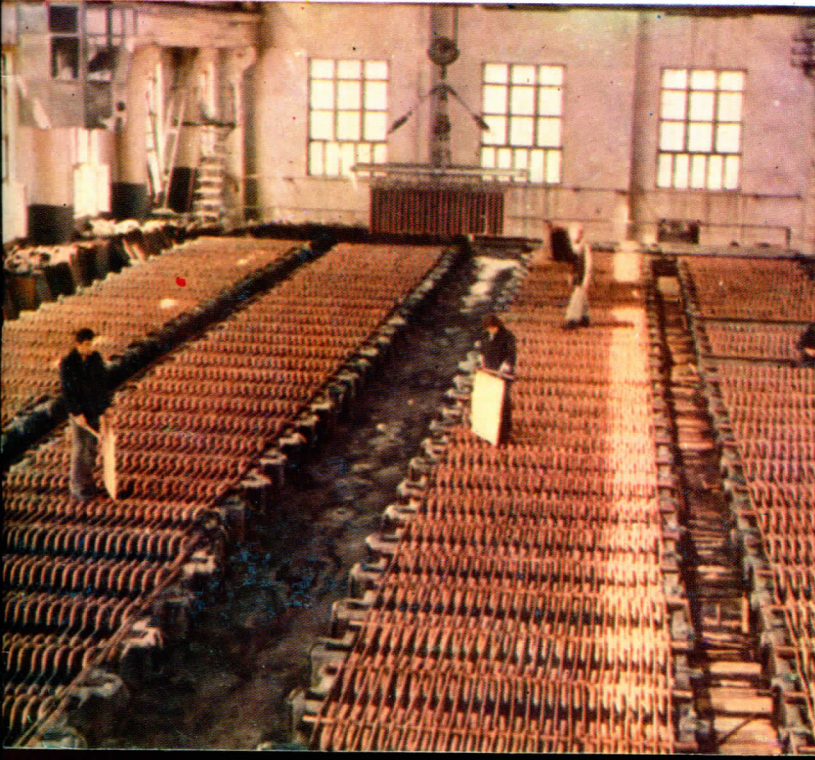


# Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 5 (114) 1990





ON THE ROAD THEY HAVE CHOSEN THEMSELVES, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ARE STRUGGLING WITH DETERMINATION AND IN A PATRIOTIC SPIRIT TO STRENGTHEN AND HEIGHTEN THEIR COUNTRY IN ALL FIELDS, DEVELOPING THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMY AND CULTURE AT MORE RAPID RATES AND CEASELESSLY DEEPENING THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.





## CONTENTS

- The strengthening of the people's state power  
and the improvement of the political system  
reinforce democratic developments* **2** RAMIZ ALIA
- The president of the presidium of the people's  
assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia,  
to the meeting of the foreign ministers  
of the Balkans* **16** RAMIZ ALIA
- The conference of the ministers for foreign  
affairs of the Balkan countries* **18**
- Chronicle* **29**
- An expression of the solicitude for the  
uplift of the well being of the working people* **36** HARILLA PAPAJORGJI
- The education reform in Albania is connected  
with the new requirements of the time* **43** SKËNDER GJINUSHI
- European community in the light of the 1990* **46** FATOS NANO
- Press review* **54**



# RAMIZ ALIA

## THE STRENGTHENING OF POWER AND THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION

### *Report of the Political Bureau to the (November 1961)*

Comrades,

This is the fourth meeting of the Central Committee of the Party within this year. Its duty is to analyze the course we have followed, appraise the changes that have taken place and define the further tasks on the road of socialist democratization. This meeting will discuss and decide what is to be done for the perfection of the political system, in particular, as the decisive link that guarantees the healthy progress of the whole social and economic life of the country.

Only nine months have gone by since the 9th Plenum, which gave us a more or less complete platform of the current developments and prospects for our society. But many changes have taken place. We can say that **no sphere of social activity has been left out of the revolutionary measures.** Before we take the next steps on the course of democratization, it is necessary that we draw the general characteristics of the changes that have been made.

The introduction of the new economic mechanism; the enhancement of the role of the

cooperativists' personal plot after we gave livestock and land to the peasants; the reorganization of services and handicrafts; the encouragement of cooperativist trade and the opening of the peasant market and permitting private work in services; the application of progressive remuneration for overfulfilment of work quotas and the increase of material incentives; the strengthening of business relations and social responsibility of the enterprise; the acceptance and guaranteeing of foreign investments — **all these things constitute a package of measures, an entire economic reform, which is aimed at increasing the initiative and the sense of responsibility of production subjects, and a major change in all structures.**

The positive changes we have undertaken in the relations of production enable us to build a more scientific economic policy. **They constitute a realistic political and economic program which we must carry further ahead. The Party must work continuously to make it clear.**

The new economic mechanism is being tested at present in about 100 enterprises. At this moment nearly 7000 services, handicraft, fruit and vegetable, trade and social catering units are working on the independent accounting system. From the increase of and some adjustments to



# OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM REINFORCE DEVELOPMENTS

***12th Plenum of the CC of the PLA  
(October 6, 1990)***

low wages the citizens will gain an additional fund estimated at about 500 million leks a year. The cooperativist families have three times as much land and twice as many cattle at their disposal. Work is going on to set up a bank specialized in foreign economic relations and concrete steps are being taken towards entering new forms of cooperation with foreign firms.

**We have made qualitative improvements, also, in the domain of social relations.** The appointment of cadres to positions by election in the collective or by competition; the limiting of the period of occupancy of the same post for many positions of responsibility, and of the mandates of re-election to the supreme organs of the Party and state; the creation of the Ministry of Justice; the establishment of the service of advocates for citizens from the stage of interrogation and in court; the amendments to the legislation which regulate the relations of citizens with the state better and define their rights and freedom of conscience; the issuing of passports to citizens and the intensification of their contacts with the world, are achievements of no ordinary importance which have deepened the processes of democratization.

The free participation of the collective in the meetings of the basic organizations of the

Party has placed the activity of the communists under the control of the masses and has brought their responsibility into greater evidence. The collective has become the highest authority with the right to decide not only on the selection of cadres, but also on admissions to the higher schools, the appointment of new cadres, as well as on the most vital problems of the citizens. Now the masses themselves are judges of these things.

In the field of law, too, we have proceeded in a dialectical manner. Development has brought development. A state newly emerged from the revolution, poor, and almost constantly under the pressure of the cold war, was bound to begin the fulfilment of the rights of citizens with those which constitute the basis of human dignity and personality — namely from political and social equalities. This correct policy of the people's state power ensured work for everyone and elimination of the exploitation of man by man; it brought the cultural and educational emancipation of the people and the radical improvement of their state of health. This policy established the equal political status of all citizens without distinction as to race, region, religion or nationality, and brought about national unity, as an indispensable condition for the freedom,







independence and sovereignty of our homeland. The achievement of these basic rights and freedoms created the conditions for us to set about achieving those rights and freedoms, known as universal rights, at a higher level.

We have taken measures, also, in regard to improvement of the political system, with the aim of enhancing the role of elected organs and the masses of the people. In this field, however, **there is a need for a thorough study to define more clearly the relations between the Party, the state organs and the organizations of the masses, as well as to examine the possibilities for a more efficient functioning of all the political structures of our society.** Likewise, it is necessary to improve the system of elections to the people's councils and the People's Assembly so that they are further democratized and ensure the broadest possible representation of various sections of the people in power. Since this question constitutes the main objective of this Plenum, I shall dwell on it in greater detail.

**As regards our foreign policy, we have aimed at deeper integration in the Balkan, European and world processes.** To this end we made our request for participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a member with full rights, for the official recognition of the Common Market and more extensive contacts with it; for the normalization of relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union, etc. Until now relations with the Soviet Union have been re-established; talks on the normalization of relations with the USA have been concluded and only the public proclamation by the American administration is expected. The successful conclusion of the Meeting of Balkan Foreign Ministers here, in Tirana, is a confirmation of the growing contribution of our country to the strengthening of cooperation on a larger scale.

As for the Common Market and the CSCE there are no new developments until now. It appears that certain circles and governments are using their consensus on Albania as a means of pressure to dictate various political precepts and conditions to our country. Naturally we have never done and never will do anything under anyone's dictate. Everyone must understand clearly that the Albanian people never have and never will put their freedom, independence and national sovereignty up for auction.

Our stands over problems of foreign policy respond to the changes that have occurred in the world. These changes made necessary a more extensive activation of our diplomacy with the main objective of safeguarding and strengthening the freedom of the homeland and making our victories more secure.

In the future, too, we will consistently follow the line on which we have decided. At the same time, we are aware that various forces will try to hinder the deepening and extension of democracy and to damage the international image of the Albanian state. Therefore we must adopt resolute stands and courageously defend the cause of the homeland, the people and socialism. To anyone who tries to damage these sacred things we will reply with all the means necessary to defend our free life.

**The program of the Party is a strategic one, therefore it cannot be expected to be accomplished in one day or one year.** Naturally this does not justify either procrastination or haste. The ideo-political preparation of the Party and the people must be raised to a higher stage. This becomes even more imperative because, as the reality shows, the social psychology, the cultural and technical level of cadres and workers is inadequate to cope with the requirements arising from the measures we are taking in various fields.

Experience shows that the practical results in every field are determined by the degree of preparation of the Party, the state organs and the working masses. Let us take the events of the 2nd of July. The fact is that the decision to issue passports to citizens was not understood properly and in time, either by those who had to carry it out or by many working people. A number of young people rushed into the foreign embassies without equipping themselves with the necessary documents. Some of them were lured by the promise that the outside world would welcome them with open arms. But they are learning fast that not paradise, but disillusionment, awaits them there.

Four months have gone by since that event, but astonishingly, complete and unified rules for issuing passports have not been established yet; people go abroad without permission from the place of employment, they return late, unconcerned that they might lose their jobs, they do not arrange their travel in such a way as to



avoid failing to perform their duties, a thing which is contrary to the laws, etc.

Misunderstandings arose, also, over the distribution of livestock and land to the members of the agricultural cooperatives. The Party instructed that these questions should be settled on a village basis, with the aim of ensuring fair and orderly action. But in some cases excessive greed was aroused and there were attempts to damage the common property and the cooperative itself.

The party organizations, the state organs, and the management committees of the cooperatives must not be idle onlookers when someone tries to give directives and decisions a wrong direction. They must take still stronger action when someone tries to damage the common property and wreck the cooperative. The whole village must put these elements in their place by strictly implementing the Statute. The cooperativist peasantry itself must protect its gains, its livelihood and its future.

Some individuals mistook the measures we took for the further democratization of the life of the country and our society as laxity and so they gave themselves the right to break discipline at work, to infringe the rules, to encourage anarchy in production, demand material benefits without increasing productivity and so on. It is a fact that during the summer months, especially, there were many absences from work. The working class, the Party and the state organs must do more to put an end to these manifestations. **Democracy means order and work, discipline and culture. There can be no democracy without production.** No one has the right to commit abuses at the expense of society.

This experience convinces us that our steps must be taken cautiously on the road of democratization and at the proper time, that all our propaganda for their implementation must be more active so as to make the ideo-political content of these decisions clear to the working people, while the executive state and economic organs must take the necessary technical-organizational measures in time. **But it must be strongly emphasized that cautious steps do not mean slowness and procrastination.** In implementing the measures we are taking, more

creative initiative, more revolutionary action are needed.

Without new practices, without a general psychological and juridical, technical and organizational preparation, the new concepts about the economy, about interests, about the relations between workers-collective-state have no value whatsoever for society. That is where the party organizations should begin their work. It seems a simple task, but it should not be taken lightly, because the transformation of psychology is the most difficult to be achieved. The changes in this field have to do not only with the formation, conviction and education of people, but also with their customs, the way of ordering their daily work and life, and the tradition which has been established over decades. A correct political decision can be taken with the involvement of the party leadership alone, but old psychologies and practices cannot be altered without the involvement of the whole people.

**Old conservative mentalities become dangerous because they are frequently presented under a cloak of principles.** They leave their mark and exert a considerable influence on public opinion, because they foster the idea that «we are making concessions and are deviating from the line», «abandoning socialism», etc. They see the new economic mechanism and the decisions in connection with the cooperativist plot, the measures in the field of social relations and some steps we have taken in our foreign policy, not as requirements of the time, connected with the development of the situation at home and abroad, but as changes in the strategy of the Party. So, in effect, the spirit of distrust is fostered and the value of current developments for the protection and promotion of the victories achieved is underrated.

It is clear that for bearers of such views, the economy, culture, the policy, social life and everything are unalterable, static, decreed once and for all. But our Party never has been and never will be dogmatic. It has triumphed because, while remaining loyal to its socialist ideals, it has known how to respond to the new situations and conditions, how to be dialectical.

The accomplishment of the tasks we have set requires a continuous struggle against bureaucracy. Despite the measures that have been and are being taken, in the state and economic apparatuses there is still much procrastination and

many bureaucratic stands. There are many administration workers who, far from distinguishing themselves for initiative and dynamism, hinder the implementation of the decisions taken. **The organs of the Party and the state must condemn such attitudes and distance themselves from them.** It is not the state which delays the solution of problems, it is not the state organs in themselves that are bureaucratized, but it is some mouldy officials of the administration who, in their personal conduct have nothing in common with the servants of the people, which our officials ought to be.

The program of the Party is impeded and harmed no less by liberal concepts, the bearers of which take no account of the conditions of our country, but are inspired by foreign recipes. They see the process of the development of democracy as a negation of the class struggle; they extend the development of the market and the operation of the law of value to the point of impairing the unified functioning of the economy and take no account of how and where this may endanger the people's power or the freedom of the homeland.

The efforts of all communists and patriots must be combined in the process the Party leads, so that we carry forward the decisions we have taken for democratization. **There is and will be no turning back. We must work with this conviction.** The Party will not permit us to remain in outdated positions, but, at the same time, it will never put the freedom and independence we have won, the people's power and the socialist values, in jeopardy. We will march forward on the road we have chosen ourselves and we are convinced that this road will lead the country towards new victories.

Another factor which prevents the process of the implementation of our program is the lack of knowledge. The truth is that we are still paying heavy penalty for ignorance. The law on private work was issued and the peasant market permitted. This ought to have been accompanied with the establishment of taxes as an economic factor and a means of control by the state. But our economic comrades and those of the Ministry of Finance in particular, have forgotten to make calculations and are taking a long time to work out the fiscal aspect

of the market mechanism. Likewise, there is inexcusable slowness and hesitation in approaching the contemporary forms of cooperation with the foreign world. The fact is that the state organs take a long time to draft the necessary laws and regulations after the Party and the People's Assembly have taken decisions. **At present this is one of the main contradictions which is hindering the work begun.**

While putting the emphasis on the need to implement the decisions we have taken, naturally there is also room for reflecting on further advances. With the new mechanism of the economy, **the enterprise will take upon itself a number of social problems which until now have been tackled mainly or solely by the state.** Within their own competences, on the basis of unified criteria and according to their economic strength, enterprises themselves will be able to resolve such essential problems of labour relations such as increasing the workers' income, employing new work forces, strengthening material incentives for innovations and rationalizations, etc.

The new mechanism gives enterprises the possibilities and necessary conditions to make profits. Each enterprise should give its own workers the same opportunity. Therefore we should proceed further towards making the workers' wages conditional on the profit of their work centre. At the same time, the legal conditions must be created to ensure that self-financing does not remain formal, but is fully accomplished not only in value as it is today, but also in investments, the structure of production, foreign currency, etc.

We must inculcate in everyone the conviction that **self-financing is an alternative that can't lead to profits only, but also to losses. This depends on the results of the work.** The new economic mechanism is two-sided: for the producer and for the consumer, for the enterprise and for the state, for oneself and for the others. In general, there is a unity of interests in this but there may also be clashes of interests, especially if profit is sought not from the increase of productivity but from the redistribution of the same values.

At present our economy is under the pressure of three powerful factors: the state with its social



policy, the people with their ever increasing demands for consumption, and the production enterprises and systems, with their needs for investments and material-technical supplies. These factors have been and will continue to be nurtured by the economy in the future, too. **The important thing, however, is to determine the priority and the level of the fulfilment of their demands as objectively as possible.** In this sense, the self-financing regulations have a profound political and social content, although in appearance they are simply economic in character.

Fulfilment of the tasks we face requires the mobilization of all the forces of our society. The work of the Party must be concentrated on the question of correct understanding of the measures and raising the level of mobilization. **It must explain that the reforms which the Party has undertaken at present in various fields of social activities are dictated by the present stage of development.** They have been made possible by the major transformations which have taken place during these 45 years of people's power, by the incomparable advances in all fields, by the completion of the structure of the economy, by the raised level of education and culture of the working people, by the emancipation of their way of thinking and living. They are required by the further development of the country, the need for technical and technological renewal and the deepening of the process of the intensification of production.

The setting up of a multi-branched economy from scratch made necessary the centralisation of sources of accumulation and investments while their orientation mainly for the renewal of equipment and technology dictates the need to utilize financial revenue to a greater extent, directly where it is created. A small economy can be administered with effectiveness and in a centralized way, too, but when its systems enter independently into multiple relations with one another, extension of the initiative and of the possibilities of the base for self-management is indispensable.

**The present initiatives of the Party have been impelled, also, by the lessons we have drawn and are drawing from the course we have followed.** A look back over the road we have traversed strengthens our conviction about the achievements, but it also allows us to realise that due

to lack of experience, historical circumstances, our insufficient and low level of knowledge, we have not always hit the mark and chosen the most advantageous alternative. We have said that our Party has not made mistakes in its line, and this is true when we speak of its strategic line. But hasty actions and even mistakes we have had.

Prompted by the desire to speed up the steps towards the future, we have applied the policy of socialization without fully exhausting the advantages of group ownership in natural ways, and indeed underrating them. So the cooperativist plot was reduced to the minimum, while artisan activities on a group or individual basis were nationalized. In both cases ideological motives predominated rather than the economic factors which, as life has proven, were not ripe for such an action. In the name of planning, the operation of the law of value was artificially restricted and **some objective economic categories like virtual depreciation, self-financing, etc., were dealt with as burdens of the past on socialism and as rightist phenomena.**

In combating bureaucracy, red-tape and formalism, we proclaimed the fiscal system alien, too, thereby reducing the possibility of society to exercise its right as owner of the means of production to control the incomes of groups and individuals. Absolutizing the traditional ratios between means of production and consumer goods, at various periods we have forced the pace of investments, especially in heavy industry. The principle of self-reliance, too, has frequently been conceived in a narrow manner in concrete activities, and the influence of this has been to restrict our economic cooperation with the outside world.

Undoubtedly, in some of our shortcomings and hasty actions we have been influenced also **by many practical solutions of problems of socialism in the Soviet Union, China and other countries, which were considered universal laws.**

Recognition of these defects has long ago impelled us to try to correct what we have not built correctly. However, the events in the countries of the East also have prompted and continue to prompt us to reflection. The question arises: **has the world historical experience of socialism, an experience which we have often**

taken as a point of reference in our practice, been, or is, completely faultless?

In the sixties we tried to find the causes which favoured the distortion of the system in the Soviet Union and laid the stress especially on the bureaucratization of the Soviet party and state, etc. This enabled us also to take measures to prevent such phenomena from occurring in our country.

Apparently, however, this is insufficient. So the need arises for us to deepen our analysis in order to draw the maximum lessons and advantage from the developments in the Soviet Union and the countries of the East.

On the theoretical plane, too, there are some problems still open and not fully explained. They include: the relations of the state organs with the economy, of the plan with the market, of conviction with coercion, of the class struggle with national and popular unity, phenomena which do not negate one another, but which evolve in reciprocal interdependence from one period to another. The theory of socialism is permanently in development and verification.

We should not be afraid of open discussion of these problems. A party which instead of discussing problems prefers to cover them up, a party without real internal democracy, without constructive debate, decays and dies. Likewise, our socialist society cannot develop without freedom of thought. Our Party has resolutely marched on this road and it will continue to do so. But to ensure that we always have positive results, requires work and education, patience, creativeness and militancy.

## II

Without a political order in which democratic development is a component part, it would have been impossible for all those directives and decisions of a profoundly progressive character bearing on the economy, culture, social life, legislation and foreign policy to have been conceived and put into practice. Precisely because our society has been and is of this

nature, the Party of Labour has been able to map out and lead the new phase of the all-round democratization of the life of the country, and become the initiator of new reforms.

We have dealt with the role of the political factor at the present phase on other occasions, too. As we know, the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee was devoted especially to the democratization of the relations of the Party with the masses. That Plenum forcefully emphasized the idea that **the leading role of the Party in society is not maintained either with orders or decrees, but with work, militancy and advanced thinking.**

The Party has won and retained its leading role since its founding, by devoting all its activities to the interests of the people, to the mobilization and organization of the masses in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the building of the new life, socialism. Our Party was the only political force which presented a clear program, which worked out the ideas and prospects of development of the new Albania. That is why our people have accepted and recognised the Party as their leading force, and consider its line and directives their guide in every field.

At the present phase the fundamental task is the further strengthening of the Party through emancipation of itself, the enlivenment of democratic debate and dialogue, and the broad and effective consultation of the opinion of the masses on all the problems and tasks presented by the time. The democratization of the life of the Party must include the communists themselves, who must set the example with work, not with words, and place themselves at the head of the democratic processes developing in our country. It must include the organizational structures and apparatus of the Party from the base up, which must free themselves from erroneous concepts and practices and not see their work, as often occurs, as that of organs with competences in all fields.

Precisely because it has been aware of this danger the Party has always worked to put its activities under the public judgement of the masses. A result of this is its resolute struggle against bureaucracy, its insistence on



strengthening the militancy and moral qualities of the communists, holding open meetings of the basic organizations, etc. We have dealt extensively with these aspects of the democratization of the relations of the Party with the people. This struggle is continuing and must be continued resolutely. But the danger of the abuse of power is avoided if, in practice, **in the concrete activity of the Party, correct relations are established and maintained between it and the other political and state subjects, with the working class and the working masses in general; if it is kept well in mind what the legitimate prerogatives of the Party are; and what functions belong to it in our social system.**

In 1972, in the speech he delivered in the Mat district, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed the thesis that the Party does not have unlimited rights. The communists are the minority, while the people are the majority; the Party is the part, whereas the masses are the whole, he pointed out in that speech. This thesis, which the Party has a duty to analyse and develop further, contains in itself the democratic idea of dialogue and pluralism of opinion.

What has to be kept well in mind and resolutely applied in practice? The Party must not order and command, it must not concentrate in its hands prerogatives which belong to other organisms. It should not and cannot directly exercise state power. The competent state organs exercise this, in the first place the representative organs, which are elected by the people themselves and which, under our Constitution and laws, are the bearers of the sovereignty of the people and state. The leadership and strength of the Party is based on the presentation of ideas, programs and prospects of development, which, being correct, well-studied and in the interest of the people, find reflection in all the activity of the state.

At present, we proceed mainly from practice, from tradition, to determine what the Party should do, what the state power should be involved in and what appertains to the economic organs. **This comes about, partly, because the duties, functions and attributes of the organisms which make up the system of the political leadership of the country have not been properly defined by law.** Partly, it comes about, also,

because instead of requiring each of them to accomplish its own tasks well and on time, the wrong way of usurping the competences of others is followed.

The orientations and directives of the Party establish the principled framework for given problems or fields. Proceeding from this, the way is opened to broad discussion, initiative, and concrete proposals from the communists and non-communists. This is how democracy, variety of opinions, pluralism of ideas, and the concrete contribution of every citizen to decisions bearing on the fate of the homeland and the fundamental problems of its present and future are expressed.

Pluralism of opinion has been present in our life in the past, too. **The present efforts of the Party are aimed to ensure a sounder organizational basis for it. For this purpose we must transform the existing social organizations into fully pluralistic subjects,** by rebuilding their links and relations with the Party and the state. The social organizations should freely express their opinions, the opinions of the masses they assemble, on any problem, whether bearing on social and economic problems, or the problems of internal and foreign policy, or any problem which has to do with the development of the country. By making them electoral subjects, too, under the new law that will be adopted, we create conditions for the social organizations not only to express their opinions, but also to defend them and the interests of the masses they represent in all the organs of state power, up to the People's Assembly, through their deputies.

Today when our society is involved in a process of major democratic transformations, when the social organizations have won great political maturity and enjoy special authority among the masses they assemble, any practice or mentality which aims at establishing a tutelage over them, which treats them simply as instruments of the Party, becomes restrictive, therefore it should be resolutely combated and eradicated. **The organizations of the masses, the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, etc., as socio-political organizations, have their own individuality and**

personality which are closely connected with the interests and aspirations of the masses they represent.

An immediate task is to enhance the role of the organizations of the masses, to emphasise their individuality and independence. Within the social organizations the way must be opened to constructive debate and the free expression of opinions. The cultured discussion of various political and economic problems which concern the country should lead to more rational solutions and the formation of a democratic education of people, which is so necessary for the present developments in our country.

All these problems should be made subjects of responsible discussion and study. But without waiting for the studies to be completed, in the various political activities ahead of us we must take measures to adapt ourselves to this spirit.

The Plenum is aware that new elections to the People's Assembly must be held soon, because the mandate of the present legislature expires at the beginning of February next year. The elections could be held in February 1991, or at another time, as the People's Assembly will decide at the session it will hold in a few days' time.

The content of the law on elections has special importance. Many consultations and discussions on this have been held, with the participation of production workers, jurists, representatives of the Party and social organizations, the state organs, etc. The general opinion has been that the new law should reflect better the level of political development ensured by the present structures of our social system and further encourage the participation and interests of the masses in the management of state affairs.

According to the draft which the Presidium of the People's Assembly has prepared and which will be presented to the coming session of the Assembly for final approval, **a higher and more effective level of political democracy than that existing up to now is guaranteed.**

It contains all the conditions for every citizen to freely exercise his right to elect and be elected. Under the new law, the secrecy of elec-

tions is guaranteed not only as a right, a possibility, but also as an obligation.

The fact that the political and social organizations of the country, such as the Party of Labour, the Democratic Front, the Youth Union, the Trade Unions, the Women's Union, the Writers' League and other recognised associations are **declared equal electoral subjects, which ensures a more pluralistic representation of the masses in the organs of state power**, speaks of the deepening of the people's democracy. Each of them has the right to present its own candidate in every electoral zone. The law gives no organization a preferential place, and this applies to the Party of Labour and the Democratic Front, too. The preference will be determined by the electors directly through their votes. All this will make possible a complete renewal of the legislative power in Albania. The new elections to the People's Assembly will be, at the same time, a practical verification of the authority of each political and social organization.

The draft-law envisages and sanctions the presentation of more than one candidate for each centre or electoral zone, **giving the citizens the right to decide freely before they go to the ballot box.** According to our tradition, the electors are recognised the right to propose their candidates directly, too, at people's meetings without it being necessary for them to be presented by any organization recognised by law. On the other hand, for the first time any citizen is recognised the right to present his own candidature, if he wants to, of course, after fulfilling certain conditions envisaged by the law which have to do, in the first place, with the character and aims of his program, which must be in conformity with the national interests.

The degree of development of democracy is measured by the possibilities the individual has to freely express his opinions, in the conditions that are guaranteed to him for that purpose.

Our country has its own experience and traditions. With us democracy has been and is realized through all the many subjects which exist in our political system, through the Party of Labour, but also through the organizations of the masses and various associations, through economic organizations, such as the agricultural cooperatives, but also through large



and small assemblies, village discussions of political, economic, social and other problems.

Now we are taking a new very great step forward. By increasing the number of electoral subjects, giving the social organizations the possibility to present their candidates for deputies, by recognising to every citizen the right to come out as an independent candidate, as well as retaining the tradition that the electors also propose their candidates for deputies directly, at people's assemblies, really full conditions are created for the extension and application of democracy.

All the comrades are acquainted with the draft-law, which has been published in the press. I believe that the Plenum of the Central Committee will support it, convinced that the new People's Assembly which will come out of the elections will be a clear expression of the democratic tendencies and culture of our people. The present electoral draft-law, being a platform of new democratic transformations in the field of the political system, will speed up the processes which the Party is leading and create new conditions for favourable developments in all fields. We must aim to ensure that **the forthcoming electoral campaign leads to strengthening the popular character of the state power; that it brings about a thorough-going transformation which will respond to the transformations we have mapped out in the economy, culture and other fields.**

In order to strengthen the work of the state it is also necessary to take concrete measures to put the relations between the elected and executive organs and the apparatuses on a new basis. Although the need for enhancing the role of the representative organs and ensuring their effective priority over the executive organs has been repeatedly emphasized, it cannot be said that this objective has been achieved.

The need is felt for further enhancing the role of the People's Assembly as the supreme organ of state power in our country. The main direction of the work of the Assembly must be the intensification of its legislative activity, which is relatively restricted today, because the overwhelming majority of the normative acts, especially those issued in the form of decrees, are

discussed and approved by the Presidium. Likewise, the need has been felt for a broader activation of the permanent commissions and an enhancement of their role, as well as for the strengthening of the Assembly itself, increasing its competences over the entire activity of the government. The method of work of the Assembly, as well as a clearer definition of the position and function of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, as the collective presidency of the state, must be studied and find expression in decisions, laws and special regulations.

Besides these things, measures must be taken also to overcome those practices which have led to the restriction of the role of representative organs as compared to that of executive organs and their apparatuses, both at the centre and at the base. For this it is necessary to **re-examine the question of competences with a greater sense of responsibility especially with a view to guaranteeing the integrity of the people's councils at the base, protecting their competences from interference by higher organs, and, indeed, from interference by administrative and economic organs.**

The Party, the organs of state power and all social opinion have become conscious of the need to put all their activity on a fully defined legal basis. In other words, this means that **we must strengthen the juridical state in all aspects. The law is above all. There is no instruction, decision, order or authority above the law.** The law may be inadequate or contain mistakes. Such shortcomings, which can be corrected, must not leave the way open to orders, arbitrariness or subjectivism, phenomena which breed injustice and chaos and cause grave social harm.

On the other hand, for the juridical state to function normally it is necessary that state activity be carried out only by the authorized state organs, whether elected or appointed for that purpose. **Our society must fully respect the exclusiveness of rights and competences recognised by law to the leading organs.**

While stressing the need for the strengthening of the juridical base of the activities of the state, we must point out that in general, laws are not lacking in our society, but they must be adapted to the new conditions and, above all, **must be known by the people, so as to make it possible for them to fully exercise**

their control. Those norms and regulating acts which define the responsibilities and rights of state organs, and which remain in office drawers or in closed circles impede this control. Experience shows that the exceeding of rights has been less frequent where the competences have been made publicly known.

A very important question which we must discuss at this meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee is the need for some changes which must be made to the fundamental law of the state, the Constitution. This has to do with several factors. First of all, it is linked with the developments our country has undergone and will undergo in the future, with the objective transformations which are taking place in the fields of the economy, culture and policy, with the improvement and extension of democracy in all fields of state activity and social life.

Our experience in the period since the approval of the existing Constitution leads us to the conclusion that most of the norms sanctioned by it have been useful and proved correct. They have contributed to the advance of the socialist construction of the country. While fixing the fundamental achievements of our social order up till that time, they looked forward to the future, and that is why they are valid to this day. At the same time, however, it must be said that some norms of this Constitution have not justified themselves and no longer conform to the requirements of our development.

The amendments to the Constitution are also dictated by the evolution of the international situation. The need for extended cooperation with the world; broader participation in various regional, European and world political processes; the increase in the number of agreements and the expansion of economic exchanges; participation in various international organizations which bind our country to certain political and juridical commitments, **require adaptation of the respective Articles of the Constitution to contemporary developments.**

It is necessary to formulate some new provi-

sions in the Constitution or supplement the existing ones in order to more clearly define the questions which have to do with the state and social organization, with the relations between the organs of power and those of the administration, between the state and economic activity, etc. Likewise, it is necessary to reformulate those provisions which we have changed by special laws. Such are the Articles on credits and joint companies, as well as those on the freedoms and rights of citizens, etc.

The need for changes to the Constitution must be presented to the People's Assembly, which has the right to decide on such a question. Of course, it will appoint a special commission to formulate the necessary amendments, so that the new Constitution with the respective changes is put forward for approval at one of the first sessions of the new Assembly which will emerge from the elections of February next year.

The commission which will deal with the amendments to the Constitution will face many problems. The masses of the people will also discuss these problems. At this meeting of the Central Committee I would like to express some ideas at least on three questions:

1. On the leading role of the Party. This has been and remains a question of special importance for the development of the country on the socialist road. That is why we have always worked and will work in this direction.

However, this cannot be achieved either through orders or the force of law. We are all witnesses to the fact that both in the past and at present, our Party has secured its leading role and great political and social influence among the people, not through legal norms but in practice through its struggle, work, self-sacrifice and loyalty to the interests of the people and the homeland. The leading role of the Party responded to our actual reality. In fact our first Constitution had no article which juridically sanctioned the status of the Party, but that did not prevent it from playing an indisputably leading role in our society for decades on end.



We said above that we must consolidate the rule of law. This not only does not negate, but on the contrary consolidates the leading role of the Party in our society, because the laws on which the entire activity of the state organs rests are a synthesis of the policy of the Party.

Therefore, the new Constitution may amend the Article which defines the Party as «the sole leading political force of the state.» In more correctly defining the leading role of the Party in our society, we must also consider the tradition and the originality of the development of our country. Both in the war for national liberation and throughout the whole period of major transformations, the Party has been and is a political subject which has always represented the most active, progressive and patriotic forces, the ones most closely linked with the interests of the people and the homeland. Consequently, the new Constitution must reflect this status of the Party, which with its program and line, with its work for the education and mobilization of the masses and for strengthening the unity of the people, is the fundamental support of the state in its work for the prosperity and progress of the Homeland.

Along with this, the Constitution must also define the status of the mass and social organizations.

2. By special law we have decided to allow foreign investments and cooperation with firms of foreign capital. This necessitates the changing of Article 28 of the present Constitution.

The aim of this Article has been and remains to make it impossible for anyone to rob our country of its freedom and independence, to put it in chains, to violate the sovereignty of the people over their natural assets. This is a sacred aim which we must safeguard in the future, too.

Therefore, while amending this article, we must bear in mind that, cooperation with foreign firms, the financing of projects or acceptance of credits, must take place only if they are not accompanied with political conditions and do not encroach on the sovereignty of the people and the freedom of the Homeland. This must

be expressly pointed out in the re-formulation of this Article.

3. Another important question which the Central Committee could discuss is the precise definition in the Constitution of the stand towards religion. From the very beginning our people's state has been secular, i.e. separated from the church. As a concept we have adhered to the idea of the men of the Renaissance that the religion of the Albanians is Albania, putting the question of national unity foremost. This stand has been and remains correct. However, the Constitution of 1976 has some formulations which go as far as to declare atheism a state norm. This is a violation of the freedom of conscience, because, just as everyone has a right to be an atheist, no one should be prohibited from believing.

In the changes that we made to our legislation, we deal with the question of holding a religious belief or not as a question of individual conscience. But Articles 37 and 55 of the existing Constitution prohibit the existence of religious institutions, which as is known, were closed down with the desire and on the initiative of the masses, the youth in particular. This is a contradiction which must be overcome, proceeding from the principle that it is the people who must decide such questions. We cannot oppose the circles and the opinion which are for the closure of religious institutions, just as we must not ignore those which might want to open them. In any case, let the people decide, just as they have done until now.

The precise definition of this stand in the Constitution does not mean that the communists and the others must abandon their atheism and their right to conduct atheist propaganda. The right to conduct atheist propaganda is as democratic as the right of those who want to believe.

In putting forward the above-mentioned questions which have to do with perfecting the political system, I would like to stress that these problems call for special attention. A great deal of explanatory and convincing work must be

carried out by the Party and various organizations; continuous education is needed so that every decision is understood correctly, and haste, passions and anarchy are avoided.

Care, of course, does not mean slowness and standing still, or what is worse retreat. Care means explanation, organization and revolutionary action to implement the directives of the Party. We must advance step by step, always looking ahead. Having achieved the first objectives, we must prepare to reach other new objectives. We must not go too far ahead of the masses of working people, or so slowly that we lag behind them. Both cases are fraught with dangers which may result in grave consequences for the people, the freedom and independence of the homeland and socialism.

We must not forget that the basis of success is linked with the economic situation, with progress in this field, with the results in production. **Neither democracy nor universal rights can be achieved without the necessary economic base.** Therefore, the higher the results of production, the better the fulfilment of plans, the more intensive and disciplined the productive activity, the stronger the homeland will be, and the more the democratization of life will advance.

That is why at this moment we must take at least a hasty glance at the situation and the development of the economy. We are close to the end of the year and the whole five-year plan, we are on the eve of the full implementation of the new economic mechanism.

If we are to make a full characterization of the present economic situation of the country, we must admit that **it is on the brink of a state of emergency.** All the main indices of the economy are below the level of last year, with the exception of the fund of wages and the circulation of retail goods. In order to avoid a debit balance in the state budget, a thing which has never occurred in our finances, we were obliged to reduce investments and other expenditure by hundreds of millions of leks. A psychological climate has been created, even in our own propaganda, when everybody speaks about and calculates what he will gain himself from the application of the new regulations, but there are very few people who rack their brains about how to increase production for society.

The question is not to find the causes when everyone can see clearly that the economic

results of this year are poor. The drought had its impact, it caused the energy crisis, great damage to agriculture and heavy losses in foreign trade. This factor operates outside our will, just as other factors do, such as the delays and obstacles often raised by foreigners for political motives, etc. The question is what are we doing, how are we working, at what rates, with what mobilization and organization, how are we responding to the conditions which have been created? It must be said that in work centres and in the countryside there is demobilization, to put it mildly, there is lack of discipline and inexcusable liberalism. Why should these entirely subjective shortcomings and weaknesses be added to the objective difficulties? What are the state and economic organs doing, why don't they strengthen their control, why don't they strictly apply the law and the Labour Code in cases of breaches of discipline, etc?

Why do the party committees look on? At these moments the party and the mass organizations must intensify their work for the mobilization of people to change the various processes and tendencies of the economic development in a positive direction. Every worker, in town and countryside, must understand clearly that the progress of the country depends on our work and our work alone. Nothing comes about automatically or as a gift from anyone.

Therefore, we must mobilize all our forces to improve our work in every sector. Besides the traditional factors which favour the improvement of things, the freedom of self-action in enterprises, the business spirit, profit-sharing among workers, as well as the other possibilities offered by the levers of the new mechanism must assume the concrete economic expression of their superiority in production and in services.

The Central Committee of the Party must express its sense of responsibility for this situation by getting down to work with a new drive and confidence in our own forces. This example, the militant commitment of all communists, will be the most effective call and leadership for the accomplishment of the present tasks and putting into practice the decisions of the 12th Plenum. The economic problems are merging more with political problems in our reality, therefore we must follow them up and solve them as a whole.

Long live the Party!

# THE PRESIDENT OF OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PSR OF ALB TO THE MEETING OF T OF THE B

Distinguished Messrs. Ministers,

The meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries in Tirana gives me the pleasure to convey to you my best greetings and wish you success in your work and most fruitful results.

I would like to express my hope and confidence that this meeting of senior government representatives of the Balkans will render its contribution to the further rapprochement and friendship of our peoples and countries, to enhanced cooperation among them and to the strengthening of peace and security in general in such a sensitive and delicate region as the Balkans.

The Tirana Meeting takes place two years after the Belgrade meeting and after a great number of intergovernmental activities at various levels and by different sectors, among many government and public institutions and personalities.

All this work that has been done with the good will of all participants, with a sincere desire of all parties, constitutes a source of encouragement and a sound basis for further progress.

It is a noble task of great responsibility before our countries and peoples to consolidate and materialize this desire and constructive spirit with the conclusion of concrete programs that would further extend and step up the process of Balkan cooperation.

The positive changes that are currently taking place in international relations, have also led to a favourable atmosphere for the advance of the process of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in our region.

The essential thing is that there is a growing conviction and confidence that the many contra-

dictions among various countries cannot be solved through policies and practices of confrontation, armaments race and total opposition, that the best way of overcoming them is the establishment of all-round cooperation and integration on the basis of understanding and confidence among the peoples.

This concept is useful especially for the adjustment and reconstructing of relations among the Balkan countries, which unfortunately are still loaded by the legacy of their history, which is as glorious as it is tragic.

I believe that we, the Balkan peoples, just as we are aware of the good traditions that testify to friendship and fraternal cooperation, are also aware of the quarrels and tensions in our region, which rise from inherited unsolved problems. However, if the roots of these problems go deep into history, this does not mean that it will take just as long to change the situation and enhance the climate of confidence.

In a world which is rapidly changing, the past does not help us to advance with the necessary speed. Liberation from the shackles of old mentalities is an imperative of our time. Certainly, this cannot be achieved without efforts and strong political will. But the objective towards which we should advance is to foster the interests of our peoples, of friendship and peace, security and progress among them.

A new vision is needed not only for the promotion of the process of Balkan cooperation, but also for its role in the European cooperation, too. Establishment of peace and security space in the Balkans would be, if not a condition, a factor of major importance for security in Europe, the creation of an all-European basis for coopera-



# OF THE PRESIDIO E'S ASSEMBLY ANIA, RAMIZ ALIA, HE FOREIGN MINISTERS ALKANS

tion, and, in general, for the establishment of understanding and confidence among the peoples of our continent.

With their political stands and practical activities, the Balkan peoples have proved that they desire to be not only an integral part of future Europe, but also an active force building it. Proceeding from this conviction, Albania has pointed out that for a stable, harmonious and secure co-existence to be achieved in Europe, general security of the states and peoples that make it up is necessary. However, in our opinion, if this is not accompanied with broad economic cooperation to the benefit of all, true security is hardly possible.

It is known that Europe owes much to the Balkans. Certainly, we, the Balkan peoples, have our faults for our relative backwardness in many fields. However, the Europeans are not blameless, either. It should be believed that they, whether in the West or in the East, understand that they have much to do towards our peoples.

Hence, our countries growing awareness of their common interests which finds its best expression in the consolidation and advancement of the Balkan process, is also an indispensable necessity for equal partnership with the other nations of the Europe of tomorrow.

In the Balkans there are many problems among its nations, which hamper such rapprochement and cooperation as the modern times require. I do not want to exaggerate, nor do I want to be pessimistic, but life has shown that any delay in the solution of these problems entails the evil of their further deepening and exacerbation. So it is up to us to make bold and cope with

them, no matter how difficult the first steps may seem. Let us sit down and discuss in a constructive manner and look forward to the future.

We must struggle for an open, sincere and friendly dialogue over any problem and any conflict without exception. Let us overcome obstacles through greater cooperation, emphasizing common interests and struggling for their defense. With the changes that are taking place in Europe now, new common interests are emerging for our countries. We could not exploit them to the full, were we to act separately. They represent another subject of discussion to cope with the challenges of the time and to coordinate efforts.

I would like to express my confidence that the Balkan countries have all the possibilities from now on to march in one rank and in step with the other countries and regions of Europe, and to make their contribution to the security and advance of the whole continent.

Therefore, let us concentrate all our energies and the dynamism, traditions and creativeness of our peoples in a positive direction, let us channel them into the progressive currents of our time for the lofty and sacred cause of the defense of peace and security for all, of the strengthening of freedom and the improvement of the well-being of all.

Honoured Ministers for Foreign Affairs, along with the hope that your meeting will make a valuable contribution on the attainment of these lofty aims, allow me to assure you that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is determined to make all possible efforts for the strengthening and further advance of the process of Balkan cooperation, as an integral part of European cooperation.

# THE CONFERENCE OF THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

*The Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries was held from 24th to the 25th of October in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana. The meeting was attended by the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Lyuben Gotsev; the delegation of the Hellenic Republic, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Antonis Samaras; the delegation of Romania, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Adrian Nastase; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Kurtsebe Alptemoçin; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Budimir Lončar; and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile.*

*Present at the opening session was also the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani, and other party and state leaders.*

*In the hall of the Palace of Congresses, Comrade Ramiz Alia met the foreign journalists who had come to report on this important Balkan activity and wished them success in their work.*

*At the hall of the Palace of Congresses, Comrade Ramiz Alia met and greeted the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries. «We are for friendship and that is why we have gathered here today,» he said. «We are predisposed to be friends with one another. Our countries have been here for centuries, and it is no one's intention to displace the other. We have much to do, but from what I can see we are all optimistic. The times give us the right to be optimistic. But much depends also on the people. This is up to us. We must be agreed on it. I hope that this meeting will be in the interest of all our countries. The Balkans is a point of major importance and this is true not only for today, it has been like this in the history over the centuries. The road of history have met here, from the East and the West, from far and near. Therefore, the more united the peoples of the Balkans are, the better it will be, especially in the present world with all the processes of integration and cooperation among the peoples. All these factors demand that the Balkans, too, should be a*

*positive factor in this integration process. We have the possibilities and the desire for it.»*

*The meeting was declared open by the Foreign Minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.*

*The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, greeted the meeting of the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries.*

*In the full session, the foreign ministers of the Balkan unanimously elected the Albanian minister for Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, chairman of the meeting.*

*After approving the agenda, the floor was taken by the minister for foreign Affairs of the PR of Bulgaria, Lyuben Gotsev,*

*Among other things he said: My country has irreversibly embarked upon the road of democratization and I would like to assure you that it will strictly observe the status quo in Europe and on the Balkans and will be a firm opponent to any territorial or other claims violating the interests of any State. We, of course, expect the same approach from our partners.*

*The Bulgarian Foreign Minister gave an assessment of the Balkan activities since the ministerial Meeting in Belgrade. I would like to stress that the regional forms of cooperation have started acquiring special importance. Their very essence and objectives help to further consolidate and enrich the positive trends of development of the CSCE process. We consider that the future of our multinational cooperation lies in its integration in a unified Europe and in the final run as an inseparable part of the CSCE process.*

*The hitherto established mechanism for Balkan cooperation is open and has real possibilities for self-development. Taking into account, however, the headway made by the CSCE process, the different regional forms of cooperation taking shape on the Continent and the need for a better organization and coordination of the Balkan cooperation in all its dimensions, we consider that its serious institutionalization is expedient.*

*Proceeding from the experience of other international organizations, the Bulgarian delegation proposes that a Permanent Balkan Secretariat be set up. If the other Balkan countries share our view, it will be a great honour for Bulgaria to become a permanent host to such an institution.*

*With a view to consolidating the mechanism of Balkan cooperation, I would like to express Bulgaria's*

readiness to host the Third Follow-up Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs. In our view it could be held in the fall of 1991.

In this connection we embrace the idea for drafting of a document on principles of good-neighbourliness between the Balkan countries. It would be a concrete contribution to the political aspect of our cooperation.

At the same time our country would like to propose that a meeting of the defence ministers of the Balkan States be held in the first half of 1991, in Sofia.

We hope, he said in conclusion, that the first meeting on humanitarian dimensions of the Balkan cooperation which is due to take place in Sofia, will reaffirm the readiness of all Balkan States to approach the humanitarian issues and those related to the cultural and informational exchange in keeping in pace with the trends and standards of the CSCE process.

In his speech the Greek minister for Foreign Affairs **Antonis Samaras**, expressed his belief that the present meeting will further promote Balkan cooperation and strengthen the ties among our countries for the benefit of the peoples of our region and of Europe as a whole. We are all aware of course, he said, of the impact that the Balkan cooperation process has already had, not only in terms of concrete results but also, more importantly, in reinforcing our belief in the value and usefulness of such an exercise.

What is, therefore, required is the next decisive step. By that I mean the will of us six to institutionalize the Balkan Cooperation.

The Foreign Minister of Greece gave a review of the results already achieved in the various fields of Balkan cooperation, since the first meeting of the six Foreign Ministers in Belgrade.

He mentioned three important meetings at ministerial level in the field of economic, trade and industrial cooperation.

Allow me to reiterate, he pointed out, that the CSCE process, in which we are all members or observers, includes as a major element among its prime targets, the protection of the environment in the greater Mediterranean region, thus opening parallel important mechanism of cooperation. Having in mind the tragic events of Chernobyl, I would like to bring to your attention the real threat that the existence of nuclear plants in our region constitutes for the environment.

The Greek Foreign Minister welcomed the results achieved by the 1st Meeting of the Ministers of Energy of the Balkan countries held in Tirana, the expansion of cooperation in combatting terrorism and illicit drugs and arms trafficking, etc.

He pointed out the commitment of his country to the establishment of the Research Institute for Balkan Economic Cooperation in Athens.

Let me also refer to our proposal for the materialization of contacts among our respective Parliaments by creating Parliamentary groups of Balkan friendship and multilateral cooperation, said the Greek Foreign Minister. Convinced that in this way our Parliaments will be

directly involved in the Balkan process, we hope that these groups will be soon created.

As to the Albanian proposal to draw up and adopt the principles of good neighbourliness in the Balkans, we believe that bold new initiatives should be undertaken to create an atmosphere of peace, confidence and Security in the region. This is of paramount importance in view of the fact that the Balkan sub-region is also affected by the impact of the tremendous changes taking shape in Eastern and Central Europe. In this respect, we propose that a meeting of experts should be convened to draft a document which would adopt confidence-building measures along with principles regulating good neighbourly relations. Such a document should reflect similar undertakings and principles of the CSCE process, adapted to conditions in the South Eastern Europe.

In other words, the Greek Foreign Minister continued, the ten principles of the CSCE are the political Guide-Charter, which represent the new European spirit. Those ten freedoms that constitute the whole philosophy of the Helsinki process are directly linked to peace, security and full respect for human rights of all peoples and of all national, ethnic, religious and other minorities, wherever they exist in our region.

We are here, the Foreign Minister of Romania, **Adrian Nastase**, said, in the beautiful Capital of Albania, to lay the grounds for a new partnership in the Balkans.

A requirement of our times is co-operation in economy, science, technology, trade, culture and other spheres directly relating to human progress. In fact, most of Balkan meetings and activities after the Belgrade Conference were devoted to these subjects.

The Romanian Foreign Minister pointed out the specific proposal of his country concerning the development of Balkan co-operation in the fields of informatics and communications, the creation of a data bank in agriculture and of an institute for medical studies and research, more effective utilization of the mountains resources, small and medium-size enterprises.

We also believe that attention should be given to the establishment of a set of measures for the strengthening of confidence between Balkan states, which could go beyond the measures agreed upon at the general — European level.

Confidence-building measures in the Balkans could also include the development of military contacts, such as meetings of defence ministers and or chiefs of staff, as well as contacts in the fields of military education, including student exchanges.

Finally, in the same area of confidence, it would be useful to agree on a system of procedure for the prevention and settlement of disputes and tensions between the states of the region.

In this spirit, the Romanian Foreign Minister proposed that a code of co-operation of the Balkan states of ethnical and national minority issues be worked out.

An efficient co-operation between states in this field could be supported by the establishment of a Balkan



Research and Documentation Institute on ethnical and national minority issues capable of offering governments data and facts concerning the real political, economic, social and cultural situation of persons belonging to ethnical and national minorities, and recommending solutions to be adopted at governmental level.

Pointing out the need to ensure a certain periodicity of meetings at various levels of decision-making factors from Balkan states, Nastase said that as far as the meetings of foreign ministers are concerned, we welcome the readiness of our countries to hold such meetings at shorter intervals, once a year.

We note with satisfaction that there is a convergence of views in favour of holding a first meeting of the heads of state or government of our countries. Romania would be honoured to host such a Conference.

The Foreign Minister of Turkey, Ahmet Kurtcebe Altıemecin, said in his speech: It is our sincere wish that this meeting constitute a new phase in the process of Balkan cooperation. I am personally convinced that the chances are greater this time to achieve more tangible results in the period ahead.

It is our hope, the Turkish Foreign Minister pointed out, that this Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers will mark the beginning of a new phase during which the Balkan cooperation will gain momentum enabling us to achieve concrete results. At this juncture, we considered the idea of convening, following adequate preparations, of a Summit Conference of the Balkan countries. In case our assessment is shared by all others, Turkey would be willing and ready to host in 1992 the first Balkan Summit Conference. Another proposal was that of holding the Foreign Ministers Meeting on annual basis.

Speaking about the need for closer cooperation in various fields of the economy and trade, the Turkish Foreign Minister proposed that an Economic Committee, composed of Balkan Minister of Foreign Trade Economy, be established. Such a committee would meet once a year in one of the Capitals of Balkan countries on rotational basis.

Turkey proposes the establishment of a Balkan Development Bank which should provide loans to individual projects as well as to those projects jointly developed by the Balkan countries, to cope with the financial challenges currently facing us.

The Turkish Foreign Minister devoted particular attention to establishing direct contacts between private enterprises and organizations, of the Balkan countries. Consequently, founding a Joint Balkan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, may constitute a step forward in this field.

The Government of Turkey also attaches great importance to the development of cultural relations among the Balkan countries, which are vital for cultivating mutual understanding and friendship among the peoples of the region.

Future cooperation in this potential area could cover emergency health and relief assistance in natural disasters,

preventive medicine, training and exchange programmes, closer contacts between Red Cross societies and so on. And, as follow-up to the decision reached at the Belgrade meeting in June 1989, a further meeting of experts could be held to discuss possibilities of enhanced cooperation among the Balkan countries in the field of combating terrorism and illicit arms trafficking.

Many important developments have taken place in the Balkans, even more in Europe, in a rather short period of time, from Belgrade, two and a half years ago, to Tirana today. The changed environment and the new circumstances should give a new meaning to our discussions here and affect our decisions, said the Yugoslav secretary for Foreign Affairs, Budimir Lončar. We have committed ourselves to better understanding and cooperation as the main levers of inter-Balkan relations. We will make progress only if we manage to «Europeanize» our Balkan disadvantages, but many advantages as well.

In making a great leap forward Europe increasingly sees itself as one and whole. This includes the Balkans and every other region. Europe cannot and must not go back. This equally binds all of us. As a country with four Balkan neighbours, Yugoslavia looks upon Balkan cooperation as one of the best ways to promote good-neighbourly relations and other goals, principles and standards of the CSCE, and the ongoing positive processes in Europe and in the world. For the same reason we are committed to the Mediterranean and the Pentagonal cooperation.

We have stepped into the field of security and confidence building measures, cooperation in combating terrorism, drug and arms trafficking. Still we have not, I believe, covered the whole spectrum of possibilities.

Budimir Lončar pointed out that Yugoslavia is committed to the implementation of all agreements reached at previous meetings: to the cooperation among the chambers of commerce and industry and to the establishment of a Balkan Chamber of Commerce; to the cooperation in arbitration; to organizing general and specialized fairs; to the cooperation in finance and banking; to the joint industrial production in free trade zones; to the expansion of trade in border areas; to simplifying formalities in commodity exchange and industrial cooperation; to long-term forms of cooperation in trade, industry, construction and consultancy services.

We are fully committed to dialogue and cooperation as the most powerful means of international cooperation today. We see the prospect of the Balkan cooperation in its relative autonomy and in its integration in European trends and the CSCE.

We consider it of vital interest to all Balkan states and nations that the political, economic, legal, and even psychological wall which has long separated the Balkans from the rest of Europe be pulled down. That is, *inter alia*, a price to pay for joining the current European trends and certainly a common obligation to apply more good will, tolerance and determination to finding solutions to the existing problems and promoting cooperation in the Balkans.

Speaking about the problem of minorities, he said that national and minority problems in Europe have to be dealt with according to the generally accepted standards of human rights and freedoms, recognized in the Helsinki and Copenhagen documents.

Finally, let's not forget that regional cooperation proves to be one of the most effective ways for building a new Europe.

We in the Balkans, not only can, but must open up new vistas.

We know from experience that good results are possible if we have adequate and efficient political mechanisms and permanent channels of communication.

Therefore, I propose regular meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to be held at least once a year. These should be working, brief meetings following the European pattern. The problems we face both in our bilateral relations and in multilateral cooperation, evidently call for such practice. It might eventually bring about a Balkan summit meeting.

From the speech of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSRA, Reis Malile

Distinguished colleagues,

It is an honour and pleasure for me to once more bid you welcome to the capital city of our country, where we are opening today the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states. I express my conviction that this meeting will make possible a fruitful exchange of views and ideas on the progress of Balkan cooperation hitherto, and on the opportunities and ways to further enrich and consolidate it.

The period that has elapsed since the Belgrade Meeting to date, described as the first phase of this process, hailed by the peoples of the Balkans, has rather had an exploratory character, to seek the fields of and promote co-operation wherever it is truly possible. Our judgement is that this Meeting's duty is to work out the guidelines and ways in order to concretize and carry co-operation to a qualitatively new stage. To this end, it is understandable that painstaking, concerted efforts and a broader vision which responds to contemporary developments are required.

The many inter-Balkan meetings and activities at a ministerial, high officials or experts level in the political, economic, scientific and other fields have paved the way for a regional dialogue of unprecedented dimension.

Worthy of mention are, especially, the meeting of High Officials of the Foreign Ministries held during this period in all the Balkan capitals, the meetings of the Ministers of Transport, the Economy or Foreign Trade, of experts on ecological problems and tourism, etc. Though they brought about only modest results, the important fact is that we got together and discussed problems of mutual concern and interest, trying to gradually create that spirit of understanding and confi-

dence that opens the way for fruitful co-operation. The process of inter-Balkan co-operation is, step by step, taking shape as a new element of our region's politics which ensures the crumbling of old or new, real or artificial, barriers impeding the rapprochement of our peoples and countries.

If by virtue of history and geography the Balkan peoples have shared mutual interests and been united, the contemporary developments in our continent render this rapprochement and co-operation among our peoples and countries even more indispensable today. The Balkans cannot be conceived as separated from Europe just as it cannot be left outside its trends in general, because this region bears a specific weight on the European balance and has a significant geo-political position.

The interests of our peoples, peace and progress call for the overcoming of the bitter legacy of the past. The time has already corroborated that political dialogue represents the best course to overcome and settle problems, no matter how difficult they might be. In the case of our region, this dialogue is being intensified and associated with a concrete co-operation imbuing it with substance.

A new concept on European security is taking shape in Europe, aiming at freeing it from the spirit of blocs and confrontation and ensuring security for all through the democratization processes and close co-operation in order to build a European structure where each and every state, people and country of the continent can, while preserving its national physiognomy, live in harmony, understanding and security with others. An idea is steadily gaining ground everyday that the development of all from the economic point of view, an all-sided, most varied co-operation lead to genuine security, just like security and fruitful co-operation imply observance of the legitimate right of the states to be independent, sovereign and equal. Security, co-operation and development call for the harmonization of the specific and general interests.

The CSCE process, which is moving towards its institutionalization, has turned into a reference point in the current European processes. We hope that this institutionalization that will be carried out in the Paris Summit will lay stable foundations for the security and peace in Europe and the world.

The new situations created in Europe benefit and provide space for Balkan co-operation, ensuring its natural connection with the CSCE. Conceiving the Balkans as an integral part of Europe implies that the tranquility, security and development of this region depend, to a considerable degree, on the situation in Europe. Similarly, a peaceful and stable Balkans directly benefits Europe as a whole and the Mediterranean.

The advantages offered by regional co-operation should be utilized to the maximum and, at the same time, be coordinated and harmonized with those of other regions. Building concrete relationships with the European Community and other economic bodies on a regional scale and further afield creates new, even bigger

potentials of co-operation between our region and other regions.

When new structures of security and co-operation are being built on our continent, it is but natural that Balkan co-operation, too, should not lag behind. At the present stage we can find some element of a certain institutionalization of the Balkan process, such as the periodical meetings of high officials, therefore, it would be appropriate to seek such ways and means and organizational forms that could make this co-operation richer, more effective and place it on a more solid basis. For instance, we would propose to pass over to annual meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan states. This would be, in a way, a political forum in our region, which would make a periodical appraisal of the advancement of this process and would set the guidelines of its follow-up activities. Of special importance would be the holding of a summit of the Balkan states, which would deal with problems preoccupying our region today and open up new vistas for co-operation.

We are of the opinion that the issues relating to security and confidence-building measures should become a subject of discussion and for an exchange of views in order to extend and consolidate the basis of Balkan co-operation. It would also be necessary to set up bodies or similar organisms that would deal with specific aspects of economic co-operation in all its complexity, including cultural, humanitarian and other questions.

Distinguished colleagues,

Even though we cannot say that old mentalities and cold war hangovers have been overcome, the important thing is that Balkan co-operation is blazing its way to the future as a positive and realistic alternative. At a time when new situations are being created and when settlements of conflicts and complicated problems are being sought and achieved in the field of international relations, it is natural for the Balkans, too, to advance in step with the time. Today, more than ever before, good neighbourliness, as a relationship which has brought forth not only similar historical destinies but also common interests and obligations, should turn into a norm of common interests and obligations, should turn into a norm of conduct among the countries of our region. In actual fact, it constitutes the foundation stone of Balkan co-operation. Good neighbourliness implies, in the first place, the development of bilateral relations. And the fact is that when bilateral relations are freed from negative factors and based on mutual respect and understanding, multilateral relations, too, develop positively.

The Albanian delegation would like to mention again the idea and proposal it has submitted before, to draft and edit a document on the principles of good-neighbourliness. It is beyond doubt that such a document will be based on well-known international norms,

including those of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, in which the realities of our region are also reflected. Our opinion is to draft and edit this document and submit it for approval to a Summit of the Balkan states. That would mark a valuable political achievement that would fulfill an ancient aspiration of the peoples of the region.

Good neighbourliness and the process of Balkan co-operation based upon it, genuine security and confidence-building in our region, are closely linked with a very sensitive question — that of ethnic minorities.

All the Balkan states have already recognized the correct view that minorities should constitute a factor of cohesion, rapprochement and friendship among our peoples. It is indispensable that the spirit of the democratic processes of our time should characterize one's attitude towards this delicate problem with the aim of ensuring national, political, economic and cultural rights, developing the historical traditions and preserving, the ethno-psychological composition on national minorities. Our countries and region will, in so doing, open a broad avenue to democracy, humanitarianism and civilization. That implies neither border rectifications nor unification of minorities with their national states. The point is to refrain from erecting barriers that give rise to isolation and follow a policy which should make minorities feel an equal and worthy part of the people within whose borders they live. This would only bring about the rapprochement and friendship among our Balkan peoples whom history has, more than any where else, mixed up with one another, rendering the ethnic minority issues as tangled as it is sensitive.

Colleagues and guests,

Time has proved that important areas of co-operation of an economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian character exist in our region. Various proposals have been forwarded in these respects at the meetings held hitherto. We hold that new possibilities have arisen to find most varied ways and forms of more intensive co-operation, not only among the countries of the region. This necessitates a more active participation of the Balkans in the economic co-operation with the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean. This co-operation offers opportunities for better partnership. Worth mentioning is the fact that initiatives have been taken of late on a regional scale in Europe, in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, which lay stress especially on co-operation in the fields of ecology, transport, tourism, etc. It is our opinion that they offer a good opportunity of co-operation and benefit for our region as well.

To render Balkan co-operation as fruitful as possible, we consider it necessary to undertake initiatives and utilize advanced contemporary ways and means in our economic and commercial exchanges, including cross-border trade, the field of energy and, in particular,



well-studied exploitation of frontier waters, the mining and upgrading of natural resources, the field of transport, agriculture, tourism, etc. The recommendations made at various Balkan meetings for specialized co-operation, including the application of such forms of co-operation as co-production or the setting up of joint ventures, the encouragement of and provision of facilities for one-another's capital investments etc., are not only necessary but fully possible as well.

We think that a topic of discussion which arouses interest in economic co-operation in our region is the identification of the most adequate solution for the lifting of barriers to economic and trade co-operation, as well as for co-operation in commodity marketing, etc. We also hold that it is high time to examine in more concrete terms the proposals made for the establishment of a Balkan Chamber of Commerce, financial and economic bodies, etc.

Legislation is an area where amendments and adoptions are currently under way in many countries.

In Albania, as part and parcel of the further democratization of the country's entire life, we are further improving our legislation, making amendments dictated by the progress time has brought about at home and abroad while reflecting the current tendencies and democratic processes.

In this context, co-operation among the Balkan countries in the field of Justice would be a justified and useful efforts in the exchange of views and ideas and drawing upon each other's experiences.

In close connection with the foregoing, we think that our countries should keep on stepping up the co-operation that has started at the Balkan meetings concerning the combat against terrorism and illicit drug traffic, phenomena and ills which we are all interested in guarding the Balkans against.

While scientific and technological co-operation on the bilateral plane has justified its usefulness, we think that it would be of interest to find the ways and means of co-operation, which encourage undertaking of joint studies on a regional scale. Such studies can cover the fields of energy, geology, agriculture, health service and environmental protection, etc.

With regard to transport, the Balkan meetings held so far have revealed the common need to strengthen the Balkan multilateral and bilateral co-operation, aimed at selecting the most rational routes of passenger and goods movement in the Balkans. We would be pleased to host the meeting of the Ministers of Transport of the Balkan states in Tirana in 1991.

All the Balkan countries have shown their concern and solicitude for the ecological problems of the region. Thanks to concerted efforts and the interest shown, it has been made possible to work out a draft-ecological convention whose conclusion would mark a significant achievement in a field that concerns the entire international community today.

The Balkans is renowned for its cultural and artistic heritage and its contribution to the treasury of civilization in general. Balkan-wide cultural activities would

contribute to better acquaintance with each other's individual and common values, as well as to the rapprochement and friendship of our peoples. Balkan cultural events, arts exhibitions and other activities can be organized in this framework. Commendable work in the fields of education and culture can be done with a more intensive activity and further co-operation on the part of the UNESCO National Commissions of the Balkan countries.

It is a positive fact that various Balkan meetings and seminars on health have been held time and again. The extension of co-operation in this domain in such a narrow region as ours becomes even more necessary. Therefore, we would suggest the holding of a meeting of the Ministers of Health of the Balkan states to give a fresh impetus to co-operation in this field.

The deepening of the Balkan co-operation process requires the encouragement and intensification of bilateral and regional contacts of parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations, such as the committees for Balkan understanding and similar organizations, as well as of personalities in various fields of social activity. All of this will also serve the consolidation of bilateral relations which, in fact, constitute the starting point of this co-operation. As well as this, it will serve the creation and strengthening of the opinion which benefits the trend to understanding and confidence in the region. The mass media have a specific role in this context to disseminate objective information that would encourage the built-up of a positive and sound public opinion.

In conclusion, allow me to express the conviction of the Albanian Government that the deliberations of this meeting will be conducted in a friendly spirit and with full success, and that the process of Balkan co-operation will enter a new stage while recording further achievements to the benefit of peace, stability and progress in our region.

Thank you.

*The meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Balkan countries received greetings from many personalities of various countries of the world: the Secretary General of UNO, Perez de Cuellar, the President of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Zhelu Zhelev, the President of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze and the founder of the order of missionaries of charity, Mother Teresa.*

*At the closing session, the participants discussed the proposals and recommendations for the drafting of the Joint Communiqué.*

*Among other things, the ministers agreed that the meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries be held each year. The next meeting will be held in Sofia in the autumn of 1991.*

*The meeting heard and unanimously approved the Joint Communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkans and the message that the Meeting sent*

to the Paris Summit of the heads of state or government who will participate in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on November 19-21 of this year. The closing speech was made by the minister for Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.

In the Joint Communiqué it is said:

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan States met in Tirana, on October 24-25, 1990.

The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, addressed the Meeting.

In a friendly and cooperative spirit, the Ministers exchanged views and appraised the advancement of the process of Balkan co-operation to date, which was initiated with the First Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, in 1988, and defined the main lines and objectives of this process for the future.

They noted with satisfaction that all the Balkan peoples have hailed and the international public opinion has welcomed Balkan co-operation as a realistic course for the good of the national interests of participating countries, of peace and security in the region, which is in harmony with the positive developments that are currently taking place on the European scene.

The Ministers pointed out the importance of Balkan activities successfully carried out so far in various fields of common interest and agreed that the cooperation in the fields already specified, or to be further identified, be materialized in concrete terms, including signing of relevant agreements.

The ministers underlined that the multilateral co-operation, as a positive political element in the Balkans, also provides favourable conditions for the strengthening of bilateral relations, which remain an important factor for the improvement of the overall atmosphere and development of substantial co-operation.

The ministers reiterated the strict adherence of their countries to the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs. They underlined that the situation in Europe and in the world has changed noticeably since the Belgrade Meeting and that recent developments in Europe are in line with CSCE process, which is actually moving towards its institutionalization. The Ministers observed that a new concept of European Security, away from the spirit of divisions and confrontation, based on understanding, mutual confidence and co-operation, is taking shape. They expressed the view that political stability is closely linked with economic development and co-operation.

Consistent with these realities, the Ministers reaffirmed the commitment of their countries to consolidating and further promoting Balkan co-operation on the political, economic, cultural and humanitarian plane, and raise it to a new qualitative stage.

The Ministers stressed that the Balkan co-operation

is an integral part of positive European processes. A stable Balkans, which is advancing on the course of current developments, is a factor of peace and security for the entire Mediterranean region and Europe.

The Meeting hails the Paris CSCE Summit and decided to forward a Message to it.

The Ministers emphasized their countries' commitment to democracy and common European values, in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE documents, thus making their contribution with a sense of responsibility to a better future in Europe.

Alongside with the strengthening of regional groupings and co-operation, the Ministers underlined the enhanced role of the United Nations Organization, which remains an important instrument for the preservation of peace and security, as well as for the democratization of international relations.

Having in mind a common commitment of the Balkan countries that would satisfy the aspirations of their own peoples for peace and good-neighbourliness, and prompted by their desire to contribute to the deepening of the processes that have already occurred on the Continent, the Ministers agreed that a Working Group should be set up to work out a document of principles of good-neighbourliness in the Balkan based on the UN Charter, the CSCE documents and international precedents.

Recognizing that the positive attitude towards national minorities, as defined in the Helsinki Final Act and the corresponding CSCE documents, and in accordance with principles enshrined in the UN Charter, is one of the basic factors of good-neighbourliness, mutual confidence, stability, cohesion and democracy in the Balkans, the Ministers agreed that persons belonging to national minorities have the right, within the existing constitutional order of their country, which guarantees equal rights and status for all, to freely express, preserve and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity, and to enjoy all human rights and fundamental freedoms in full equality with other citizens.

The Ministers reaffirmed the determination of the Balkan countries to consolidate the progress achieved in various fields of inter-Balkan cooperation and to extend their multilateral political dialogue.

The Ministers reiterated the wish for the materialization of contacts among the respective Parliaments by creating Parliamentary groups of Balkan multilateral cooperation.

The proposal to hold a meeting of Heads of State or Government of the Balkan countries was discussed, and the importance of creating the conditions for convening it in a near future was underlined. The Ministers agreed to return to the subject at their next Meeting.

The Ministers agreed that the Meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Balkan countries will be held annually. The next Meeting will be convened in Sofia in the autumn of 1991.

The Ministers decided that, in view of the increased activities of Balkan cooperation, the Country which

hosts the Foreign Minister's meeting play the role of coordinator until the next ministerial meeting.

The ministers devoted particular attention to the economic cooperation among the Balkan countries, considering it to be very important for the promotion of overall relations in the region. Having this in mind and with the aim of providing guidance for the objectives, scope and organizational framework and economic dimension of the Balkan cooperation, they recommended that Economy or Foreign Trade Ministers of the Balkan countries should hold annual meetings.

They also stressed that the preparations for the establishment of the Research Institute for Balkan Economic Cooperation in Athens should be intensified.

The Ministers recommended that the next meeting of the Ministers of Transport be convened in Tirana in 1991.

The Ministers recommended also that a meeting of the Ministers of Health be convened in Turkey in 1991.

The Ministers underlined the need to embark upon new and concrete activities to ensure a more extensive utilization of opportunities for expanding cooperation in trade, including the exchange of commodities and services and border trade, transport, industry, tourism, energy agriculture and water management, veterinary medicine and protection of plants and forests, environment and health protection.

The Ministers emphasized the importance of the exchange of views on cooperation in the field of telecommunications, banking activities, science and technology, culture, sports, information and informatics.

The Ministers pointed out the role of cultural relations as an avenue to promote better understanding and friendship among the Balkan countries. They agreed that the first Balkan Arts Festival be held in Ankara in 1991.

They agreed to establish a working group to examine the feasibility of founding a Balkan Development Bank, with the intention of allocating additional financial resources to facilitate implementation of projects of common interests.

They stressed that the preparations for signing a regional convention on environmental protection in the Balkan Peninsula should be intensified.

They underlined the need for implementing understanding reached in connection with cooperation in combating terrorism and illicit arms and drugs trafficking and recommended that a meeting of the Balkan countries' experts on international terrorism and illicit arms trafficking be convened in Yugoslavia in 1991.

They expressed their readiness to continue to consider confidence-and-security building measures among the Balkan countries.

The Ministers stressed the importance of and expressed their full support for the cooperation at non-governmental level.

They agreed that the meetings of the Senior Officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs continue to be held twice a year with the task of studying all the proposals and coordinating further activities in all fields

of multilateral cooperation. The next meeting of Senior Officials will be held in Turkey in April 1991.

The Ministers delegated the Senior Officials to study all aspects of forming the Balkan Forum which would comprise periodical meetings taking place in the framework of Balkan cooperation, as well as Balkan institutions of multilateral cooperation in various fields, and to submit their report to the next Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan states.

During the Meeting a great number of other proposals were made. The Ministers agreed that the Senior Officials would consider them at their meetings with a view to working out the appropriate recommendations.

The Ministers reiterated their determination to ensure full and effective implementation of all relevant UN Security Council resolutions leading to the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait.

They stressed the importance they attach to an early peaceful solution of the problem and to the full restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait.

They observed that achievement of this objective would also benefit the Balkan countries by limiting the heavy economic losses they suffered as a result of the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

The Meeting entrusts Albania to inform and send its documents to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization.

The participants expressed their commendation for the way in which the Meeting was conducted and conveyed their gratitude to the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the warm hospitality extended to the participating delegations.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, Romania, the Republic of Turkey and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — convened in Tirana, on 24-25 October 1990, addressed this Message to the Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held in Paris. They wish to underline the historic importance of the CSCE for a secure and peaceful future and prosperity of European countries and peoples and bring to the knowledge of the participants in the Paris Summit the achievements of Balkans regional cooperation as an integral part of the CSCE process and its objectives for the future.

Welcoming the positive changes in Europe, the Balkan countries view the Paris Summit as a significant state in the CSCE process towards its institutionalization. They emphasized the need of development of the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, democratic institutions and market economy. Measures aimed at overcoming the differences in the level of economic development and resolving economic difficulties of the Balkan countries would also be conducive to greater political stability in Europe.

Intensive regional cooperation in the Balkans, follo-



wing the historical meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries, Belgrade 1988, reflects the determination of all Balkan countries to improve their multilateral and bilateral cooperation in a variety of fields of mutual concern, surmounting the differences and disputes among them through a stable development of comprehensive cooperation, strengthening of mutual understanding and confidence-building. At the Tirana meeting they agreed on a number of further steps to be taken in that direction. In view of the expansion of confidence and security-building measures in Europe, they highlighted the need to continue to consider Confidence and Security-Building Measures among the Balkan countries as a way to contribute to the further consolidation of security and stability in Europe. In the development of their mutual cooperation, the Balkan countries are guided by the general principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as by the principles, goals and achievements of the CSCE process. They are convinced that this cooperation helps strengthen stability and peace in the region and in Europe. Thereby, they are making a concrete contribution to the promotion of the CSCE process and to the establishment of a new order and cooperation in the continent.

The Ministers welcomed the request of Albania for full participation in the CSCE and expressed their wish to see it realized.

Proceeding from the paramount importance of making progress and establishing cooperation in the humanitarian field, the Balkan countries emphasize their commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every respect. They attach particular importance to the rights of persons belonging to national minorities, as referred to in the Helsinki Final Act and the corresponding CSCE documents, as a factor of cohesion, stability, friendship and good neighbourliness, in accordance with the principles and norms of international law.

The growing interdependence of countries and of the inter-relatedness of problems characterizing the world today more than ever, and especially the relations in our continent, make the objective of the Balkan cooperation a single, Balkan and all-European, interest in which every Balkan country, individually and all of them together, see their highest national interest.

On the 25th of October, at the Palace of Brigades, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia put on a dinner in honour of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan states who participated in their meeting in Tirana.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met and cordially greeted the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan countries and congratulated them on the success of the Tirana Meeting. He talked with each of them separately.

Present at the dinner were also the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani and other party and state leaders.



Present were also titular heads of the diplomatic representations accredited in Tirana.

The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In the afternoon of October 25, at the seat of the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Adil Çarçani, received the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries who headed the delegations of their countries

MEETING OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE BALKAN STATES  
TIRANA, 24-25 OCTOBER 1990



to the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Present in the reception were also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile, and Minister and General Secretary of the Council of Ministers, Niko Gjyzari.

After expressing his satisfaction for meeting the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, Comrade Adil Çarçani congratulated them on the success they achieved in their second meeting, which is due to the common contribution of the delegations and the governments they represent. After pointing out the balance of posi-

tive results achieved from the first meeting in Belgrade, he stressed that it is through dialogue and through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, which characterize our present times, that these achievements can and must be carried forward in the service of strengthening the spirit of understanding, peace and security in the Balkans. This cooperation Adil Çarçani said, cannot be understood separately from the positive processes in Europe, about which you discussed in your meeting yesterday and today and reached a common conclusion.

During the talk, the Prime Minister spoke also about the further democratization of the economic and social life in Albania and the implementation of the new, economic mechanism. He also dwelt on the value of the extension of economic cooperation with the world and especially with the neighbouring countries.

He expressed the optimism that the decisions which this important meeting adopted will be carried out with success, because they are based on the common desire of the Balkan peoples to live in friendship and peace. For its part, the Albanian Government, he continued, will adopt all measures to put them into practice. He asked the foreign ministers of the Balkans to convey his greetings and best wishes to the heads of their government.

On behalf of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, the Federative Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Budimir Lončar, after thanking the Albanian Prime Minister for the reception and the evaluation of the 2nd Balkan Meeting, said that in this meeting we confirmed the unity to carry ahead and further deepen the process of Balkan cooperation, and coordinated our work with the CSCE process, by creating a favourable climate for the further development of multilateral relations.

The reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere was also attended by titular heads of diplo-

matic representations of the Balkan countries accredited in Tirana.

During the work of the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Countries, the Foreign Minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, had separate meetings with the ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries.

In the meetings, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, the Albanian Foreign Minister and the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan states talked about the bilateral relations and the cooperation among the Balkan countries. They observed that these relations, especially those between Albania and their countries have developed in a positive direction and have contributed to the strengthening and extension of multilateral relations and cooperation, and the improvement of the general political atmosphere in the region. In the spirit of the meeting of foreign ministers in Tirana, they pledged to make common efforts so that the bilateral relations should mark new developments for the good of the interests and aspirations of the Balkan peoples.

They also exchanged opinions on political questions and the situation in the region and in Europe, and about the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding, as an integral part of the positive processes in Europe.

# COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 13th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

On December 11, 1990, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, chaired by Comrade Ramiz Alia, convened to examine the current situation and to recommend the measures for its improvement.

Regarding these issues it decided:

1. The ordinary 10th Congress of the Party be held in June 1991.

2. The National Meeting of Party Activists be called on the 26th of December 1990 in order to work out the electoral platform of the Party

and to approve the list of its candidates for deputies to the People's Assembly.

3. The plenum released the members of the Political Bureau, comrades Muho Asllani, Simon Stefani, Lenka Çuko, Hajredin Çeliku from their functions and comrades Qirjako Mihali and Pirro Kondi from their positions as alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA.

4. Recommendations were given to

the Chairman of the Council of Ministers so that he proposes to the Presidium of the People's Assembly the necessary Government changes in conformity with the current situations.

5. The plenum expressed its opinion that the creation of dependent political organizations in conformity with the laws in force is to the advantage of the further democratization of the life of the country.

Tirana, December 11, 1990

## COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA MEETS STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES

In the evening of December 11 the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia met in the Palace of Brigades a representation of University students, who had demanded to express their problems and preoccupations to him.

In the beginning Comrade Ramiz Alia informed the students about the contents of the work of the 13th plenum of the CC of the Party, which examined the current situation and recommended measures for its improvement. The students were enthusiastic about the decisions of the plenum.

I personally and the whole leadership, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, have followed each one of your steps these days. From the beginning I have been for a dialogue, for talks and for discussing the problems with you. Indeed, at 1.30 after midnight of Saturday, I met a delegation of yours. I invited everybody to keep calm so that your correct preoccupations and demands be considered through normal democratic discussion. Up to

this, moment, when I am here with you, I still am of the same opinion, that is, everything, and I repeat it, everything, should be settled with cool-headedness and understanding in the interest of the homeland and the whole people. The road must be blocked to interference by ill-wishers and provocators who are not interested in the good of the people, the youth, the development and freedom of the country, or the true democratization of life. The road of democratization is not a boulevard. Everyone must keep this in mind. It requires culture, tolerance, order. Democracy does not tolerate conditions, imposition or compulsion. It requires dialogue, argument, logic, in the general interest, it requires respect for one's comrade, respect of the justice, it requires norms of good conduct and ethics. If these things are not respected, the road is opened to anarchy. All our people should bear these things in mind especially when we speak about pluralism, be it pluralism of thoughts or pluralism

of organization, that which is called party pluralism. Everyone in our country, every honest citizen of Albania must have the interests of the homeland and the people foremost in mind. There might be criticisms. But everything has to be put on the balance of the destinies, the freedom and independence of the homeland. That is why we need to have unity, we need to march united, we need to work shoulder to shoulder with one another. I express my unshakeable confidence and the complete trust in the student youth, in the first place, which is the most intelligent and cultured part, which is the great asset, of our people; I express my confidence in the working class and our whole people, who will carry forward without hesitation the struggle for democratization which the party is initiating. The process of democratization calls for everyone, be he a worker, peasant or a scientist to make his contribution. But such things cannot be achieved within one day. We must go towards Europe, but we should do so with our own tradition and originality, and not as bad copies of others, therefore we must be cautious, without stopping

## CHRONICLE



half way on the road of democratization, which is the road of the interests of the homeland, socialism and the people.

The students expressed their support for the democratic reforms which have been carried out until now and pointed out that this was one of the purposes of their manifestations. Among other things they demanded the development of political pluralism, the publishing of CSCE documents, the adoption of efficient measures for overcoming economic difficulties, etc. The student representatives informed Comrade Ramiz Alia about the creation of their independent political organization of the new students and intellectuals.

Comrade Ramiz Alia told them that in such matters everything has to be done according to the laws in force, by presenting the application for registration to the Ministry of Justice.

An explanatory dialogue took place between them and ideas were exchanged on many problems which worry the youth and the whole country, such as those of political pluralism, the roads of the development of the national economy and problems of higher schools. An important place was occupied by the

explanations and clarifications which Comrade Ramiz Alia gave about the new elections to the People's Assembly. He spoke, also, about the importance of the rule of law and especially about the need for all citizens, institutions, employees and everybody else, begin from me, he said, to the ordinary protector of the public order, to respect the rule of law.

Responding to students' questions, Comrade, Ramiz explained to them the content of human rights and freedoms, which, apart from other things, consist, also, of the observation of law with correctness and in a civilized manner. Any action, whether it is a manifestation or whatever else, he said, should be carried out within the boundaries set by law, otherwise incidents which no one desires, might follow.

When we speak about the rule of law we mean that everyone should respect the laws and the state organs and organizations and citizens. If the police overreach their competences then measures are taken against them. But whenever anyone acts in contravention of the law, the rule of law operates against him, too. Therefore, I invite you and all the state organs, Comrade Ramiz emphasized,

to act correctly, in a civilized manner, in a democratic way.

Then Comrade Ramiz spoke to those present about the economic questions about which the students wanted to know his opinion. In connection with this question, he pointed out two aspects: first, the need for strengthening work discipline, so that the workers, the peasants and employees, the whole youth, make their maximum contribution; second, the need for strengthening the political stability of the country. We must not forget, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, that the foreigners will not invest here if they have no guarantee about the healthy political situation of the country.

The youth should continue their lessons and not go against school regulations; the working class should return to the work centres and carry out their duties and not oppose the Labour Code; the employees must respect discipline at work. Therefore, Comrade Ramiz Alia advised the students, you and your comrades must return to school and resume your lessons immediately.

In the end he told them that the students in the university campus should hear the full text of the talk from the tapes.

## WE SHALL ACHIEVE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTS ONLY BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS

Comrade Ramiz Alia's message to the people — Dear brothers and sisters,  
(December 12, 1990)

Yesterday evening I talked with a broad representation of the students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana about their problems and preoccupation, but also the problems and preoccupations of the whole country and entire people.

Today I thought to address myself to the entire people to clear up some political elements of the situation we are going through, a situation which concerns us all and with which all

of us have to cope.

You already know the recent decisions of the Central Committee of the Party. We have decided to convene the Congress next year, and more immediately the National Conference of Party activists to examine the electoral platform of the Party for the elections to the People's Assembly.

This Conference will enable us to analyse the situation we are going

through and set the tasks and determine the role of the communists for the immediate period.

We have the conviction that, with the confidence they have had up to now, our people will stand united round the Party to carry the country forward.

The Party has already publicly expressed its opinions that the creation of independent political organizations, certainly those which respect the laws in force and respond to the higher interests of the Homeland and our nation, is to the benefit of the further democratization of the country.

# CHRONICLE

This wise stand of the Party represents another important step in our democratic process which is now irreversible.

It is obvious that we are entering a new phase of political relations within the country about which we lack not only experience, but also the necessary juridical mechanisms, the concepts of a political ethics for such a situation, as well as the practice of a truly democratic and fruitful dialogue.

All of us must be concerned and work for finding the best ways for the creation of optimum and most appropriate conditions for the advancement of the economy, the protection of the rights and freedoms of the individual, the defence of the essential interests of the various collectives and social strata and, above all, the safeguard of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland.

All of us are of the same opinion about the blessings of democracy, but I have a preoccupation which I want to share with you, dear brothers and sisters, communists and non-communists, and call on your political consciousness and patriotism to avoid some mistake which would have consequences for the whole country. Some individuals and some milieus may conceive democracy as a liberation from all political ethics and all juridical norm. Some people may strive to impose their will and views on others without taking into account the general interest. If these stands and activities increase and expand then there is a danger that the country may be destabilized and fall prey to anarchy. In this situation incidents which nobody wishes may also occur.

Albania, our people, have the experience of a contemporary democracy, a democracy which preserves the old and new high moral virtues of our people, a democracy which enables the solution of problems through optimum mechanisms and ways. Real and genuine democracy is achieved through constructive dia-

logue and respect of the interests of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intellectuals, women, the entire people.

There is no time now for theorizing, but for wise discussion about how the concrete problems which preoccupy the people can best be solved. Hence let us put on the balance of reason the sound logic and objective recommendations. Our people would never allow anybody to destroy what they have built with blood and great sacrifices from Liberation up to now.

A political organization must be assessed not by its slogans and not by how, softly or loudly, it advertises them, but by the sincerity of its aims, the correctness of its opinions and its respect of the aspirations of the people. Humanism and man's freedoms are not the product of petty interests, but of wisdom and a broad view of things.

Democracy and pluralism, either political or ideological, must lead to popular and national unity, not national division. We must see and strengthen what unites us, as citizens of this country, sons and daughters of the Albanian people, and the masters of Albania.

Our people has suffered from divisions more than any other people. If we look at history, we shall see that it shows that divisions among Albanians have always been fostered by sinister forces which have worked against the interests of Albania.

Democratic developments are a long-term orientation on the road the country must follow. I understand and appreciate the desire of all those who are for speeding up the reforms our Party has undertaken. I want to assure you, that we, too, the initiators of these reforms, are subjectively for a more rapid advance. However, desires only are not sufficient. We want to achieve democratic developments only by democratic means, through work, with culture, with wisdom, without pain and losses of any kind whatsoever.

Democracy does not imply only

freedoms and rights, as some might think, but also duties. We are working for our juridical state to be built on strong and steady foundations, for the life of all citizens to be assured, for their work to be respected, for their will no to be suppressed, and for their creativeness not to be despised. Precisely for these reasons the law must be above anybody and anything. If we seek democracy by violating the law, we shall never find it.

We have the opportunity to show that we are a civilized people who know how to learn from their own experience and the experience of others, a wise and cool-headed people. At these moments we have the opportunity to give the lie to the traditional accusations levelled against us Albanians allegedly being uncivilized.

It is known that in time of rapid democratic processes various political demagogues, as well as evil-wishing elements and even provocateurs are bound to emerge. The people, the honest and patriotic men and women must be vigilant and see to it that the interests of the Homeland and the life of the people are not threatened. We must not forget that we have enemies who want to divide and split us, who want to see us going from bad to worse. We must always stand united in front of them.

Dear brothers and sisters,

We have set out on the road of democracy and are convinced that we shall win this new historical battle. too. But times are difficult and the roads of democracy are not strewn with flowers. I have full confidence in the working class and patriotic peasantry, the girls and boys of Albania, in our women and intellectuals who, on every occasion and in every situation, will be led by reason and the traditional wisdom of our people and their sound logic, and will overcome any difficulty with patience and cool-headedness.

In conclusion I would like to call on the Albanian communists to shoulder great tasks, as they have always done, and now too, stand on the forefront of the struggle for the realization of the program of democratization of the life of the country undertaken by their Party.

# HOMAGES ARE PAID AND WREATHES LAID IN MEMORY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

On October 16, on the occasion of the 82nd anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious founder of the Party, the legendary leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the architect of the new socialist Albania, homages were paid and wreathes laid at his grave in the National Martyrs' Cemetery.

Thousands of inhabitants of the capital, working people from work and production centres, central departments and institutions, veterans of the war and work, army men, students, members and relatives of martyrs' families, and school pupils went to the Cemetery where they bowed with respect and laid flowers

at the grave of the unforgettable beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Homages were also paid by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia warmly greeted the inhabitants of the capital who were present at the Cemetery.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Adil Çarçani, laid at the grave a wreath with the ins-

cription: «To the glorious leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha». Wreathes were laid in the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and the family.

Wreathes were also laid in the name of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other Party and State leaders observed a few moments' silence giving the raised-fist salute to the unforgettable memory of the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

## RESPECT FOR ENVER HOXHA IS RESPECT FOR THE WORK OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY

October 16 is the 82nd anniversary of Enver Hoxha's birth. Our People have commemorated this date and will always do so because it is a moment in which they pay infinite homage and respect to this outstanding son who became the torch that illuminated the road towards freedom

and socialism for the people. Compelled by the dangers that have threatened them in the centuries, our people have fought and shed torrents of blood for survival. In these battles they have created their wonderful tradition of respecting its own tribunes, whose name and work they have

always connected with the existence of the Homeland, with the freedom and independence of these ancient territories, with their ceaseless efforts to guarantee the broad prospects for their economic and social emancipation and advance. This is the reason why in the brilliant figure of Enver Hoxha, the unforgettable glorious leader of the Party, the leader of the revolution, and the architect of the new Albania, the farseeing

# CHRONICLE

ideologist and politician, the indomitable military strategist and the great diplomat, the people have seen themselves, their own supreme aspirations, linked like the light and life with the freedom and independence of the nation, with the progress of our ancient culture and the affirmation of the inexhaustible creative and realizing potentials of the people.

Every moment of Enver Hoxha's life and work is the life and work of an ardent patriot and an unflinching fighter for the vital cause of the Homeland. When Albania found itself at the crossroads of history, when the very existence of the Albanian people and nation were in jeopardy, Enver Hoxha was among the first to see the need for the creation of the Communist Party as the main factor to save the Homeland and to bring the people into the world of light. Together with a group of young men, which he led, — all revolutionary sons of the common people, he took upon himself the great responsibility towards history: he founded the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA). This act is and remains one of the examples of ideological and political courage. In the difficulty and heroic years of the National Liberation War, Enver's name became the banner of struggle for victory and of the life and death struggle to repulse the fascist jaugernaut. The people saw in Enver the unflinching legendary leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Army, who, in the most crucial and delicate moments that were created in the field of battle, distinguished himself for his wise decisions and judgement, the qualities of the leader and fighter who had courage and coolheadedness, the commander's unshakeable confidence that the final victory belonged to the people. The glorious epic of the National Liberation War raised Enver Hoxha's personality not only to the level of the mission with which the times had charged him, but also to the level of the prospects of the development of the country. Enver Hoxha's

all-sided work is and will remain a source of inspiration for ardent feelings of love of country for the generations.

He remained at the head of the Party for nearly half a century. From this position he created, designed and directly led the whole major process of the all-round revolutionary transformation of the country. Enver's name became the symbol of the strenuous efforts of the people to turn the dreams and aspirations of whole past generations for democracy, social progress and socialism into a reality. In the whole of his many-sided activity he thought and worked for the people till the last beat of his heart, with complete confidence in their abilities, talents and potentials. With just as profound confidence, he led the Party and the whole people on unbeaten paths towards the industrialization of the country, the growth and modernization of agriculture, the flourishing of education and culture, arts and sciences, and for the defence of the gains of our socialist homeland. In his unforgettable address to the Albanian people on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the country he wrote: «Every corner of Albania has been transformed beyond recognition. The life of our long-suffering people has radically changed, has become more secure, illuminated and prosperous. Above all, throughout this process the Party strongly united the whole people and made them conscious of their great decisive role in history.» This steel unity in the midst of the people and of the people around the Party has resisted and resists in face of the great challenges and tests of the time. Unity has been and remains, as Enver himself has considered it, the golden key to our victories. He reached this great conclusion thanks to the experience of the National Liberation War and that of the construction of the new Albania, every work and task which the Party and the country shouldered in this period. With his personality Enver became the great factor of unity in the bosom of the people, in

strengthening the Party-people unity and, wider, in strengthening the unity between words and actions, decisions and implementation of them, and theory and practice. When he spoke every Albanian rallied strongly around the Party and, with confidence and enthusiasm, hurled himself into action. He was aware, like a farseeing political, that every slight breach in the ranks of the Party and the people, in the classes and strata of society, the smallest gap between them was of grave consequences. Therefore his mind and heart worked and did everything for strengthening unity, which he saw as the powerful basis for the continuity of the road which the people have chosen out of their own free will. Enver Hoxha left us the valuable behest which is valid for all times as an infallible teaching: unity is not an abstract notion which is given once and for all and remains unchanged, on the contrary it is always in movement and perfection. At the present moments in which our society is going through, when it has embarked on the stage of deepening the democratic processes, the question of unity in all the cells of the political, ideological, economic, diplomatic, cultural and other activities, is raised as one of capital importance for the continuation of our road, for the further prosperity of the country and the increase of well-being for the masses. The diversity and plurality of the opinions of the people, cadres, specialists, the youth, the entire working masses about the different problems of the present developments, under the leadership of the Party and with its teachings, have and should become a still greater factor for the strengthening of unity in the future. The strength of our homeland is and will always lie in the uninterrupted steeling of the Party-people unity.

In the words of the Party and Enver the communists and all the working masses of the country saw the future of Albania. This was not the work of imagination, but a reality which rose like a mountain before the very eyes of each contemporary of Enver. This expression, word-action, has put its red seal to the whole triumphant epoch in which

# CHRONICLE



our people have lived and which is connected with Enver's name. In the popular consciousness and memory he is the symbol of the great popular leader. Nothing that was in the interest of the people and served their cause could ever escape his sharp attention. Nothing could remain outside of his great heart, his daily activity and his very existence. With his personality he became a decisive factor for the uninterrupted perfecting and strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses. Enver's constant preoccupation over the stability of these links, the directives and programs he mapped out for the growing participation of the masses in the governing of the country, the uninterrupted deepening of the revolutionization processes from one stage of growth of the country to the other, represented the synthesis of the collective thinking of the Party. As a statesman of a new type, he wholly devoted himself to his people and homeland. This unbounded love and patriotic devotion made him the architect of the socialist construction; this devotion made him the reformer of the social life; this militancy made him an innovative ideologist; this preoccupation made him a perfect organizer. In all his rich theoretical legacy, as well as in his broad and many-sided practical activity, we can see, among other things, his great and constant attention to the enhancement of the role of the masses in all the solutions that the times required for carrying forward the development of the country at rapid rates. His insistence on and struggle for establishing the closest possible links between the Party and the people were a daily preoccupation in him. This can be seen clearly in his visits to every corner of Albania, in his constant dialogue with the people, in his wide correspondence, in his innumerable meetings with his comrades and friends, with the fellow-fighters and the common people, with young men and women, with the people's intellectuals. Proof of his constant preoccupation are his in-

structions, advice and orientations for bringing the state power organs ever closer to the people and for placing them more thoroughly under their control, for he considered this to be the decisive way for defending and further deepening the democratic character of the Albanian state order.

In his Marxist-Leninist, judgement, the continuous revolutionization of the Party and state organs meant, above everything, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism so as not to permit the stifling of the creative spirit of the masses. The promotion of democracy of the masses, initiative, enterprise and control of them were, in his opinion, the main roads which led to the strengthening of the homeland and the safeguarding of the victories achieved. These teachings of great theoretical and practical values not only for today but also for tomorrow are still valid in these moments; they offer precious solutions. They represent the rich historical experience of the Party in the work for the continuous revolutionization and democratization of the Albanian society and constitute a powerful basis, an encouragement and inspiration for implementing the recent decisions of the CC of the Party. In every step of our current activity, his teachings and advice are a valuable guide.

Leaders of Enver Hoxha's stature are the product of their epochs and have the proportions of their time. Just as the historical epochs can never be forgotten, so their heroes will never be covered by the dust of oblivion; they are always respected and honoured. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, «Our people are proud that whenever the name of this glorious son of theirs is mentioned everywhere in the world, it implies Albania, communism, genuine freedom and independence.» Enver's teachings are weapons in our struggle and a guide to action today and in the future. His teachings are outstanding for his preoccupation over the destiny, flourishing and prosperity of the Homeland,

the freedom and independence won at the cost of immense sacrifices and privations. His orientations form the living picture of the future of the country; they are full of precious teachings not only for the prospects of the further industrialization of the country, the modernization of agriculture, strengthening of its economy and the uplift of the masses well-being, but also for the promotion of creative activities by all the working people of culture, arts and sciences, and for making our foreign policy more dynamic in its efforts for consolidating the international position of the country, for strengthening of its freedom and independence.

We commemorate the 82nd anniversary of the birth of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in moments when our people, under the leadership of the Party and the beloved Comrade Ramiz Alia, have tackled great works for the deepening of the processes of the further democratization of our country's life and have pledged that they will carry out all their very important tasks which stem from the decisions of the recent plenums of the CC of the Party. The aim of these decisions is to ensure the still more rapid advance of the country in all fields, by exploiting, better than until today, the resources which our economy offers, the great human, intellectual and spiritual potentials of our society, as well as the conditions and situations which the present developments in the Balkans and Europe and more widely have created. Only by making the freedom and independence of the homeland more secure, by strengthening its economy according to the Party's orientations and directives, by further affirming the values of the present legacy and the spiritual creativity of the people, the Party and the whole working masses of the country pay their greatest honours to the life and work of Enver Hoxha, our unforgettable leader who put his whole life in the service of the Homeland and left a great and unique example which is a source of inspiration for generations of patriotic citizens who ardently desire the advance of contemporary civilization.

# CHRONICLE

# THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM «NAIM FRASHËRI AND HIS TIME» CARRIED OUT ITS PROCEEDINGS

On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the death of Naim Frashëri, outstanding figure of the Albanian culture, our national poet, great personality of our National Renaissance, on October 19-20 the international colloquium «Naim Frashëri and His Time», organized by the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA, carried out its proceedings in the premises of the Tirana Hotel in the capital.

Participating in the colloquium were students of literature, language and history, writers and poets, workers of the scientific institutes of the Academy of Sciences and many guests.

The colloquium was also attended by students and cultural activists from Kosova, the United States, Gree-

ce, the Soviet Union, Austria, Belgium as well as writers and poets from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia (the SR of Macedonia), Rumania and Italy, invited by the Writers and Artists' League of Albania on the occasion of the Month of Literature and Arts.

The colloquium was declared open by the scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Luan Omari.

Then reports and papers were read by Albanian and foreign students.

Foreign students highly valued the proceedings of the Colloquium and expressed their desire to strengthen and expand scientific cooperation in the future.

There were many contributions to the discussion of the reports and papers.

The closing speech was held by the director of the Institute of Language and Literature, Dr. Jorgo Bulo, who, among other things, said that the reports and papers that were read at the colloquium dealt with diverse aspects of Naim Frashëri's work — its literary, language and historical aspects. He assessed as an innovation to these activities the polemical spirit of the discussion, which was a sign of the further emancipation of scientific thought, the development of debate and the pluralism of opinions in the field of sciences. He also emphasized that the continuity of preceding tradition and the role Naim's work played in strengthening the national self-awareness and developing the national culture was also emphasized from the standpoint of its future prospects, which make up the historical and present dimension of Naim's legacy.

## CHRONICLE

# AN EXPRESSION OF THE SOLICITUDE FOR THE UPLIFT OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

*by Prof. Harilla Papajorgji*

On the 1st of October of this year all the branches of the economy began to implement the decision of the Council of Ministers on the law wage increase. All monthly wages up to 450 leks were raised up to 20 per cent; montly wages from 450 to 550 leks were raised by up to 10 per cent. Monthly wages of 550-600 leks were also raised.

The Council of Ministers decision on raising the workers' low wages constitutes another measure, in line with the continuous policy of our state, for uplifting of the people's wellbeing. With this decision nearly 640 000 workers of the state sector will profit about 430 million leks. This measure involves about 75 per cent of the total number of workers employed in the state sector, or more concretely 3 out of every 4 workers will have a direct or indirect pay increase. As can be seen, in this case we have to do with a decision which is adopted in favour of a broad section of working people, especially of young workers. It is essential to stress also that the amount of money which the workers will profit from the raising of low wages and the adjustment of medium wages, is one of the highest made in this field until today.

The Albanian workers are divided into categories according to their personal qualifications. The lowest category or class is the first one, and the highest class, depending on the branch, is the fourth or the fifth one. Pay rises are envisaged for every class. The lowest classes profit more than the higher ones.

The following table shows the con-

crete monthly pay rises for the workers of different classes in some branches:

Branches	Increase of monthly pay for different classes in leks				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Mechanical-electrical	83	59	47	51	25
Textile	85	50	41	27	—
Foodstuffs	78	56	52	49	38
Communal	82	44	47	36	—
Building materials	80	48	34	—	—
	76	45	28	—	—

Other branches of the economy are also included in this project. As can be seen from the figures of the above table, pay increases for the first category workers employed in the mechanical-electrical branch profit a monthly addition of 83 leks a month; which is equal to a 20 per cent increase above their previous pay; those workers who get paid by the second category profit a monthly rise of 59 leks, or a 14 per cent increase; third category workers gain 47 leks more per month, or 10 per cent, and so on. This improvement of wages reduces to nothing the pay differences of the two bottom classes, which from now on will be equally paid as one single class, that is, the workers of the first classes will have an equal wage to those of the second classes. In this way, the workers of the lowest category in the mechanical-electrical branch, will be paid a monthly wage of 483 leks beginning from the 1st of October. A similar situation is thus created for the lowest classes of other

branches of the economy. The real wage increase for them can also be seen in the above table.

All farm workers, who are employed in all categories of jobs throughout the whole year, will profit a monthly average of 40 leks from the pay rises for different work processes. The new decision of the Council of Ministers includes also a category of other working people such as those in charge of recording production quotas, medium technicians, typists, and others.

The highest pay rise is for the workers of young age and those of the lowest categories. As a result of these measures, beginning from the 1st of October, the lowest level of the monthly average pay from 350 leks goes up to 450 leks, whereas the workers average monthly pay reaches to about 570 leks; against the present 523 leks today.

The implementation of the decision of the Council of Ministers is another factor which will link the workers more to their job; it will stimulate them to raise the level of qualification, to increase productivity at work and lower production costs. This measure is designed to go hand in hand with the implementation of the new economic mechanism which is being applied in our country, with the effort to stimulate the workers' higher social productivity of labour and higher personal incomes.

The raising of lower wages also stimulates the young workers to acquire higher qualification, because a higher category is accompanied with greater productivity and better quality. The workers with higher qualifications will be employed in higher category jobs, and

as a result of productivity increase, they will be paid more. At this point we must explain, that the recent decisions envisage that the workers are paid according to the job they do and not according to their personal category and qualification. This is, the higher the category of the job, the higher the wage, regardless of their personal qualification; nevertheless, efforts are made to ensure that the workers with higher qualification are placed in jobs requiring greater skills.

The pay rise will bring about a direct increase in the people's purchasing power. In this way, all the efforts of the working people lead to the rapid increase of consumer goods, the extension of the range of commodities and the improvement of quality. Only in this way can we cover the new purchasing power which is created with the necessary goods. This is a task for all the economic enterprises of the light and the foodstuffs industries which work mainly for the production of broad consumption goods. However the new economic mechanism stimulates, and should continue to do so, expansion of ac-

tivities in the other enterprises of the mechanical, chemical, building materials and other industries so that they utilize their free productive capacities, primary materials and technological remains for the production of more consumer goods and provide more services for the people.

In this context, the important thing is to continue the work which is being done presently for the further extension of artisan and other vital services in the state, cooperativist and private forms of ownership. One of the largest fronts of production of consumer goods is agriculture, which has inexhaustible resources for increasing the farm and livestock products and other productive activities and services. The extension of the peasants' market has been further stimulated.

Likewise, the import of many different consumer goods and other work forms and practices is one of the ways for covering the new purchasing power.

For a long time Albania has been practising the production of goods with the material of foreign firms. This

has proved a useful way for improving the situation in the existing technologies. The recent decisions on allowing the investment of foreign capital in Albanian enterprises is a major step which can assist the strengthening of production. Another new road has been opened for the increase of the production of broad consumption goods also through the rights which the enterprises and cooperatives have been granted to enter direct business and commercial relations with foreign firms or through the intermediary of state foreign trade organs, the border trade organs of the Chamber of Foreign Commerce. The extension of these practices is yielding its first results.

In this way, the ever better fulfilment of the planned tasks in all branches and sectors of the economy and the improvement of the work in the state trade organs and services, the cooperatives and private individuals will certainly help to fully cover the purchasing power of the population and raise the level of well-being of our working people.



# FERTILE FIELDS IN THE PLACE OF FORMER MARSHLAND

by **SPIRO MINGA**

Albania is a mountainous country with the plains occupying and lying mainly on the western only a small part of the surface and southeastern regions. The lowlands are cut by numerous torrential rivers with shallow beds, which were flooded in the rainy season. So, most of the plains were marshes and swamps, the biggest being the swamp of Maliq, Tërbuf, Hoxhara, Vurg, and Thumana. At a time when the peasants struggled on the verge of existence and were plagued by swamp fever, which took a heavy toll of their lives, the old regimes did nothing to harness the rivers, to drain the swamps and to liquidate the beds of diseases. The only effort Zog's regime ever undertook was the digging of an irrigation canal in the Plain of Kavaja, which in fact was never completed. The situation today is entirely different. Albania's lands are systematized and all this colossal work was achieved within less than five decades, under the solicitude of the Party of Labour and the people's power.

Considering the conditions in which Albania found itself immediately after Liberation, with the lack of specialists, scarce machinery and work implements, the Party orientated that in the beginning work be concentrated on those processes which required simple technical means and were not costly. One such project was the canal of Juba in Durrës, which was completed in 1947 and through which about 2000 hectares of land could be drained. The drainage system of Eng at the Institute of Hydrotechnical Studies and Designs

the Plain of Hoxhara dried more than 2000 hectares of the excessive water. However, the biggest systematizing project of the early years after Liberation was the draining of the Maliq swamp. It involved an immense work for the systematization of about 15,000 hectares of land which lay under the water and of which 5,000 were permanent swamp and nearly as much boggy land. At a time when Albania's enemies said that the draining of the Maliq swamp was an impossible undertaking and sought to wreck this major project, the Party called on 5,000 volunteers, who gathered from all over the country to start work with whatever means that could be secured, despite the many difficulties. The work on the Maliq swamp was carried out in two phases: the first in 1946-1951 and the second in 1960-1963. The first phase involved the shifting of nearly 6 million cubic meters of earth, of which 4 million were removed by hand and only 2 million by a few mechanized means. In the second phase, the volume of work was twice as great, but then mechanized means were available in greater number.

The building of the first systematizing projects, in which the principal place is occupied by the draining of the Maliq swamp, apart from the economic advantages, was still more important for another reason. It showed the strength of the socialist order and put to the test the specialists and cadres, who, in future, worked with confidence on the improvement schemes of all the marshes and swamps of the country.

In the period 1951-1955, a new and higher phase begins in this field and goes hand in hand with the setting up of a draining system. To this period belongs the beginning of work on the improvement projects in the Plains of Zadrima and Myzeqe. In Myzeqe, the project began with the draining of the upper section of the Tërbuf swamp, where, after the digging of a draining canal 3 km long, work continued on the irrigation canal of Myzeqe, which was still longer. This scheme included the harnessing of part of the rivers Shkumbin and Seman with dams and protection walls totalling 110 km. The improvement of the Plain of Myzeqe, Albania's «granary», as we call it today, included 1600 main and auxiliary canals, with the digging and shifting of about 25 million cubic meters of earth, the building of 1750 structures and 75 km of motor road. After nearly 20 years of work for the improvement of the Plain of Myzeqe, the country gained more than 8 000 hectares of land, while the draining was improved in 22,000 hectares.

With the passage of time, as our socialist economy waxed stronger, it was more capable of creating possibilities for providing powerful technical means. A rich experience was accumulated in the process. In the summer of 1957, work began on deviating the Pavlo River, and within a short time the Plain of Vurg and Mursia were improved, with a gain of 2300 ha of new land and 5100 ha of improved land. In the second five-year plan, the whole of the Plain of Zadrima and Thumana and the Roskovec swamps

were systematized. Whereas in the 3rd Five-year Plan, improvement schemes were concentrated mainly in the Plains of Mat and Lezha, Divjaka and Karavasta, as well as on the draining of the Durrës and Hoxhara swamps. In this way, within a short time, most of the swamps disappeared. They left their place to fertile fields which give high yields in various agricultural crops.

In the following five-year plans, attention was devoted to the setting up of a broad irrigation network. However, parallel with this, work continued for the further harnessing of rivers and to-

rrents and the protection of the land against erosion.

The intensification of agriculture required a more advanced system of draining. Therefore, attention was directed towards the reconstruction of the previously built improvement schemes, with the aim of ensuring a higher efficiency of draining, especially in the coastal zones, where the plains lie at a relatively low altitude. For this purpose, numerous pumping stations were built in the Plain of Durrës, Hoxhara, Velipoja and Kakarriq, mainly on the coastal zone and elsewhere. In the beginning the capacity of

pumping stations was not as great as it is today. But as time went by more powerful stations were built and today there are 30 such stations with a total capacity of 370 cubic meters per second, which ranks them among the largest in Europe. The pumping station of Hoxhara, for example, has a capacity of 100 cubic meters of water per second, that of Thumana 57, and so on. With all this work large tracts of new land have been reclaimed and protected from the excessive precipitations and floods, thus guaranteeing the agricultural production against the sudden changes of the climate.

# THE GROWTH OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS IN ALBANIA

*by Prof. Dr. VLADIMIR MISJA*

Backwardness was the only heritage Albania had to show in communications and transport. On the eve of the Proclamation of Independence in 1912 the whole length of roads was only 622 km, whereas the means of transport were primitive. Aware of this situation, the new Government of Vlora established the telegraph service, mainly in Southern Albania. In 1922, the state administration for communications was established and soon after joined the International Post Union and the International Telecommunications Union. Under King Zog's regime communications remained as primitive and limited as before; in 1938 the country had 38 km of telephone lines between Tirana and Durrës and telephone branches totalled 2886 km, operating through 68 post offices and agencies.

Despite some growth of the road and communication network in the beginning the situation deteriorated fast after the Nazi and fascist occupation of the country. Most of the motor roads and bridges were damaged and made impracticable by heavy bombing. About 6 km of bridges and port wharves were blown up. The telegraph network was virtually destroyed.

With the establishment of the people's state transport and communications were considered as the main link for the harmonious growth of all branches of the economy and the regions of the country. The material, financial and human resources were totally mobilized to bring the situation back to normal and to extend the roads, to build new telegraph-telephone lines and increase means of transport by nationalizing foreign companies and organizing, on this basis, the state motor transport, which in 1945 had 42 trucks and lorries, a few cars and buses. Within a short

time the state had 5787 m of bridges and 326 m of wharves rebuilt. In 1945 the state owned sea transport was also created. During this period the communications service was restructured and extended.

The setting up of the state sector of communications cost the people's state power considerable investments with which to help this sector to grow hand in hand with the other branches of the people's economy. The relief of the country, the lack of a railway and sea transport in the early years after liberation dictated the need for the motor-road transport to grow more rapidly than rail transport. Since 1947 measures had to be taken to strengthen this kind of transport by setting up the first car repair shop in Tirana, while manufacturing of spare parts for them began at the «Enver» plant. With the passage of time the enterprises of this sector in various parts of the country grew stronger.

The new state issued orientations for the setting up of railway transport, without neglecting the expansion of motor road transport, which required less investments and gave more rapid solution to the most urgent problems regarding the capacity of transport. To carry this orientation into practice, work on railroads was intensified and on November 7, 1947 the Durrës-Peqin railway line, 44 km long, was opened. This marked the day of the creation of the railway transport in Albania.

The creation of a multi-branched economy throughout the period of socialist construction requires a high level of transports with a perfect structure in conformity with the demands and the concrete conditions of the country. Along with the priority increase of the volume of transport, as against the growth of the social

product, this sector has changed and perfected its structure continuously. In the structure of transport branches, during the period of socialist construction we can observe the following trends: the priority growth of passenger transport against the goods transport; and within the goods transport, the priority growth of the sea and railway transport, which currently carry and shift about 70 per cent of the total volume of goods, as against 25 per cent in the year 1950; within the trend for the continuous shortening of the goods transport by land, we observe that the volume of motor road transport grows continuously smaller than that of rail transport. As a result, a situation has been created in which, within the structure of goods transport measured in ton per kilometre, the motor road transport currently shifts about 9/10s of the total tonnage of goods; within the structure of the passenger transport, the urban transport has grown more rapidly than interurban transport. All these changes in the character and structure of different transport branches have enlivened economic and social activities, intensified connections between the consumer and the producer, the cooperation among branches of the economy and different districts of the country.

To respond to the requirements of the economic and social growth of the country, the transport capacities have kept increasing and their structure has continuously improved and been completed with all the necessary structures, mainly by extending the network of roads and increasing the number of vehicles. All these changes and improvements required quite great investments, which in the 35-year long period from 1951 to 1985, total more than 5,2 billion leks and represent 6.6 per cent of the total

fundamental investments made in the national economy.

With the investments made for the extension of motor-road transport, the building of railways and the strengthening of sea transport, a complete and harmonized system of transports has been built which supports the requirements arising from the general social and economic development of the country. One of the growth indices in the material-technical basis of transport is also the extension and improvement of the road network. The total motor-road network maintained by the Ministry of Communications reached to about 7000 km in 1989, whereas that of railways 684 km. To this network must be added also the side roads, which connect villages, and thousands of kilometres of road within mining, forest exploitation and industrial enterprises.

Along with the efforts for the extension of motor road network and capacities of sea-ports, in this period, the state has strengthened the fleet of vehicles and the material basis for their maintenance. All these conditions created the possibilities for the dynamic growth of the whole sector of transport, which has grown faster than the total social product. In the period 1950-1987, goods transport growth rates have been about 18 times as high as the population increase, 10 times as high as the growth of agricultural production, 3,5 times as high as the growth of gross national product, and about 20 times as high as the growth of industrial production. In 1989 as against 1950, the total goods transport has increased 49.7 fold.

In the total goods shifting, there is a tendency towards the more rapid growth of land transport over sea one; while, within the land transport, the motor-road transport has priority over the railway one. In 1989 as against 1950, transport by land has increased 52,3 times and sea transport 10.1 times; whereas motor-road transport 55 times and the railway transport 34 times.

Hand in hand with the strengthening of sea transport with large cargo ships, which have intensified goods

transport to and from the country, outgoing transport has increased both in mean distance and volume. This is mainly, due to the expansion of foreign trade, which conditions, also, the vigorous strengthening of foreign overseas transport while the reduction in the mean distance of land transport is the result of the ever more harmonious distribution of the social product according to the needs of each region of the country on the basis of the principle of the uniform distribution of goods and products and the efforts to bring manufacturing centres closer to the sources of primary materials and consumers.

The creation and the priority growth of overseas transport has determined the changes in the structure of kinds of transport for different kinds of goods. This situation, in turn, is determined by the increase in the volume of foreign trade and the changes in the geographic structure of the Albanian import and export. The rapid growth of the material and productive basis of the economy has been accompanied with the high rates increase of the volume of foreign trade exchanges, which has brought about the uninterrupted improvement of the structure of import-export and the geographical distribution of these activities.

Before the end of the Second World War, the Albanian foreign trade was geographically restricted to a few countries, mainly to Italy, with which it carried out nearly 70 per cent of its exports and 43 per cent of imports. During the period of socialist construction, however, efforts have been made to ensure a rational geographical distribution of foreign trade activities. At present Albania has trade relations with more than 50 countries.

The increase in the number of cities and urban inhabited centres, the extension of the transport network all over the country, the growth of cities and the general economic and social activities, is characterised by the intensification of goods and passenger movements. As a result, the rates of passenger transport have been nearly **3 times as high** as the goods transport; while within the

passenger transport, the urban transport has had priority over the inter-urban one.

As a result of the increase in the number of cities, the growth of inhabited centres and the expansion of the road network, the length of passenger travel distances in inter-urban transport has followed this trend: 81 km in 1938, 63,6 km in 1950, and 25.8 km in 1989. As the cities grow, the length of passenger travels has grown. The urban passenger transport is carried out entirely with the means of motor transport; the inter-urban passenger transport measured in passengers per km is divided as follows: 65 per cent is carried by motor vehicles and 35 per cent in railway cars.

The period of socialist construction in Albania is distinguished by the rapid growth and continuous improvement of post and telecommunication services. **All-sided changes** have taken place in communications; this finds its reflection in the priority growth of the electric and wireless communications (by telephone, telegraph and radio), and the increase care for the growth and improvement of post services.

The growth in communications is determined mainly by the extension and automation of its services, the creation of a single system with a dense network of areal and cable systems, which guarantee the regular communication for the people and state organs in the cities, villages and abroad.

One of the major successes of telecommunications in the post-liberation period is that all villages of the country have been connected by telephone since 1973. In the structure of telegraph-telephone service, the state has given priority to perfecting telephone service, which in 1989 occupied about 80 per cent of all telephone-telegraph activities, against 41 per cent in 1950. In the 39 year long period, 1950-1989, telephone service has increased 25 fold and telegraph service 4 fold.

Along with the rapid growth of telecommunications, post service, too, has kept growing apace, in conformity with the requirements of the



population and the state organs for communication through letters, postal orders, subscriptions and distribution of the press, etc. The opening of post offices in all centres of agricultural cooperatives has played a particular

role in the extension of post service, the distribution of the press and other communications.

In the Albanian post service, the philatelic movement is an activity in itself, which began to issue its own

postage stamps printed within the country in 1957. Postage stamps are prepared and printed in high quality and philatelic value; they have informative, educational and aesthetic functions.

# THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN ALBANIA IS CONNECTED WITH THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF THE TIME

*by Prof. Dr. SKËNDER GJINUSHI*

The Albanian people have suffered the consequences of illiteracy for centuries on end. Not very far back in the past, just one year after the country was liberated, 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. Faced with this situation the Albanian government had to adopt vigorous measures in two main directions: first, from 1946, it proclaimed the elementary school compulsory, so that the source of future illiteracy should be liquidated; second, it organized a ten-year long campaign, 1945-1955, for the liquidation of illiteracy among the population aged under 40. This campaign developed in two stages of five years each; during the first one, which assumed the form of a volunteer movement, the number of illiterates fell by 50 per cent; while in the second stage, the movement assumed the form of compulsion enforced by law.

From the juridical and organizational aspect, the liquidation of illiteracy, as a great popular aspiration, found support in a number of government decrees and programs of the time, which included the law on the educa-

tional reform, on the compulsory elementary school attendance, the obligation of all citizens up to 40 years old to know how to read and write, and so on. In this way, in 1956 illiteracy among people aged up to 40 was completely liquidated. As a next step, work was concentrated on liquidating illiteracy among adults in general.

After dealing with illiteracy in this way, the whole educational policy of the state was based on a double strategy: the improvement of the school structure and the raising of the level of teaching quality in them so as to precede, support and encourage all the economic and social developments in the country; and the prevention of relapse into illiteracy. These two major tasks have worked in parallel with one another. Seen in this context, the continuous consolidation and perfecting of the basic elementary school, both in extent and in content, and the extension of the term of compulsory education have always been considered as primary duties. Fully aware that the 4-year elementary schooling was insufficient to avoid manifestations of functional illiteracy, especially in the long future, in

1952 the state decided on the compulsory 7-year and later 8-year education.

At this rate of extension of the school system, the number of elementary and 8-year schools had to increase five-fold. Given the young age of the population of the country, the number of pupils in elementary schools was extremely great. At the present situation, we have 9 per cent of the whole population attending elementary schools. The rough terrain and the extremely great number of small villages compared with the size of the country have imposed the need for the creation of collective classes, which, occupy 20 per cent of all the classes of this school cycle on a national scale. The number of pupils in them at times may be as small as three, nevertheless, each such class has its permanent teacher. All these conditions have made this category of school a universal educational system offering equal opportunities for boys and girls in the villages and cities. Cases of abandonment of elementary school are negligible, and those in the entire 8-year school system have shown a great decrease.

The basic elementary educa-

tion is considered as a cycle of crucial importance not only because of its great numbers, but also because of the problems involved in this delicate age-group and arising mainly from the psychology of child personality, which introduces the individual into the initial schooling processes, learning, education, knowledge and integration into the social life. For this reason, special care has been devoted to the consolidation of this link in the school system, the treatment of the main subjects gradually and in conformity with the age of the children, efforts to ensure the promotion of all pupils from grade one to grade two, evaluation without marks for these two grades, the continuous modernization of its content, etc.

Along with the extension of the elementary education, the state adopted measures to staff all schools with necessary number of teachers. At present, all the teachers of this school cycle have proper training for the job. Since five years, the teachers of this cycle are trained in adequate higher schools, and our plans envisage that by the year 2000 such teachers will make up 50 per cent of the staff for this category of schools.

In July of this year the new educational reform began in Albania. As the leader of our people, Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, this reform is connected with the new problems of our time, which have been raised for the further revolutionization and democratization of the life of our country.

The problems which it proposes for solution are vital, not only for their educational and peda-



gogical but also for their social contents.

Seen simply from the educational and pedagogical aspect, the educational reform is connected with the continuous process of making our school more massive and democratic; it has to do with the range and level of problems which the school encounters to-

day and which require solution at present and in the future. To reach final confirmation, the reform theses were subjected to a thorough popular debate. The reform program was gradually prepared during ten years from 1980 to 1990, when secondary education had undergone a marked increase and extension. The

link of our educational reform. This step has its specific social, scientific and pedagogical values. It will lead to the creation of premisses and conditions for a more solid cultural formation and a general civil, theoretical and practical, spiritual and physical, ethical and aesthetic formation of the new generations, towards the liquidation of untimely differences in education, early and narrow specializations of a pragmatic and utilitarian specializations. With this solution, the right to education, which is one of the basic rights of man according to the universal declaration of human rights, will assume new and greater dimensions and content.

Second, the general and vocational secondary education will be reorganized; it will undergo considerable improvements in its destination and contents; the technical and industrial schools in the cities will last from 2 to 3 years and will train qualified workers and medium specialists. Admissions to higher schools and passage to other schools will be effectuated on the basis of a definitive program.

In the rural area, instead of the agricultural schools which specialize in training farm workers, and some secondary schools of general education which currently exist, we are going to organize one single type of school: the general education school with an agriculture profile. This will be the predominating type in the countryside. Apart from them, there will also be purely agricultural schools with a term of 2 or 3 years. This latter type of school will exist on a national or zone scale and will train farm technicians, zootechnicians, veterinarians, etc.

secondary school system today draws 74 per cent of all the pupils graduating from the 8-year school, against 38 per cent in 1980. In 1995 this figure will go up to 87-90 per cent and over 95 per cent in the year 2000; thus, practically secondary education will be accessible to the whole contingent of pupils fini-

shing 8-year school.

These figures are basic for the success of the school reform, the contents of which can be roughly put as follows:

First, from now on the compulsory and single school will last 10 years and no longer 8 years. This is the basic reform act which constitutes the main





# EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE 1990<sup>s</sup>

by **FATOS NANO**

The new developments in East-West relations, the evolution of the EEC towards the «unified internal market» of the year 1992, the reforms of economic and political pluralism in Eastern Europe, the integration of two Germanies, along with the tendencies towards the disintegration of the Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, the efforts for the institutionalization of the processes of European integration and cooperation, and so on, are some aspects of the major changes in the realities of the old continent in this end of our century. It is a fact that today, in general, there is a new alignment of the political and economic forces confronted with this reality, both on our continent and beyond it, which is characterized by the disintegration of the old blocs and the formation of more complex integrations on a continental scale. The efforts to give the European community the character of not only an economic and monetary union, but also a political and military one, with supra-national attributes and with ambitions of leadership in the international relations, cannot fail to attract attention.

The present situation of the West-European community is the result of a more than 30-year long process, in which concrete ideas and steps were designed and carried out for the transformation of the national economic and political structures of the 12 member states into «one extra-national architecture», for overcoming the divisions of this space into isolated markets and the political and economic conflicts which had made Europe the main field of battles in the last two world wars. Failure to realize the former programs for the «European union» can be attributed

mostly to economic factors, which are connected with the conflict of interests for the division of markets, which are historically accompanied with continuous changes of the political map of Europe, as well as to the political traditions of the historic formation of the states of bourgeois democracies in this region on the basis of national interests constitutions and laws, some of which had to be «sacrificed» in the name of the common, supra-national interests and laws. The Second World War, which shook the foundation, of the historic position of Western Europe as the cradle of the birth and growth of the bourgeois civilization gave new powerful impulses to the ideas and projects for the creation of a «new European order», nourished by known strategic interests for the re-establishment of the lost positions in the world economy and politics, confronted with the status of leadership which the United States of America had won and was consolidating. To this end, Western Europe used the billions of dollars which the USA put in through the Marshall Plan with the aim of blocking the way to the democratic and left political movements and trends.

The representatives of the upper circles of European bourgeoisie became the initiators of the European unification in the postwar conditions. They were chiefly people of a conservative, Christian-democratic or socialist-left orientations, which included such personalities as W. Churchill, K. Adenauer, A. de Gasperi and others. These ideas and projects were more rapidly concretized in the economy. The «foundation stone» of an economic community in Western Europe was laid by the French Foreign Minister R. Shuman with his political declaration of May 9, 1950, in which he presented the plan he had worked

out together with G. Monet, for the creation of the «European Union of Coal and Steel Industries», alias «Small Europe». This project became a reality on July 23, 1952. New developments followed after the difficult negotiations which lasted for some years among the six founding nations of «Small Europe» with the signing of the Treaty of Rome on March 25, 1957, on the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Union of Atomic Energy (EURATOM) which came into force on January 1, 1958. On July 1, 1967, implementing the treaty signed in Brussels on April 18, 1965, the consultative and executive organs of the three above-mentioned communities agreed to a «fusion» resulting in the emergence of representative organs of a single West European Community. This fusion of the European Union of Coal and Steel Industries, the EEC and EURATOM into one single European Community was sanctioned in the resolution of the European Parliament adopted on February 16, 1978, but it waited for its final legal status with the crowning of the processes of economic and political union in the 1990s.

Since 1986 the European Community has assumed its present size of a group of 12 states with 323 million inhabitants, these states have gradually ceded part of the rights to exercising their national sovereignty to the representative organs of the community (the Council of Ministers, the Executive Commission, the Court and the European Parliament). In the spirit of the provisions of the Founding Treaty, its members expressed their political will «to replace the centuries-old rivalries by a fusion of their fundamental interests, to as to lay the foundations, based on an economic union, of a broader and deeper



community of peoples long since divided by bloody conflicts, and hence create suitable institutions for the future orientation of their common destiny». The legal order of the community and the system of community law designed for its implementation has already become a real and tangible part of the political and economic life of the 12 member countries and their citizens, on the basis of the results reached from the advance of the processes of integration in the region. But this community is a reality full of contradictions, old and new problems that await solution and are extremely complicated by the fact that the European Community represents only one, though important, part of the old continent. Confronted with the cyclical growth of the economy, the different levels of growth inside and outside the European Community, the exacerbation of capitalist competition between it and other centres of world economy (the USA, Japan, etc.), the changes in the ratio of forces which result from them; and under the objective pressures for the re-organization of the economic and political order in Europe in the context of the processes of democratization of present international relations, the European community has planned a number of new reforms for the acceleration of integrating processes. Meanwhile, a number of new initiatives have begun for multi-lateral regional cooperation and security in Europe, which include all the countries of the continent and others outside it.

Albania watches the present developments in this field very attentively, especially after the recent events in Eastern Europe and the re-unification of the German nation into one single state. It tries to make a correct evaluation of the factors and trends which are connected with them, so as to draw the proper conclusions and to take necessary actions for its own defence and for the interests of its independent development in co-existence with the other European states, relying on on the mutual respect of the interests and the specific political, economic, national and cultural features, and on the common

efforts for the democratization of the international relations in Europe and the whole world, the stability of peace and security, and for the interests of each people for progress.



The Common Market, or the European Economic Community, exists 30 years since. According to the Treaty of Rome, this inter-state economic organ was set up in an effort «to support and promote the harmonized development of economic activities among its member countries, the balanced economic expansion abroad, the strengthening of their economic stability, and the raising of the standard of living, as well as the creation of the necessary conditions for ever closer relations among the member countries». In reality, the basic objective of this initiative of the biggest West European countries has been and remains the creation of the necessary structures and superstructures for the complete integration and unification of the markets and economies of this region, for the revival and the strengthening of the competing ability of European capital on the world market, for regaining the lost positions in the war, and for coping with the challenges of competition and struggle for markets in the conditions of the disintegration of the old colonial system.

From the beginning, the authors of the Treaty of Rome have conceived the development of the EEC as a political and economic union. The precondition for this has been and remains the creation of a single integrated market of free circulation of goods and services, people and capital inside the member countries. This is also the fundamental objective of the reforms undertaken with a view to the 1992 situation. However, this requires the co-ordination of concerted stands and laws for the gradual rapprochement of the economic policies and structures on the region and for their unification in relation to the non-member countries of this grouping. The community competences and decisions are binding on

the member countries; they have juridical priority in regard to the regulations governing enterprise, competitions and circulation of goods, services and people within the EEC, the agricultural economic policies, transport, social problems and relations with third parties. Brussels admits that «only a few aspects of the state sovereignty, which are nonetheless not unimportant, such as defence diplomacy, education and culture, remain outside the community control, but, in these spheres too, particular aspects are partly subjected to its competences.»

The status and the actual range of the European Community have changed considerably since its founding. It has emerged to a prominent role in the international economic and political life and is growing more and more important as such with its position as the main commercial power, the leading agricultural producer, and second industrial potential in the world economy. In their economic relations with the other countries, the EEC member countries are represented as one unit by the community organs and bodies which exercise exclusive competences and powers in such weighty spheres of the economic situation of each country such as customs' duties and export-import regulations, the commercial policies, farming, transport, etc. As well as this, the community has diplomatic relations with 130 countries of the world; it has entered into separate economic agreements with 120 of them and adheres to 30 international economic treaties. The EEC countries are represented in GATT and in some other international bodies (OECD, UNCTAD, etc.) by their European Commission (at Brussels), which, with its status of UNO observer since October of 1974, has the right to voice their interests. In fact, the member countries of EEC have sovereign rights in the foreign policy but the Community is more and more emerging with unified stands in this sphere, too, at the Conference of the European Security and Cooperation, the «North-South dialogue»; (relations with the developing countries), the Palestinian question, the South Africa, Afghanis-

tan, Yugoslavia, the Gulf conflict, etc.

Naturally, the member countries of the European Community cannot be judged outside the realities conditioned by the operation of the law of unequal development in our epoch. It is true that they belong to the group of industrialized countries, as regards the level of growth and the economic potential they have accumulated, in which a noticeable part is played by the processes of European integration until today. Nevertheless, the unequal development of their economies in the present conditions is a fact which regards the two great developed countries and the developing ones, as well as among themselves. This is due to the fact that, in the rapid processes of structural changes which are taking place in the world economy in the least 15 to 20 years, with the growth of new industries relying on the sophisticated technologies and know-how (robot-work, computerized production, telecommunications, bio-technical engineering, etc.), to the detriment of the mining and manufacturing industries (the extraction and smelting of minerals and metal work, the traditional sources of energy, textile industry, ship-building, etc.), the ratio of forces between the countries and their competing capacity on the world market are subjected to continuous rapid changes.

These processes are present also inside the European Community which has designed special programs for overcoming the contradictions and obstacles that emerge in the effort for deepening the integration processes according to pre-determined objectives. Although the basic objective of the Treaty of Rome was originally the creation of a common market, which also gave the name to this grouping and it is for this purpose that efforts are being made over more than 30 years, in fact this market is far from being a common one. As a result of great inequality in growth levels and the particular interests of their monopoly groups, the markets of the member states continue to remain isolated behind old and new customs,

financial, administrative and juridical barriers. It is true that the member countries cooperate with one another in a number of economic activities on the basis of common policies which they work out jointly and adopt in Brussels. But, it is just as true that in many vital fields, such as the fiscal, budget and monetary policies, in the determining of standards and modalities of control on imported goods, border transport, social insurances, public services and other fields, the activity of the public or private subjects in the economy of the member countries (governments, trade unions, firms, and banks) has many points of departure and serves the interest of particular national and international financial groups and monopolies, which have divided the markets of the community in the member countries and continue to compete for the consolidation of their own positions.

On the whole, the economic potential which is accumulated and reproduced in this group of countries has had a market increase, but the rate of its growth manifests wide disproportions in different countries and branches of the economy, therefore the inequality in the level of growth continues to be a preoccupation for them. Thus for instance, the Europeans working in Hamburg, Paris and Brussels have an income five times as high as their counterparts in Northern Ireland and in Southern Italy, and these regions continue to be depopulated because there are not enough jobs and the incomes are low. Or, although the agricultural market of the community appears to be abundant, which is due to subventions for surplus production; this is a relative situation, because in its peripheral areas there is underdevelopment. The scissor of the gap in the farmers incomes on a community level, as Brussels admits, is very wide. While some farms get enough incomes to secure their living, others especially in the South, can hardly make both ends meet and have no other sources of income.

Commercial exchanges among the member countries have increased 7-fold in the last 30 years, while those

with third parties only 3 fold. This situation has been achieved mainly before the period of cyclical crisis of the period 1973-1975, which was followed by a prolonged stagnation. In this situation, apart from the fall in the weight of the Community in the world market, inequalities and divergencies developed rapidly among its member countries. Thus, for instance, if Belgium and Luxemburg today put out on the foreign market 65 per cent of their gross national product, Spain can find a selling market for 15 per cent of its national product, which is half the mean level of the community. The inequality does not end at this. About 30 per cent of the whole foreign trade of the community is done by the Federal Republic of Germany, which has the highest positive trade balance among the member countries (or 16 per cent on the positive side, which is nearly 80 billion dollars a year) The biggest countries of the EEC (FR of Germany, Britain, France, Italy), which are most influential and have greater rights of representation in its organizations, possess nearly 80 per cent of its economic and commercial power and 2/3 of the votes on decision-making. While other partners, like Greece, Portugal, and Spain which joined last in the Common Market, control less than 6 per cent of the community trade and have a deficit balance of 15 to 55 per cent.

All these and other aspects reflect the operation of the law of unequal development in the conditions of the inter-state economic integration. The different economic structures of the community countries, in which the indices show a wide range of divergencies in content, are the expression of different economic and social problems which each country is striving to solve. Despite the possibilities of giving these problems a solution on a community level, in these conditions of inequality, the integration processes and the community policies are accompanied with new economic, social and political tensions, especially for the workers in the countries which occupy the bottom ranks in the hierarchy of development. Although some progress

has been made in the processes of inter-state economic integration in the region nothing, not even the common community policies, could eliminate competition among different groups of the bourgeoisie in the member countries. They continue the struggle for the division of the internal and foreign markets, while new conflicts have emerged over their differing interests arising from a new alignment of forces against the conservative tendencies for the preservation of old positions. The situation appears still more complicated now after the reunification of Germany, which is expected to further strengthen the key positions of this already powerful state within the European Community. It is not an accident that, after many years of disagreements; the Britain Government decided; to fully include the pound sterling into the monetary system of the EEC exactly two days after the official re-unification of Germany, whose economic potential is expressed among other things through the strong position of the mark in financial markets of Europe and the world.

★

The main argument of Brussels in favour of the «92 Reform» is the «lack of a single market for goods and services, for capital and labour» and the high cost of this «European reality in which different goods for different markets continue to be manufactured». From general estimates it results that this situation costs European capital a total of 200 billion dollars of overhead expenses which weaken its competitive power on the world market (1/3 of European industrial products come out at a cost rise of 1-7 per cent in different branches), especially confronted with the American and Japanese capital. The European internal market, which is heading towards unification and total integration by the 1st of January 1993, represents the exchanges among the 12 member countries, which accounts for nearly 60 per cent of their foreign trade volume; against 36 per cent in 1958 and 55 per cent in 1985;

when the community had 10 members. The basic imperative of the «92 Reform» are the protection of this privileged zone of European capital from the ever more threatening penetration of American and Japanese capital and the growing influence of the latter on the world economy.

These objectives have been conceived and are being achieved in two main roads: first, by generally removing the economic, administrative and technical barriers which separate the markets of member countries from one another, second, by definitively unifying their economic relations with third parties and maintaining unchanged the traditional interests and links with the neighbouring territories and the former colonies overseas, with the aim that «the EEC should not be transformed into an isolationist European citadel». As Brussels emphasizes the trade war between the EEC and the other centres of international capital cannot be won in the conditions of the current fragmentation of the community markets, the biggest of which (the German market) is nearly not half as great as that of Japan and less than a quarter that of the United States. Victory is possible only by means of greater enterprise for the «unified market of 320 million consumers!» Therefore, the essence of the «92 Reform» is: to prevent the weakening of the competitive power of European capital and to give it the new role of leadership in the world market. As can be seen; the «1992 Unified Market» is something superior to the simple customs' union; it is aimed at levelling out the national rules on the treatment of specific products and the creation of common trade marks for them, the technical restructuring of entire economic sectors and regions. The creation of this kind of market is considered as the «most ambitious objective set until now, on which depends the achievement of political and economic union of the countries of European Community».

Efforts to carry out this reform program have come up against economic and structural difficulties which are connected with the unequal de-

velopment levels of different regions and countries of the community and the monopolization of markets. To soften the differences the community has decided on a common fund of 55 billion dollars to be allocated to investments for the development of backward regions, the creation of suitable community infrastructures and for some social needs (education, qualification, protection of the environment etc.) for the whole period 1987-1992. However, this plan comes up against administrative and political obstacles, which arise from the different handling of the problems of integration in the laws of the member states, especially over taxes on new values and those on consumption, which are the source of national budgets, over the bank services and security of capital, over customs control, etc. To overcome this situation, each member state is prepared to recognize the laws and unify the national standards of the other countries of the community.

The fact is that, on the whole, the implementation of the reform is following the set calendar with some difficulty. Until now the European Commission has elaborated and the Council of Ministers of the Community has endorsed about half of the more than 300 measures contained in the «92 Program». The rest includes more complex problems of higher difficulty, such as those of the unification of taxes and standards of sales, the liberalization of transports, etc. This process can be brought to a successful completion only when the 300 acts of the community law are converted into juridical norms included in the laws and regulations of each member state. This is true because, under the «Single European Act», the year 1992 does not create automatic juridical effects. This is considered as another impediment to the implementation of the 1992 program, because, by this time, some countries are reacting with delay to the acts approved in Brussels. Therefore, with the new competences it is envisaged to commit the European Parliament still more deeply into the process of decision making and to strengthen the authority of

the Executive Committee of the Brussels Commission for the implementation and observation of the community norms of laws, which is more and more gaining priority, especially in cases when they contrast with the rules and regulations of each nation.

Meanwhile, the «92 Reform» program has not yet assumed its final shape. The most ardent supporters of European integration are offering new ideas and initiatives in the process of the implementation of this program. These ideas include proposals for the creation of the central bank and the European single currency, the institutionalization of community cooperation, also, in the foreign policy and security, and so on, which have become the cause for the open outbreak of internal contradictions within «United Europe», in the form of new disagreements, in which Britain is conspicuous by its opposition to the Franco-German initiatives. The main debate which is underway in the political scene of the European Community about the «92 Reform» is that between the two opposed conceptions on the «United Europe» of the future, which can be described as the «German concept» and the «British concept». Around these concepts there are groupings and regroupings which express in a concentrated way the different interests and contradictions of the member countries. The Franco-German grouping, which sets the tone to the community policies, sees the future Europe as a centralized, protectionist superstate with its own administrative apparatus (excessively swollen), in which everything will function according to the community directives and norms issued from Brussels. Whereas Great Britain is in favour of an open Europe, with decentralized state competences and with a completely free market, without further concessions in the sovereignty of the member states. The British opposition in each step of European integration is something traditional now, but it does not represent the «voice of truth».

Actually we observe that the total commitment of the FR of Germany

to the rapid solution of the problems of the economic and political unification with the German Democratic Republic, which Bonn sees as a long-term factor which will protect the German economy from the present stagnation tendencies on the world market, has increased the cohesion of the other forces in the community for the implementation of the «92 reforms» without delay and their completion with other measures towards the concrete monetary and political union in the EEC. This situation is becoming more and more complex also because of the mounting pressure exerted by the East-European countries which seek to participate in the European integration process as equal partners, and because of the particularist initiatives for the creation of new regional groupings in Central Europe; in the Mediterranean, and elsewhere.

In the new conditions, summit meetings of the European Community have become more frequent, placing two priority problems on their agenda, the consequences of the German re-unification to the Community and the new relations with the Central and East-European countries. The European Community heads of state who met in Dublin on April 28, 1990, greeted the «German reunification under the European roof» and offered their support for Eastern Europe. They also mapped out the future course for a larger political integration of the 12 member countries. They were agreed that each step in the re-examination of the Treaty of Rome for political union should go hand in hand with the efforts for the economic and monetary union, without prejudice for the calendar of the year 1992 and considering the internal affairs of the community in their close connection with the broader developments in Europe. They also adopted documents, on the integration of East Germany into the Community and the building of closer political and economic ties with the East-European countries through new agreements on socializations and a kind of «Marshall Plan» of 400 billion dollars in aid to them.

Some of the main features of the

contradictory relations which are surfacing between the European Community and the other great powers of the capitalist world regarding the prospects of the year 1992 are:

The European Community is linked to the United States of America by relations of traditional interests which do not rule out the possibility of mutual investment of capital; but there are contradiction and disagreements over the division of profits, especially in the new opportunities which the East-European markets offer to them. The present strategy of the Community for the creation of the world largest unified internal market, with a marked protectionist and aggressive orientation towards the competitors, has further sharpened these contradictions, which have spread to other fields. The USA-EEC economic struggle has been and remains today one of the chief factors in the national life of these groups since 1960s: It started with the adoption of the Community's agricultural policy in 1962 and gradually grew into global proportions to include industrial markets, technical and scientific research and the financial and valutory spheres, until it broke out openly in the 1980s. The two sides involved are presently the biggest trade partners of one another, with over 20 per cent of their respective exports and imports going on between them. Protectionism has become the prevailing feature of these exchanges from the time their balance shifted in favour of the EEC (over 20 billion dollars yearly surplus). To the superprotectionist measures of Washington involving farm products, steels and high technology products, the EEC has responded with the one stand of the whole community and with counter-measures «justified» in the framework of GATT. This clash of interests characterizes the talks and agreements between them, as in the case of the last round of GATT talks (Montreal, December 1988), which proved a flop, precisely because of USA-EEC disagreements over agriculture.

In this struggle both sides have their strong and weak points. The

enlarged economic potential of the European Community, which has an annual gross product almost equal to that of the USA (4.6 thousand billion dollars), and its leading positions in the world trade, seen in the prospects for 1992, have become a source of alarm in the American business circles. Their European partners are preoccupied over the privileged positions of the dollar in the world economy and the great financial potential of the American multinationals, which, at one single scoop, are in a position to buy up whole branches of the community economy. The relative weakness of some branches of the American economy (steel and chemical industry) makes it vulnerable to the European trade expansion; just as the opposite is true of the American exports of new technologies to the European internal market. In these conditions, both sides are making protectionist and non-economic corrections (subventions) to the competitiveness of one another. Great frictions exist also over the new protectionist regulations which the community is going to implement in its economic relations with third parties in the framework of the «92 Reform», and especially over their conditioning by the «principle of reciprocity». In regard to the USA, for instance, Brussels demands that the freedom of actions of American exporters, investors and banks in each member country of the European internal market should be conditioned by the same rights of the European capital in each of the 50 states that make up the American Federation, something which would require a reform of the internal laws of this federation in this field. The American officials and businessmen express their preoccupation that the Europrotectionist wave of 1992 will sharpen the trade struggle between the western partners to the point of creating closed rival groups with their centres in the EEC, the USA and Japan.

The relations of the Community with Japan are also characterized, by a fierce trade war, with the difference that Japan, as the second largest partner (next to the USA) of

the EEC, is in superior positions. The growth of European imports from this Far-Eastern country is in flagrant contrast to the stagnation of EEC own exports to this country. The Community total sellings to the Japanese market is about one third of what Japan buys from it, thus creating an annual deficit of over 25 billion dollars, which is nearly 400 times as great as that of the year 1958. The situation in 1989 continued to deteriorate, with the result that the balance of imports and exports shows a 45 per cent gap in favour of imports of EEC from Japan. Brussels insists on the balancing of these exchanges, as it did at the recent meeting of the ministers of EEC and Japan on the 29th of May of this year. But the barriers of the European internal market are very brittle confronted with the Japanese high-technology which have a formidable competitive power, at a time when the Japanese market is tightly closed and protected against European exports. Besides this, the Community is worried over the increasing of direct investments of Japanese capital in the 12 member countries. According to information from the Ministry of Foreign Trade in Tokyo, Japanese investments in EEC countries at the end of march 1989 reached to 30 billion and 164 million dollars, against 3 billion and 13 million dollars made by EEC countries in Japan.

The particularist policy of the European Community towards Eastern Europe, the close distance of their markets and the hunger of the latter for Western commodities and credits, which the Community has not withheld, are the main factors that determine its relations with the Soviet Union, too. The European Community has always supported the economic and political reforms in these countries, with which it is connected by old strategic and business interests. The EEC has been just as attentive to the Soviet positions in this region and the initiatives for the redimensioning of markets and spheres of influence. The Community today has less than 10 per cent of its foreign trade volume with the Eastern

countries, moreover, as a result of the massive supplies of gas from the Soviet Union, the Community has a 7 billion dollar annual trade deficit with them. The winds of «perestrojka» have created a new situation in these relations. The Soviet initiatives for a «common European home» have been received with interest in the main capitals of West-European countries and are exploited as a favourable alternative for the strengthening of the positions of the Community on the world market, which coincides also with the objectives envisaged under the «92 Reform». Following the EEC-Commecon agreement of June 1988 and the political and economic changes which occurred in East Europe; these relations are being extended to Hungary, Poland, etc., which have actually applied for the status of partner in the European Community, in expectation of becoming completely integrated in future.

★

The promotion of economic and trade relations between the EEC and the third countries is done through these main instruments:

— The system of general preferences, under which, customs tariffs are placed or lifted for the export commodities to the Community markets. This status can be automatically obtained also by adhering to GATT, or through special agreement with the EEC, in the context of diplomatic recognition:

— the system of preferential agreements with third parties, which includes:

a) agreements of association, of partnership (into which entered Turkey, Malta and Cyprus, in the form of customs union, with the final aim of admission into the EEC);

b) agreements on the creation of a free trade zone (with EFTA countries, which also contains elements of customs union);

c) Agreements on trade; technical, industrial and financial cooperation (with South Mediterranean countries and Yugoslavia, which allow the free flow of commodi-



ties to the Community markets and financial aid);

d) simple or preferential trade agreements (mainly with the countries of the East which are granted general preference, and the undertaking of mutual obligations for the promotion of exchanges in the context of joint commissions;

c) partial agreements on textiles, steels or farm products (have been practised in the past with Comecon countries, with customs and trade facilities).

The unified trade policy of the European Community and the efforts of Brussels to concentrate into its hands the competences of the member countries for interrelations with a third party in this field constitute a reality of our time. Assessments for different countries, regardless of the distinctions in their economic growth, the internal political organization and participation in different groups and alliances agree on one point: the EEC, as an inter-state grouping, really exists and its community policies have a concrete influence in the international relations and in the participation of individual countries in them. All these factors cannot be left out of consideration in the policies and efforts of sovereign countries to protect their economic and political independence by participating in international exchanges on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Albania has carefully followed the new economic and political developments on the European continent. In this way our country can adopt the necessary measures for the protection of the national political and economic interests from the influences and consequences of these developments in their relations and exchanges with the other countries, among which, the neighbouring and European countries have a great weight. It is known that most of the foreign economic and trade relations of our country are directed to the European markets. Albania has more than 20 per cent of the total volume of import-exports with the member countries of the European Community, which is equal to about 60 per

cent of its trade in free currency. If in recent years the Albanian foreign trade has grown by over 25 per cent and trade in foreign currency about 17 per cent; exchanges with these markets have increased only by 7 per cent as a result of the trade and customs barriers of the Community to the third countries which have no relations with it. Until today the European Community has treated Albania without customs facilities and has limited the trade of goods with it. Facilities for overcoming these barriers can be obtained by entering into negotiations and direct agreements with the European Commission at Brussels and with its sections. In this way possibilities can be created to increase the amount of export goods and reduce customs tariffs for many commodities.

With the implementation of the measures envisaged under the 1992 program for the creation of the closed market of the EEC 12 member countries and, especially, with the new developments and trends towards the market economy in East Europe, these impediments and difficulties are expected to increase. Apart from the growing difficulties in making exchanges with the EEC countries, which arise from the lack of contacts with EEC organs, new difficulties emerge also from the possible admission into the EEC of a number of European countries, members of the EFTA or the Comecon or the development of closer relations with it. All the countries of the latter two groupings might eventually cease to be our traditional trade partners. The question is about Austria, to which Albania sells about 35 per cent of her agricultural exports, or about Turkey, both of which are nearer to getting integrated into the EEC. Yugoslavia too, is proceeding on the same course. And, again in East Europe, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries, apart from entering preferential trade agreements with the EEC, have begun to create problems for us. They are demanding that we adapt bilateral economic relations to the new requirements and conditions of trade in foreign currency, which stem from their economic reforms.

It is a fact that representatives of business and political circles of Western Europe, who have contacts and working relations with our country, cannot take upon themselves to solve our problems with the EEC. Therefore, a stable and lasting settlement to the problems arising from the prospects of development of relations of coexistence and economic and trade relations of our country on the European continent and wider should be found. As the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided, in these new conditions the need emerges that we should take gradual steps towards establishing direct contacts with the governing bodies of the European Community in Brussels with which we have to discuss and solve our problems. The possible forms of relations with the European Community are very complicated and not entirely familiar to our practice. Nevertheless, on the basis of some specific studies made for this purpose, it emerges that more thorough knowledge of these problems would make our judgement clear and subsequently we could take gradual steps towards the settlement of the above-mentioned problems and overcome the rest of obstacles that might arise in the future. Such steps could be:

First, the establishment of direct contacts of Albanian experts with the respective Mediterranean or the Eastern sections at Brussels, which deal with the customs tariffs on and the volume of our exports. Such contacts are indispensable to ensure mutual information and to open the way to the discussion of problems that require solution.

Second, the examination of possibilities of eventually entering into official agreements on economic and trade cooperation with the EEC, so as to provide direct solutions to the problems we have with the EEC countries and respond to our economic and political interest for the distant future. It would be preferable if our country could enter partial relations on customs preferences regarding our exports of agricultural products and textiles, and the purchase of foodstuffs on subventions. After the necessary information and trust is created, work

can be concentrated on making a general trade agreement or on relations of economic cooperation, which would be based on the official recognition of Albania as a Mediterranean country

by the European Community. The contacts and exchanges of delegations which have taken place between the two sides in recent times, the readiness of the Albanian Government

to be included into the Conference of European Security and Cooperation as member with full rights and its diplomatic and political initiatives in these fields will serve these aims.

# *press review*

---

## **THE TIRANA MEETING-AN IMPORTANT, CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTHENING OF BALKAN COOPERATION**

*Zëri i Popullit*

On October 24-25 the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries carried out its proceedings successfully in Tirana. As emerges from the joint communiqué that was published in our press, the decisions that were taken and the orientations drafted for the intensification and strengthening of Balkan cooperation, it represents a new, higher phase in the progressive process of cooperation and understanding among the countries of our Peninsula. In this way the Tirana meeting justified the hopes of not only its participants, but also the peoples of the Balkans and other peoples about the promotion and advancement of cooperation at a qualitatively new phase. It is obvious that the success achieved by the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries is the result of the joint contribution of the participating delegations and the governments they represent.

The meeting of the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Albania in our capital was held at a time when the Balkan peoples

are becoming ever more aware that increasing rapprochement, friendship, and cooperation among them is the only realistic alternative for their peaceful co-existence in the region. The meeting and its results clearly showed that the participating countries were convinced about the absolute need for cooperation, which is to the benefit of peace and security in the region, as well as the national interests of the Balkan countries themselves. It was more than clear that the existing constructive spirit had to be consolidated and expressed through concrete programs which further extended and intensified the whole process of cooperation. Both the rise of the level of cooperation and the extension of the fields of relations among the Balkan countries is in their general interest. Precisely for this reason the Tirana meeting decided to institutionalize the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries and hold it once every year. In the same context the ministers emphasized the importance of creating appropriate condi-

tions for the holding of a high level meeting of the Balkan countries in a near future. The ministers agreed on the setting up of a working group to draft a document on the principles of good neighbourliness in the Balkans on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, the documents of the CSCE and other international meetings, as well as other meetings and activities on economic, trade, scientific, artistic and other problems, a program which represents an expansion of the activities and multilateral exchanges among the countries of the Peninsula.

The Tirana meeting showed that, through good will and political realism, progress can be made and the incipient positive process in the Balkans intensified. It is known that the Balkans has many problems, old and new, which hamper cooperation among Balkan countries. However, the experience of relations among the Balkan countries and their history, as well as such inter-Balkan meetings as that which took place in Tirana, indicate that there is no pro-

**press  
review**

blem which cannot be solved if the good will and the readiness for dialogue exist. The spirit of democratic processes that are taking place in Europe and in the world is showing that, in the Balkans, too, the stand towards the minorities as a factor of cohesion, friendship and rapprochement among the peoples entails the recognition of their national, political, economic and cultural rights, the development of their historical traditions and the preservation of their ethnopsychological constitution.

The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries took place at a time when in Europe and in the world many positive processes have taken or are taking place. At this meeting the participating countries stressed the ideas that Balkan cooperation is an integral part of the positive European processes. It clearly emerged from the Tirana meeting that from now these changes and developments in Europe face the Balkan countries with new tasks and prospects, both in regard to Balkan cooperation and the participation of our Peninsula in the whole process of security and cooperation in Europe. The present time calls for the advancement of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in our region, as well as understanding of the fact that the changes that have taken

place in Europe create a new sphere of common interests for the Balkan countries, which they should fully exploit through joining and coordinating their efforts. «The growing awareness of our countries about their common interests, which finds its best expression in the consolidation and advancement of the Balkan process,» Comrade Ramiz said in his address to the participants of the Tirana meeting, «is also a necessity for an equal partnership with the other nations of the Europe of the future». The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries welcomed the high level meeting of the CSCE in Paris and addressed it a message in which it points out that, in developing their relations of cooperation, the Balkan countries proceed from the principles of the UN Charter, as well as the principles, aims and achievements of the CSCE process. The ministers welcomed Albania's request to be admitted to full CSCE membership.

It is clear that the implementation of the important decisions the conference of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries took in Tirana will advance the process of Balkan cooperation to a new and higher stage which responds to the interests of all the Balkan countries. As the host country of the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan coun-

tries, Albania not only did everything for this important inter-Balkan meeting to be organized as well as possible, yield concrete results and end with success, but also expressed the readiness of its government to take all the necessary measures for the implementations of the decisions of the meeting and make, just as hitherto, its contribution to the advancement of the process of Balkan cooperation, so that it serves the vital interests of the peoples of this Peninsula. «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania,» Comrade Ramiz Alia declared in his address to the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, «is determined to do everything possible for the process of Balkan cooperation, as an indivisible part of the European process, to be strengthened and advanced ever more.»

The Tirana meeting was a marked event for the peoples of the Balkans and they followed it with particular interest. At the same time high political personalities of the world, and European and world opinion followed it with great interest. The meeting received messages from the General Secretary of the United Nations, the president of Bulgaria, the president of Turkey, the Soviet foreign minister, the well-know Albanian philanthropist, Mother Teresa, and others. It was hailed as an

**press  
review**

event serving not only cooperation and understanding among the peoples of the

Balkans, but also as a new contribution of the countries of our region to the streng-

thening of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

## ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

*Zëri i Popullit*

Albania, the country of one of the most ancient peoples of Europe, although it had not adhered to the CSCE (its first meeting was held in Helsinki in 1975) due to certain political circumstances existing in Europe in that time, had nonetheless attentively and constantly followed its activities from Helsinki through Vienna, Madrid, Stockholm to other places. The efforts made and the steps taken by the CSCE member countries for expanding inter-European cooperation, strengthening peace, easing tensions and liquidating confrontations, for disarmament and measures leading to mutual trust and security in Europe have had a positive effect both for the present and the future of our continent. As is known, our country has welcomed these steps as positive processes expressing the aspirations of the European peoples. Certainly, the spirit of the blocs and confrontation, and

conflicts and differences have not yet disappeared from our continent. There exist still delicate situations which call for dialogue, wisdom and a serious approach. As a small country which has always loved peace and struggled for it, Albania has always been against the policy of threat, blackmail, violence, and the use of force. Its peaceful policy in support of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, its non-participation in foreign military blocs, its non-acceptance of foreign military bases on its territory represent a direct and real contribution to what this conference is for years on end trying to achieve. Economic, technical and scientific cooperation, or cooperation in the field of culture, the sports, environment protection etc, to which all European states are called on to contribute, are included in the principles of the CSCE which call for the peaceful regulation of

relations among European states. When we speak about the European process of security and cooperation we imply an all-European process, a general security which leaves out no state or region of Europe. The solution of the regional conflicts which still linger on in Europe is an indispensable condition for the progress of European security and cooperation.

Recently our country has taken part in a number of forums and activities organized in the framework of the CSCE such as the Copenhagen meeting on the human dimension in May this year, the Vienna meeting on measures for the creation of mutual trust and security in Europe in August this year, the Palma de Majorca meeting on the Mediterranean and, lately, the New-York meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE member countries.

One of the main norms of



**press  
review**

the CSCE is the mutual cooperation of all states in accordance with the aims and principles of the UN Charter, which doubtlessly serves the strengthening of friendly relations, good neighbourliness and understanding among the European peoples. With the measures it has taken recently for the further deepening of democratization of the economic, political, social and cultural life, Albania has made changes which comply with the requirements of the time, its national characteristics, its tradition and the dialectics of its social development. The new economic mechanism, the law on the protection of foreign investments, the improvement and democratization of legislation and a series of other amendments related to the economy, social life, human rights, the strengthening of the juridical state, etc. coincide with advanced international standards and are evidence of a progressive process which is unstoppable and irreversible. All the strata of the population of our country support these changes, for the steps that are being taken go towards new prospects, the improvement of the well-being of the people, the development and strengthening of international cooperation, etc. At present Albania is ever more expanding its relations with other states in all fields of life, policy, the economy,

commerce, science, culture, etc. The process of Balkan cooperation and understanding is also closely related to and indivisible from European processes. In this context our country has played and continues to play an active role in the promotion of this process, so that understanding, mutual trust, good neighbourliness and cooperation serve not only peace in the Balkans, but also promote the positive atmosphere of allround cooperation existing in Europe today.

All the peoples of Europe are convinced that there can be no security and cooperation without free, sovereign and equal countries. Only in this way can genuine cooperation be guaranteed in the individual interest of each state, as well as in the general interest. In a context in which everybody desire to contribute to a new peaceful order in a united Europe, mutual security implies the preservation of each one's identity and political system, without any dictate by the greater on the smaller states, without pressure and preconceptions, in which all states are equal regardless of their geographical extension and the size of their population. This is an expression of that democratization which aims at the further political, economic and social emancipation of our continent for a sincere and multilateral

cooperation. At present one is going towards the institutionalization of the CSCE and the enhancement of its role. Various proposals have been made about its centre, in the form of a permanent secretariat for coordinating meetings and joint activities, settling differences and averting conflicts which may still flare up in Europe, establishing and organizing multilateral cooperation in all fields and among all the European states, including the United States and Canada. The setting up of political, economic, administrative and other mechanisms, which will realize a new structure and set in motion a more advanced system of security and cooperation, is also being discussed at various forums. The CSCE member countries are working for drawing up documents, norms and rules which will regulate international relations among European countries, to which the Paris high level meeting is also intended to make its contribution.

Our country, which feels itself an active participant of the processes that are taking place in Europe, while getting ever better acquainted with the documents, provisions and norms of this process, as well as the future structure of the CSCE, is constantly working for this all-European process to be advanced in the service of peace, the independence and

**press  
review**

sovereignty of the European states, for their all-round development and the expansion of cooperation among their peoples, which responds also to our own national interests. «Albania, which desires to take part will full rights in the Paris

meeting», Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his address to the 45th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, «will work in the spirit of the obligations deriving from it. All the initiatives, ideas and efforts which aim at liquidating the

division of Europe into blocs and spheres of influence or other forms inherited from the past, and at respecting the freedom, independence and sovereignty of each people and state will have the unreserved support of our country».

## GERMANY IS UNITED. HISTORY GOES ITS COURSE

*Zëri i Popullit*

On October 3 1990, West and East Germany united officially and created one state. United Germany now is a historical and juridical fact which represents an event of extremely great importance for the German people. It marks a new phase both for Germany and Europe. Hailing the union of Germany in his address to the 45th Session of the Assembly of the United Nations, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «The solution of such problems as the union of Germany in a peaceful way is a good example for the solution of other problems of this kind which history has left for us to solve. It will also greatly help for the democratization of international relations, the strengthening of peace and security, and the creation of con-

ditions for a sincere and constructive cooperation among the peoples. «One can easily understand the general rejoicing and the great feeling of national pride of the German people who after forty-five years see themselves again one nation, one people, and one state. The union of Germany was a legitimate and undeniable right of the German people who have by now overcome situations unpleasant for a people, the division of their country, which was imposed on them by the historical circumstances and causes we all know. The materialization of this unalienable right of the German people was a process which could not be avoided.

With the union of Germany one of the most difficult and most acute problems of

post-war Europe was solved, a problem which has several times given rise to crises which were not easy to overcome. The division of Germany was one of the main pillars of the cold war which divided our continent for decades in succession and caused great suffering to peoples and countries, especially the smaller ones. It is obvious that the German people were the first to suffer the consequences of their division in the course of forty-five years. The Berlin wall which divided the German people into two parts was also a wall dividing Europe into the various alliances and blocs which were set up after the Second World War. Some European states put themselves under the tutelage of one superpower, whereas some others did the

**press  
review**

same with the other. So the division acquired not only a German, but also a continental and world dimension. Europe and its peoples, and their security gained nothing from this division, which brought them only rivalries and conflicts from all quarters. It is clear that the impact of these conflicts was particularly felt by the two parts of the German people who had the ill fate to be on the dividing line between East and West. This confrontation and enmity between Eastern and Western Europe lay heavier on the German people, so the overcoming of this situation makes it easier for the German people and favours the whole complex of East-West relations, also the whole of Europe.

Only a year ago it was difficult, if not impossible, to speak about the union of Germany. The wall of division was so great that it seemed as if it could make light of history. The logic of history, however, and the historical right of the peoples are unconquerable. When it coincides with the time and is applied in proper manner, even that which seemed a dream becomes a tangible reality. The changes in Europe led to the union of Germany. The German problem was so indissolubly linked with Europe that the advance of Europe itself towards true security, towards the creation of a democratic and stable community of the Eu-

ropean peoples, could not be conceived without the solution of the problem of the union of Germany. So we can say today that the recent event, the union of Germany, has not only a European dimension but also a European and even global one. The solution of the problem of the union of Germany represents the solution of one of the more acute problems inherited from the Second World War which affected the interests and aroused the concern of all the European and not only European peoples.

The union of Germany proves that history has always gone its course, and that the right of the peoples is stronger than stone concrete walls or artificial quarantines intended to divide a people, their history, their culture and their future. All the efforts of various forces to divide the peoples, to separate them, to create two peoples out of one, two cultures out of one and two languages out of one have failed and will continue to fail in the course of history. Violence, terror, and all-round blockade have been resorted to, and theorizings and academic memorandums have been worked out, but they have never been able, nor will they ever be, to keep up artificially created walls between the peoples, or between parts of one people, one culture and one identity.

The peaceful solution of the problem of the union of

Germany is a historical achievement, because it shows that through a peaceful process, through reasonable dialogue and political realism, through a truly perspective vision and consideration of the advance of history, one can go towards the solution of many problems. The union of Germany gives Europe and the whole world a great historical example how various injustices which lie heavy on the peoples can be put right. The peoples should be allowed and assisted to decide themselves on their fate, their future, their co-existence with other peoples in a Europe tending towards the progressive community of the peoples.

By doing away with a grave problem from the European political scene, the union of Germany allays tension in Europe. It does so, for being a solution found within the European framework, the union of Germany will encourage the process of closer cooperation and more friendly relations among the peoples of the continent. A united democratic Germany, involved in the implementation of the European democratic ideals, will be of major assistance to the democratic processes that are taking place in Europe and the world. German President Weizsäcker declared: «We want to serve peace in the world in a united Europe.»

Our country, which has

**press  
review**

followed and hailed without hesitation the democratic processes that are taking place in Europe today, has supported the right and efforts of the German people for unity. Our country has always maintained a stand of principle, emphasizing that the German people are one people and one nation. At the same time our people have always paid great attention to the development

of relations with the friendly German people, a people who have contributed so much to the advance and culture of mankind. In his address to the 45th Session of the Assembly of the United Nations, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: «Albania sincerely wishes that united Germany, which represents a major economic and political power, should constitute a factor of peace and stability

in Europe and farther afield and work for a better future for our old continent.»

Since October 3 1990 the political map of Europe has a new look, and now we have one German state at its centre. A witness of this major event of the end of our century would condense his thought into one phrase. Germany is united. History goes its course.

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVA- A LEGAL HISTORICAL ACT

### *Zëri i Popullit*

The proclamation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova by the Assembly of the Province in these days has been having a wide response both inside and outside Yugoslavia. This is explained with the ever greater attention the Yugoslav and Kosova problem are commanding on the European political scene, with the exacerbation of the political, structural and international crisis in the Federation, with the increasing Serb expansionism all over the country and, especially with the savage repression and the anti-Constitutional actions of

Serbia against the Albanian people of Kosova.

In the first place, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova is an expression of the legitimate will of the Albanian people of Kosova and their determination to have their own political and juridical subjectivity and a life of equality in the framework of the Yugoslav community. It was approved by the Assembly of Kosova at the joint meeting of the three councils of this Assembly on September 7 1990 in Kosova. It was a regular and legitimate meeting of the legitimate representati-

ves of the sovereign people of Kosova, who adopted decisions which are in complete accord with the public stands of the Presidency of the SFRY on talks with the different republics about the future regulation of Yugoslavia.

From the standpoint of the law, either local or international, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova is a legitimate act which has full juridical force. It was adopted unanimously and outside any pressure by such a high legal forum as the Assembly of Kosova, which is an organ elec-

**press  
review**

ted through free elections carried out in Kosova. The Constitution proclaims Kosova, that is, that part of Yugoslavia in which the Albanian people are autochthonous and live for thousands of years, a republic. To this step are fully entitled the legal elected organs such as the Provincial Assembly, which in this manner has expressed the sovereignty and the legitimate will of the people of Kosova. The solemn act of the Assembly of Kosova is in complete conformity with the Federative Constitution and the Yugoslav laws and, as a consequence, is fully valid. It considers the Republic of Kosova an integral part of the Federation and helps the regulation of relations within it. In this manner the sovereignty of the Republic of Kosova affirms the sovereignty of the SFRY itself.

The Constitution comprises no provision which runs counter to the Constitution of the SFRY, and in its content and formulations is similar to the Constitutions of the other republics, that is, recognises the people of Kosova the same rights as those enjoyed by the other peoples of Yugoslavia. By proclaiming Kosova a republic and adopting its Constitution, the deputies to the Assembly of Kosova affirm the juridical, historical, political and national right of the Albanian people of Kosova to have their own republic. As

long as Yugoslavia has been set up as a federative state on the basis of the principles of the 3rd AVNOJ Meeting which proclaimed the equality of peoples and nations, it is evident that this right belongs to the Albanians, too, who make up the third greatest nation of Yugoslavia and 90 per cent of the population of Kosova. Speculation such as Budimir Lončar tried to capitalize on September 14 in Copenhagen, to the effect that, «here we have to do with a minority calling for a state of its own and that there are minorities in many parts of Yugoslavia» convince nobody, because they lead to the categorization of the peoples in a multi-national country, such as Yugoslavia is, which can by no means be considered «a democratic framework for the solution of the problem of Kosova».

The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic took place in the known grave conditions of the actual occupation of Kosova by Serbia and its military administration, when orders have been issued and applied with savage violence to disperse the Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Government. The Assembly of Kosova is not to blame if the conditions in which it has carried out its proceedings, both when it issued its Proclamation of Independence on July 2 1990 and when it proclaimed its Constitution on September

7 1990, were not normal. This, however, does by no means invalidate the juridical force of the historical acts of the Assembly of Kosova. It is known that many important meetings from which decisions and juridical acts of the formation of Yugoslavia have emerged, have been held in secrecy, in conditions of foreign occupation. On the other hand, only the organs elected by the people of Kosova themselves, such as the Provincial Assembly have the right to adopt such acts, not the authorities of the state of emergency, or the organs of the Serb police and army. Nor do the Federative Constitution or any Yugoslav law entitle the assembly of another republic to disperse the assembly of another component unit of the Federation, which is a constituent element of it. The autonomy of Kosova has not been granted by Serbia. Nor did Serbia create the autonomous provinces. So it has no Constitutional, juridical or moral right to deprive Kosova of its autonomy and take decisions in the name of the people of Kosova. The assembly of Serbia and its organs have no competence or constitutional and legal right to disperse the Assembly of Kosova or annul its decisions.

With the adoption of the Constitution of Kosova and the Declaration of Independence on July, 2, the Assembly of Kosova makes a



**press  
review**

major historical contribution not only to the affirmation of the equality and sovereignty of the Albanian people of Kosova, but also to the stability of the Federation itself, and to the establishment of more just and more equal relations in this Federation. The new Constitution of Kosova has the same force and juridical validity as the Constitutions of the other republics, and its suppression or obstruction would be an obstruction of the Constitution of the Federation itself. Constitutional equality knows no hierarchy, the peoples are equal and the Federation can exist only on the basis of this equality.

The legitimate historical act of the Assembly of Kosova shows once more before the whole Yugoslavia and the world who is for the rule of law, order and justice, for calm and peace in the Federation, and who is for oppression, discrimination, repression and war. Faced with Serb occupation, terror, killings, massacres, imprisonments, the basest crimes and provocations, the Albanian people of Kosova and its elected representatives chose the road of the law, the road of the Constitution. This is an expression of the political, juridical, moral and cultural dignity of the Albanian people.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosova is in co-

mplete conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, and other international agreements and conventions. It is in complete conformity with the spirit and principles of the Helsinki Charter, which recognises and calls for the equality of the peoples in multi-national countries. By constituting the Republic of Kosova and the sovereignty of the Albanian people in the Province, the Assembly of Kosova makes its contribution to the establishment of a truly juridical state in Kosova, a juridical state which cannot be conceived outside the will of the two million-strong Albanian people of Kosova.

The proclamation of the Constitution of Kosova shows once more which is the road of reason for the solution of the Kosova crisis, and which is the truly democratic framework for the expression of the will of the people and the establishment of relations of equality in the Federation. The attacks of the Serb rulers on the Constitution of Kosova are an expression of the permanent chauvinist policy not only towards the Albanian people, but also against the democratic road and methods for the solution of problems and the settlement of relations in today's Yugoslavia. Serbia would like to settle differences by means of the gun, shedding the blood of hun-

dreds of young Albanians, as it has done in Prishtina and Podujeva, resorting to armed provocations, as it has done in Knin and Foca, to stir up the peoples of Yugoslavia against one another and thereby impose the Serb rule on them.

The arrests and persecutions the Serb authorities have been carrying out against the Albanian deputies of the Assembly of Kosova who adopted the Constitution of the Republic and against their families follow in the wake of the Serb fury. The arrests of the Albanian parliamentarians who fulfilled their duties as deputies towards the law, the Constitution and the people who have elected them represent a case without precedent in the parliamentary history of Europe. This is a reprehensible action and an attack on the very parliament as an institution embodying and defending democracy.

The adoption by the deputies of the Assembly of Kosova of the Constitution is in conformity with the contemporary spirit and processes of the democratization of relations and cooperation among peoples, either within multi-national countries or on national scale. As a legitimate historical act it is irrevocable, just as the will of the people which it expresses.

**press  
review**

## REPREHENSIBLE ACT OF THE ISRAELI ZIONISTS

*Zëri i Popullit*

A massacre of such proportions as that which occurred in Jerusalem was something «unexpected» for the moment. The Israeli police barbarously killed 19 Palestinians and wounded more than 140 others. We say «unexpected» because world opinion in the meantime was following the proceedings of the 45th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This high forum of international policy is working for the achievement of just and peaceful solutions of regional conflicts with the participation of all the sides concerned. It was «unexpected» for the moment also due to the other fact that the situation in the Middle East and especially in the Persian Gulf was recently aggravated by the ugly event of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. And precisely at a time when the whole world opinion was forcefully condemning this invasion and, together with it, the policy of violence exercised against Kuwait, Israel embarks on another criminal action which results in more blood being shed on the occupied Arab territories.

The Israeli prime-minister Shamir tried to justify the use of fire-arms against the defenceless Palestinians with the need for «stopping the

hysteria of a mass of Arab protesters». These justifications are an attempt to cover up the Zionist colonizing policy on the occupied Arab territories, which, among other things, aims also at the Israelization of the Arab holy places, historical sites, etc., which belong not only to the Arabs, like the Temple Mount. However, the answer to the baseless Israeli justifications is given by the Jewish mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek. He says that the massacre of the Palestinians occurred after Shamir's promise to build another Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem.

It is known that the Israelis do not give up their policy of occupation of the Arab land. Their policy of violence and genocide is a permanent factor of Tell-Aviv's stand towards the Palestinians. The Jerusalem massacre is considered as the most savage since the year 1967, if account is taken of the number of killed and wounded within one single day. However, if one considers the raids, expulsions, arrests, jailings and killings that take place day in day out one may say that such massacres, all this suffering, has become part of the everyday life of the indomitable Palestinian people.

Capitalizing on the recent events in the Persian Gulf Tell-Aviv tries to displace the Palestinian problem from the attention of world opinion. It tries to cover up the policy of occupation against the background of the democratizing processes in international relations and the solution of problems on the peaceful road. The problems of the Middle East cannot be solved without the solution of the Palestinian question. And this cannot be done through killings, violations of rights and massacres, as occurred last Monday in Jerusalem. The Palestinian problem should be dealt with wisdom, through peaceful talks in which the interested sides should take part in the first place.

The horrible events on Jerusalem's Temple Mount aroused the profound indignation of world opinion. Many governments and high personalities all over the world condemned it unanimously. The General Secretary of the UNO, De Cuellar, said that he was profoundly shaken and concerned about the violence in Jerusalem and accused the Israeli authorities of unrestrained use of force to suppress opposition. Other governments and personalities called for the Jerusalem massacre and the Israeli zio-

**press  
review**

nist policy towards the Palestinians to be submitted to stern judgement at the General Assembly of the United Nations and that punitive measures to be taken against the Tell-Aviv government so as to prevent it from com-

mitting other such acts in the future.

The inhuman acts of the Israeli occupiers must be condemned. Supporting the cause of the Palestinian struggle for freedom, equality, national sovereignty, we

demand that the Palestinian problem be solved once and for all times through talks, on the peaceful road, taking into account the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people and the other peoples of the region.



*Albanian science pays special attention to the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and, related to it, that of the autochthony of the Albanians. This is borne out by the discoveries that are constantly being made in the ancient city of Butrint, in the south of the country. In the photo: View of the amphitheatre of this ancient city.*





**Albania  
today**

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

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

**Read the review «ALBANIA TODAY»**

**Subscribe to the review «ALBANIA TODAY»**

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

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