION FOR THE IRRIGATION OF THE MYZEQEJA PLAIN.







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# RAMIZ ALIA

## THE DYNAMISM OF RELATIONS AND THE OF THE MATERIAL THE ATTAINMENT OF OBJECTS

### **SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

*From 1-2 February 1989, the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings, under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.*

*On behalf of the Political Bureau, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered the report «On some measures for the further development of agriculture».*

*The Plenum discussed this problem extensively and adopted the respective decision.*

**Comrades,**

There has been frequent talk about the problems of agriculture in recent years. The political-social thinking and the economic thinking of the country have been thoroughly involved in the promotion of cooperativism, and socialist

life in the countryside. The popular discussion of the new statute of the agricultural cooperatives was a real school of democracy for the peasantry. The 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives became a tribune of the most advanced thinking of the agricultural workers and specialists for the further development of the socialist order in the rural area.

By dwelling deeper on the conclusions which have emerged from the discussion of the masses, this Plenum must give an operational value to the recommendations and proposals for the further increase of the motive force of the economic relations in agriculture, in order to create more favourable conditions for the development of the creative initiative of the peasantry, to increase the care of the entire society for this branch.

We must transform the will of the masses into a political decision. This was the preoccupation of the comrades who spoke here, this spirit permeated the report Comrade Adil delivered to the Plenum. I fully agree with the opinions expressed by the comrades and with the proposals they made.

Our socialist agriculture has played its role



# OF THE ECONOMIC E HARMONIZATION ACTORS GUARANTEE ECTIVES IN AGRICULTURE

## **MEETING OF THE 7th PLENUM MITTEE OF THE PARTY**

as the basic branch of the economy and continues to play it with success. It has become the main factor of stability in social production. Through agricultural activities we are taking from nature the sources of material blessings, which are increasing in ever greater proportions. The socialist system of our agriculture has given proof of its effectivity and innovative spirit.

Achievements in this branch are clear to everyone. They were pointed out quite well, also, at the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives. But at this meeting attention was justly attached to some critical problems which have emerged in recent years. And that is the right thing to do. The historic victories in agriculture are not overshadowed if we point out some of its weaknesses, and seek ways out to overcome them.

If we refer to the figures it emerges that, despite achievements, we must not content ourselves with the situation in the agricultural production, especially if we view it from the angle of the per capita production and per work hand production. In the last ten-year period, except for the wheat and cotton production, yields of

other crops and those of livestock have not made progress or have taken small steps backward.

Naturally, this situation has nothing to do with the social system in agriculture, the vitality of which, as a strategy of development, has been proved to the hilt. It is the product of a series of circumstances, mainly of an objective character, such as the draught which has been continuing for a number of years, the difficulties of the outside encirclement and other circumstances.

Agriculture is the branch which has been hit more severely than any other branch by the natural factors. Meanwhile, as in the whole economy, it has had also some inhibitions due to material factors. With the exception of the forces of work and the number of livestock, almost the entire material-technical base in the service of agriculture has remained at the level of 1980.

Without doubt, the subjective factors have exerted their influence in this situation, too. But, on the other hand, we cannot blame the situation on the consciousness of the working peasantry and its readiness for work. Another reason is that some aspects of the economic



relations in agriculture have gradually exhausted their motive force and need to be further improved.

In all these links intervention has become imperative. We must be conscious that if this situation in agriculture were to continue it would be accompanied with harmful political effects.

The people, the peasantry with its discussion in the Party spirit at its congress and before, have shown us the road on which we should proceed in order to bring about the necessary improvements.

The measures contained in the decision we are going to adopt on the economic relations in agriculture can be implemented with the help of the long experience of socialist construction in the rural area, in the conditions of a consolidated cooperativist order which is advancing. They are required by the needs of the growth of production and its effectivity, the need of the technical-scientific progress and the intensification of agriculture. Cooperativism is and will remain to the end an order with a prospect.

As you have noticed, the draft-decision envisages a variety of positive measures in the main aspects of the economic relations in the countryside. Hence, we can speak of a complexity of measures. This is logical. Agricultural production cannot make headway with partial measures which affect only narrow aspects, mainly of the technical-organizational character of cooperativism. The amendments proposed are connected with one another. One measure supports and strengthens the other. So, united in a system, they acquire a greater stimulating value. Taken as a whole they will enable us to exploit the advantages of the cooperativist order to a still higher level.

This must be understood well, because only in this way the measures we are taking can be implemented with effectiveness and correctly. The peasants' initiative cannot be encouraged and production cannot be increased if more freedom of action in the sphere of planning, and more competences in the domain of organization and of appointing their own cadres are not given to the cooperatives; if remuneration is not linked still more closely with production, both for the

ordinary cooperativists and for the cadres; if he who works better is not given greater compensation; if the brigades which succeed in producing milk and vegetables from the collective plot of land at a lower cost fail to distribute the produce among their own members at a more advantageous price than those brigades in which the cost of production is higher.

The measures we will adopt in this Plenum are important, but not unknown. They have been made the object of discussion by the public at large; they have been studied and experimented on; about them calculations and debates have been made. Caution in this process is a condition of success, just as haste and a spirit of amateurishness would punish us. By making the improvements proposed it is aimed at perfecting our agricultural policy. Everything from the relations of interests, the links between centralism and initiative, the proportions between accumulation and consumption, the differences in prices and wages, all these are part of a real economic policy.

I emphasize once again that the aim of the measures we are going to adopt, both for strengthening the material-technical base and for improving the economic relations, is the increase of the agricultural and livestock production, the stimulation of the creative initiative and the increase of the interest of the working people to get the highest yields possible in every crop.

1. The most sensitive aspect of these relations is remuneration. As is known, with the existing mechanism, equalizations are allowed, the paths to unmerited compensation remain open, control on the amount of work done and consumption is poor. Therefore, as the mass of cooperativists justly required, a new form of remuneration must be established, which aims at ruling out both undue benefits without work and the possibility of paying the vanguard ones below their due.

This is an important matter of principle. If we want development we must rely on and encourage the vanguard one, who today, in fact, with the forms of remuneration in force, is treated materially almost on an equal footing with the one who sweats less. This paradox is a



consequence of the schematic understanding of the people's interests.

The Party and Comrade Enver have continuously said that the general interest overrides everything else. This is a fundamental principle for us. But this does not mean that in the name of the general interest the interest of the group or of the individual be neglected. Harmonization of interests is something which does not belong to theory only. The very policy of our Party has the man, with his needs and aspirations and legitimate interests, in its centre.

In the present conditions it is impossible for the material interests of the agricultural workers to be realized and to be raised to a higher level without perfecting the forms of wages, without connecting them still more with the degree of the fulfilment of the plans and with effectivity, without establishing as a legitimate right that the produce of the collective small plot of the cooperatives is sold at its cost.

There will be some differentiation in the incomes of the cooperativists who work better against those who work less; but this we must accept being conscious that in this manner we apply the principle «to each according to his work» better. Egalitarianism is always in the advantage of those who demand from society more than they give.

2. Our socialist order, which belongs to the broad working masses, advances and is developed with their participation and on the basis of the free work and the initiative from below. Therefore, the draft-decision envisages a series of measures the aim of which is to stimulate the revolutionary initiative and self-action of the working people.

Consciousness alone is not enough for the development of initiative. For this it is necessary to create favourable conditions. The degree of initiative is determined by the norms which regulate the relations in the society, by the rules which govern the connections and dependence between the centre and the districts. Proceeding from this, just proposals are made that the competences of the base in planning and determining the staff lists and in the use of cadres should be enlarged. At present the initiative in production cannot be stimulated

without giving the cooperative a free field of activity in planning, without enlarging the rights of the base in order to adapt management and organization to the concrete conditions.

Through these measures it will be possible to raise the responsibility of the working people regarding the plans and tasks, to restrict the mechanical actions dictated from above, to educate the cooperativists so that they themselves can solve their own problems and needs in a democratic manner, and not push the problems over to the state, and to use the productive capacities which have been created more advantageously.

The initiative of the masses is a capital question for our order. In the bourgeois society it is the profit, made on the basis of exploitation, and the competition which stimulate production, in socialism the revolutionary initiative and self-action of the masses is one of the chief motive forces.

Life itself has taught us that the centralized management of the economy cannot yield the desired results without initiative from below. Democratic centralism is transformed into bureaucratic centralism if the participation of the masses in the administration of the social property and in governing the country is not ceaselessly extended. Centralism is an indispensability in all matters which have to do with the fundamental proportions and with the cardinal priorities of the development of the economy and culture, but it becomes bureaucratic if it immobilizes the thinking of the people, restricts debate and places the masses in the positions of the mechanical implementor, if, in the name of centralism, the narrow technical aspects of the productive activity are interfered with. Therefore, the Party must abrogate those rules and norms which have replaced initiative with orders, for that is the very breeding-ground of bureaucratic comfort.

From initiative we have economic benefit, as well as political and social benefit. Initiative promotes creative, constructive debate and cultivates democracy; it makes the masses better able of exercising their power directly and of playing the decisive role which pertains to them in the construction of socialism and in the de-



velopment of the economy and culture in our country.

3. The draft-decision formulates a number of other measures in order to give the cooperative a more favoured position in its relations with the state. These measures in no way make any privilege for the agricultural workers, but only regulate and protect their rights by law, in conformity with the present conditions. They are a sound basis on which the state property and the group property can interact in a more fruitful manner, can give and take in reciprocity and for the good of the general interest.

The proposals which are made in regard to the mechanism of prices, the methodology of entering contracts, the financial relations, the field of investments and other directions, have, apart from the economic aspect, a special social and political importance. The aim of them is to create more suitable conditions in which the property of the group should function as such and should continuously extend the possibilities of production and of raising the standard of living of the peasantry, so that the productive activity of the cooperative can be strengthened by assuming the functions of distribution.

Everybody understands the significance of the decisions for the strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture, indeed might have higher demands. Whoever cannot understand that we need more tractors, water, organic and chemical fertilizers, more selected seeds and breeds? So, this aspect of the decisions which we are going to adopt can be explained relatively easily.

Difficulties emerge in understanding and application as regards the perfecting of the relations in production. The Party must explain these problems thoroughly. It must be understood that the measures for perfecting the relations in production have been raised as a necessity by the very dynamic development of the economy and of life in the countryside. They aim at making the economy more vigorous and wholesome.

We are dialecticians in theory, and we must always be dialecticians in practice, too. The evolution of the objective situations in the economy and in the social life requires that changes

in the relations, improvements of the existing rules, norms and mechanisms must be made at all costs. Something grows outdated, loses its stimulating role and must be replaced with a new rule which responds to the conditions created, which gives new impulses to the development. There is nothing wrong in this: the fundamental thing is that every change should be made according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in the interest of socialism.

Hence, we must take into consideration two teachings: first, whenever the need arises to make changes which assist the advance of work in all fields there should be no hesitating to make the respective proposals. Timidity and slow action leave the way open for difficulties to pile up and impede development. Second, no one should ever think that the measures which are adopted in the field of economic relations are given and unchangeable once and for good and that, once they are adopted, they have only positive effects, are ideal and without any potential shortcoming. There can be no such measures.

Even the rules which we are adopting at this Plenum are of positive consequences as a whole, but no one can say that they leave no possibility open to the fostering of narrow interests. By giving supplementary remuneration to the brigade which produces above the planned targets and by conditioning the wages of cadres in a greater measure on the actual value of the work day, the possibility is created, among other things, of the emergence of pressure for lower plans from the base.

When we insist on the need for the improvement of the socialist relations in agriculture we proceed from the fact that its productive forces are more advanced at the present stage and in this manner we can give them a new impulse. But this does not necessarily mean that we should expect the increase of the agricultural production only from these operations. The measures about which we are going to decide here will bring about positive results over a long period of time, but we must strengthen them continuously, according to the possibilities of the society, with material means and investments, through reconstructions, by re-

generating and completing the material-technical base of agriculture. This is necessary also because of the fact that in this field there are wear and tear, backwardness and disproportions.

The task has been put forward of intensifying agriculture to a higher level. This requires an intensification of the factors of production on all fronts, their harmonization on a new level.

Nature is generous. Unlike any other means of production, the more the land is used the more it gives, and if its needs are fulfilled, instead of being consumed it is continuously renewed, regenerated and becomes more fertile. Therefore, investments in agriculture are never too many. Proceeding from these considerations, as well as from the fact that in the field of investments our society owes something to agriculture, a packet of measures for the increase above the plan of the material-technical base of this branch is presented to this Plenum.

If reconstructions of technique and technology are growing more and more into an imperative need on the whole economy, with this correct decision we put agriculture among the fields which have priority in this aspect. By so doing we practically correct and pinpoint some schedules for important projects of the chemical industry which were deferred because of procrastination and the difficulties which we know. Experience over the last years, the prolonged draught, urge us to make investments also in order to advance the time for the coming into exploitation of the new irrigation projects. Therefore, the attention of the economy as a whole should be directed still more towards agriculture.

In supplying agriculture with material base it is important that some erroneous concepts should be abandoned. Agriculture is a good giver, they say, so, when it comes to postponing the schedules of projects and curtailing funds, agriculture is the first to suffer. But then, whenever mechanical means are short, when water runs low, or herbicides are lacking, orders pour in: let these be compensated for by live work! But is it possible to attain the planned productivity in this way? That is why the tasks

we are laying down here must be carried out to the letter.

The stability of the population and of the labour force in the rural area is a great advantage for us. In future, too, the Party aims to occupy the new active force of the rural area with work in agriculture. That is why we have said and will say that the live work has and will compensate for the material factors of production. But the more the intensification of agriculture is deepened, the fewer the possibilities for one factor to substitute another, for live work to compensate for the shortages in mechanical means and means of transport, or for organic fertilizers to make up for the deficits in chemical fertilizers, for the pastures to cover the low levels of productivity in forage crops, etc.

Of course, the demand for increased investments in the service of agriculture implies, also, the increased responsibility of the cooperativists, the leading cadres in this branch, who must raise to a higher level those factors which depend on them. Live work must yield the maximum. Proceeding towards an agriculture with pronounced biological characteristics requires more livestock, more organic fertilizers and rational agricultural circulation.

Agricultural production is conditioned by many factors, but the land, the breeds and seeds are of the first order: they strengthen or devalue the operation of other factors. In the agrarian policy constant efforts must be made to maintain the amount of arable land per capita of population as long as possible. We must husband the land, must feed the plants well, but we must also feed the land, in order to build up its fertility.

The productive qualities of the good breeds brought in from abroad must be cultivated also in the local species; they must be protected against degeneration by means of cross-breeding and selection of the biological heritage material. In our conditions, as regards productivity of livestock, it is better to strive for relatively high yields which can be attained on a large scale and with fewer expenditure, rather than for record yields.

Breeds of productive stability can be created



when the tradition works hand in hand with science. The foreign specialists, who have seen the local breeds of our animals, even in recent times, expressed the opinion that through scientific work it is possible to obtain kinds and species of better qualities than those we have brought from outside, resistant to the natural conditions of our country and capable of giving satisfactory levels of production with the food resources we possess.

The goat of Has, Val of Martanesh and Mokra, the «ruda» sheep of Luma and «bardhoka» of Tropoja, the «Shkodra» cow and the cow of Mursia, which today exist almost only on school manuals, must be made not only the object of conservation for science, but, in the first place, the main base for the reproduction of livestock. The local biological material, both in livestock-raising and in agriculture, is a national heritage created in the centuries, therefore indifference towards it is unpardonable.

The rise which was recorded in the last decade in the productivity of seeds for the main agricultural crops has been one of the main factors for the increase of production. But this leap is by now insufficient to cope with the requirement for higher productivity. Global work in seed production must be abandoned. Our specialists in this field must be more modest.

Agriculture requires seeds which are productive in the whole territory of the country, fractioned according to the microenvironments and microclimates, and not in laboratory and hot-house conditions. The state organs in charge of agriculture must include the production of seeds in the plans of the advanced economies and not use it as an economic lever to favour those cooperatives which fail to make sufficient incomes.

By adopting the decision which has been presented to us for endorsement, in the next two years agriculture will benefit some supplementary investments. This is a support which must be assessed with the greatest seriousness. The state organs must see to it that this decision is carried out at all costs, while the agricultural workers should make the most of the supplementary means which they will thus

benefit and of the whole material-technical base we have created.

This Plenum, with the decision it is going to adopt, is legitimating broader rights and competences for the working people at the base. Its decisions have to do with the whole mass of the peasantry, from the activity of which depend to a high degree the effects that are derived from it. Therefore, the decision should be made known instantly to the masses of the people, especially to the peasantry.

When the peasantry finds its own proposals in this decision, it will certainly throw itself with greater drive into the work, because it will see concretely how the Party respects its revolutionary initiatives and thinking.

But as I said above, the decision needs further and broader development, explanatory propaganda work, theoretical and methodological analyses. These things must be done at the spur of the moment, away from the ordinary course of routine, bureaucratic procedures in which there is a lot of verbiage and little work. It must be borne in mind well that obstacles and misunderstandings might come up in the process.

In the first place, the contents of the decision must be clear to the cadres themselves. I emphasize this because sluggishness in the effective use of the economic levers is the result not only of ideological narrowmindedness but also of the bureaucratic tendency to avoid problems which the implementation of a new rule and norm brings in its wake.

For carrying out in practice the decision which we are going to adopt it is important that the state organs should rapidly draft the necessary normative acts, orders and methods, taking care to reflect correctly the spirit of the decisions of the Plenum in them, especially not to restrict the initiative which is given to the masses through them.

The carrying out of the tasks which emerged here must be constantly kept under all-sided supervision, especially economic, in order to take advantage of the experiences, but also in order to make specific norms more precise and to further regulate them. We will see and demand their fruitfulness in the increase of the agricultural and livestock production.

Comrades,

This year we will have to do a great persistent work so that agriculture can fulfil its plan at all costs. And not only agriculture. No deviations from the tasks envisaged should be permitted. No redistribution of the valutory sources should be made.

We must increase our strength and optimism by directing ourselves to the talented working class, the hardworking peasantry, the creative

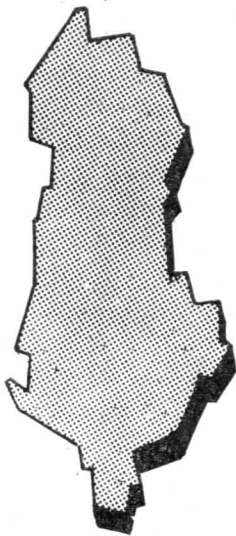
intelligentsia, the devoted youth of socialist Albania.

The situations demand that all the comrades of the Party and the state, beginning from us, members of the Central Committee of the Party, should be at the lead in all work. Winding up my speech, I wish to stress that despite the climatic difficulties with which this year set in, with an extraordinary mobilization, we have the possibilities to bring about the turn required.





# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



## COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA MEETS CADRES OF THE LUSHNJA DISTRICT

*In the morning of February, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, had a meeting with cadres of the Party, the state and the economy in the Lushnja district.*

*Cadres of agriculture and other sectors of the economy who spoke at this meeting expressed the great joy and enthusiasm which the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party have aroused among the people.*

*In this talk with the cadres, Comrade Ramiz Alia gave valuable instructions about how the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party should be understood and implemented.*

*The conversation which began at this meeting, was continued later among the cooperativists and cadres of the Fier-Shegan agricultural cooperative and the other neighbouring economies.*

*Both at the meeting with the cadres of the district and in the talk with leading cadres of agriculture in the Fier-Shegan cooperative, Comrade Ramiz Alia in the beginning congratulated those present on the results achieved.*

**The 7th Plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among other things, put forward major tasks not only for agriculture but also for all other fields of social activity. Its decisions should be understood in a comprehensive manner. They must bring about changes in the whole work of the Party, in order to make it more resilient and to bring it as close to the people as possible.**

**Results in agriculture should not be expected from the increase of the material-technical base only, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued. We must not forget that it is precisely the people, the masses, who carry out the tasks set by the Party, who trans-**



# AND COOPERATIVISTS





# FROM THE COUNTRY

form the possibilities into a reality. Therefore, I would like to advise you to go over the decisions of the 7th Plenum once again and analyse their contents with the cooperativists without delay. Do not wait for instructions from above, do not wait until the plenum or the people's council of the district are convened, but go into action instantly, fighting against the go-slow attitude. These materials should be studied carefully in every brigade and the people must express their opinions freely.

The Party thinks that the communists and cadres, especially those who are in main posts, Comrade Ramiz emphasized, must take greater responsibilities upon themselves. This demand is put forward not only for the leading cadres at the centre, but also for those at the base, through the entire state and Party pyramid.

*Speaking further about this question, Comrade Ramiz Alia asked the question: Is it indispensable that in every district, in each and every cooperative or enterprise the main directors should have one or two substitute functionaries? Doesn't this situation allow for double, avoiding of responsibility and shifting it on to others?*

These questions, Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed, must be discussed in the spirit of the 7th Plenum. The main comrades in the centre, in the district, at the base, wherever they are, must put the shoulder to the wheel. The Party must send the people to work where they can make their best. Each must find his own place. The greatest burden must be

shouldered by the elect, the responsible cadres in the district.

From your discussions, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, I noticed that the new form of the remuneration of work in agriculture has stimulated your ideas. This is a valuable work. The man with his life and well-being is in the centre of the policy of our Party. Therefore, he must see immediately the benefit of his own work. The new form of remuneration of work for the cooperativists harmonizes, to a still higher level, the interests of the individual with those of the entire society. But in the decision of the Plenum there are many other questions which require our special attention, such as those of the further development of the productive forces, the protection, increase and enrichment of the land, the improvement of breeds and selection of seeds, the raising of the level of technique and technology.

I would like to recommend especially that the problems of planning should be discussed more extensively. Lushnja is included in the districts which are experimenting the plan for broad competences to the base, by concentrating the main attention on the indices of handovers to the state. This method requires that while fulfilling their own tasks, the cooperatives, the sectors and the brigades within it should decide on the most favourable structure of agricultural crops. By giving them new competences we stand to gain and there is nothing wrong with this: the initiative will increase and the agricultural and livestock production will go more rapidly ahead.

# MEETING WITH WRITERS AND ARTISTS

In the morning of February 17, the Writers and Artists' League organized a meeting in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture of the Capital. Attending the meeting were poets and prose writers, playwrights, actors and directors, composers and choreographers, painters and sculptors from all the districts of the country, workers of publishing houses and cultural and artistic institutions.

Present at the meeting were also member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, and other comrades.

The opening speech was delivered by the Chairman of the Writers and Artists' League, Dritëro Agolli, who, among other things, pointed out that this meeting was organized in the context of the 45th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution in order to exchange opinions about creative plans in honour of this great jubilee. Then, he spoke about the lively and optimistic atmosphere existing among creative workers, their important social obligations for representing the life and glorious history of the people with the greatest realism and ideo-artistic strength possible and the measures the Writers and Artists' League has taken for the suc-

cess of the great literary and artistic competitions proclaimed in honour of this jubilee, the national exhibition of figurative arts which will be opened in November this year and other important activities that will be organized in this context.

Many writers and artists contributed to the discussion at this meeting. They spoke about their creative work, raised problems which had to do with the development of literature and art according to the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and pledged to meet the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland with new useful works fulfilling the spiritual needs of the people, drawing a magnificent picture of the great work done for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the recommendations of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade Foto Çami also spoke at the meeting.

The Party, he said among other things, has always considered literature and art as important part of the spiritual life of society. It has seen to it that they are as rich, varied, and sound as possible and develop in the spirit of the requirements of the time, beating with the rhythm of our whole socialist life.

At the same time it has extended

the dimensions of the work of writers and artists, given it more weight and significance, calling for truthful, dignified and useful works, encouraging works of high artistic values and making ever easier the communication of literary or artistic works with readers or spectators. Writers and artists should turn out genuine artistic values, although this presupposes more work, efforts and toil.

In order to carry out this important task of high responsibility our literature and art had to march in step with time and follow step by step its problems, contradictions and developments. Through this many dignified works in all genres have been realized. For the last year, in particular, we may mention the monuments to Comrade Enver Hoxha in Tirana, Gjirokastra and Korça. These monuments were expression of love for our unforgettable leader, but also expression of the creative capacities and artistic visions of their gifted authors.

Then Comrade Foto Çami dwelt on some of the best achievements of literature and art in the recent times, made a high assessment of the Gjirokastra Folklore Festival for its special values, and put forward a number of tasks for improving the quality of our literary publications.



# MEETING OF THE VICE-MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

From January 18 to 20 the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries carried out its proceedings in one of the halls of Tirana Hotel in Tirana. In this meeting participated the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Ivan Ganev; the delegation of the Greek Republic, headed by the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Constantinos Georgiou; the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Constantin Oancea; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by the vice-secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tanshu Bleda; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal vice-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Milivoje Maksić, and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhamet Kapllani.

In the quality of chairman, the representative of the host nation, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, declared the meeting open and welcomed those present at the meeting.

He gave the floor to the minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, who pointed out that the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Balkan states is a permanent orientation of the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania. This orientation, he said, stems from the policy of good neighbourliness and the special place Albania gives relations with the Balkan states, which it considers an objective necessity in accordance with the aspirations of the Balkan peoples.

Then, Reis Malile read the message the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania,

Adil Çarçani, addressed the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states:

It is a special pleasure for me to express my warm greetings and wish complete success to your meeting on behalf of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and on my personal behalf.

Consistent in its policy of good neighbourliness and convinced of the utility of multilateral cooperation on a regional scale, the Albanian Government is sincerely interested in the spirit of understanding, mutual trust, peace and security predominating in the Balkans. It highly values the involvement and constructive efforts for this purpose.

We notice that since the meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states steps have been taken for the creation of a favourable atmosphere. As a result, a positive process of cooperation has started in the Balkans, which, although in its beginnings, is promising and shows that there exist possibilities to carry it forward in many and various fields of mutual interest. The further development of bilateral and multilateral relations in the Balkans and the fundamental interests of our peoples, who live near one another for centuries, make efforts for overcoming difficulties and ceaselessly strengthening friendship between them indispensable. I express my belief that the political will and the joint efforts to achieve this lofty aim will not be lacking.

Once more wishing your meeting complete success, I express the conviction of the Albanian Government that cooperation among the Balkan states will be enriched with a new content, mark further important achievements and constantly advance. I assure you that the Government of



**the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as up till now, will spare no effort for this cooperation to yield its fruits to the benefit of our friendly peoples, and peace and stability in our region, in the Mediterranean and Europe.**

After the plenary session, the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries carried out its proceedings according to the agenda adopted by its participants:

1. Assessment of the realization of multilateral activities envisaged for the year 1988 and their impact on the development of inter-Balkan relations.

2. Exchange of opinions on the progress of Balkan activities for the year 1989.

3. Setting the date and place of the coming meeting of the high representatives of the ministries of Foreign Affairs.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Ivan Ganev, was the first to speak. After thanking for the warm hospitality and the very good conditions created for the meeting and mentioning a number of inter-Balkan activities carried out during 1988 he pointed out that the dialogue, which is successfully being conducted in various fields, is showing its advantages and helping promote goodwill and mutual respect further. We have shown, he said, that we are in a position to turn our good intentions into deeds, so we may be optimistic.

Speaking about regional cooperation, Ivan Ganev said that, without imitating foreign models, taking into account the specific conditions of the Balkans, we may seek such a form and content as responds better to the present phase of development of Balkan cooperation. He emphasized the need for the continuation of talks so as to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, expressed himself for a broader participation of the Balkan peoples in the process of understanding, and called for the exchange of opinions about the participation of parliaments in order to enrich the Balkan dialogue. In this direction, Ivan Ganev said, a role will be played by the coming meeting of the Committees of

Balkan Understanding and Cooperation. He pointed out that a date may be set for the meeting of experts for strengthening mutual trust and security. He also spoke about the strengthening of economic cooperation, etc., in the framework of UN organisms. Also, he expressed himself for encouraging Balkan cooperation in the cultural, humanitarian and information fields. In conclusion, Ivan Ganev supported the candidature of the PSR of Albania as the country in which these second meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries will be held.

Then, the floor was given to the head of the Greek delegation, Constantinos Georgiu, general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The present meeting, he said, will contribute not only to the strengthening of relations between Greece and Albania, as the host country, but also to the improvement of the whole atmosphere in the region and Europe, part of which we are. The head of the Greek delegation pointed out that Greece has taken an active part in a number of inter-Balkan activities in the field of trade, tourism, environment protection, etc. The Greek Government, he said, welcomes the proposals of the transport ministers on holding periodical meetings, especially if account is taken of the fact that the sphere of cooperation will include the fields of transport and telecommunications. He supported the idea of creating in the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, stressing that the meeting of experts which was held in Bucarest in 1986 and the recent Paris Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons may be starting-points to develop the idea of a zone free of chemical weapons.

Constantinos Georgiou dwelt on the Greek idea adopted at the Belgrade Meeting of Foreign Ministers about the setting up of a Research Institute for Balkan Economic Cooperation and its functioning possibly within the first half of the current year. He approved of the report submitted by the working group and suggested that this group, which is proposed to meet in the end of February in Athens, be given a new mandate to extend and complete the report on the setting up of the Institute.

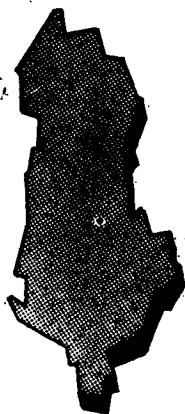
As far as the coming meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs is concerned, he said, it would be useful to adopt a quick decision on the place and time of its holding. Following the alphabetical criterion Georgiou thinks that Albania may be invited to be the host nation for the meeting of the Foreign ministers which should be held in the first half of 1990. In connection with the meeting of the high representatives of the ministries of Foreign Affairs, he said, according to the alphabetical criterion, it belongs to Greece to be the host country for it. If this proposal is adopted, he said, Greece agrees that it should be held in Autumn.

Much has been achieved within the few months following the Belgrade Meeting of the Foreign Ministers, said Georgiou in conclusion, which enables us to look to the future of Balkan cooperation with more optimism.

The head of the Rumanian delegation, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Constantin Oancea, pointed out that Rumania attaches special attention to its relations with the neighbouring countries and the situation in the Balkans, in general, and has taken a number of steps for the development of cooperation and good neighbourliness, understanding and security in the region. Rumania is for even more important steps towards closer cooperation in the Balkans and the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as military bases. We think, he said, that it is possible and necessary for all Balkan states to work with the same will and to collaborate in order to create the conditions for holding in Bucharest a highlevel meeting of the Balkan countries, which will give a new dimension to the strengthening of mutual trust and cooperation in this region.

He expressed Rumania's readiness to carry the idea of setting up a Research Institute for Balkan Economic Cooperation further ahead. Also, the head of the Rumanian delegation dwelt on a number of inter-Balkan activities which will take place in Rumania. My country, Oancea said, will take all the measures for the preparation of the meeting of experts on measures for improving mutual trust and security, which will be held in Bucharest in the second trimester of

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this year. In connection with the possibilities of expanding cooperation among the Balkan countries in the field of industry, cooperation and specialization of production, he proposed the organization of a round table for representatives of science and technology of the Balkan countries to exchange experience among themselves.

The Rumanian delegation, said Oancea in conclusion, agrees in principle on the coming meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries being held in accordance with the principle of the alphabetical order and preceded by a meeting of the representatives of the ministries of Foreign Affairs at a level which will be set in the future.

We have come together, said the head of the Turkish delegation, the vice-secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tanshu Bleda, in order to seek together ways and means to strengthen cooperation in the Balkans, a process which began in Sofia on the basis of the political will expressed at the Belgrade Meeting. However, we have the historical responsibility for turning our common aspirations to peace, mutual trust, stability and goodwill into deeds. In this context, we notice with pleasure that many of those ideas are being implemented. The head of the Turkish delegation said that there exist many fields to expand cooperation in this region. Experience has shown, he said, that mutual understanding and trust are essential to carry multilateral cooperation further ahead. In this direction we would make a major contribution by encouraging the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the achievement of all these common objectives and the removal of obstacles on the road of goodwill and understanding.

Turkey is of the opinion, he said, that the success of multilateral Balkan cooperation depends a great deal

on the improvement of bilateral relations and the solution on time of the more acute bilateral problems. We, too, said Tanshu Bleda, express our conviction that Balkan cooperation should be extended in three directions: in the field of security, the economy and in the humanitarian fields. We are for a balanced progress in these three fields.

At the Belgrade and Sofia meetings a great number of proposals on cooperation were made, he said. Our opinion is that we must, in the first place, concentrate our attention and efforts to implement the proposals that have been made. In concluding, Tanshu Bleda stressed the determination of Turkey to improve the atmosphere of greater understanding and mutual trust among the Balkan countries further.

Milivoje Maksić, federal vice-secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, stressed that, just as all the other delegations, he thanks the country which has organized the meeting for its warm hospitality. We are all aware of the great efforts our Albanian colleagues have made in the consultations carried out in the recent months in order to bring our views as close as possible. The time that has passed since the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan countries encourages us, but also sets us many tasks.

In February 1988 all the participants of the Belgrade Meeting were characterized by the desire not only to open up new paths, but also to ensure that they remained constant channels for relations of good neighbourliness in the Balkans. The head of the Yugoslav delegation hailed the activities carried out among the Balkan countries and spoke about the Yugoslav contribution to this field. In connection with the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, he said that, quite rightly, at the Belgrade Meeting national minorities were seen as fac-

tors of cohesion, stability, friendly relations and cooperation.

Dealing with some concrete proposals, Maksić said that the seaside city of Split is ready to play host to the Balkan olympiad of young mathematicians in 1989. Also, Yugoslav artists will take part in the arts exhibition of Bucharest and in the festival of classical music of Athens. The festival on ensembles of folk dances which will be held in Ohri of Macedonia, will create fresh possibilities for our peoples to get better acquainted with and closer to one another. Whereas the get-together of the writers of the Balkan countries at Bor in 1989 will be a new cultural event for these countries. About the cooperation in the struggle against drug traffic and terrorism he recalled Yugoslavia's proposal that a meeting of the relative experts should take place in June in that country. Also, he repeated the proposal that a meeting of the mayors of the Balkan capitals should be held in the end of this year or in the beginning of the coming year in Belgrade. In connection with the meeting of the Committees of Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, which will be held this year in Tirana, the head of the Yugoslav delegation voiced his belief that this innovative idea put forward by Albania will find its concrete expression. Supporting the criterion of the alphabetical order, Milivoje Maksić proposed that the coming meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs should be held in Tirana in the beginning of the coming year. In conclusion, he stressed that the address of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the message of the Prime-Minister of the PSR of Albania were inspiring.

In his address, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, among other things, said that the Albanian delegation considers this meeting important, seeing it as the continuation of the de-

opening of the process of Balkan cooperation, convinced that with sincere joint efforts, this process can be carried further ahead to strengthen the atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding in our peninsula. He pointed out the positive steps that have been taken for bilateral cooperation since the meetings of the ministers of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade and Sofia. These steps show that there exist many possibilities to advance this cooperation and that, with goodwill, existing difficulties and obstacles can be overcome to pave the way for a broader many-sided development of Balkan relations. Further on, he said that, as is known, one of the important recommendations of the ministers of Foreign Affairs was about the role national minorities should play as factors of cohesion and stability within the country and bridges of relations and cooperation between neighbouring countries and on a regional scale. Today's practice shows that following this policy serves the strengthening of mutual trust, friendship and security among neighbouring countries.

Then, Muhamet Kapllani dwelt on the activities of the past year which have led to the development of bilateral cooperation between our country and other Balkan countries. He said that the Albanian Government, consistent in its policy of good neighbourliness, considers understanding and mutual trust not merely possible, but absolutely necessary and that they are realized through the development of friendly relations. In accordance with the recommendations of the Belgrade Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation has started its activities and is working to establish contacts with analogous committees and organisms in the other Balkan countries, with the aim of finding the main directions for their cooperation in strengthening understanding and friendship among

our peoples. During 1988 Albania has taken part in and made its contribution to a number of Balkan multi-lateral activities. One of them was the meeting of the transport ministers of the Balkan states which showed that, when fields of common interest are sought and identified, and when constructive efforts are made by all parties, it is possible to embark on concrete activities and achieve positive results. After indicating also some other activities in which our country has participated, he stressed that the spirit of understanding and constructive cooperation has prevailed in them.

Further on, Muhamet Kapllani said: From consultations carried out with all the states of the region and from what was said here about the coming meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, I have the pleasure to express the readiness of my government for Albania to be the host country of this meeting in 1990. On this occasion, I want to sincerely thank all the delegations which expressed themselves in favour of his meeting being held in Tirana.

In conclusion he stressed that stability, peace and security in the Balkans are problems of first priority for all the countries of the region. The process of understanding and cooperation also serves this task, just as it could not advance without stability and peace.

On the second day of the proceedings of the meeting, the delegations exchanged opinions about the process of Balkan cooperation and problems having to do with developing understanding and mutual trust in our region. At these talks the desire was expressed to carry further ahead the steps taken towards a broader cooperation among the Balkan states.

In the last session, the participants discussed the recommendations of the working group and adopted the protocol of the meeting.

In the protocol it is said:



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From January 18 to 20, 1989 the meeting of the high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries was held in Tirana in accordance with the recommendations of the Belgrade Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and as agreed at the Sofia Meeting of high officials.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Adil Çarçani, addressed the meeting a message of greetings.

At the Tirana Meeting took part the delegations of the ministries of Foreign Affairs of: the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Ivan Ganev; the Greek Republic, headed by the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Constantinos Georgiou; the Socialist Republic of Rumania, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Constantin Oancea; the Republic of Turkey, headed by the vice-secretary for economic affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ambassador Tanshu Bleda; the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal vice-secretary, Milivoje Maksić, and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, who was elected chairman of the meeting.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, received the heads of the delegations. He attended the opening session and greeted the meeting.

The high officials analysed and assessed the realization of activities and initiatives in the context of multilateral Balkan cooperation for 1988 and examined new ideas and possibilities to develop it further in the future.

During the past year constructive efforts were made by all partners in seeking and identifying fields of common interest, and concrete activities were carried out in this direction.

They hailed the achievements of the Belgrade Meeting of the Transport Ministers of the Balkan states and noted with pleasure their proposal to hold periodical meetings, as well as their recommendation to hold a meeting in the field of telecommunications.

The high officials assessed the preparatory work carried out on December 13-14 in Ankara for the meeting of the ministers of the Economy or Foreign Trade. They recommended that the meeting of ministers should be held on March 15-16, 1989 in Ankara.

The participants in the meeting also assessed the efforts made and the results achieved at the meeting of the governmental experts for drawing out a convention on environment protection for the Balkan countries, held in Pravec of Bulgaria. The meeting recommended that the group for working out a draft-convention should meet in February 1989 at Marmaris, Turkey.

The high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs once again emphasized the utility of setting up a Research Institute for Balkan Economic Cooperation in Athens. They took note of the report prepared on this question by the working group set up according to the agreement reached in Sofia, and recommended that the above group should meet again by the end of February 1989 in Athens to examine other aspect which have to do with the setting up and functioning of the Institute in question.

They assessed the results achieved by the 21st Conference of the Balkan Countries on Tourism, which was held in Bulgaria.

They also emphasized the positive contribution of non-governmental activities in various fields such as the meeting of the national commissions of the Balkan countries for UNESCO in Ankara, the session of the Balkan

Medical Union in Athens, etc.

The meeting of the high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs emphasized the determination and readiness of the Balkan countries for the positive process of inter-Balkan cooperation to be deepened and consolidated on the basis of full equality and mutual respect, which is to the benefit of understanding and mutual trust in the region, as well as peace and security in the Balkans and Europe, in general.

It was recommended that the coming meeting of ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries should be held in October 1990 in Tirana.

The coming meeting of the high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs will be held in autumn this year in Greece.

The proposal of holding a meeting of the heads of the Balkan states or governments of the Balkan countries in Bucharest was discussed, and the importance of the creation of conditions for its organization was emphasized.

The high officials took note of the Albanian proposal on working out and adopting the principles of good neighbourliness in the Balkans.

The high officials recommended the extension of contacts between their relative parliaments, as well as the study of possibilities for the creation of parliamentary groups for Balkan friendship and cooperation.

Attention was paid to the proposal on turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. It was recommended that this proposal should remain a question for further discussion.

It was emphasized that representatives of a great number of non-governmental organizations can also contribute to strengthening the spirit of Balkan cooperation through activities of various kinds.

The high officials of the ministries

of Foreign Affairs took note of the proposal of the Belgrade mayor addressed to the mayors of the capitals of the Balkan countries, and more concretely Ankara, Athens, Bucharest, Sofia and Tirana, to hold a meeting in Yugoslavia the date of which should be agreed on later.

The high officials agreed on the time and place of other activities as follows:

— Meeting at the minister level on industrial cooperation and technology transfer in Rumania in the end of May or the beginning of June 1989.

— Meeting of the ministers of Power Industry in Tirana in the first semester of 1990. A group of experts will meet in Tirana for its preparation in the second semester of 1989.

— Meeting of experts of the Balkan countries to discuss measures for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and security among the Balkan countries in the second semester of 1989 in Bucharest.

— A special meeting to encourage economic and commercial cooperation among the Balkan countries, which will be held in the second semester 1989 in Bucharest.

— Meeting of experts in the field of sanitation in Autumn 1989 in Greece.

— The high officials recommended that experts in cultural, humanitarian and information problems should meet in the second half of September in Sofia and, possibly, before the end of 1989 in Ankara, successively. Proceeding from the nature of these meetings it was emphasized that they should be open to public opinion, the means of communication included. All the relative steps for the organization of these meetings will be taken by the host countries in consultation and cooperation with all the other Balkan countries.

— Meeting of experts to discuss cooperation in the struggle against terrorism and the traffic of drugs and

weapons possibly in June 1989 in Belgrade.

— Meeting of the representatives of the ministries of Agriculture in the first semester of 1990 in Athens.

— Meeting of the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations in October in 1989 in Tirana.

Taking into account the number of meetings to be held on the same problem, the participants agreed on various meetings and activities on a Balkan level being carried out on a rotation basis, as in the case of the meetings of the foreign ministers and high officials.

The meeting of the high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries went on in a constructive spirit of understanding. It highly valued the involvement and efforts of all the Balkan countries to ceaselessly develop the process of multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the region.

The meeting of high officials expressed their high evaluation of the way its proceedings were carried out and expressed their thanks to the Government of the PSR of Albania for the warm hospitality given the delegations participating in this meeting.

The meeting was declared closed by the head of the delegation of the host country which chaired the proceedings, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani. He noted with pleasure that the meeting has achieved its objectives and that the balance of activities carried out in the context of Balkan cooperation is a positive one. More important, he emphasized, is that this cooperation is becoming a tendency which is gaining ground, creating the conditions for the strengthening of understanding and mutual trust, which brings the peoples of our peninsula closer together.

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In this context it is important that the second meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs was unanimously decided to be held in the Year 1990. It will certainly carry the already started political dialogue further forward and define the basic orientations of cooperation for the two coming years. Aware of the importance of the tasks it is charged with, Muhamet Kapllani said in conclusion, the Albanian Government will do everything that depends on it for the meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs in Tirana to give a fresh impulse to cooperation in our region and make a really tangible contribution to the improvement of the atmosphere and the carrying forward of the process of understanding, mutual trust and cooperation in the Balkans.

Then, the heads of delegations thanked for the hospitality, the good organization of the meeting and the constructive spirit that characterized it, which will contribute to the improvement of the atmosphere of cooperation and understanding in the Balkans.

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On January 19, the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Manush Myftiu, received at separate meetings the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the PR of Bulgaria, Ivan Ganev, and the federal vice-secretary for Foreign Affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Mili-voje Maksić.

Comrade Manush Myftiu spoke about the importance of the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs in promoting the spirit of understanding and friendly cooperation in the Balkans. He also stressed that good neighbourliness and development of bilateral good relations among the Balkan states serves cooperation in the

Balkans and the fulfilment of the aspirations of its peoples to live in peace and friendship.

On January 20, Comrade Manush Myftiu received at separate meetings Tanshu Bleda, the vice-secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Constantinos Georgiou, General Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Greece, and Constantin Oancea, vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR of Rumania.

He spoke about the feelings of friendship and respect the Albanian people nurture for the peoples of the Balkans, as well as the ardent desire of our country to contribute to the extension of cooperation among the countries of the peninsula.

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...On January 18 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, received at the ministry of Foreign Affairs the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries who had come to take part in the Tirana Meeting.

On January 21st the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, received at separate meetings the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Ivan Ganev, the General Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Constantinos Georgiu, and the vice-secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Tanshu Bleda.

At these meetings the constructive spirit of understanding, which characterized the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, was highly valued, opinions were exchanged about the development of bilateral relations, and the desire was expressed that they should be extended and developed further in the future.

On January 22, Comrade Reis Malile received the Federal vice-secretary

for Foreign Affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Milivoje Maksić.

At this meeting the success of the meeting of the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries was mentioned and opinions were exchanged about the existing relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, and the desire was expressed that they should be extended in the field of economic and commercial, cultural, technical and scientific relations, as well as in the field of transport, management of water resources, etc.

At the same time Comrade Reis Malile emphasized that the problem of Kosova and, in general, the condition of the Albanians in Yugoslavia have an influence on the relations between the two countries. This influence, he said, may be either positive or negative, in direct relationship with the stand taken towards the Albanians there. When we mention this, we proceed from our concern about the future of relations between our countries and their development on the road of good neighbourliness, and from the sincere desire for peace and understanding in the Balkans.

The Albanian foreign minister said that the Albanian side has been and is always ready to discuss the further development of relations and cooperation in a constructive spirit with the

Yugoslav side, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and in those directions which serve freedom and independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the friendship among peoples.

On January 20, Comrade Reis Malile put on a reception in Durrës in honour of the delegations which took part in the meeting of vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries.

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On January 19, the head of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, Prof. Dhimitër Shuteriqi, gave a cocktail for the vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries. Deputies to the People's Assembly, members of the above-mentioned Committee, writers, professors, newspapermen, men of science, art and culture, and others were present.

In the evening of the same day the artistic troupes of the capital gave a concert in honour of the foreign delegations in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre. Apart from Albanian songs and dances, the concert also included songs of Balkan countries, which were warmly executed by our artists.





# RAISING WELL-BEING FOR THE PEOPLE- THE SUPREME AIM OF THE PARTY

by **NIKO GJYZARI**

*An epoch-made victory, which ensures the material and cultural well-being for all the people, is the dynamic development of our country, the extended socialist reproduction for a massive consumption which grows continuously*

**THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY IS AN INDISPURTABLE PROOF OF THE GREAT SOLICITUDE OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER FOR THE GRADUAL BUT STEADY RAISING OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. EVERYTHING WHICH IS PRODUCED AND CREATED IN OUR COUNTRY IS DONE IN THE NAME AND INTEREST OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, THROUGH THE CORRECT HARMONIZATION OF PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ECONOMY AND THE DEFENCE POTENTIAL OF THE COUNTRY, THE NEEDS OF THE PRESENT WITH THOSE OF THE FUTURE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY WITH THAT OF THE RURAL AREA, THE GUARANTEE OF THE SOCIAL EQUALITIES ACHIEVED WITH THEIR FURTHER DEEPENING.**

An epoch-making victory which ensures the material and cultural well-being for all the working people, is the dynamic development of our economy, the extended socialist reproduction for a massive consumption which grows continuously. In the years of the people's state power the social product and the national income have increased 2-4 times more rapidly than the population increase. As a result, Albania which only half a century before could not produce enough maize for less than 1 million inhabitants, today is in a position to provide all the necessary food for a population three times larger and with higher requirements. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out in a concise manner, this is an expression of the emergence of the country

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**NIKO GJYZARI: Chairman of the State Planning Commission**

from poverty into prosperity, and constitute one of the pillars of its economic and political independence. Not only in comparison with the pre-Liberation period, or with the early post-Liberation years of the socialist construction, but also in comparison with 10-15 years ago, the per capita consumption of the staple articles has increased in a continuous manner. In the period 1987-1988 the state trading sector provided the people with an average of 56 per cent more food-stuffs and about 35 per cent more consumer goods, excluding foods. Even in the conditions of the prolonged periods of draught accompanied with the very high temperatures of the last years, which caused failures in the fulfilment of some indices of the plan, especially in agriculture, the trade sector behaved with stability, the supply of the people did not

show any decline, but on the opposite, increased further. The consumption per capita of the population in cities and work centres for many articles — such as eggs, fish, rice, shoes, stockings and socks, soap and washing powders, in recent years, as against 1980, has had a general upward trend. In 1986, as against 1980, to the people of the cities and work centres were sold 39 per cent more fats, 25 per cent more sugar, 83 per cent more eggs, 29 per cent more rice, 70 per cent more utensils, etc. The increase of the production of milk by about 35 thousand tons in 1988, compared to 1987, is mainly the result of the initiative of the cooperativist peasantry to maintain small herds in the brigades, and this, in turn, has created conditions for the peasantry to provide better for its own needs.

The working people of our country take an average of about 3,000 calories a day, which is the mean level of many other countries. Although there is room for improvements of the structure of calories, because most of them are obtained from vegetable sources, bearing in mind the age-groups of the population in which the younger ages predominate, this fund of calories is sufficient to ensure high productivity of intellectual and physical work. The

normal supply of the population and the guaranteeing of balanced diets has brought about a situation in which all diseases caused by unbalanced food diets have disappeared completely and the anthropometric characteristics of our people have been improved greatly. Today the youth reach the indices of physical development one year earlier than they did ten years before. The average life expectancy of the population is 71.6 years, against 64.9 in 1960, and 38.83 years in 1938. In recent years the deaths per thousand inhabitants are calculated at 5.6-5.7 (one of the lowest in Europe), whereas births are calculated at over 25, or the highest in Europe.

Material well-being, the spiritual world of the man, his personality, the emancipation and happiness of everyone are guaranteed by the entire economic and social development of the country, which relies entirely on its own forces, without credits and debts from abroad. At their foundation they have the free work for oneself, for one's family and for the whole society, free from any kind of exploitation and oppression. Work is the source of inspiration and optimism for the whole society and the main road for raising well-being to a higher level. The years of the socialist construction in Albania are the years of that epoch-making leap which has been made in the field of work. Work is guaranteed to everyone. Every year the state provides jobs for an average of 45-50 thousand people, and every citizen in working relations in cities or work centres supports 0.84 people today as against 1.52 in the year 1970, whereas in the countryside 1.42 against nearly 2 in 1970.

For the complete employment of the work forces, the society spends considerable material and financial means in the form of fundamental investments. The opening of one new work place today requires more than 100 thousand leks, or nearly twice as much as in the '60s. This is a major commitment of the society because, despite the instability of the world market, the crises, stagnation of the capitalist economy, inflation and the influence of all these

factors on our economy, still the income of the working people is maintained intact, prices are kept at a stable level, and everything is coped with by the state. Only from the price rises for imports of many food and industrial articles the income of the state budget has spent an excess of 450 million leks in order to maintain the stability of prices for the retail trade goods inside the country. This and the policy of keeping relatively low prices for bread and food-stuffs, for children's clothing and school articles, the very low house rent which does not exceed the income from 2-3 workdays, which is pursued in our country, is a great advantage for the working people, especially for the working people earning an average pay, who, in this manner, can secure their living.

Achievements in the raising of well-being for the working masses, despite some shortage which is noticed here and there as result of the failure to attain the targets of the plan in agriculture, in the food-stuffs industry and the light industry, emerge in a special light if we compare this with the fact that in recent years the economic crises, chronic unemployment, inflation and price rises in the capitalist and the revisionist countries have further deepened the class polarization: on the one hand, there is an increase in the profits of metropolises and financial oligarchies, while, on the other hand, the living of the broad working masses has become more expensive.

Naturally, if we make comparisons with the situation of some years before, the achievements in the uplift of well-being can be easily seen. But the Party instructs us that in this question, too, comparisons should be made with the growing needs of the working people of city and the rural area. It is a positive fact that the raising of people's material and cultural level serves as an incentive for the further increase of production and puts new demands for more material and spiritual blessings, which enrich the life of the people. This is the dialectics of development, but at the same time it makes higher

demands on the state organs and the economy for the fulfilment of these requirements.

Production per capita of staple consumer goods from one year to another and from one five-year plan to another has kept increasing. Compared to the 1980 level, the per capita production of cheeses has increased 16 per cent, eggs 37 per cent, knitware 3 per cent, beer 40 per cent, utensils and glassware of everyday use 16 per cent, etc. There have been increases also in imported consumer goods such as sugar, fats, textiles, etc. Along with this the demands of the people for food and other articles, not only in the cities but also in the villages, have increased.

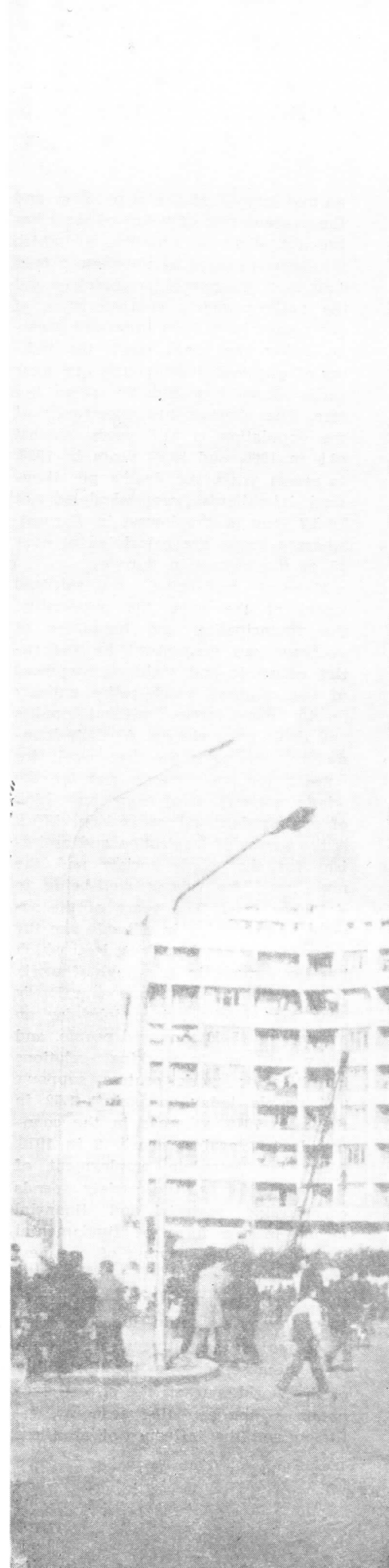
Moreover, our peasant today, as a result of the great economic, cultural and social changes, has emerged as a consumer of many articles, and not only food articles but also industrialized products, just as the town population. Today the peasant has higher demands not only for salt and kerosene, but also for various textiles, for radio- and tv-sets, refrigerators and other domestic appliances, and has greater requirements for more vegetables and beans, potatoes, milk, meat, eggs, etc. In this aspect, as a result of the social equality, there are not great changes in the various social groups, or among different families as regards the consumption of the food and other products turned out by our industry and agriculture, or imported from abroad. Seen in this light, consumption serves to stimulate production, whereas production, despite its continuous growth, still has not reached the level required for adequate consumption, both in quantity and in quality. Hence, the supply of the market with some consumer goods has not been always and in every moment satisfactory. Shortages in supplies can be avoided through a better work for the rhythmical fulfilment of the plans, and the increase of the care for the good administration of production, the increase of the productivity of social labour and the strengthening of the savings regime everywhere. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, the situation of the market can be considered as healthful

«only when the people can find and buy milk, meat and fish, eggs, vegetables and fruits as much as they can; when the market can fulfil the basic needs and can respond to the purchasing power of the people.»

Of course, the rise in the material well-being and the cultural level of the people is determined by the degree in which the plans of production, building and the social-cultural sectors are fulfilled. The standard of living today and in the future is the result of the general advance in the economy and culture, in agriculture and industry, in the technical-scientific revolution and in the improvement of the economic relations, in the

rapid development of material production, in the sectors of services and the social and cultural activities. The requirements for more supplies of better quality put forward new tasks for greater obligations of everyone for a more fruitful work, for producing more and at a low cost. This has great importance, because we are at the same time consumers and producers and cannot have a set of demands in our role as the consumer and a different set of demands in our role as producer. Therefore, the raising of the general wellbeing is connected with the work of everyone on all fronts to carry out the tasks and plans in all fields.

*New dwelling flats at the centre of Tirana*







# THE COOPERATIVIST ORDER-THE MONUMENTAL WORK OF THE PARTY

*by MIHAL ZIU and DHIMITËR TOÇI*

*With us, cooperativism is an affirmed order in all its aspects, which is fully integrated into our social system*

The socialist transformation of the countryside and the development of the cooperativist order occupies an important place among the many majestic achievements made in the years of the people's state power under the brilliant leadership of the Party. The road traversed from November 1948 (when the first agricultural cooperative was set up) until November 1988 (when the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives was held) is full of victories for the creation, development and strengthening of the cooperativist order in Albania. They have shown in practice the correctness of the line of the Party, the concrete implementation of the ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The creation and development of the cooperativist order is the work of the Party, the result of its efforts and struggle at the head of the people for the construction of socialism in city and the rural area.

In his message of greetings to the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «The setting out of the countryside on the road of the new life represents one of the greatest historic victories of our socialist revolution. In the decades of the epoch of the Party all our country has been and continues to be in a process of constant change, but the revolution has developed with greater intensity in the countryside than in any other field. In this period an all-round transformation has

*MIHAL ZIU and DHIMITËR TOÇI:  
Candidates of economic sciences*

taken place there: the character of ownership has changed, the nature has been transformed, the life of the people has prospered and their way of thinking has been emancipated.

«The cooperativist order in Albania is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people, in the countryside, as well as in the city.»

Relying on the Marxist-Leninist teachings, on the socialist transformation of the countryside, our Party worked out and applied a correct revolutionary line, with which it solved the major tasks that emerged for the Albanian agriculture and the countryside, in general, with success. The first step in the implementation of this programme was the Land Reform, which brought about radical changes in the relations of ownership of the land and in the social-class structure of the country. The application of the Land Reform solved the antagonistic contradiction between the working peasantry and the former big landowners. The small-scale property became dominant in the countryside.

However, the Party was fully conscious that the Land Reform was not enough to pull the peasantry out of the great centuries-long backwardness and, what is more, socialism in the countryside could not be built on that basis. It was completely convinced that the only course which the peasantry must follow was to setting out on the socialist road. Speaking about this Lenin pointed out: «...the distribution of the land is a good

thing as a beginning. This shows that the land is taken from the landowners and passes into the hands of the peasantry. But this is not all. The way out is only in the collective tilling of the land.»<sup>1</sup>

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party worked out the programme for the socialist transformation of the countryside according to the Leninist principles of cooperation in the concrete conditions of our country. That was an objective imperative which was conditioned by various ideological, political and social factors. The collectivization of agriculture would solve the contradictions between the advanced political power and the old backward economic base, those between industry and agriculture, between city and the rural area, etc. Our Party guided the whole work for the collectivization of agriculture in an organized manner, through the creative implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the socialist transformation of the countryside.

At the foundation of its policy it placed the educative work with the peasants, so that collectivization should be carried out with the ideological conviction and the free will of the peasants. It was clear to the Party that in order to make the peasants joint the road of collectivization voluntarily, first they should be convinced by their own experience of the superiority of the large-scale socialist economy over the small private economy.

In 1946 the first seven cooperatives were set up and became the source of inspiration and schools of the socialist collectivization of agriculture in our country. They were set up and strengthened through and all-round political, economic, financial, technical and organizational assistance by the whole society. On this question the Party has always been guided by the Leninist thesis that every social order is born with the financial support of a given class, that is, of the state power, the class in power.

The accomplishment with success of the socialist collectivization of the countryside showed that only in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class can the peasantry set out and march with success on the road of socialism.

The process of collectivization in our country has developed through fierce class struggle. The kulaks and all the remnants of reaction, the ex-ruling classes, tried at all costs, using arms and propaganda, to smother the new cooperativist order which was emerging and was developing with success in the Albanian countryside. Therefore, the Party in its policy of the treatment of different groups of the population in the countryside leaned on the poor peasants, on the alliance with the middle peasants, while struggling against the kulaks, towards whom it pursued the line of economic restriction, political isolation and final elimination as such.

The analysis of the process of socialist transformation of the countryside in Albania reveals that, along with the general features which emerge from the application of the laws of socialist construction, the collectivization of agriculture in Albania represents some peculiarities which stem from the concrete social and economic conditions of the countryside in the period of socialist transformation, from the specific features and the traditions of life in our countryside and from the character of the popular revolution in Albania.

First, the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in the conditions of the existence of the small private ownership of the land, which

was distributed among the peasants by the Land Reform without compensation. The experience of our country shows that collectivization can be accomplished with success even without nationalizing the land, but only after implementing the Land Reform according to profoundly revolutionary criteria.

Second, the collectivization of agriculture in our country was carried out in Albania at a time when industry, especially the processing and heavy industries, did not exist. In these conditions the material-technical base of the cooperativist production was weak and the level of productive forces relatively low. Therefore, the process of the socialist reorganization of the countryside must not be impeded in an artificial manner by waiting till the productive forces developed fully, as the revisionists and opportunists claim.

Third, collectivization in our country was carried out without any intermediate forms of cooperation, but by going over directly to the highest forms of cooperation in the field of production — the agricultural cooperative.

Fourth, the agricultural cooperatives were set up on the basis of the territory of the village. So, in the initial phase they were relatively small. This responded to the conditions and possibilities of their economic and organizational management.

After the collectivization was completed, the development of the productive forces called for the further socialization of the cooperativist production. For this purpose, the process of the enlargement of the cooperatives began and was carried out gradually on the basis of the merger of some existing cooperatives into larger ones.

The successful conclusion of the unification of the small producers of the rural area in our country constitutes the most radical revolutionary change in the agrarian relations. This process marked the triumph of the second revolution in the social and economic relations in the countryside, the transition from the old to the new relations. This transition brought about far-reaching changes in the economic social, po-

litical, ideological and cultural domains of the countryside in particular and of the whole society in general, changes which bear no comparison with the past.

In the economic field the most radical change regards the relations of ownership, the replacement of the private property of the land and the agricultural inventory by the cooperativist common property. Precisely this transition, which was realized in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitutes the key to all the victories in the building of the new socialist order in the countryside throughout the whole period of the socialist construction. A new type of relations — the socialist relations in production — was born and developed in the countryside on the basis of the cooperativists' common ownership.

The most important victory in the political domain which was achieved with the collectivization of agriculture is the setting out of the countryside on the road of socialism and the further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the strengthening of the links between industry and agriculture and between city and the rural area, in general. With this the political-social basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania was consolidated. The centuries-long antagonistic contrast between city and countryside was eliminated and each saw the other as its natural ally.

The collectivization of agriculture simultaneously created favourable conditions which, accompanied with the great educative work of the Party, created the suitable ground for the inculcation of the socialist world outlook in the peasantry, thus gradually freeing it of the burden of backward customs, religious prejudices, the feeling of private property and petty-bourgeois individuality, and from the mentality and psychology of the small landowner. Instead of them emerged new features of the communist morality, such as collectivism, the socialist stand towards the property and work, the putting of the general interest above that of the cooperative and the interest of the cooperative above the personal interest, the

concern for the progress of the work in the cooperative, etc.

The PLA has always correctly implemented the Marxist-Leninist principle on the relationship between the productive forces and the relations in production. Therefore, along with the development of the productive forces it has realized the uninterrupted perfection of the socialist relations in the countryside on the revolutionary road. The setting up of the higher-type cooperative constitutes a special contribution of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, an enrichment of the theory and practice of the construction of socialism in the countryside. They mark a new step forward on the efforts to bring the property of the group closer to the property of the whole people. In 1987, about 11 per cent of the agricultural cooperatives were of the higher type.

An important moment in the process of the perfection of the relations of ownership was also the transformation of the higher-type cooperatives into state farms. In accomplishing this transition, our Party had to explore new untrodden paths, which involved the solution of many problems in the process. This transition is carried out in an organized manner, under the guidance of the Party and the socialist state, with measured gradual steps, and is not abandoned to spontaneity, or hastened artificially. This process is the result of the quantitative and qualitative development of the productive forces of the socialist relations in production. This process is now under way throughout the country.

The measures for the restriction of the cooperativists' personal plot and for the formation of the common herds with the animals of the cooperativist families were important moments in the development and strengthening of the cooperativist order. The cooperativists' personal plot, as an economy of an auxiliary character which fulfils the needs of the cooperativist families, emerged along with the birth of the cooperativist order in the countryside. It is connected with the general development of the cooperativist order. The development and economic strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives in

Albania has brought about the gradual reduction of the economic importance of the cooperativists' personal plot which tends to grow smaller and smaller, thus opening a broader prospect for the development of the socialist relations of the countryside and the psychology which it cultivates among the peasantry, by freeing the consciousness of the peasants from the burden of the petty-bourgeois psychology and mentality.

The transitional character of the cooperativists' personal plot and its gradual reduction and disappearance is hastened by the creation of the small herds and plots of the brigades. The enhancement of their role, according to the directive of the Party, in the fulfilment of the needs of the cooperativist peasantry for milk, meat, vegetables, potatoes, dry beans, will gradually liquidate the economic function of the cooperativists' personal plot and will make it useless as such.

The establishment of the new social relations of production, under the impact of the development of productive forces, opened up major prospects for the agricultural production to go ahead. In this manner, agricultural production in our country has increased about twice as fast as the population growth. In 1987 it was 5.4 fold greater than in 1938 and about 3.1 fold greater than in 1960.

Agriculture has developed in all branches, but the main place is occupied by the bread grain, the production of which in 1987 was 4.6 fold greater than in 1960. Beginning from 1976 our country is selfsufficient in bread grain. Rapid rates have characterized the production of the industrial crops, vegetables, etc. The development of agriculture has followed both the extensive and the intensive road, though in the last period the latter has had priority. Yields of agricultural crops in 1987, against 1960, have been 2 or 3 times greater. Thus, yields of wheat have increased about 4.2 fold, maize 4.5 fold, vegetables 1.8 fold, tobacco 2 fold, sugarbeet 1.8 fold, milk production per milk cow 2.5 fold, etc. In this manner, the increase in agricultural production has been ensured mainly from the increase in yields of crops.

These achievements are based on the continuous strengthening of the material-technical base. Against 30 tractors which our country had in 1938, in 1987 it had 19,265, and the surface of arable land for each tractor from 1,000 hectares in 1938 fell to 37 hectares. The number of harvesters and header-threshers in 1987 was 1,433, or 4.1 times greater than in 1960, whereas only thrashing-machines from 75 in the year 1938 increased to 1,857 in 1987. In the year 1938 the draught power occupied only 0.7 per cent of the total motor power and draught animals 9.3 per cent of it, whereas in the year 1987 it was respectively 90.5 per cent and 9.5 per cent, which shows a radical change in its structure. The volume of mechanized processes in 1987, as against 1960, has increased 8.7 fold.

Major improvements have been made in the fertilization of the land and its scientific treatment. In 1987 in agriculture were used 133.1 kg/ha of active matter against 2.6 and 17 kg in 1950 and 1960. Colossal investments have been made for the improvement, draining and irrigation of the land. In the period 1946-1983 from land systematization schemes the arable surface has increased by 50,500 hectares of land, while another 199,420 hectares have been improved, at a time when the irrigation capacity from 10 per cent in 1938 reached to 57.4 per cent in 1987.

As a constituent part of the economy, agriculture has increased its role in and contribution to the independent development of the country on the road of socialism. Its achievements are an indisputable proof of the superiorities of the development of the cooperativist order, which includes about 3/4 of the arable land, over 80 per cent of the agricultural workers, and accounts for over 60 per cent of the total agricultural production. In the total of the national agriculture agriculture provides 34 per cent, of which 84 per cent is accounted for by the cooperativist sector. In 1987 this sector produced 76.2 per cent of the cereals, 58.5 per cent of the potatoes, 97.1 per cent of rice, 89.5 per cent of cotton, 91.7 per cent of tobacco, 61 per cent of sugarbeet, 71.9 per cent of sunflower, 51.4 per cent of all ve-



getables, 64.3 per cent of beans, 55.9 per cent of milk, 79.2 per cent of wool, 49.7 per cent of meat of the whole sector, and so on.

The 9th Congress the Party assigned bold and far-sighted objectives for the development and further strengthening of the cooperativist order. «During this five-year period,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said, «the cooperativist order will be further strengthened and improved. The number of higher-type cooperatives will be increased both within the zone of priority intensification and outside it. In them, the original process of the combination of relations which are characteristic of the property of the group with those of state property will be deepened. The further transformation of this intermediary form of socialist property of our agriculture into property of the whole people will be done in natural ways and without haste. The property of the combination of relations which are characteristic of the property of the group will not exhaust its possibilities of development and progress for a long time.»<sup>2</sup>

In the entire process of the development of agricultural cooperatives, in future, the aim will be to ensure the development of the productive forces and the uninterrupted perfection of the socialist relations in production, and the carrying out of the process of intensification of production; as for the second phase of the programme of priority intensification, it will be applied in the plains zone through the extension of the relations between the state and the cooperative. In this development as a whole, the characteristics of the property of the group, its organization and management, and the assistance which the working class and the state give it will be further consolidated, combin-

ing all these with the application of the cooperativist democracy in practice.

In order to accelerate and support the strengthening of the cooperativist order, the Party has adopted a number of important measures which aim at the continuous increase of assistance for the countryside. This assistance is materialized in various forms and means, such as through the increase of the mechanical base of the Machine and Tractor Stations, by completing it with means and personal, through the development of those branches of industry which contribute directly to agriculture, through credits, selected seeds and pedigree animals, etc., or even through the direct participation of the state with investments and with non-return social means in the cooperatives. However, the decisive factor for the development of the agricultural cooperatives remains reliance on its own forces, the mobilization and use of all the internal possibilities of the cooperatives.

The strengthening of the cooperativist order requires the ceaseless strengthening of production and effectivity. At the present stage these factors assume special importance because many possibilities still lie unutilized. The increase in production and effectivity strengthen self-reliance, increase the degree of independent action of the economy, making it better able to cope successfully with the imperialist-revisionist blockade. The objectives are achieved by putting production on scientific bases still more thoroughly, by the large-scale introduction of contemporary technologies, by better harmonizing all the factors: human, material, agrotechnical and natural, which condition the final result in agriculture. These, in turn, require a higher level of tech-

nical-professional qualification of the cooperativists, cultured work and scientific managements of production.

The further increase of the effectivity of production is ensured, also, from the improvement of organization and management of work and production.

The continuous struggle of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have brought about a situation in which, by exploiting untrodden paths, today we have a consolidated cooperativist order, capable of large-scale agricultural and livestock production, of deepening, intensifying and increasing the effectivity of production, of increasing incomes and of raising the material and cultural level of the cooperativists. Today this order is a powerful support basis for the economic and social development of the country to new higher levels.

All these questions were discussed extensively at the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives and before, during the popular debate on the new statute of agricultural cooperatives, which this Congress endorsed. The popular discussion of the draft-statute was a living expression of cooperativist democracy in action. The cooperativists expressed themselves freely, with political maturity, realistically and boldly, they put forward their ideas and suggestions, their preoccupations and constructive criticism about the progress of work and production, the improvement of organization and management of all the work in the cooperative, about the continuous strengthening of the economy and of the cooperativist system itself.

1 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, p. 298.  
2 Ramiz Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, pp. 54-55, Engl. ed.

# CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHENING THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

*by Prof. ISMET ELEZI*

*Albania's experience shows that the strengthening of the people's state power and the defence of the victories of the people's revolution cannot be secured without crushing the resistance of the remnants of overthrown classes, without smashing and defeating the activity of the internal and external enemies and any other obnoxious activity*

**THE CONTINUOUS STRENGTHENING, PERFECTION, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE STATE HAVE BEEN AND REMAIN AT THE CENTRE OF ATTENTION OF OUR PARTY, OF LABOUR.**

**AT THE 9TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA, POINTED OUT THAT THE PARTY FIGHTS TO... «KEEP THE STATE POWER ALWAYS STRONG AND UNSULLIED BY ANY BUREAUCRATIC DISTORTION OR LIBERALIST INFLUENCE AND WE WILL WORK CEASELESSLY FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT ON THOSE SOUND, POPULAR, DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS WHICH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR LAID AND WHICH THE OTHER GREAT STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM HAS CONSOLIDATED AND PERFECTED. THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE WILL NEVER ALLOW OUR STATE POWER TO BE INFLUENCED BY THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEAS AND PRACTICES, LABELLED PLURALIST, SELF-ADMINISTRATIVE, THE STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, AND SO ON.» THE CEASELESS STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER IS CONNECTED WITH THE WHOLE ADVANCE OF OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND, WITH THE SECURITY OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, WITH THE GUARANTEE OF CITIZENS' EQUALITIES AND RIGHTS.**

The uninterrupted strengthening of the people's state power cannot be conceived without the consistent application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of which it has been built as a state of a profoundly democratic and popular character, which is radically different from the old landowner-bourgeois state and

from the state of any other bourgeois and revisionist country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, the architect of our people's state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, teaches us that the decisive factor which has safeguarded and kept the people's state intact against the bourgeois and revisionist influences has been and remains the leadership of the Party. Securing the undivided political leadership of the Party in the people's

state power is an objective indispensability and an historical reality which exists from its establishment, throughout these more than 40 years.

The Party leadership in the people's state power is an objective indispensability in as much as the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established. This fact is sanctioned also in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which provides that «The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and society» (Article 3).

The Party of Labour, equipped with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, plays the leading role in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is expressed in the following main directions and especially.

First, the Party determines the contents of the principles according to which the organs or people's state power are built and carry out their activity, and fights to make sure that they conform to its general line and policy.

Second, the leading role of the Party is expressed in the definition of the policy to be followed by all the organs

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of people's state power in all fields in which they exercise their activity.

Third, the Party defines the policy of cadres through their selection, communist ideological and political education and distribution in all the levels of the state apparatus, in which the communists play the vanguard role.

Fourth, the Party leads and wages the struggle against the manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism in the whole activity of the people's state power, for a revolutionary method and style of work. It directs the edge of this struggle against concepts which foster bureaucracy, liberalism and other similar manifestations in its work.

Fifth, the Party leads the whole work to ensure the leading and controlling activity of the representative organs of the state within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their check-up on all the other state organs, in order to establish correct relationships between them and the executive and law-enforcing organs.

Sixth, the leading role of the Party is expressed in its control, which is the supreme control on the entire activity of the state organs.

The leading role of the Party is realized through its basic organs and organizations in every level of the state apparatus. The 9th Congress of the Party set the task for the further strengthening and enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the work of the basic organizations of the Party in the state apparatus and especially in the central departments and other institutions, without, of course, substituting, doubling or displacing the state organs.

From the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party it emerges that the continuous strengthening of the people's state power depends, in the first place and above all, on the strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the state organs and in all their activity. The leading role of the Party in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grows continuously stronger and is not weakened as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to make out.

The profoundly democratic character of the people's state power lies in its close links with the broad working masses which govern the country.

The Constitution provides that «All the power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stems from the working people and belongs to them» (Article 5). The participation of the people in running state affairs is expressed in the election to the organs of the state power, from the People's Assembly to the people's councils, to which they send their best, honest sons, loyal to the interests of the Homeland and socialism.

Because of their very class nature, the representative organs are profoundly democratic, because they represent the working class as the leading class of our society, the cooperative peasantry and other working people, with the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, at its head.

The composition of these organs is proof of the democratic character. More than half of 250 deputies to the People's Assembly, elected on February 1, 1987, are sons of workers, or have been or are workers themselves, and 26 per cent of them work in the cooperative sector of agriculture.

In April 1986 there were 23,379 councilors elected to the people's councils of all levels, of whom 74 per cent had higher and secondary schooling and 40 per cent were women.

Thus, the representative organs of our state are in the hands of those classes and strata of the population which are the oppressed and exploited classes and sections in any kind of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist state. The people's councils and the People's Assembly are genuine democratic organs, not only from their content, but also from the manner of their formation. They are elected by general, equal, direct and secret ballot, on the basis of an electoral system, which is one of the most democratic in the world. Elections in our country bear no comparison with those of any other capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist country, in which the electoral right is proclaimed only in form, but is not realized in practice because of many and various limitations and impediments.

The February 1, 1987 elections for deputies to the People's Assembly and those of April 24, 1986 to the people's councils were a brilliant manifestation

of the unity of the people around the Party and the people's state power, an expression of the determination to further strengthen the people's state power, to deepen our socialist democracy. But the fact that the people are in power in our socialist Albania is expressed not only through the elections to the organs of state power. It is expressed, above all, in the right which they have and effectively exercise to decide about the plans of the socialist construction, the roads of the development of education and culture, the problems of the defence of the Homeland, and so on.

The participation of the working masses in governing the country is connected with all the revolutionary economic and social changes and all the victories of the people's state power.

The directives of the 9th Congress of the Party put forward new tasks for the state organs, orientating them to use various forms to secure the participation of the broad masses of working people in governing the country, in thrashing out and solving the problems, in adopting decisions and in controlling application of them.

The basic Marxist-Leninist principle of the building and activity of our state, i.e. democratic centralism, is sanctioned also in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The spirit of this principle combines proletarian centralism with initiative and self-activity of the local organs and the working masses.

The 9th Congress of the Party once more pointed out the need for the correct understanding and application of democratic centralism in the running of the state affairs and the management of the socialist economy. This directive implies that state discipline should be further strengthened, that the lower organs should obey and carry out orders, instructions and other juridical acts from the superior organs to the letter. Without this obedience and subordination the path would be left open to manifestations of liberalism, to confusion and anarchy, which are anti-socialist phenomena alien to and irreconcilable with the principle of democratic centralism and the nature of our people's state power.

The implementation of democratic centralism also implies the subordination and rendering of account by the executive and law-enforcing organs to the representative organs, which leads to the further strengthening of the people's state power.

The application of the principle of democratic centralism is directly connected with the enhancement of the sense of duty and responsibility, with demanding of account and check-up on the carrying out of duties and tasks by each organ and by each individual working in the state apparatus.

The Congress emphasized the need of strengthening the creative initiative and self-activity of the local organs, and especially of the people's councils, which leads to the extension and deepening of our socialist democracy and guarantees the accomplishment of the tasks envisaged under the 8th Five-year Plan.

The application in practice of the directive of the 9th Congress of the Party about the enhancement of the creative initiative and self-activity of the local organs of the state and the administrations, and the initiative of the working masses, is achieved by waging of the class struggle against concepts of tutelage, the concept that only the central organs of the state administration «are competent», and against the concepts of waiting for everything to come ready-made from above, in order to escape responsibility, etc.

The application of the socialist laws is one of the main constitutional principles of the building and activity of the state organs. Speaking about this problem at the 9th Congress of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, among other things: «The correct application of our laws, rigorous respect for the interests of the state and the rights of citizens, the active participation of the masses in governing the country, safeguard and further develop our socialist democracy.»<sup>2</sup>

Respect for the socialist laws in the state apparatus is expressed in different forms:

First, it is required that all the state organs and all the working people of the state apparatus, independently of the post and the responsibility they have, must exercise their activity

within the letter of the Constitution, of the laws and articles, within the powers they have.

Second, that the acts adopted by state organs should be in conformity with the Constitution and the laws in force, and with the juridical acts of the supreme organs.

Third, that the state organs should respect the legitimate rights and interests of citizens, should give a correct and timely solution to the citizens' demands and complaints, according to the spirit of the law in force. The 9th Congress of the Party pointed out that the laws, regulations and instructions can be applied properly when the line of the Party is known thoroughly, when every problem is judged profoundly from the political and ideological standpoint, when check-up and demanding of account are strengthened.

Failure to respect the laws, under whatever pretext, is harmful and does not serve the interests of the Homeland, the people and socialism.

Application of the law to the letter requires, as a first condition, that the work in the organs of people's state power should be raised to a higher level, so that the people working in the state apparatus, as well as the broad working masses, are acquainted with the laws. The question is raised that the work for the popularization of the laws should be more effective and that the laws should be applied to the letter by everyone and everywhere.

The competences of each organ of our socialist state are defined in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism. The essence of the competences consists in the duty of each organ and each individual working in the state apparatus and in social organs, as well as in the responsibility towards competences.

The 9th Congress dwelt in particular on the question of competences and especially in the following main directions:

The state organs of all links must be up to the respective competences given to them.

Each organ should apply its own competences in conformity with the Constitution and with the laws and articles in force.

The cases in which the higher councils take over the competences of the lower councils should be avoided, and further more, it is impermissible that the executive organs of the economic organizations should take over the competences of the people's councils.

It is necessary that the power of the people's councils of villages should be strengthened, and the competences they have should not be taken over or violated by the united people's council.

The initiative of the people's council in the implementation of its competences, which are given to it by law, for the timely solution of accomplishment of the important tasks in the political-administrative field as regards the economy, culture, education, health service, communal services, the defence of the Homeland, etc., enhances the sense of responsibility of the councils and their members.

The people's councils have broad competences in all fields of life. They deal with fundamental problems, within their competences, and first of all with the problems of the development and strengthening of the economy, the accomplishment of the plans, the distribution of the material blessings, and so on.

On the basis of a critical analysis of the negative experience of the former socialist countries and on the basis of the summing up of the positive experience of the socialist construction of our country, the Party of Labour has shown with scientific argument the causes of the birth of bureaucracy and liberalism and the danger they pose to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has shown the need for the struggle against them.

At the 9th Congress of the Party stress was laid once again on the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy is waged over a long period, because the roots of bureaucracy are deep, that it is linked with the existence of the state and its administration. That is why the Party fights, in the first place, against the concepts which foster bureaucracy in the state apparatus. At the same time it wages a principled and continuous struggle against liberal influences, as manifestations of the class struggle.

The struggle against manifestations of

bureaucracy and liberalism and for a revolutionary method and style of work in the organs of the people's state power is broad and many-sided.

The perfecting of the method and style of work in the state organs requires the introduction on a broad scale of the method of actions, the continuous intensification of live contacts between cadres and specialists, on the one hand, and the broad working masses, on the other, the strengthening of their militant spirit in the accomplishment of their tasks.

The realization of the economic-organizational function of our socialist state, the accomplishment of the major tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan in industry, agriculture, livestock-farming and in other sectors, requires that all the organs of state power should raise the scientific management of the economy, the direction of culture to a higher level, because this is the way to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The 9th Congress of the Party pointed out that at the present time the strengthening of state control over the whole pyramid of state organs, the increase of the effectiveness of state control, assume special importance.

The adoption of the law on the creation of the State Control Commission at the first session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly on 21 February 1987 is an important

measure for the application of the directives of the 9th Congress of the Party.

Albania's experience shows that the strengthening of the people's state power and the defence of the victories of the people's revolution cannot be made secure without crushing the resistance of the remnants of overthrown classes, without smashing and defeating the activity of the internal and external enemies and any other obnoxious activity.

The state has its special organs which see to the implementation of this important function of our socialist state: the courts of justice, the investigation service, the state attorney's office, and the organs of Internal Affairs. The 9th Congress of the Party put forward important major tasks for these organs for the application of the laws, for the organization and pursuance of the policy of preventive struggle against crime and penal acts, of condemning the enemies of the people's state power and those who embezzle, damage and wreck the socialist property and the property of citizens, and for the defence of the interests of the state and society, as well as for the defence of the rights of citizens.

One of the main functions of our socialist state has been and remains that of the defence of our country against any possible foreign aggression. The continuous strengthening of the people's state power cannot be

conceived and guaranteed without defending full national independence, freedom and sovereignty.

Our socialist state is an independent, free and sovereign state, the territory of the PSR of Albania is inalienable and the stationing of foreign military bases and forces in it is prohibited. Under the Constitutions no one has the right to sign or accept the capitulation or the invasion of the country. Any such act is treason to the Homeland and is condemned by the Penal Code. Thereby, it emerges that the tasks set by the 9th Congress of the Party for the strengthening of the defence of the country are, at the same time, tasks for the strengthening of the people's state power.

The directives of the 9th Congress of the Party and the report delivered by Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Congress, his speech with the electors of the no. 210 constituency of Tirana, and his speech at the meeting of the Party activists and the cadres of ministries and other central institutions, are a great programme of work and struggle for the continuous strengthening of the people's state power under the undivided leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

1 *Ramiz Alia, Report to the 9th Congress of the PLA, p. 8, Eng. edn.*  
2 *Idem, p. 94.*



# EDUCATIONAL POLICY WHICH RESPONDS TO THE NEED OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

*by Prof. SKËNDER GJINUSHI*

**IN THE TRANSFORMATIONS THAT ARE BEING MADE IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, ESPECIALLY IN THE LAST DECADE, THERE ARE MANY VALUABLE PRACTICES SUCH AS THOSE WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH THE SCIENTIFIC AND PEDAGOGICAL ASPECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION, THE WAYS OF ITS CEASELESS SCIENTIFIC AND PEDAGOGICAL MODERNIZATION, THE WAYS AND METHODS TO LEARN MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BETTER, ESPECIALLY THEIR BASES.**

**STEREOTYPED SOLUTIONS WHICH MECHANICALLY APPLY THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SCHOOL OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS HURRY IN THE CONCEPTION OF PRESENT-DAY TASKS, LEAD TO LIMITATIONS IN THE ACQUISITION OF ADVANCED WORLD EXPERIENCE. HENCE, ONE MUST HAVE A BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF THESE PRACTICES AND APPLY THEM IN A CREATIVE MANNER, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WHOLE EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.**

Considering the development of higher education vital for the advance of the country, only four years after Liberation, when our country was engaged in a great struggle with chronic mass illiteracy which involved over 80 per cent of the population, our state gave full support to its development. The 45 year-long road we have traversed since the establishment of the people's power is characterized by efforts to achieve a rapid development of education base on a clear policy. This policy has enabled us to have today a complete system of higher schools, with a well-crystallized content and physiognomy which satisfactorily respond to our socio-economic development, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The aim of our whole educational policy, the higher education included, is the preparation of the new generation not merely as able specialists, but also as cadres devoted to the people and respectful of the world progressive culture and the achievements of other peoples.

*SKËNDER GJINUSHI — Minister of Education*

That is why our school programs give an important place to social sciences and general culture, having always the aim of harmonizing them with professional culture. As a rule they occupy 40 per cent of all teaching programs.

A constant concern of our educational policy is and remains the ceaseless democratization of the higher education at all levels, which is clearly expressed in equal rights in the field of education, the national minorities included, without any social or economic discrimination, the same for boys as for girls (their ratio today is almost 1:1). Education is totally subventioned by the state, free of charge and, in many cases, with special bursaries, with appropriate conditions of board and lodging guaranteed to all students, both full-time and part-time, so as to enable the workers of production to follow courses, etc. The system of correspondence courses which has been working since the institution of higher schools comprises about 20 per cent of all students.

The problems of the democratization

of the higher school find their clear expression also in the sound and correct relations, which have constantly kept improving, between teachers and students. Students are free to express their rational opinions at scientific councils and chair meetings where they are represented by their own comrades, at separate and joint meetings devoted to the problems of the development of the higher schools, in their periodical organs and scientific associations, etc. The opinion of the students is considered also in the policy of assignment of graduates and admission of students to higher courses.

A component part of our policy in higher education is the important principle of its planned development in accordance with the requirements of the economy, the demographic growth and the aim of narrowing down educational and cultural distinctions among different districts and zones, especially between the city and country. Here new possibilities are being created through the extension of medium education, which at present comprises 70 per cent of the students who complete the compulsory 8-year schooling (as against 56.5 per cent in 1985). In a near future it will cover all the villages, too, as it does now the towns. Planning takes account of the harmonious development of sciences, with priorities dictated by their prospects of development. As a result of this policy our higher school has trained about 70,000 cadres of 68 different profiles, and all of them are guaranteed their jobs according to their specialization and the needs of the country. Priority has been given to the training of cadres in the more important fields of the economy

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*The aim of our whole educational policy, the higher education included, is the preparation of the new generation not merely as able specialists, but also as cadres devoted to the people and respectful of the world progressive culture and the achievements of other peoples.*

and health service, as well as education, because their advance underlies the all-round advance of the country. The dynamics of growth in the training of higher cadres may be summarized in the following examples: before Liberation our country had only 380 higher cadres, all trained outside the country, while today about 4,000 higher cadres are trained yearly in our country; the total number of higher cadres is 20 times that of 1960; today we have a doctor per 740 inhabitants, as against 3,623 in 1930; one agronomer per 170 ha of land, etc. In the coming five-year period these indices will be improved further.

The students admitted to the higher schools on the basis of relative documents and, in the arts, architecture, music and physical culture, also on the basis of special competitions, come mainly from the middle school of general education and, as a rule, attend courses of the same profile. Priority is given to children of workers and peasants who account for about 70 per cent of all students.

In order to train teachers and doctors for the remote mountain zones, one-year courses are organized for some students of the existing agricultural schools in some remote villages so as to enable them to be admitted to the relative faculties. Soon students will be admitted to the higher school according to a well-thought mark average.

In accordance with the conditions of the country, in which there is no great need for some profiles, as well as with the present trend of sciences towards integration, we have avoided too narrow profilizing in the building of our higher school. For this purpose

we have post university courses extending from one to 3 years. This system already includes 82 courses and their number is increasing. These courses are divided into three main categories; courses for further specialization in narrower profiles like, for example, the training of pediatricians, obstetricians, etc.; courses for the specialization of cadres in new profiles which do not exist in our higher school; and post-university courses for the further qualification of higher cadres such as university teachers for various branches of knowledge.

Along with them, the higher school also carries out post-university qualification of two kinds: part-time and full-time which ends with the awarding of degrees «candidate of sciences» and «doctor of sciences». As a component part of our educational system, post-university qualification is being organized ever better, with regular programs and courses. Our higher school is playing an important role in the organization of courses of some months for the training of various categories of production workers. In cooperation with the research institutes of the country, it draws out plans, programs and documentation for these courses and supplies them with the teaching staff.

These courses are undergoing constant extension, which is evidence of the great concern of the people's power in the education of the adult population in our country.

In the policy of the inner development of our higher education we keep well in mind the fact that the school is a cell of vital importance in our whole socio-economic reality and in permanent communication with it.

So, it pays particular attention to the implementation of the principle of linking the school with life, and of forming students through combining teaching with production work and all-round physical and military training.

We conceive the connection of the school with production in its two fundamental aspects: the degree it enables the students to adopt themselves to the requirements of production as soon as they emerge into life, and the degree to which the school, as a powerful intellectual centre, influences on and helps the development of production and the introduction of new technologies into it.

The extensive development of the higher education have always been seen in close connection with a particular scientific and pedagogical policy which promotes its intensive developments, which have been constant and systematic, being also a result of the work of our higher education, and its scientific and pedagogical thought and activity. As to extension and depth, what was realized in 1982 was tantamount to an education reform involving the scientific and pedagogical modernization of our educational system at all its levels. In higher education, all structures, profiles and destinations, attendance and terms were examined, plans and teaching programs were reviewed in their essence; many new sciences began to be taught, the ratio between general culture and professional culture, and between theoretical and practical habilitation was improve; all texts were rewritten from the beginning, etc. On the basis of the experience gained in these years, post-university specialization started at the higher school

and the scientific qualification of the teaching staff of the higher school was set on sounder bases. Of course, this process will go on in the future. Cooperation with many teaching and scientific institutions, and cultural and scientific relations with many countries, meetings with prominent personalities of science and education, active participation in big international events of science and education, attendance of university and post-university courses in many countries, intensive exchanges of books and periodicals, etc., give us ever greater possibilities to carry this process further ahead. Above all, it is promoted by the economic and cultural development of the country itself.

Closely connected with all these factors, the fundamental problem of our higher education remains the further raising of its qualitative level as a whole, which calls for organization as scientific as possible of teachings and, as a consequence, opti-

mal selection of scientific subjects, both in structure and time, accompanied with active methods of teaching which make for ever higher effectiveness and productivity, stimulate creative learning and critical assimilation, encourage the development of practical abilities and promote scientific research, etc., while at the same time combating mechanical and merely reproductive learning. All these problems, despite the special measures that have been taken in recent times, remain the main objective of our work of study and research.

The problems of the further development of pedagogical thought and work at the higher school, which are closely connected with its present developments, are the constant concern of the chairs of the higher school, especially those having to do with the pedagogics applied in the whole teaching and educational process and the textbooks compiled by our specialists, the methods of teaching and

education and the scientific and pedagogical coherence of the medium and higher education, in which important problems remain still to be solved.

We are of the opinion that the teacher of the higher school can resolve all these problems only if he is deeply involved both in scientific research in the field of science he represents, in the first place, and in scientific research aimed at coping with the important problems the development of the country is faced with, without neglecting theoretical scientific research, either. That is why the scientific research activity in the higher school is finding ever new spaces and its chairs are struggling in the forefront of national scientific thinking. Important steps are being taken in the process for a more complete integration of teaching, science and production, with great effect for each of them.

# PRESERVATION AND ENRICHMENT OF PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL TRADITIONS

*by Prof. ZIJA XHOLI*

*In their cultural, moral, patriotic and artistic tradition, in their outstanding men, thinkers like Sami Frashëri, or poets like Naim Frashëri, the heroes who fought for the development of the Albanian language and Albania's freedom, our people and youth find fresh strength and inspiration to overcome any difficulty on the glorious road of freedom and national independence, and all-round economic, political and cultural progress.*

**THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WHICH TRIUMPHED IN OUR COUNTRY ALMOST HALF A CENTURY AGO WAS THE PRELUDE TO A RADICAL CHANGE IN THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FUTURE. AS A RADICAL CHANGE IT WAS LINKED WITH MANY AND IMPORTANT CONDITIONS, IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE RE-EDUCATION AND FORMATION OF THE PEOPLE WITH A NEW TRULY SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK AND WITH A NEW HIGHER ETHIC, THE COMMUNIST MORALITY. IT IS KNOWN NOW THAT THE FORMATION OF PEOPLE IS NOT AN EASY PROCESS, NOR IS IT A PROCESS WHICH DEVELOPS SPONTANEOUSLY OR BY AN ORDER OR DECREE FROM ABOVE. IT IS THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF THE LIFE EXPERIENCE OF THE PEOPLE, OF THEIR SOCIAL PRACTICE, ON ONE HAND, AND KNOWLEDGE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE, ON THE OTHER.**

The Party and the people had already chosen the culture that would underlie the new world outlook and ethic. It was to be the culture created and proclaimed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But for it to become the blood of the people and the flesh of their flesh it had to be assimilated and adapted to their conditions, situations and traditions, in a word, work had to be done from

the beginning, a really creative work. This broad, deep-going and all-round work for years on end was done by the Party of Labour of Albania which knew how to give the people the teachings and knowledge they needed and ensure them a real treasury of science and culture. In creating a new culture, it did not neglect the traditions with which our people were educated in the course of centuries,

it knew how to assimilate and assess in a Marxist and dialectical manner the culture of the people, a culture created, assembled and handed over from generation to generation, and to integrate it into the communist education and re-education of the people.

The Party has discovered and argued the undeniable values of the progressive traditions of popular culture, both the reflex and folkloric culture, and their positive influence on the creation of the new socialist culture, step by step, consistently, and in accordance with the concrete historical situations from the fiery years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War to the years of socialist construction, at such historic plenums as that of the year 1973 and other forums. The words of our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha,

in his historic address to the people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, sound like a sacred behest. There, among other things, he highly values the ancient and rich culture of our people and stresses its historical and actual value. «...Your magnificent history, you heroic people,» we read in the address, «is written in blood and sweat and has been sung by yourselves generation after generation. Your songs truthfully express your great history, they sing to your bravery, loyalty and generosity, to your life in its harmonious development, and to your customs and costumes.

«So, you have sung to yourselves, your blood, your perpetuity. These songs inspired the generations one after the other, armed them with the love of Homeland and freedom, told them about the courage, determination and resoluteness of their grandfathers, told them that only with blood and toil could freedom, honour, the language, customs and culture be protected.»

The rich culture that has been created now in our country has proved how correct and progressive the teachings and orientations of the Party were, and how much they responded to the requirements for the creation of the new popular and socialist culture. During these forty-five years, through the work and strenuous efforts of individuals and whole institutions a whole cultural treasury was drawn out of the oblivion to which the past reactionary regimes had relegated it, was freed of the weeds that had overgrown it and were stifling it so as to make up now, according to a Comrade Enver's expression, a garden blossoming with all sort of flowers, in which there is both the rich art of folklore and the reflex culture created by the progressive thinkers of the past. Tradition and the richness of the progressive culture of the past have made more active and

more lively the whole socialist culture created in our country, have given and continue to give the people greater confidence in themselves, have raised the consciousness of their national identity and their historical destiny to a new and higher degree.

Assessment and utilization of the cultural legacy of the people and their progressive traditions, this memory of the nation and its ever living spirit, is not a problem which has been overcome, a question of which there is nothing more to say and nothing more to do about. On the contrary, the question of the discovery, assessment and utilization of progressive traditions remains always actual and of practical value. This truth was emphasized once again by the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA which pointed out that «important is not only a correct theoretical understanding of the practical expression in creative values». The Albanian leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, reminded us at this Plenum of the important truth that «assessment of the national and world cultural legacy is a key problem, because it determines both the starting basis and the roads of the further development of culture.» Seen from this angle, as the starting basis of culture and a condition for its further development, the national cultural legacy calls for a correct best possible utilization of it in all fields and in all directions.

Along with this, with all the colossal work carried out for the discovery and promotion of the cultural values of the past, they are so rich, being the product of such a long history as that of our people, that much work remains still to be done both in the field of their discovery and that of their evaluation and generalization.

The fields of the cultural legacy in which further studies and research should be carried out, are many. One of them, indeed one of the more important, is that of the ideology of the

Albanian National Renaissance, of its major and minor problems.

Just as about all the major problems of our culture, past and present, the Party has given ideas and orientations which have opened up new horizons for the study of the National Renaissance as a liberation movement and a fact of culture. In his works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has singled out the problem of the National Renaissance, shown its distinguishing characteristics, and pointed out its magnificence and value for the nation, in general, and its culture, in particular. Every time we recall the National Renaissance and talk and write about it, we must consider his assessment: «The epoch of the National Renaissance is a democratic revolutionary epoch of major importance in the history and literature of our people, it is a brilliant epoch led by the illuminist ideas of our outstanding men of this period which has with full right been called the rebirth of the nation, its emergence from the mediaeval feudal and imperialist darkness into the light, to the uprising and struggle for freedom, independence, democracy, light and education.»

The men of our Renaissance gave the people light, teaching, and inspiration in the hard and truly tragic years of their struggles for self-defence, freedom and national independence. The works of our Renaissance men preserve their charge of light, knowledge and inspiration to our days. The 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA stressed that culture is not meant only to teach the people, but also to form them, that is, to educate them into creative and active, optimistic and courageous, patriotic and revolutionary people who stop before no obstacle and know how to overcome any difficulty in their efforts to make their life and that of the whole nation richer, more beautiful and more humane. The people and the Party will find great help in the realization of this important and



complex task also in the ideas and teachings of the outstanding men of our Renaissance. A fine illustration of the educative charge of the work of the men of our Renaissance is their value and role in the education of people in the spirit of popular socialist patriotism, which the 9th Congress of the Party has valued as «a great motor force of society». In studying the ideology of the National Renaissance one can easily single out one of its main themes, that of the Homeland, Albania, and the place it occupies in the life of the Albanians. The men of our Renaissance talked about the Homeland at the most advanced level of poetry and thought of all times. To them, just as to all progressive writers which have dealt with this problem, the Homeland is above everything, it is what man has dearest, dearer than father and mother, son and daughter, friends and relatives, indeed dearer than life itself. «Dearer than father and mother,» Naim Frashëri writes, «dearer than son and daughter, dearer than friends and relatives and everything..., is the Homeland.»<sup>1</sup>

In the ideology of our National Renaissance love of Homeland is not a sentimental and platonic love, a love which **makes you suffer**, which rejoices you when things go well or fills you with sorrow when things go badly, and nothing more, but an active and combative love, a serious love full of responsibility, a love which calls for work and struggle up to the sacrifice of one's life for the salvation of the Homeland and its elevation. The Albanian's whole sense of life and its greatest beauty lie in his efforts of every hour and every day for the good of the Homeland. The first and most important advice Naim, this educator of the minds and hearts of the Albanians of the time, this great teacher of our people at their key moments, gives the Albanians is to love the Homeland, and this love is meant as a series of ef-

forts, a struggle for the salvation of the Homeland, and for the illumination and education of its people. Being fully consistent, Naim carries the patriotic idea to the end.

When we try and struggle to create as correct a concept as possible of socialist patriotism and to educate the youth and the people in its spirit, we are bound to address ourselves to these ideas and teachings of Naim's and other outstanding men of our Renaissance, and to make them a component part of our culture and formation.

Or let us take their remarkable illuminism, with both its values and limitations. Many of its ideas and arguments have retained their validity to this day. In our culture there are not more powerful arguments than those of Sami Frashëri's about the importance and value of the light of knowledge, nor there are more fiery and pathetic calls than those of Naim's. Our century, Naim wrote in his poetry, is the century of light, and he dreamed of all the Albanians, young and old, men and women, taking to the road of education and knowledge in the Albanian language. It is known now what lay at the foundation of these arguments and stands, and what impelled the men of our Renaissance to dream and struggle in this direction. The cultural dimension in that time played a powerful role, if not the decisive one. The national identity, the defence of the essential rights of the people against the claims of the neighbouring chauvinists and, together with it, the ardent desire to make Albania a rich and advanced country were linked with it.

The cultural dimension has emerged foremost today, too, but in the name of tasks and objectives other than those of the National Renaissance. Intelligence, knowledge and the need for establishing all activities on scientific bases has become today one of the factors which our society tries

to master as well as possible in order to overcome the difficulties on the road to progress, and to realize the superiorities of socialism. In the efforts to create among the youth and the working people the awareness of the importance of the cultural factor, Sami's arguments and Naim's calls for light and knowledge are just as actual and valuable as they were a hundred years ago, just as the concept of culture as matter of not only individual but also profoundly social and patriotic importance.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has highly valued this fine tradition of our people and their social and patriotic assessment of literature, and he rightly recommends to preserve and fully utilize it also in the present efforts for the assimilation of knowledge and science, advanced technique and technology. «Our people's concern and sacrifices,» he points out, «were not prompted by the common motives and interests of parents wanting the cultural and professional advance of their sons and their progress in life. They also were an expression of the ardent patriotism and the great desire of the Albanian people to see their country advanced and cultured, to see Albania ranking among civilized nations, to make its name known in the world not only because of the struggles and bravery of its sons and daughters, but also because of their culture and knowledge.»

During the years after Liberation much has been done for the assessment and promotion of the culture of the National Renaissance, but much remains still to be done in many directions. The works of the outstanding men of our National Renaissance have been found and published, but there remain many other works, especially those written in foreign languages, which must be translated and published, as is the case with many works of Sami, Hasan Tahsin and some others.

The theme of the cultural legacy of

the people, in general, and that of the National Renaissance in particular remains always actual and always fruitful in the efforts of the Party for the further enrichment of culture and the patriotic education and civic formation of the youth and the masses of the working people. The cultural legacy of the people and its outstanding represen-

tatives in the course of centuries has to do with the very existence of the nation, its deeper roots, and its creative talent and power. In their cultural, moral, patriotic and artistic tradition, in their outstanding men, thinkers like Sami Frashëri, or poets like Naim Frashëri, the heroes who fought for the development of the Albanian language and Albania's

freedom, our people and youth find fresh strength and inspiration to overcome any difficulty on the glorious road of freedom and national independence, and all-round economic, political and cultural progress.

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1 Naim Frashëri, *Teachings*, Tirana 1942, pp. 52-53.

# THE AFFIRMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE UNIVERSITY IN ALBANIA *by JORGO BULO*

*The spiritual culture of the Albanian people was given its unitarian character and national originality by the content of their life and the language which expressed it, as well as the popular substrate on which it developed.*

**IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PECULIARITIES OF ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, EVERY PEOPLE HAS FOUND THE ROAD FOR THE AFFIRMATION OF ITS NATIONAL IDENTITY EXPRESSED THROUGH THE COMBINATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION WITH THE EFFORTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ITS TRADITIONS AND ETHNIC FEATURES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS NATIONAL CULTURE.**

In particular circumstances, like those which gave its physiognomy to the epoch of the national movement of the Albanians, which extends in time from the whole second half of the 19th century to the first decade of our century, the cultural factor and the development of educational institutions assumed first-rate importance. Their role was decisive in the process of the formation of the national consciousness of the Albanians, the creation of their independent state and the affirmation of their right to have their place among the other free and civilized nations. However, while factors and trends of the inner socio-economic and cultural development led to the fulfilment of the vital aspiration of the Albanians to the formation of an independent national state on the basis of the community of the economic and social life, of the ethnic and language community and the historically inherited territorial unity, external factors operated against this natural process.

The century of national movements in the Balkans found the Albanians as an already formed national entity, with a clearly expressed ethnic and

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cultural individuality formed through a long historical process in the struggle to emerge before the world as a free and independent nation.

This line of natural development came up against some factors which were specific for the Albanian people as compared with the other Balkan peoples. In the first place, they had to remain for a longer period within the bounds of the ottoman Empire, which had «radically simplified geography and ethnography» (K. Marx), denied the Albanians the right of using their national language in the field of education, prohibited the opening of national schools and kept the country in profound ignorance and backwardness.

On the other hand, the efforts of the Albanian people to win their national independence came up against the political interests of the Great Powers and the Balkan monarchies. The Albanians' ideals of progress, and national and spiritual emancipation were confronted with a host of traditional misconceptions about the Albanians going as far back as the Middle Ages, a complex of imperialist and chauvinist motives which assumed even greater virulence in the years of the Eastern Crisis and afterwards, when

the bourgeoisie of the Balkan monarchies had given up the democratic and liberation ideals which inspired its national revolutions; now it tried to strengthen and extend its own states at the expense of other peoples, in this case, the Albanians, who, because of known historical circumstances, would achieve the creation of their independent national state later than the others.

All these circumstances gave the struggle of the Albanians for the affirmation of their national identity a special content and made their demand for the development of their national culture and education a categorical imperative of the time.

Only in this historical and cultural context can we understand the process of the formation of the culture of the National Renaissance, the roads and peculiarities of the building of the national educational system and the development of science and knowledge which led to the project for a national university in Albania. This aspiration was expressly formulated in the programme of the national movement of the Albanians, in the socio-political treatise «Albania — What It Has Been, What It Is and What It Will Be» (1899), the work of the greatest ideologist of the Albanian National Renaissance, Sami Frashëri.

There is no doubt that all the phenomena of the superstructure and the cultural and educational program of the Renaissance had not a merely illuminist content; they were connec-

ted with and determined, in the first place, by new political and socio-economic factors, the development of capitalist relations in Albania in the second half of the 19th century. The interests of the Albanian new bourgeois class called for changes at the base which would respond to the deep-going changes at the superstructure, encourage the development of new relations and support the efforts for the constitution of a unified national state as the indispensable condition of the existence of the national bourgeoisie.

Hence, the idea of the creation of the Albanian university emerged on the terrain of the struggle for the independent material and spiritual development of Albanian society and was not a dream out of the historical reality. This idea, which expressed the need for the affirmation of the nation in all fields, although it was not realized in the course of the National Renaissance, which, as an historical epoch, ends with the proclamation of National Independence in 1912, had a real basis in the internal economic and cultural development, and the development of scientific and pedagogical thinking and the educational system itself during this epoch.

The founding of the «Society of Printing with Albanian Letters» (1879), which played the role of a central institution in the development of national culture and education, the opening a decade later of the first Albanian national school at Korça (1887), and, then, the founding of the Normal School (1909), which trained teachers for the educational network of the country, the formation of a national literature and the efforts for the unification of the national literary language, literary, scientific, folkloric and didactic publications, the cultivation of national sciences, especially philological and historical studies, the development of the press, etc., were not only factors for the affirmation of the national, ethnic and cultural individuality of the Albanians, but also premises for the realization of the project of an Albanian university.

To this we must also add the fact that the Albanian national movement created its own intelligentsia which, although it lived and worked not only

in Albania, but also in other countries, although it was trained at foreign universities or schools of the type of the «Zosimea» gymnasium of Ioanina, at which it underwent its classical formation and got acquainted with world culture, united on a single political and cultural front and put its intellectual energies in the service of the national cause. Among the outstanding personalities of the Albanian intelligentsia of the National Renaissance, we shall mention only Sami Frashëri, chairman of the «Society of Printing with Albanian Letters», scientist and encyclopaedist and one of the greatest erudites of the Ottoman Empire, Hasan Tahsin, member of that patriotic society, who had finished higher studies in France, philosopher, scientist and the first rector of the University of Constantinople, Naim Frashëri, the national poet of the Albanians, Kostandin Kristoforidhi, albanologist and lexicographer, Andon Z. Çajupi, who had obtained his graduation as doctor in law in Switzerland, Jeronim de Rada, philologist and poet, the soul of the patriotic movement of the Albanians of Italy, Ndre Mjeda, poet and patriot who had been graduated in philosophy and theology in Italy and read lectures in logics and metaphysics at the Gregorian University of Rome, Aleksandër Xhuvani and Sotir Peçi who had been graduated at the University of Athens, the former an outstanding linguist and the latter a publicist and teacher, Theofan S. Noli, graduate of the Harvard University of Boston (USA), statesman, poet, historian, musicologist, polyglot translator, and many others.

In the efforts of this pleiad of intellectuals for the affirmation of the national individuality of the Albanians also figures the cultivation of the Albanian language as a science, which had aroused the interests of well-known scientists such as F. Bopp, F. Miklosich, G. Meyer, J. G. Hahn, H. Pedersen and others.

The ideologists of the Albanian National Renaissance were realistic about the assessment of the positive and negative factors which determined the historical course of the movement for national liberation. On the one hand, they tried to eliminate or tone down the influence of diverging factors

which impeded the process of the unification of the nation and the affirmation of its identity, while, on the other hand, they backed up and exploited the converging positive factors in the processes of the political and spiritual emancipation of Albanian society. As a result, the movement and culture of the Albanian Renaissance assumed a progressive content, and a liberation, illuminist and democratic character.

A specific problem for the national and educational movement in Albania was its confrontation with a religious reality different from that of the other Balkan peoples. While for the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians and Rumanians their common Christian religion promoted their national unity in the struggle to break away from the Islamic Empire of the Sultans, religion for the Albanians, although it had no deep roots in their consciousness, objectively was a divisive factor for the very fact that they belonged to three different religions — Moslem, Roman-Catholic and Greek-Orthodox, which were expressions of opposite political and cultural influences, all alien to the Albanians, even in language and liturgy. To this factor the ideologists of the National Renaissance opposed the idea of national unity above all religions, an idea expressed in the lapidary verse of Pashko Vasa's, «the Albanians' religion is Albanianism». In this manner, the men of our National Renaissance gave culture and the school an Albanian national spirit, a secular character and a new content, liberating it from the mould of religion and Mediaeval scholasticism and channelling it towards illuminist thought, rational knowledge and the values of world civilization.

Albanian culture had followed a long and difficult road in order to preserve the continuity of the local tradition and to achieve a fully unified national physiognomy, which it did in the course of the National Renaissance. The teaching of the Albanian at school had come up against the presence of foreign schools and the universal cultures of states and churches within whose jurisdiction the Albanians were included in the course of their history. Proceeding from this centuries-old experience, the ideolo-

gists of the National Renaissance considered the Albanian language an expression of national identity and unity. The Albanian became the language of the national literature, publications and school, and attempts were made to make it the language of liturgy, too. This was the continuation of a very early tradition, when, under the influence of the Protestant Reformation, and wanting to free the Albanian from the noose of the Latin in catholic liturgy, the priest Gjon Buzuku translated a Missel in Albanian (1555). This tradition was continued to a much larger extent and with a higher conception of policy and language by K. Kristoforidhi and F. Noli, who gave the Albanian Orthodox Church its Albanian liturgy.

The spiritual culture of the Albanian people was given its unitarian character and national originality by the content of their life and the language which expressed it, as well as the popular substrate on which it developed. The concept of the popular basis of the national culture which permeates the whole cultural program of the National Renaissance was enlivened in the 19th century also under the influence of the ideas of Romanticism which, for the peoples of the Balkans, flowed into the mainstream of their national movements. The development of Albanian folkloristic, ethnologic and ethnographic studies and the many publications in these fields during the National Renaissance, were another manifestation of the struggle of the Albanians for the affirmation of their national identity.

Within the romantic concept and in accordance with the mission of culture and the school for the strengthening of the patriotic consciousness, scientific knowledge of historical traditions and their reflection in artistic creativeness represented the fundamental points of the cultural and educational program of the Alba-

nian National Renaissance. The peculiarities of the spiritual constitution and historical development of the Albanian people, reflected in the field of culture, gave it the stamp of originality among the cultures of other peoples with which the Albanians had come into contact.

A feature of the cultural and educational development in Albania during the National Renaissance was the fact that while struggling for the creation of a national culture and school, the ideologists of the National Renaissance had an open mind and accepted the integration into this development of those positive elements of other cultures and educational systems of other countries which conformed with the progressive trends of political and intellectual emancipation of their people. With this peculiarity is linked the internationalist spirit which permeates the whole Albanian thought and culture of the time.

This spirit which stems from the liberation and anti-imperialist content of the national movement of the Albanians had deep historical roots. In the course of their history, the Albanians had never manifested expansionist and chauvinist tendencies, on the contrary there was always a spirit of sacrifice and solidarity in their relations with other nations. Worth mentioning is the fact that some ideologists and leaders of the Albanian National Renaissance had fought on the barricades of the liberation revolutions in Europe, such as the first ideologist of this movement, Naum Veqilharxhi, who took an active part in the Rumanian revolution of 1821, and the poet of the Albanian League of Prizren (1878-1881), Pashko Vasa, who fought for the independence and national unity of Italy in the years 1848-49.

An artistic evidence of this internationalist spirit which imbued the culture of the Albanian National Renaissance was the poem *The Genuine De-*

*sire of the Albanians* (1886), written by Naim Frashëri, the greatest national poet of the Albanians. Written in Greek, one of the oldest languages of culture, this work was at the same time a reply to the arrogance of the Great Powers and a message of friendship to the conscience of the neighbouring peoples, in the first place, the Greek people, with which the Albanian people lived as neighbours for centuries, shed their blood together in the struggle against the Ottoman rule and had common interests in carrying the processes of national emancipation and independent development, in which these two ancient peoples of the Balkans were involved in that time, through to the end.

The essence of this message is expressed in the verses:

*With the Slavs and Greeks, with all  
our neighbours,  
We want to live in permanent  
harmony, like brothers,  
Provided the right of each is  
always respected.*

All these features of the ideology and culture of the Albanian national Renaissance found their expression also in the educational system, in the content and programs of schools of all degrees, in the whole process of the formation of the national school as a democratic, secular and internationalist school. The highest point of this development was reached immediately after the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania (1944) with the establishment of a network of institutes of higher education in the different regions of the country and the founding of the University of Tirana and the Academy of Sciences. The setting up of these higher institutions was based on profound historical inspiration and responded to the requirements and prospects of the all-round advance of present-day Albanian society.



# THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONTAMINATION IN ALBANIA AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

*by dr. ELMAZ ELTARI*

*The average life expectancy of the population of our country has increased to about 72 years, and the Albanian population has among the highest birth-rates. The population living within the state borders of the PSR of Albania is about 4 million inhabitants, it is a healthy population capable of enjoying the happy life.*

The liberation of the country from nazi-fascism and from the social oppression in 1944 found Albania in a state of ruin and backwardness, with 85 per cent of the population illiterate. In this period Albania had only 100 physicians. In these conditions many epidemic and infectious diseases with a high mortality, such as tuberculosis, malaria, lues, trachoma, brucellosis, abdominal typhus, diphtheria, tetanus, measles, poliomyelitis, etc., found suitable breeding ground and spread like wildfire.

After Liberation, under the solicitude of the Party and the people's state power, a series of radical social measures of an economic, educational-cultural and health character began to be implemented. In this framework the necessary laws and ordinances were adopted and the respective anti-epidemic and anti-epizootical regulations were drafted. Thus, the possibility was created for putting in practice the existing knowledge of the medical science. The prohibition by law of prostitution and, what is more important, the liquidation of the social basis which kept it alive, were among the main factors which interrupted the process of the spread of lues and gonorrhoea, whereas today these are the factors which have closed the way to the spread of

AIDS, a modern disease which, together with lues and gonorrhoea, continue to threaten many countries of the world.

The main principle applied by the Albanian medicine immediately after Liberation was the prevention of diseases, especially the infectious diseases, under a state supervised programme of medication. But the very small number of doctors and health personnel which the country inherited from the past could not cope immediately with all the tasks which emerged in this field. In 1948 the first secondary medical school was opened in the country and in 1952 the possibilities were created for opening the first higher school which could train general physicians (before Liberation the few doctors who served in the country had graduated abroad). Our country at that period did not have a single specialist of infectious diseases. The patients were hospitalized in some observation wards. In the period 1955-1956 the infectious clinic of the Institute of Medicine was opened. Today it has 200 beds, some wards, various microbiological laboratories and sections. In the 26 districts of the country infectious wards have been set up and completed with specialists or physicians who have gone through post-university specialization in Tirana or abroad. Clinical infectionists engage both in medical practice and in programmes of scientific

study, in mass screening and examinations, in co-ordination with the central university clinic. Until today they have defended about 15 dissertation theses in this field, have published numerous texts and monographs. Every year they organize joint scientific sessions and symposiums in which experience in the methods of study, diagnosis and treatment of infectious diseases is exchanged. Every district of the country has its own directory of Hygiene and Epidemiology, which depend from the Central Directory of Hygiene and the Institute of Hygiene, Epidemiological Research and the Production of Vaccines in Tirana.

These institutions, with their specialized personnel and with the suitable conditions for research work, are in a position to undertake studies on a large scale for the examination, screening and pin-pointing the location of a number of infectious diseases and of eliminating them from the root. The liquidation of lues, for instance, required more than two million sexological examinations and tests. Blood tests for malaria were carried out regularly in every district and place. Active antitubercular screening included the whole population of the country regularly, several times each year.

Vaccinations planned according to a definite programme were an important measure, which, along with the great state funds used, justified

*ELMAZ ELTARI: Docent head of the Infectious Clinic at the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana*

# GEIOUS DISEASES ENTS

*rom 38 years in the period before Liberation  
tes in Europe. At present  
3.300.000*

themselves completely. Meanwhile, most of the vaccines are produced locally.

It is impossible to reproduce here the whole list of measures, work, and studies in the field of the struggle against infectious diseases, but the results speak for themselves.

In 1938, for example, 58 per cent of the population of the country suffered from malaria. As a result of the massive improvements of the land and the draining of swamps, accompanied with widespread disinfections, of the struggle to eliminate the anophele, as well as the free medication of the entire population, in 1958 falciparium malaria was totally wiped out, whereas malaria viva continued (with sporadic cases) until the year 1966.

The liberation of the country found our people with a very high incidence of diseases like tuberculosis, which reached to 1400 ‰ 000. As a result of complex measures: setting up sanatoria and anti-tubercular clinics, active examination and screening, free medication and vaccination, in 1972 the incidence of tuberculosis fell to 7.36 ‰ 000 inhabitants. Today even this low figure is growing still lower.

In 1926 Albania had a severe measles epidemic. Morbidity and lethality could not be recorded completely in the conditions of the lack of efficient organization of the service, but it is known that the number of diseased

and dead in the rural area and in the towns was very high. In the period 1954-1955 an epidemic of measles broke out spreading in 13.5‰ of the population, but its lethality was 0.89‰. In 1970 the same epidemic recurred, but vaccination began immediately and since then we have not had a single case of measles.

After the regular vaccination of the entire population with the Sole and Sabin vaccines, for more than two decades now we have not had cases of paralytic poliomyelitis. Thanks to the complex anti-epidemic measures and the vaccination with locally produced anatoxine, today diphtheria and tetanus are considered as practically extinct.

We can say in conclusion that such infectious diseases as malaria, measles, trachoma, exanthematic typhus, amebiosis, dermatomycosis have been completely wiped out to date, whereas brucellosis, diphtheria, tetanus, poliomyelitis, lepra can be considered as practically eliminated, and tuberculosis, leptospirosis, leishmaniasis, ricketiosis, abdominal typhus, cestodiasis, etc., have been extremely restricted. Despite the remarkable changes of the situation, the struggle against diarrhea, virus hepatitis, nemathelminthes still attracts our attention.

Infectious clinics of our country have carried out profound studies of some problems which are new in the

world infectiology, such as, for instance, studies on the haemorrhagic fever with venal syndrom, encephalites and other arboviroses. It must be stressed that these diseases in our country occur in very infrequent cases and constitute professional curiosities.

Profound studies are being made also on mycoplasmas, toxoplasmosis, borreliosis, etc. As regards virus infections (especially the chronic ones) studies are concentrated on the systemic mycotic diseases and infections of «compromised» organisms. Serio-epidemiological examinations and tests for AIDS are being made systematically, and until today not a single positive case has been reported.

Thanks to the profound socio-cultural transformations, the higher material level of the population, the many preventive measures, the free medication, the equipment of the inhabited centres with suitable hygienic-sanitary means, the supply of abundant water, etc., the average life expectancy of the population of our country has increased from 38 years in the period before Liberation to about 72 years, and the Albanian population has among the highest birth-rates and the lowest death-rates in Europe. At present the population living within the state borders of the PSR of Albania is about 3,300,000 inhabitants, it is a healthy population capable of enjoying the happy life.

# ALBANIA HAS BEEN AND IS FOR OF PRODUCTION AND USE OF CH

*At the international conference for the prohibition of chemical weapons, which held its proceedings in Paris, the head of delegation of the PSR of Albania, Minister of Foreign Affairs, REIS MALILE, took the floor at the session of January 10, and said among other things:*

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania shares the preoccupation of the international community over the proportions which the arms race, especially the weapons of mass annihilation, has assumed. Their arsenals have reached levels never seen before, and constitute a great threat to peace and the whole of mankind. For these reasons the Albanian Government appreciates and hails all those sincere efforts which are made in order to put an end to the arms race, including the chemical weapons.

The very fact that even after six decades from the signing of the Geneva Protocol of the year 1925 on the prohibition of the use of toxic gases and bacteriological means in war, we are compelled to refer again to this same international juridical document, is a clear indication of the lack of real progress in the field of chemical disarmament. It is a reality that armaments of any kind continues uninterruptedly. The modernization of chemical weapons, the production of new weapons, the binary weapons of a very high toxicity, their use in many instances show that the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the UNO resolutions on this problem not only have not been respected, but on the contrary, have been ignored and violated.

The Geneva Protocol was reached as a result of the demands and pressure of public opinion for establishing a ban on the use of chemical weapons, the consequences of which had been felt by the peoples who were included in the flames of the First World War. But, unfortunately, although the First World War belongs to the beginning of the 20th century and now we are on the threshold of the 21st century, the superpowers, and many other states in the example of the superpowers, have, drafted and carried out programs for the production and modernization of such weapons. What is worse, they have been used, causing many victims and other grave consequences.

In the treatment of the problem of chemical weapons, Comrade Reis Malile continued, there is a great contradiction which stems from the very conception of the Geneva Protocol which, while prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, permits that they be produced and stockpiled.

Therefore, any discussion should concentrate on the elimination of this contradiction so that it be made correct and effective.

Although from 1971, Comrade Reis Malile said, bodies of UNO, especially the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, discuss the chemical weapons

and the danger they represent, no positive step has been made towards chemical disarmament. The Americans and the Soviets, who are mainly responsible for the chemical arms race and for the complications of the whole problem around them, accuse one another that one side possesses a greater amount of weapons than the other, that the weapons of one side are more advanced than those of the other, that one side allegedly has its chemical weapons placed exclusively within its own territory, whereas the other has distributed them at different points of the globe, and so on. All this is nothing other than justifications to go on with the production and perfection of chemical weapons. It is beyond doubt that the development and spread of chemical weapons up to the present stage is not a spontaneous process, but the result of the competition between the USA and the Soviet Union. It is they who possess the biggest stockpiles of chemical weapons, the advanced technologies of production and the means of using them, which, the other weapons, they have uninterruptedly modernized.

Common sense requires that when we speak of chemical weapons, armament or disarmament, it is impossible to put all the states on the same

# THE PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS

footing: those who are the biggest producers and possessors of these weapons, those who do not possess these weapons, those who impede the solution of the problems and those who maintain a positive and constructive stand towards the problem. To do such a thing means to cover the truth to such a degree that it is difficult to believe that things will change for the better and the situation will be improved. In these circumstances, it has become an urgent requirement that international forums like this one, which is holding its proceedings now, should define accurate, clear and attainable objectives.

Peace and international security are noble aspirations of the peoples, of the whole international community, and must be treated with the seriousness and sincerity which they merit; therefore, they must be supported with decisive and effective actions, which would create possibilities for real advance towards disarmament and security.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Reis Malile pointed out, has always followed an independent policy in favour of peace. In this direction it makes its own contribution and its Constitution sanctions that in its territory there are no, and it

is not permitted to station, foreign military bases and troops. It has been and is for the prohibition of chemical weapons and a ban on their use; it is against the production and stockpiling of these weapons, and it is also for the complete liquidation of them, as it is equally for the liquidation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass annihilation.

We shall welcome the conclusion of an international convention which would define concrete measures for the chemical disarmament. One such instrument would have its full value if it could ensure the final destruction of the existing chemical weapons as soon as possible, beginning from their «newest generation». Any amount which might be kept under various pretexts, such as the one that is referred to as the «security stock», would in fact become an insecurity stock, because it would encourage and keep alive the spirit of distrust and, as a result, the road of chemical armaments would remain open.

Ideas have been launched about the creation of zones free of chemical weapons. When such proposals come from the countries of the region and their aim is the creation and strengthening of confidence and a more favourable atmosphere in the relations

between states, there is no doubt that they are rational. But we cannot say that, by so doing, the real threat from the existing arsenals of weapons of mass extermination, which know no bounds and can reach any point of the globe, can be avoided definitively.

I would like to point out the opinion of the Albanian delegation that, despite the importance of the chemical disarmament in itself as a step forward, this represents only one aspect of the general disarmament, which should be seen in its complexity and totality as a basis for international security. This means that when we discuss the chemical weapons and chemical disarmament, this should be done with a view to taking concrete steps on the long road of the process of disarmament, in general.

In conclusion, Comrade Reis Malile said that according to the opinion of the Albanian delegation, in this context, an important role devolves on the United Nations, as a universal organization which must voice the preoccupation of the international community, thus carrying out its mission in conformity with the spirit and the provisions of the Charter and the desires of the peoples who aspire to live free and independent, in peace and security.

# FRONTAL ATTACK ON MARXISM, REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM,

*by Prof. AGIM POPA*

The revisionists have thrown off all disguises. Now they do not consider it necessary to use either the term «Marxism-Leninism», or the word «communism», «revolution» or «class struggle».

The Marxist-Leninist philosophy, too, has been replaced with the philosophy of «perestroika», which is called «new thought», and has taken up the role of the sole and absolute doctrine for the explanation of the present-day world and the building of the future world.

Slanders against socialism, especially against Stalin, and denigration of all achievements of the revolution have become the fashion for all kinds of hack-writers, philosophers and ideologists who have surpassed even the most rabid anti-communists in this field. The banner of this struggle has been taken up by Gorbachov himself, who is going about it with great zeal at different meetings and conventions both within and outside the Soviet Union.

On November 1987, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, he came out with an eclectic platform: he wanted to please all and everybody. Apparently, he had to take course in order to ensure support for the new road and to neutralize his opponents. So, he indulged in demagogy. Time, however, goes on, and Gorbachov has to go along with it, so he is bound to uncover his true face. For this purpose he chose a tribune of authority and a selected auditorium: the General Assembly of the Organization of the United Nations.

There, more openly than at any time before, he came out with his broad theoretical and philosophical, social and political platform for the interpretation of the present and perspective processes of development in the world, which he passed off as the new world outlook for the world to enter the 21st century.

Gorbachov has taken upon himself the combination of contrasting ideologies and philosophies, making his perestroika and «new political thought» the common denominator for all classes, social systems, peoples and nations of the present world. He wants the whole world, both the oppressors and the oppressed, to have a new common way of thinking, a common consciousness, or, as he calls it, «a consciousness of the common character of our objective destinies».

The old ideas of the opportunists of all hues are dished up in a new sauce, that of class conciliation which has been and remains the favourite ideological weapon of the ruling exploiting classes to justify and perpetuate the exploitation and oppression of the workers and peoples. Gorbachov offers these preachings, which have long since been denounced by Marxism-Leninism and refuted by world historical experience, as a new invention and the new ideology of mankind.

In order to give his preachings an «objective basis», M. Gorbachov, like his opportunist and revisionist predecessors, from Bernstein and Kautsky to Khrushchev and company, capitalizes on the changes that have

taken place in the world. «The world in which we live,» he said at his address at the United Nations, «is radically different from that it was in the beginning or even the middle of this century, and it continues to change in all its elements». But the question Gorbachov passes in silence is this: Do oppression and exploitation exist? Do classes with differing interests exist? Do national oppression and the struggle for independence exist? Do imperialism and capitalism, and plunder and aggression on their part, exist?

Neither the development of the technical and scientific revolution, nor the global problems «of all mankind», on which Gorbachov harps so much, nor the emergence of the nuclear weapons and missiles have made capitalism and imperialism more reasonable, more humane or more peace-loving. On the contrary, capitalist oppression and the plunder of the peoples by imperialism have in our days reached unprecedented proportions, as compared with the past. And as long as exploitation and plunder go on, the working class and the peoples cannot reconcile themselves to them, and their yearning and struggle for freedom and independence, for justice and social progress, can never be quelled. The bourgeoisie and revisionists may hold on the revolutionary drive of the working masses, for a certain time, but they cannot stamp out their aspirations and efforts for a better life and future, and for a new society, in which all the peoples will enjoy the fruits of their work



*Our Party has resolutely rejected the bourgeois-opportunist theses of the present stage of the world historical process and has forcefully emphasized that criticism of principle and ceaseless exposure of counter-revolutionary and anti-communist theories are necessary to defend Marxism-Leninism, carry forward the cause of the revolution and the peoples*

in freedom and equality. Gorbachov's aim, like that of all opportunists and revisionists, is to devalue the historic mission of the proletariat, and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, and to proclaim them obsolete and incompatible with the present time. For him the proletariat and its ideology and movement represent no longer the class and the ideology which give the tone to the whole life of human society and determine the fundamental tendency of its development. He openly says that in North and South and East and West new social movements and new ideologies are emerging on the forefront of history. «Life is forcing us,» he says, «to abandon obsolete stereotypes and views, because it would be naive to think that the problems mankind is faced with today can be solved with means and methods that have been applied or used in the past.»

The question here is about the class struggle and the revolution, which allegedly today represent no longer the motor force, the locomotive of history. This experience, which has been derived from the whole development of human history, according to Gorbachov, belongs to the practices of a world that has become or is becoming part of the past. He proclaims obsolete and valueless even the Great October Revolution, its teachings and road, because «we face a different world in which we must seek different roads to the future.»

However, it was the same Gorba-

chov who only a year before, in his address on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, called it «the luminous hour of the brilliant dawn of mankind». In that address he affirmed, and now it is clear that he did it for demagogical purposes, that «the year 1917 showed that the choice between socialism and capitalism is the only social alternative of our time, because «in the 20th century there can be no progress without transition to socialism», that «this fundamental conclusion is no less valid today than at the time when it was made by Lenin,» etc.

Now, however, Gorbachov has found «a new law». If the history of the past centuries and millennia has been a history of fierce class struggles and battles as a result of the irreconcilability of opposite interests and ideologies, «today,» he says, «we have entered a new epoch in which all this is only a leftover of the past», because «the further progress of the world is possible only through the efforts for a general consensus of mankind,» as «the new world order will be determined by general human interests,» etc.

This «new» philosophy of Gorbachov's has been exposed by Lenin long ago and is being refuted by the reality of our days everywhere in the world. «According to the doctrine of socialism, that is, Marxism,» Lenin says, «... the true motor force of history is the revolutionary struggle of classes... According to the doctrine of the bourgeois philosophers, the motor force of progress is the soli-

arity of all the elements of society... The former doctrine is materialist, the latter is idealist... The former argues the practice of the proletariat... The latter argues the tactic of the bourgeoisie.»

Proceeding on Kautsky's footsteps and distorting the present-day reality, Gorbachov comes out with the false theses that allegedly «disagreements and contradictions inherited from the past are diminishing or dying away», that «along the struggles, animosities and discord among the peoples, a new trend with just as objective causes is emerging ever more clearly — the process of the creation of an integral and interconnected world.» So, according to him, today one must not speak about contradictions and antagonisms neither between the working class and the bourgeoisie, nor between the oppressed peoples and dependent countries and imperialism, nor between the two opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism, nor even between the imperialist powers themselves. All this, that is, the fundamental contradictions that lie at the foundation of our epoch, allegedly already belong to the past or is becoming an irreversible component part of it. He calls for all together, that is, not only the different states, but also the workers and capitalists, the oppressed peoples and imperialists, to seek «the road leading to the priority of the general ideals of mankind over the innumerable number of centrifugal forces.»

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutio-

naries all over the world cannot fail to denounce this new treacherous step of the present head of the Soviet revisionists. «Our struggle,» Comrade Ramiz Alia says, «is directed against the revisionist preachings to the effect that allegedly the time of class battles, revolutions and national liberation struggles is over for ever, and that the epoch of «general harmony», class conciliation, and cooperation between the capitalist metropolises and the oppressed peoples has set in».

It is absolutely clear as to where this road leads to. The aim is to maintain the status quo, the present situation, intact, that is, to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Ignoring and selling out the vital interests of the workers and peoples, this is the price of betrayal Gorbachov offers world imperialism and exchange for ensuring him a period of calm and cooperation for carrying out his program of capitalist modernization in the Soviet Union through «perestroika» and «glasnost».

It is true that in the world today there are a number of problems which affect all men, peoples and countries and which demand efforts from all, as well as agreements and cooperation among the different states, etc. Such are averting the threat of a new general war with the use of nuclear weapons, of the so-called conventional weapons, protecting the environment from chaotic industrial development or tests of various weapons, doing away the profound backwardness and miserable conditions of whole zones of the «third world», and others alike. Concern for the solution of these problems, and mobilization of international opinion, the peoples, the progressive and peace-loving forces, and the governments of various countries for concrete actions over these problems are natural, necessary and of great actual importance. However, for their solution there is no need to deny the class struggle, the revolution, the aspiration of the peoples for independence and national sovereignty, as Gorbachov does. It is not the just struggles of the workers for social and national emancipation that ham-

per the solution of the problems of all mankind. On the contrary, they make an irreplaceable contribution to it, as they are directed against the more profound causes of these problems. These causes lie in the capitalist order, imperialism and its colonial and neo-colonial system, in the nature and rapacious and aggressive policy of world imperialism, especially its two principal bastions today — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. These are not outdated dogmas, as it pleases Gorbachov to proclaim them, but a historical reality which is being confirmed with new facts with every passing day. Only liquidation of the deeper causes which have produced the present problems of all mankind and keep them alive will lead to radical, complete and final solution of them.

Gorbachov talks about the building of a «new world order». He says that the question here is about «one world order», and the creation of an «integral world», in which socialism and capitalism would merge into one system. This is the notorious theory of the bourgeois ideologists about the «convergence and integration» of the two systems. There is nothing new here, apart from the complete rejection of socialism. However, Marxism-Leninism and world historical experience show that in the current epoch the advance of human society, conditioned by objective laws, goes in a rigorously determined direction, the replacement of the outdated capitalist system with the socialist system, which represents a new and higher stage in the development of human society, a social order capable of answering all the questions of progress and of coping with all the challenges of the time. It represents the only social order with a future, the only alternative for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of some nations by other nations, as well as the only road for the real and final solution of the problems of all mankind Gorbachov shows so much concern about in his statements. Only on this basis, on the basis of the socialist and communist order, can

there be serious talk about the one and integral world of the future.

If regressive processes, profound economic crises and big social upheavals, bureaucratic acts and violations of democracy, creation of privileged strata and degeneration of cadres, etc., have taken place in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the socialist system is not to blame, but the revisionist course followed by the leaderships of these countries. Socialism, as a theory and social order, has inexhaustible possibilities of development and advance, of finding the correct solution to all problems, creating true equality and effective democracy for the people, and ensuring the all-round development of man. However, the revisionists have lost faith in socialism, in its possibilities and creative forces, so they are abandoning it in words and deeds, attacking it by all manner of means and praising the values of the bourgeois order, and the capitalist methods of organization and management, as the only way out of the blind alley in which they find themselves. And it is clear that integration into capitalism within the country cannot fail to pose as an alternative integration into the capitalist system on a world scale for the creation of the so-called «one and integral world».

The frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism, revolution, the struggle of the peoples, socialism and communism mounted by Gorbachov at the General Assembly of the United Nations was bound to meet, as it did, with the enthusiasm of international big capital and all the reactionary forces of the world, because his concepts and theories are those the world bourgeoisie has long since preached and continues to preach today. With the emergence of «perestroika» and «the new political thought», possibilities are created for reviving counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist philosophies and putting them into circulation in new forms.

The new philosophy the Soviet leader presented at the United Nations is aimed at diverting the peoples and the revolutionary and progres-

sive forces from the road of the revolution and social progress, arousing illusions, historical pessimism and submission amongst them. It is also meant as a philosophy for strengthening Soviet influence on a world scale, and an ideological support of the great-power policy of Soviet social-imperialism with claims to a determinant role over the fate of the world.

The struggle against this philosophy means struggle against the policy and strategy of the Soviet social-imperialist superpower and struggle against the most dangerous trend of mo-

dern revisionism in defence of the bases of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the socialist alternative of the current world development. The Party of Labour of Albania has proceeded and will consistently proceed, in the future, too, on this revolutionary road of irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism of any kind and any denomination. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, our Party has resolutely rejected the bourgeois-opportunist theses on the present stage of the world historical process which negate the

revolution and defend capitalist exploitation, and has forcefully emphasized that «no change in the development of capitalism and imperialism justifies the revisionist «inventions» and «fabrications»,» that «criticism of principle and ceaseless exposure of counter-revolutionary and anti-communist theories are necessary to defend Marxism-Leninism, carry forward the cause of the revolution and the peoples, and show that the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains always young, and sure compass for the future victories.»

# press-review

## «THE MEETING OF TIRANA — A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTHENING OF BALKAN COOPERATION»,

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

The Tirana Meeting of vice-ministers of Foreign Affairs, as a continuation of the deepening of the process of cooperation in the Balkans, achieved its aims and objectives successfully. It carried this cooperation further ahead, thereby justifying the hopes and desires of public opinion and the peoples of the peninsula.

To the success of the meeting contributed all the participating delegations, which showed the sense of responsibility of the Balkan countries for the prospects of development of relations in the Balkans.

The meeting of the high officials of Foreign Affairs, which took place in the Albanian capital, and its results are a component part of the positive process of cooperation and understanding which is crystallizing more and more with each passing day. The meeting of foreign ministers in Belgrade and that of the high officials in Sofia had taken positive steps for the development of relations, which have contributed to the improvement of the atmosphere of mutual

trust and respect among the Balkan peoples.

The Tirana Meeting showed once more that fields of mutual interest and possibilities of Balkan cooperation are very broad. Constant search and materialization of them coincides with the interests of every Balkan country in particular, and all the Balkan countries, in general. It is known that the problems existing in the Balkans are not easy to solve. Foreign extra-Balkan factors also seek to arouse many complications. These factors are interested in the creation of a turbulent atmosphere of distrust in the Balkans. However, there is no insoluble problem provided there are the political will, moderation and realism, and joint efforts are made. There are many positive examples in the present relations among the Balkan countries. The ceaseless progress of relations and cooperation, as well as the fundamental interests of our peoples call, as an absolute necessity, for the elimination of difficulties and obstacles which arise on the

road to the creation of an atmosphere of understanding, friendship and good neighbourliness among the peoples of the Balkans. Both the experience of history and the present time have strengthened the conviction that the stand towards national minorities as a factor of cohesion within the country and a bridge of friendship with the neighbouring countries is a correct policy which responds to the strengthening of mutual trust and cooperation.

The fact that all the Balkan countries consider Balkan cooperation as the only alternative in the relations among themselves is very significative.

The Albanian people, which nourish feelings of friendship towards all the neighbouring peoples in the Balkans, are interested in understanding and cooperation, peace and stability in the Balkans. They desire and struggle for the spirit of understanding, friendship and good neighbourliness among peoples to predominate in our peninsula. Development of good neighbourliness is

one of the basic priorities of the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania. With a high sense of responsibility, our country has followed the principles of good neighbourliness, and has made and is always ready to make an effective and concrete contribution to cooperation in the Balkans. This was the predisposition of the host country of the meeting of the high officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries. With this noble aim in sight, it will do everything that depends

on it for the coming meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Countries, which will be held in Tirana, to give a fresh impulse to the relations of cooperation in the Balkans.

The Balkan meeting in Tirana aroused great interest and wide response in international opinion, in the press and information media of many countries of the world. This is obvious, because positive processes in our peninsula, and peace and stability in the Balkans are an

important factor in ensuring peace and stability in the Mediterranean, Europe and beyond. By expanding and consolidating understanding and good neighbourliness among themselves, the Balkan countries serve their national interests, as well as the real interests of security and peace in the world. Hence, after such important activities as the meeting held in Tirana, our peoples are justified in seeing the future of the Balkans with more optimism.

## **A VISIT WHICH SERVED THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ALBANIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»,

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, paid an official visit to Turkey. The success of this visit was complete and was reflected in all the talks he held with the senior Turkish personalities. In his meetings with the Turkish Foreign Minister, Jilimaz, and with five

other political and economic personalities of the country, and in the meeting with Prime Minister Ozal and president Evren, the achievements made hitherto in the bilateral relations were positively assessed and the fields and possibilities for their further development in future were envisaged. Pri-

me Minister Ozal stressed that the Turkish Government is for the further development of the relations with Albania in various fields of reciprocal interest. There are old traditional links between the Albanian people and the Turkish people. They have grown stronger with the passage of ti-



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me. No problems exist between the two countries, a thing which was pointed out during this visit. This is an expression of the reality of the friendly feelings between the two countries and peoples; it is something which promotes reciprocal advantage not only for them but also for the countries of the region and the continent on which we live. Although there is no common boundary-line between Albania and Turkey, the affinity between our two peoples can be felt immediately. A valuable contribution to the strengthening of the relations between the Albanian people and the Turkish people has been made by the great leaders of our two countries, Enver Hoxha and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. They placed the relations between the Turkish people and the Albanian people on a new basis, and opened new fields of collaboration between them. «It is our duty to march on this road, which is an open track now,» Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in his meeting with Mesut Jilalmaz in Tirana, last August.

In Turkey there is a considerable number of citizens of Albanian origin, who serve as a bridge of friendship between the two countries. This was underlined by the senior Turkish personalities in the meetings which they had with the Albanian foreign minister. It is a satis-

faction that these citizens of Albanian origin are treated in the same footing as the Turkish citizens and contribute equally to the political, economic, cultural and scientific development of Turkey. The Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Ozal, emphasized that the Albanians in Turkey are respected by everybody. All these things have created a warm climate in the Albanian-Turkish relations and a fraternal spirit between the Albanian people and the Turkish people.

A response to this spirit are the concrete steps which have been made in various fields of reciprocal collaboration. This has influenced the creation of understanding in the political field, which in turn is reflected in other fields of the development of each country, such as in the economy, culture, technique and science etc. The steps of economic and technical-scientific cooperation which were made last August in Tirana are now enriched with two other important agreements: the cultural and post-telecommunication agreements, as well as the agreement between ATA and the Turkish news agency ANADOLI AXHANS. Opinions were exchanged about the possibility of extending this spirit of co-operation in other fields. The exchange of visits at prime-minister level will also serve the fruitful collaboration in various fields of mutual interest. The cour-

se of development of these relations and the signing of the various agreements is a concrete expression of the policy of understanding and confidence which the two countries follow.

The strengthening of relations between Albania and Turkey serves in a concrete and direct manner the improvement of relations between the Balkan countries and beyond. The more correct and concrete, warm and friendly the bilateral relations are, the more and better they contribute to the strengthening of the multilateral relations. The Balkans needs cooperation and understanding. The positive process which has begun in this direction will help to surmount the existing difficulties in our peninsula and will create the conditions for this cooperation to be as fruitful as possible and the Balkans be transformed into a region of peace and friendship among the peoples who live in it. This is also one of the objectives of the decisions of the Balkan conferences.

The spirit of understanding and confidence which exists between Albania and Turkey, the constructive spirit of bilateral talks which was noticed also during this visit in Turkey, are an expression of the desire and the political goodwill which exists between our two countries. It promises the extension and further strengthen-

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ing of these relations in future, too. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed during his meeting with Mesut Jillmaz

last year, in his congratulation to the Turkish people, «in the Albanian people and in our Government, they will

always find the desire for the further development of traditional friendly relations.»

## THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY AND REFORMS CANNOT AVERT THE CRISES

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Convinced by the bitter experience of the crisis of depression of the '30s that «the market cannot ensure the real balance of the economy», the monopoly bourgeoisie sought a new way out of the crisis and unemployment in the Keynesian theory which recommended the direct intervention of the state in the economy through the financial-budgetary policy as the most. With this theory as their basis, beginning from the end of the Second World War up till the '70s, the bourgeois governments implemented the policy of the readjustment of the economy, which in fact did not remedy the situation.

When in the beginning of the '70s the number-one «enemy» and the most disquieting problem of the capitalist economy — inflation,

became rampant, when the energy crisis and the crisis of the international capitalist monetary system broke out, the monopolies and the governments of the major capitalist countries immediately hastened to embrace a different policy which supports and defends the laws of the market economy, which opposes the policy of the «entrepreneur» state, of the «assistant» bourgeois state, and which in essence means the privatization of the nationalized branches, the curtailment of expenditure for social and cultural spheres, the implementation of the principles of commercialization even in education, health, culture, etc.

In the '80s Reagan and Thatcher alike began to apply a series of measures for the further liberalization of

the economy, for the maximum restriction of the direct state interference, and for the privatization of the nationalized branches of the economy under the pretext of guaranteeing the dynamic development of the economy and of increasing its efficiency. And in fact one third of the nationalized industries in England have been privatized again.

According to forecasts the privatization of the world economic system will be completed by the '90s and the bourgeois-revisionist state will remain only with the function of «supervisor». This is the logic of the maximalization of the capitalist efficiency today. But this policy which champions the «freedom of the market» and competition (as the world historic experience

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shows) has not brought and cannot possibly bring anything good to the working

class; it will create more unemployed, will lower the standard of living and real

income, will increase poverty, as the figures in the following table show:

Increase in % of active population in 1987/1970	Unemployment (in million) 1970/1987			Increase in % in 1987/1970	Rate of unemploy- ment in %	
	1970	1987	1987		1970	1987
England	9.8	24.7	24.8	0.4	3	10.3
FR of Germany	4.4	26.7	25.7	-3.8	0.8	6.5
France	12.2	20.9	21.4	2.5	2.4	10.5
Italy	15.7	19.8	21.2	7.1	5.3	11.1

In the USA it is true that new jobs have been created, especially in the sector of services and small businesses, but, whereas the active population in 1987, as against 1970, has increased by 43 per cent, unemployment for the same period has gone up to 38 per cent and the rate of unemployment has increased from 4.8 per cent in 1970 to 6.1 per cent in 1987.

In the '80s the fashion was to adopt an economic policy which is orientated broadly towards the market, as the most efficient road of ensuring the economic «rise» and «development», even if the price to pay for it was unemployment. In recent years even the team of Gorbachov with his «perestroika» and «glasnost» is more and more submitting to the laws of capitalism, the liberalization of the economy, privatization, private enterprise, the mechanism of the market economy which are consi-

dered as the only ways to save the country from backwardness, economic stagnation, crisis, bureaucracy in the management of the economy, etc. Indeed, the Soviet revisionists, in chorus with the capitalists, want to show that the liberalized economy, private enterprise, the capitalist relations of production are acme of the development of the society.

Precisely for this purpose, Gorbachov and his team adopted, in theory, the capitalist concept of commodity production, of the market and its laws as the starting-point for the restructuring of the Soviet economy. Therefore, he is striving to place such categories as profit, prices, money, foreign currency, credit, pay, taxes and fees, demand and offer, competition, etc., which must act freely and without any restrictions at the foundations of the functions of

the economy. Hence, the management of the economy, the enterprises and kolkhozes is now based on capitalist principles and methods such as «complete financial autonomy», «self-financing», «socialist self-administration», «complete profitability» according to which the right of decision-making is liberalized and decentralized, market prices can fluctuate freely and «competition can develop and is considered as the motive force of the socialist emulation». The free market of labour, foreign currency and capital is going from strength to strength in the Soviet Union. Joint ventures with foreign capital are being created, the market of securities, shares and loan bonds is emerging.

However, it has been shown convincingly in theory and in practice that the free market, with its competences, inevitably leads to

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known political and social consequences. It does not level out, but on the contrary, deepens the economic and social inequalities and class differentiations, leading gradually and inevitably to large-scale unemployment and economic crises.

The free and unrestricted operation of the law of value is incompatible with the real socialist economy, which is a planned and centralized economy and not a market economy, or a decentralized economy. Whereas socialist production is a social production and not commodity production.

Private enterprise and competition cannot re-establish the real meaning of social justice, as the Soviet modern revisionists make out. On the contrary, they stimulate and favour privileges for a limited group of people. Even the «freedom»

of the market, which is so much publicized, is freedom for those who possess money and capital, either to buy or to invest, especially on the market of securities, on which one can make profit through speculations. But it is far from freedom for the working people, for the unemployed, for the poor who are destitute of means. In practice this freedom is enjoyed by those who have the political and economic power in their hands.

The freedom of the market, competition, private enterprise, as the historical experience shows, have never brought and can never bring universal well-being. The contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and the inability of the market economy to heal the wounds of the bourgeois society are common knowledge. Many are the bourgeois econo-

mists who have admitted that the capitalist model of management and functioning of the economy has proved unable to and cannot solve or overcome the antagonistic class contradictions in favour of the working people, although, on the other hand, it can and does secure more profits and greater gains for the capitalists. It has proved itself incapable of securing jobs for all, whereas the number of the unemployed, the exploited and the poor has increased and social injustice has become more acute.

The capitalist relations in production, relying on the liberalization of the economy, private enterprise and property cannot save the capitalist and revisionist society, cannot save the working people from the exploitation of man by man.

■

## **POLITICAL CRISIS — AN INGRAINED ELEMENT OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The capitalist order, as a social and economic system, is going through a period of general crisis. The process of

the degeneration of this system includes economic and political, ideological and military aspects. At given mo-

ments, this or that aspect of the crisis comes up on top, but they have never been separated from one

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another, there has always been a reciprocal connection among them.

A growing tension is noticed in recent years in the political and social life of the capitalist and revisionist world. Analysing this phenomenon, Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that the capitalist mode of production and distribution, the thirst for maximum profits and the ideology of exploiting the working man to the marrow have led to a further decline of the bourgeois society and its political and social institutions, to a further degradation of the human relations... Mafia-type banditry has penetrated deep into every level, which has the destinies of the country in its hands.»

The political crisis appears in different intensities and forms in different countries. But it must not be identified only with the cabinet crisis, as it is often simplified by the propaganda of the bourgeoisie. In essence it is a crisis of the entire superstructure and a reflection of the crisis of the economic base on which it is set up. It is also an expression of the inability of the bourgeoisie and of its political institutions to provide alternative solutions to the problems, the impossibility of governing with the traditional methods of bourgeois parliamentarism. The reshuffling of ministerial cabinets through the mecha-

nism of anticipated resignation is a form of political crisis which has nothing new in itself. There are countries which, following the Second World War, have changed more governments than the number of years that have passed since then.

The rivalry between bourgeois groups and parties has reached the point when even the traditional rules of bourgeois democracy in the political game for power are disregarded. Now more than ever before they are using Mafia methods, from forgery, electronic spying and liquidation of political opinions, in order to take over government posts. In many countries there is a very active underground political life, which commands and rules in the legal state apparatus, the political and economic institutions through its invisible ropes. The political Mafia, the typical product of a decaying order, acts like a powerful spider's web, which has shown that it can set up and topple entire governments, can put to the top of the pyramid of the state those politicians who are linked with it and can challenge anyone whom it dislikes.

The parliamentary or presidential elections are often transformed into arenas of quarrels and most banal offences between rivalling candidates; archives are searched for and sometimes the most fantastic stories are hat-

ched up in order to discredit the rivals. The last presidential campaign in the USA enriched the arsenal of electoral machinations and tricks of the American bourgeoisie. Bush, Dukakis and their respective electoral staffs accused one another of mental deficiency.

The extreme form of the manifestation of political crisis are the coups d'état. This is a common phenomenon, especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the capitalist countries, the army is seen as something which has nothing to do with politics, as a neutral element in the rivalry for power between the bourgeois parties. But his concept has never been based on realistic assessments. The more so today when the bourgeois and revisionist armies constitute an active force which interferes in the political life of the country and even in carrying out coups d'état, allegedly in order to establish order and to restore the political institutions, «enderanged by anarchy and the inability of the professional politicians».

The shaken political power of the bourgeoisie has lost its ability to manoeuvre, its resiliency to adapt itself to the circles and the sections of the population which have always regarded it as an inviolable institution, given once and for good for governing the country through the traditional bourgeois

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forms. In these circumstances the need for reforming the political system, in order to make it better able to serve the ruling classes to achieve the aims of the internal and external policy, is felt more and more acutely in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. It is not an accident that in many countries of the West and the East today we actually notice such common phenomena as the drafting of new constitutions, the application of reforms in the electoral system and the creation of new political structures. The revisioning of the bourgeois electoral system is seen as an indispensable need so that the political system can be better adapted to the present-day conditions, and further cur-

tail what is called the bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

Every change in the political system should be reflected in the constitution before it can receive the status of the law. In recent times in some revisionist countries there has been a long debate about the changes that must be made to the political superstructure in order to open the road to the capitalist-type economic reforms which are being deepened in these countries. Perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union are nothing but efforts at reforming the Soviet system of leadership and management, which, under the label of democracy, gives the green light to the bourgeois liberalization in the

economy and the restructuring of the political institutions in favour of the new group of the Soviet leadership.

The political crisis is part of the crisis of the capitalist system. The partial and repeated reforms of it try to make the bourgeois apparatus more manoeuvrable in order to cope with the situations and to quell the explosions. The political crisis in a world ruled by a minority has its own cycles and laws of development, which operate within the framework of the all-round crisis of the capitalist society. They can be softened and avoided for some time, but they can never be eliminated without changing the economic base which fosters it.

## AN UGLY ACT AGAINST LIBYA'S INDEPENDENCE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The world learned with great indignation and anger about the act of aggression of the American imperialists against Libya. By trampling underfoot all known international norms and laws, the Americans shot down two Libyan planes in the Mediterranean. According to a communiqué of the Libyan

ministry of Foreign Affairs, «the Libyan planes were on a routine patrol flight over international waters when two F-14 took off from air-carrier Kennedy and committed premeditated aggression on them.» The American official circles were quick to justify this ugly act of aggression and warned that

other measures of a military character would also be taken, giving themselves the cynical right to attack any sovereign and free people that opposes the pressure and dictate of American imperialism. At a press conference, held in Washington, the spokesmen for the Department of State, Charles



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Redman, threatened that «the United States will continue to take other similar military measures in defence of their interests in the future, too.»

After the American attack on the Libyan planes, in a stern note of protest to the UNO, the Tripoli Government forcefully condemned the aggression of the American imperialists. In this government note the permanent representative of Libya at the United Nations warned of the imminent threat of an aggression on a larger scale which might come as a result of the escalation of American military activities in the Mediterranean. In the meantime, the Libyan leader, Muamar Qaddafi, declared that Libya «will reply with courage to American aggression and will never renounce its principles of defence of sovereignty, freedom and advance of the homeland.»

The recent American military activities against Libya are ominous and show that the United States is following a dangerous road which nobody knows where it will lead to. Pretext and justifications are of the most diverse kind, but the aim and means are the same. For the barbarous bombardment of Tripoli and Benghazi on April 15, 1986 the American imperialists came out with the pretext of the struggle against terrorism.

Now they claim that the pharmaceutical factory at Rabta, to the south of Tripoli, allegedly is meant for the production of chemical weapons. That was a banal, although brutal, *casus belli* which led to the unjustifiable attack on two Libyan planes. World opinion is justified to ask: Why the United States shows itself so much concerned about all this at a time when hundreds of thousands of tons of poisonous substances and other weapons of mass extermination are turned out every day by the great centres of production of chemical weapons in the United States. If one goes through the files of Vietnam, Indochina, Cuba, Grenada and Lebanon, one has a clear idea of the concretization of the American policy of napalm and scorched earth, and the chemical weapons Americans have barbarously used everywhere they have violated the freedom and independence of the other peoples. The point, however, is somewhere else. Washington now raises the fake argument of the production of chemical weapons in order to justify its ugly anti-Libyan act of aggression.

Carried out in blatant opposition to all the known laws and norms that regulate present-day international relations, American air piracy against Libya is an act

inspired by the delirium of unrestrained great-power megalomania the United States harbours against the smaller sovereign peoples and countries. For the realization of its hegemony-seeking aims in the world it goes so far as to embark on acts of open aggression on countries that oppose American policies. The USA is greatly concerned about the anti-American policy followed by Libya, whose stand, according to Washington, has an influence also on the other Arab countries. The Americans seek to make the aggression of Libya an example for the Arab peoples and the peoples of the world, who oppose the American policy of hegemony and domination.

So, the new year 1989 began with a brutal attack of the United States on the sovereign rights of the Libyan people and a grave and dangerous escalation of American activities which add to the already high tension in the whole region of the Mediterranean, the Middle East and all over the world. Such acts of flagrant aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other countries make the peoples ever more aware of the need for raising their vigilance to the even more dangerous developments that may arise as a result of the policies of the superpowers in the Mediterranean. The Albanian

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peoples who have always energetically supported the just cause of freedom and independence of the Arab and other peoples, forcefully

condemn this new act of aggression of the American imperialists. They are confident that the Libyan people will know how to reso-

lutely defend their sovereignty, freedom, independence and national interests against the American policy of aggression and war.

■

## THE END OF AN INVASION

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan ended on February 15, with the departure of the commander-in-chief of the invading army, Boris Gromov, who called the flight of his troops «the end of a successful military operation». Radio Moscow repeated its propaganda slogans about «the internationalist mission» of the Soviet army, considering the so-called military assistance to the Afghan people concluded.

Actually the forced withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan marks the failure of the Soviet military aggression and aggressive policy in that country. The main factor which forced the invaders to get out of what the Soviet soldiers themselves called «the Afghan inferno» was the armed struggle of the Afghan people. So the question here is about a victory of the Af-

ghan people who have fought so much for their freedom and independence. The Afghan people waged a heroic 9 year-long armed struggle which cost the Soviet Union 15, 000 soldiers and officers killed, 37,000 wounded and billions of rubles. The Soviet social-imperialists did everything and used all manner of means to impose their occupation on the Afghan people. They sent there large hand-picked military forces, the most modern weapons and the most lethal poisons; they resorted also to scorched earth tactics and chemical weapons. But all this proved a failure in front of the struggle of the Afghan people.

The determined struggle of the Afghan patriots and the deep hatred of the masses of the people, which expressed itself both in the armed resistance in the mountains and in the demonstra-

tions and clashes with the enemy in the cities, put the Soviet social imperialism in an extremely difficult situation. An entire people rose arms in hand, while at the same time opposing the diplomatic machinations and pressure of Moscow which sought to find a «political solution» to the Afghan problem. To the savageness and barbarousness of aggression, the Afghan people opposed their high patriotism, their indomitable will-power and their freedom-loving spirit which characterized them in their struggles and victories, making light of all sacrifices. They sustained great suffering so much so that over 5 million Afghani had to emigrate to Pakistan and Iran.

The forced Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan took place at a time when the aggression had increased more than ever the isolation

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of the Soviet Union and discredited it on the international arena, and when the peoples and the freedom-loving and progressive forces were ceaselessly and ever more forcefully condemning the Soviet invasion. Moscow's political isolation and discredit was great also within the country, and the pressure of the large masses of the Soviet people, whose sons had left their bones in an unjust war in the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan, was mounting.

The forced withdrawal of the Soviet troops is a victory not only for the Afghan people but also for all the freedom and peaceloving peoples struggling for national and social emancipation. It is a victory over the imperialist policy of aggression and conquest. The peoples who have shed so much blood for their freedom and independence now have gained a great experience to the effect that victory is the result of the armed struggle. This is a lesson which has

shown its great value throughout history and which the recent events in Afghanistan have made even more pregnant. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has it, «The liberation struggle of the peoples is an objective process which no force in the world can stop. It represents one of the more fundamental trends of current world development and one of the more fundamental trends of current world development and one of the main motor forces of it.»

■

## LEVELLING OUT OF NATIONAL CULTURES

«DRITA» — organ of the League of Writers and Artists of Albania

True art is a national art, is a national consciousness, is a critical historical consciousness in the name of the great potential of man and the society, in the name of the still unconquered spaces of the beautiful, justice, equality, and humanity. Jashar Kemal, Grass, Theodorakis and a great number of other writers and artists are making a valuable contribution to the contemporary world culture with their works.

Each nation has its own specific way in world his-

tory, each people has its own unrepeatable customs and traditions, which, historically conditioned as they are, have an ethnical character and exert their influence on the nature of spiritual creativeness. That literature which is capable of reflecting the specific aspects of its own people, a literature whose pulse throbs in the same pace with the pulse of its own people, can be called a real literature, because only this kind of literature is in a position to convey through its work

the general and universal character of human feelings, aspirations and thoughts.

Considerations about small nations and great nations are ruled out in the world of art. The creative genius of a people cannot be defined by some geographic lines or by economic and technical evaluations. The Kosova writer and literary critic, Rexhep Qosja, says, «One nation may be more advanced than another nation from the economic and technical aspect, but no nation can be more distinguish-

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shed than another nation from the aspect of creative gifts and capacity.» And the history of the progressive world literature today has whole pages filled with new names from all nations. Highly appreciative evaluations are heard about the works of Kadare and Agolli; in the pages of the foreign press there are words of praise about the powerful creative personality and individuality of these writers. Marques, Brink, Scheunke, and others have shown with their works the true value of an original and powerful art which is an expression of the creative individuality, the ethics, ethnopsychology, and the characteristic world of feelings and thoughts, enriching the great pantheon of world literature with the experience of their own peoples. They are attached to life, to man, therefore they write with feeling and courage about the strength of man, about his ways and his efforts in life. Their art is, therefore, a synthesis of the organized thoughts and feelings which take into account the individual as a subject and the society as a whole, and not only with regard to the present, but also in connection with the future. Speaking at the 5th Plenum of the CC of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, pointed out among other things:

«Human genius invented art in an effort to know himself and the surrounding world, in order to know the present and especially to understand the future. This great philosophy, this great quest, keeps alive the artistic creativeness and develops it. Without them there would be no art.»

One of the outright anti-cultural deeds, which is directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against their national identity, is seen in the efforts for the internationalization of culture, for the levelling and complete wiping out of specific national traits, for the unification of subjects, heroes and problems. In this spirit, the modernist critique and esthetics have become the most outspoken supporter of this policy. Genetic structuralism is made today one of the main tools of the imperialist cultural policy, one of the weapons for the colonialization of national cultures, one of the means for the complete denigration and negation of these cultures. From the tribunes of congresses efforts are made to impose the will of the great powers, to ensure complete obedience and subjugation to them. The critique and esthetics of genetic structuralism grant the right of existence, of giving orders, of forming creative personalities and individualities only to that kind of

literature, the basic structures of which are the faithful reflection of the capitalist market structures, which, according to it, have dictated today the creation of a collective ideology and consciousness, and have also dictated the need for all social and class distinctions to be levelled out.

In this manner, literature is caught in the pincers of an absolute alienation — on the one hand, there are the laws of the market extolled by the disciples of genetic structuralists, and on the other, there are the laws of the imperialist policy extolled by the genetic post-structuralists. Literature is no longer treated as a social creation, but merely as an economic treatise, in the first case, and as a political treatise in the second case.

In the opinion of the critique and esthetics of genetic post-structuralism, the writer must comit himself to only what he is told and as he is told, to only what he is suggested to do, in conformity with the political and ideological views of the reactionary classes in power. And all this is arranged in special rules loudly proclaimed from the tribunes of congresses. Programmed prescriptions are handed out for the writer, because, according to the genetic post-structuralists and for all those who follow suit, the creative thinking should

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be something devoid of life, devoid of form and devoid of any spirit at all. It must be only a passive conveyor of codes defined by the decisive role of the economic base, which is expressed through a policy dictated by the interests of the great powers. And for the sake of these interests, they think that it is their right to negate the creative individualities and personalities, to negate and denigrate that literature which, with its works, is dedicated to the life, to the times, and to real art.

Claude Fayette, for instan-

ce, one of the notorious western esthetes, launches the idea that since the literature of the great countries has reached the stage in which the creative personalities, the themes and ideas have been unified, the literature of the small countries must follow this example, if it wants to survive and to find markets. In other words, he says that the time has come for literature to cease to exist as literature, and become something like the prescriptions and the ideology of the great powers. And this kind of campaign has been launched for a long

time with the support of a number of reactionary chauvinist literatures and ideas which are defended by the modernist critique and esthetics, which changes its names whenever its interests require this.

But the progressive world literature and art show that true art is capable of breaking all limitations, it cannot brook dictation, because it is inspired by the life, by the work of the people who fight for whatever human there is. As Goethe has put it, «Worth enjoying the freedom of life is only he that has to conquer it every day.»

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