

# **SOCIALIST ALBANIA**



**Journal of the India-Albania Friendship Association**

## CONTENTS

### EDITORIAL

**An Outline History of Albania: *Sofka Skipwith***

**National Day Message: *India-Albania Friendship Association***

**Resolutions of the Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association held in Delhi on 16th October 1978.**

**The Chinese Warmongering Policy and Hua-Kuo-Feng's Visit to the Balkans: *Zeri i Popullit Editorial, September 3rd, 1978.***

**The Evolution of the Family in Albania: *Alfred Uci***

**The Family Quarrel: *A Short Story by Kico Blushi***

**Belgrade: *A poem by Agim Gjakova.***

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## **EDITORIAL**

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is situated on the Adriatic Sea and has common frontiers with Greece and Yugoslavia. The people of Albania have a glorious tradition of struggle against foreign rule as exemplified by their struggles against the Ottoman Turks and in more recent times against Italian and German fascism. After the liberation of Albania in 1944 under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania the Albanian people set out to build socialism against the onslaught of imperialisms of all hues. In the process the Albanian working people have created a rich and varied culture. Their heroic qualities which have been forged out of a millennium of struggle against national oppression have been most clearly portrayed by the British democratic poet Byron:

Fierce are Albania's children, yet they lack  
Not virtues, were those virtues more mature.  
Where is the foe that ever saw their back?  
Who can so well the toil of war endure?  
Their native fastnesses not more secure  
Than they in doubtful time of troublous need:  
Their wrath more deadly! But their friendship sure,  
When gratitude or valour bids them bleed,  
Unshaken rushing on where'er their chief may lead.

The India-Albania Friendship Association was formed with the aim of developing and deepening the ties between the people of India and Albania. The objective of this journal will be to begin the task of informing the Indian people of various aspects of Albanian economy, politics, history, society and culture.

## **An Outline History of Albania**

*Sofka Skipwith*

The people of Albania are descendants of one of the oldest races in Europe, the Illyrians, who inhabited the Balkan Peninsula. The name "Albania" was given to the region in the 2nd century A.D. and came from a tribe of that name, the Albanons. Archaeological discoveries show that Illyria in ancient times was well developed economically and culturally, so that the riches of the country soon attracted Greek colonisers, who founded a number of cities along the coast (Durrës (Dyrrachion) in 627 B. C., Apollonia in 588 B.C.). The development of these cities led to the formation of states by the Illyrians which were in effect slave states.

In the 3rd century B.C. Illyria was invaded by Rome and, after three wars, was finally conquered in 167 B.C. But the Illyrian population resisted Roman domination and influence, as is shown by the frequent rebellions during the subsequent centuries.

In the 5th century A.D. Albania fell to the Byzantine Empire and remained under its domination for some 500 years. Meanwhile in 478 A.D. the country was overrun by the Ostrogoths and later, in the 6th and 7th centuries Slav tribes settled on the territory. Traces of their influence can still be found in the language and place-names. Yet Albania remained the most Western outpost of the Byzantine Empire over whose territory were fought the battles between Byzantium and the Bulgars in the 9th and 10th centuries.

As the bridgehead to the East, Albania was then subjected to attack by the feudal states of Western Europe. In the 11th and 12th centuries came the Normans, followed in 1204 by Venice, in 1249 by the Hohenstaufen and in 1272 by the Anjou. However, despite all these conquests the people of Albania managed to retain their identity and by the end of the 12th century had established the first Albanian feudal state in the central part of the country, to which various other tribes and regions gradually adhered. By 1350 there were two large feudal states: that of that Balsha, with its capital at Shkodra, and that of the Thopia with its capital at Durrës. Development under the feudal system resulted in the growth of a number of towns as centres of commerce and of local artisan production. But the advance of the Ottoman hordes by the end of the fourteenth with raids that devastated the countryside, so weakened the feudal lords of Albania that Venice was able to seize the major ports such as Durrës, Lesh and Shkodra. By 1420 the main towns and fortresses of Albania had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The Albanian feudal lords became vassals of the Sultan, who held their sons as hostages to ensure submission.

The people of Albania, who had to bear the full brunt of Turkish rule, continued intermittent armed resistance. It was this fact that caused George Kastriot, known as Skanderbeg, to flee the Sultan's court where he was being held in fee, and to return to Albania in order to lead the fight. For twenty-five years tiny Albania put up an unequal struggle against the greatest and most cruel conquerors in the world. On three occasions—in 1450, 1466 and 1467—the mountain fortress of Kruja, which was the heart of Albanian resistance, was surrounded and besieged.

This struggle against the Turks not only laid a firm foundation for the political unity of Albania (finally achieved many centuries later) but was an important factor in safeguarding European civilisation. Skanderbeg was killed in 1468 and shortly after his death the last Albanian fortresses were taken: Kruja in 1478, Shkodra in 1474 and Durrës in 1501.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the people of Albania still remained defiant, with a number of popular risings and peasant armies striking unexpected blows at the Turks. The harsh oppression ended the economic and cultural development of the Albanian

people; historical monuments were reduced to ruins, the population was completely cut off from any contact with other European countries. This naturally retarded the development of Albania by some 500 years.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further rebellion broke out, this time led by the feudal lords, grown strong enough to attempt breaking the yoke of the sultans. A number of them actually succeeded in achieving semi-independence for their states, as for instance Ali Pasha of Tepelena or the Bushata family who rules at Shkodra from 1756 to 1831. Large-scale military operations were needed before the Turks could finally re-establish a central administration.

This new administration introduced a series of so called reforms which the Ottoman Empire was forced to grant the lords but which in fact intensified the exploitation of the population. The peasants, on whom these measures fell most heavily, reacted with a further series of uprisings that lasted from 1831 to 1847 and were only ended with large-scale massacres by a strong military force.

As social and economic progress inevitably developed, however slowly, so did resentment against Ottoman rule intensify. By the middle of the nineteenth century one finds the first intellectuals forming a national movement and demanding freedom for the Albanian language, for schools in Albania as well as for independence and autonomy for the country as a whole.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first Albanian school was established, soon followed by others, and several magazines and journals were published in Albanian. Because of the regime of terror imposed by the Turks, the national movement had its centres outside Albania, in Bucharest, Sofia, Egypt and the U.S.A. Gradually, by the beginning of the 20th century, the movement had spread to the population of towns and villages within the country and had become popular, militant and anti-feudal. Between 1905 and 1912 national brigades were formed that harassed the Turkish occupying forces and led up to the final liberation of Albania on the 28th November 1912, when its independence was proclaimed at Vlora and the first Albanian national flag was raised by Ismail Qemal, who became the Prime Minister of the new government.

However, too many of those who had formerly been hand in glove with the Turk still remained in power and traded away the independence of the new country, until in 1913 it was agreed at a conference in London to place Albania under the control of an International Commission which would open up the country to foreign capital.

During the years of the First World War, Albania was a field of battle for the forces of Italy and France against those of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A secret treaty agreed in London in 1915 divided up Albania between these three states.

After the war the resistance of Albanians to any form of annexation by Italy or Yugoslavia grew with increasing strength until finally in 1920 at the Congress of Lushnja all the regions were united under one government which took as its capital, the city of Tirana, which ever since has remained the capital of Albania. Later in the same year the Italians were finally evicted from Vlora.

The growth of the popular movement against the feudal landowners resulted in an uprising in 1924 when the would-be dictator Achmet Zog and the ruling clique were obliged to leave Albania. A counter-revolution brought Zog back again in December 1924; in 1925 he became President and in 1928 proclaimed himself King of Albania. He maintained his rule as dictator with the help of Mussolini, granting Italy a number of important economic and political concessions. Mines, forests and archaeological treasures were handed over to Italian companies

while the cultural and economic advance of the Albanian people was brought to a standstill. In effect, Albania became an Italian colony until finally in April 1939, the Italian army invaded and seized the whole country in spite of local resistance by the population.

During that period, however, a new progressive influence was spreading in Albania. The first communist group was formed in Korça in 1930. The first Trade Unions were established in 1935; and in 1941 the Albanian Communist Party was formed. It assumed the leadership of the National Resistance Movement through the years of the Second World War. Guerilla units were set up in towns as well as over the countryside. These eventually numbered 70,000 men and women fighters.

When the German armies entered Albania in 1943 after the capitulation of Italy, they were met by strong opposition which, in 1944, repulsed the German offensive and counter-attacked until it achieved the total liberation of the country. The fighting, in which the whole country had participated, ended in November 1944 with the annihilation of the German forces surrounded in Tirana.

By the 18th November 1944 the last Albanian town had been freed and two Albanian divisions pursued the enemy over the frontier as far as Visegrad, helping Yugoslav resistance forces.

Meanwhile on the 20th October 1944 at Berat, the National Council of Liberation was elected as the provisional government- In December 1945 there took place the first General Election in the history of Albania, in which all men and women over 18 were given a vote. As a result of this election the People's Republic of Albania, under the leadership of the Communist Party was established in January, 1946, since when the advance in education, agriculture, industry, housing and the standard of living throughout the country has created a new Albania. The People's Assembly is re-elected every 4 years; in towns, districts and villages there are local councils (Executive Committees) responsible for local development.

The first step was the nationalisation of all factories and mines and the re-establishment of transport. All bridges and harbours had been destroyed during the war and had to be re-constructed as quickly as possible to bring the country's economy into working order.

Much aid was given in the post-war years by the Soviet Union, which advanced credit, sent gifts of wheat, new factories, etc, and supplied specialists and technicians to help a country that in 1938, was 90% illiterate, to stand on its own feet. New schools and colleges are the most important feature of every town and the transformation of Albania from a backward peasant economy into an agricultural-industrial country is well on the way.

By 1964 industrial production was thirty times what it was 1938 and continues increasing rapidly year by year. The same ratio exists in agriculture: tobacco, cotton, sugar beet, fruit, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry form the basis of a new prosperity, New housing is rapidly replacing the former old dark insanitary quarters. Oil wells are producing over two million tons crude per annum. Hydro-electric power stations supply a grid for the whole country; chrome, copper and iron are being exported as well as canned fish and tomatoes, oranges, apples and grapes. Within a few years the Albanian economy will be prosperous and sound.

## **NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE**

On behalf of the people of India the India-Albania Friendship Association sends its warm greetings to the people of Albania on the occasion of their National Day and appreciates the great and glorious struggle of the Albanian working people to construct socialism against all odds. Their glorious struggle is an unending source of inspiration to the Indian working people. On behalf of the Indian people we extend our complete solidarity with the Albanian people in their current and future struggles.

Long Live Socialist Albania!

Long Live the Friendship of the Indian and Albanian Peoples!

**In order to get in touch with the State Preparatory Committees of the India-Albania Friendship Association contact the following:**

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>West Bengal:</b>   | <b>Bijoy Sarkar.<br/>3-B Gobinda Mandal Lane,<br/>Calcutta-700002.</b>       |
| <b>Delhi:</b>         | <b>Vijay Singh<br/>F-13/6 Model Town,<br/>Bombay-110009</b>                  |
| <b>Maharashtra</b>    | <b>Jehangir Merwanji,<br/>43 Cuffe Parade, Colaba,<br/>Bombay-400005.</b>    |
| <b>Punjab:</b>        | <b>Lashkar Singh,<br/>1668/2. Sector 30-B,<br/>Chandigarh.</b>               |
| <b>Uttar Pradesh:</b> | <b>S. K. Misra,<br/>97 Gandhi Bazar,<br/>Pilkhuwa, Dist. Ghaziabad. U.P.</b> |

## **Resolutions of the Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association held in Delhi on 16th October, 1978.**

### **1. Resolution on the aims and objectives of the Preparatory Committee of the India Albania Friendship Association.**

The Albanian people have earned a worthy place among the progressive peoples not only because of the heroic contribution they made to the world peoples' common cause of antifascist struggle (1939-45) but also because of the fact that relying on their working people they are fighting for freedom, sovereignty, social emancipation and democracy against heavy odds of encirclement by imperialism of this or that kind and of recent, against the heinous act of stopping of all aid and scrapping of agreements by the People's Republic of China. This indomitable courage and stamina emanating from the reliance of Albanian toiling masses on their own power is a model as well as a source of inspiration for the Indian peoples. The Indian peoples cannot forget the role played by the Albanian people led by Enver Hoxha for the exposure of the war mongering policies of imperialism, for friendship among peoples and for their freedom and independence. In the present crucial days for the Albanian people, although they themselves have the tested capacity for victoriously overcoming the imposed difficulties, it is an important task of the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive peoples of India to forge a strong link of friendship with the Albanian people. The toiling people of India shall come forward to achieve this objective as an important part of the task of anti-imperialism, social emancipation and democracy. The establishment of full diplomatic relations between India and Albania is long overdue and it is necessary to conduct a vigorous drive to initiate opportunities for establishing manifold contacts between the peoples of the two countries. Hence the Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association lays down the following aims and objectives.

- (1) The holding of a founding convention of the India-Albania Friendship Association.
- (2) To demand the establishment of full diplomatic relations between India and Albania.
- (3) Establishment of a monthly journal "Socialist Albania."
- (4) Celebration of 28th November, 1978, the National Day of Albania, as Albania Day throughout India.

### **2. Resolution on the 70th Birth Anniversary of Enver Hoxha.**

The inaugural meeting of the India Albania Friendship Association coincides with the 70th birthday of Enver Hoxha. The association with profound pleasure wish Enver Hoxha long years of life. The whole of the life and work of Enver Hoxha is a great, inspiring example of devoted service to the working class and the working people as a whole and to emancipating mankind from oppression and exploitation. In the life and death struggle against the dark forces of fascism, imperialism and opportunism Enver Hoxha defended scientific socialism in the world and strengthened and augmented the forces of democracy and socialism.

Glory and long life to Enver Hoxha!

Honour to the valiant Albanian people!

Long Live the friendship of the Indian and Albanian peoples!

### **3. Resolution on Albania-China Relations.**

This meeting of the India-Albania Friendship Association views the cutting off of all economic and technical aid to Socialist Albania and the withdrawal of all Chinese experts and



technicians from Albania as a blatant departure from the road of mutual aid without any attached strings to the fraternal socialist countries as well as being a departure from the declared policy of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China enunciated in 1958.

The Communist Party of China in its Second Session of the Eighth Central Committee resolution criticised the 1948 Cominform resolution "Concerning the Situation in Yugoslavia" as defective and mistaken so far the methods adopted towards Yugoslavia by the socialist countries even though it was argued that the resolution was basically correct. The Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China considering Yugoslavia a socialist country and the Yugoslav Party a Marxist-Leninist party had earlier argued (a) the withdrawal of credit previously granted to Yugoslavia (b) the cutting of trade relations (c) the virtual creation of an economic blockade by the socialist countries were wrong and mistaken actions. Strangely enough the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China are applying the same methods towards Albania which they themselves criticised in no unmitigated terms while still terming Albania a socialist country and the Party of Labour of Albania as a Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Editorial of the *People's Daily* of China of June 4, 1958 also considered that such cutting of aid and economic relations as a pressure which cannot help the healthy continuation of ideological debate between two socialist countries. The Editorial also said that it was "big-nation chauvinism" and "hegemonism", a policy of "force", of "underhand means", of "interfering in the internal affairs of a socialist country", especially of a small socialist country whose success was related to the economic and technical help of a big socialist country. At that time the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China drew a clear dividing line between ideological debate and state to state economic, trade and diplomatic relations.

This meeting of the India-Albania Friendship Association is of the firm opinion that the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China have eaten up their own words and have abandoned and repudiated its own stand enunciated in 1958 as to the attitude to be adopted towards a socialist country in the midst of the ideological debate over the notion of "three worlds" with the ulterior end of putting pressure upon Albania to adopt the standpoint of China and that by cutting off all economic relations and withdrawing all experts and technicians they are interfering in the internal affairs of Albania in an underhand and big-nation chauvinistic manner in a similar fashion to the action of the USSR to Albania and China some years ago. This meeting does not find any difference in the course of action adopted by the People's Republic of China from that earlier action of the Soviet Union.

This meeting urges all the people of India who stand for sovereignty, independence, freedom and socialism to criticise this barbaric and heinous action directed by the People's Republic of China against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and to put the People's Republic of China in the dock as the accused in the court of public opinion and to assist the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to continue on its path of singlehandedly constructing socialism.

#### **4. Resolution on the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.**

The Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association demands that the Government of India make every effort to establish full diplomatic relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is well-known that the Albanian state was born as a result of the victorious fight against fascist colonial occupation and has successfully constructed socialism. It is in the interest of our people to have full diplomatic ties with the People Socialist Republic of

Albania as that country has set a brilliant example of self-reliant economy and social emancipation both being also the aspiration of the Indian people. Today socialist Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 75 countries including several Asian countries such as Bangladesh, China, Iraq, Kampuchea, Korea, Laos, and Vietnam. Full diplomatic ties are an indispensable prerequisite for the full understanding of the Indian and Albanian peoples. Hence the Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association calls upon the peoples of India to raise their powerful voice to demand the establishment of full diplomatic relations with socialist Albania.

## **The Chinese Warmongering Policy and Hua Kuo-Feng's Visit to the Balkans**

On September 2, the newspaper *Zeri I Popullit*, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, carried an article entitled: "The Chinese Warmongering Policy and Hua Kuo-feng's Visit to the Balkans."

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Premier of the State Council of China, Hua has just ended his long trip to Rumania and Yugoslavia. Formally, this trip was advertised as one of a general character, repaying the official visits the Rumanian and Yugoslav leaders paid to China last year. But, from the things that Hua Kuo-feng declared on the public rostrums in Bucharest and Belgrade, together with what the Chinese press has been saying recently on certain aspects of Chinese foreign policy, it follows that this Chinese tour is undertaken in pursuit of extremely diabolical ends. Hua Kuo-feng did not come to Rumania and Yugoslavia to see the towering mountains and beautiful views of the Balkans, neither was he urged to do so by any special interest in the ancient history of the peoples of this peninsula, or to acquaint himself with their aspirations and hopes for the future. He came to the Balkans, just as Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Nixon and others have done before him. They too turned out torrents of high-sounding words about "friendship" and "love" for the peoples of the Balkans; the assurances of freedom, independence and prosperity have been unending. But life has shown, and continues to show, that U.S. imperialism, as well as Soviet social-imperialism, have always tried and are trying all manner of means to subjugate and keep the Balkan countries under their hegemony, to turn them into aggressive gendarmes against other countries, to enslave the peoples of this peninsula and hitch them to their war chariots. The Chinese leadership is engaged in precisely such aims at present. Hua Kuo-feng toured the Balkans, too, not to bring the spirit of sincere friendship, as was stated at the meetings, but to exploit the friendship anyone offered him against the other peoples of the Balkans and Europe.

Certainly the exchange of delegations between countries is common practice in friendly relations and we have no objections to it. But, we are against the evil aims of those exchanges of delegations which are to the detriment of world peace and the peoples who are seeking and fighting to live free, independent and sovereign. The Balkan meetings of the Chinese leaders took place at a time when China has fully unfurled the banner of rapprochement and cooperation with U.S. imperialism, with the big anti-national bourgeoisie, with fascist cliques and the most reactionary regimes in the world. They were held at a time when in Europe the Chinese leadership supports NATO and the Common Market, the multinational companies and "United Europe", together with capitalist oppression and U.S. imperialism there. They took place at a time when it supports the military fascist juntas in Africa, Asia and Latin America, when it supports all those who oppress and exploit the peoples. The political and ideological activity of the Chinese leadership with such regimes is also seen by Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Iran, in which he talked cordially with the Shah, at a time when the revolutionaries and working people have risen against him and when there is bloody fighting in the streets of the cities of that country. By going to Teheran in this situation, Hua Kuo-feng wants to prove his support for the mediaeval regime of the Shah. This visit is a grave offence not only to the Iranian people, but also to entire world democratic and progressive public opinion, which has heartily condemned and continues to condemn the brutal acts of the regime of the Shah against the population in Iran.

The Chinese leadership dispatched its delegation to Bucharest and Belgrade after it had cut off all aid and credits to socialist Albania, in a perfidious, brutal, arrogant and unilateral manner,

for the sole reason that Albania refused to accept and opposed the anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist line which China has adopted. Thus, this visit to the Balkans is a provocation against Albania and her friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia and Rumania. Hua Kuo-feng entered the Balkans when, proceeding from its expansionist and hegemonic aims, the Chinese leadership has heated up the border conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, two neighbouring and fraternal countries. Therefore, no matter how much the Chinese propaganda may advertise Hua Kuo-feng's visit to the Balkans, the people cannot fail to see that there are not two different Chinese policies: one imperialist towards Vietnam and the other socialist towards Rumania; a hostile and chauvinist line towards Albania and a friendly and sincere one towards Yugoslavia; a policy of interference in Asia and Africa and a peace-loving one in Europe.

The policy of the present-day Chinese leadership is one and the same, clearly defined and consistently applied. It is a typically imperialist policy of a superpower, a policy to instigate war and achieve world domination. The first aim of the general Chinese policy and strategy is to achieve political unity with U.S. imperialism and the other imperialists who are its allies for the domination of the world by the USA, China and other major capitalist countries. With this path it is pursuing, China is striving by all manner of means to create its spheres of influence, which so far have been non-existent. This is also the reason why it has favourably opened towards the capitalist countries and is in unity with U.S. imperialists and other imperialists. But this clamour for spheres of influence particularly in the developing countries such as in Africa and in other continents cannot be realized without clashing with the other imperialists, who have their own interests there, and without creating contradictions with their own interests there, and without creating contradictions with them. The Chinese leadership is well aware of this, therefore, at present, together with the USA, it aims at erecting a barrier against the expansionist ambitions of Soviet imperialism aimed at checking the consolidation of its positions. It is seeking the checking of expansion of the Soviet Union, with the help of the USA, so that China can attack it. This is the source of this anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese revisionists, and in no way is it pursuing the desire to save all other countries from the expansion and hegemonism of the Soviet social imperialists, or struggling to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This aim is confirmed by the treaty China has just signed with Japan, a treaty designed to turn into a barrier against the Soviets in East Asia and, at the same time, an alliance for an eventual march by China on the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism lies behind the Sino-Japanese treaty. Decked out in an anti-social-imperialist garb, by the Chinese leadership and its partner, this treaty instigates world war.

Now, the expansionist policy of the Chinese leadership is clearly evident in Africa, where it is engaging in feverish activity. On this continent it is assisting and supporting U.S. imperialism and the other capitalist powers to preserve their neo-colonialist positions. Under the guise of the protection of the peoples of Africa, it is striving to create spheres of influence and markets for China. It is seeking the strengthening of its economy, based on the aid accorded to it by the USA and other capitalist countries. On its part, China has begun to extend aid to Africa, but this, just as that of the other imperialists, is not aid for the economic, political or cultural progress of these countries, but for plundering the riches, subjugating the peoples to Chinese hegemony. Of course, these spheres are not to be attained easily, as the Chinese would have it, but through force, political, economic and diplomatic pressures, probably with arms, like the other imperialists who have already placed themselves in Africa, like the Soviet Union, which has not been sitting back with folded arms but has created spheres of influence on this continent. It will come up against great resistance and opposition, particularly among the peoples and the

progressive leadership of the African countries.

The other aim of Chinese foreign policy is expansion into the Balkans. Ideologically, Albania has long been engaged in struggle against the revisionist theories and political line of the Chinese leadership. Its efforts to lead the Chinese leadership onto the correct road of Marxism-Leninism clearly testify to this. When the Chinese leadership saw that it could not act towards socialist Albania according to its great-state missions and dictates, when caused hostile activity within our country and this was opposed, it severed economic relations with Albania. China has fostered and continues to foster aims of transforming the Balkans into a *place d'armes*, a political, economic and ideological sphere in Europe, from where it could act in the direction of the revisionist countries such as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, as well as in the direction of the independent and sovereign states of Greece and Turkey. In this way it wants to create Chinese influence in Europe to counterpose to that of the Soviet Union

But, China's interest is not only confined to the Balkans. China has declared itself an ardent defender of the European Common Market and of the "United Europe" slogans of enslaving European capital. It has long ago established relations with the European Common Market and it even has its own representatives in this organization, without being a member of it. The all-round relations between the capitalist countries of Europe and China are developing and deepening, especially with the European Common Market member countries, and particularly with the German Federal Republic. Therefore, Europe is not only a target of Soviet but also of Chinese expansion. Chinese opening in Europe and the creation of a favourable political and ideological field for it in the Balkans are part of the Chinese strategy of instigating war. For many years the Chinese have been shouting themselves hoarse in preaching that war is imminent in Europe because it is precisely here that social-imperialism will first launch the war and nowhere else. Therefore, they are calling on NATO to increase its military budget as much as it can, that the USA dispatch as many soldiers and neutron bombs to Europe as possible, to lay nuclear mines there from the North Pole to the Mediterranean, that the Western Europeans dispatch soldiers and naval fleets to the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and around Africa in order to protect the oil and raw materials so that they are not left stranded as a result of the impending war.

As the aggressor it is, the Soviet Union may begin a war in Europe, but it will begin it in the Far East too, against its "number one enemy", as China declares itself. But this cannot happen, the Chinese leaders allege, because China will have to wait for its modernization up until the year 2000. In the meantime, let the superpowers clash in Europe, let the European peoples be maimed, killed by nuclear bombs, let the peoples be wiped out by neutron radiation, once this apocalypse comes true, within the twenty years until the end of the century, China will have been through with its modernization. and will have become a superpower. Thus, it can establish its domination over the world without firing a single shot, When the Chinese leadership thinks that war between U.S. imperialism and Europe on one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other will be declared by the latter in the very near future, this expresses the Chinese strategy, which aims at making the Soviet Union attack Europe and at diverting it from war with China in the Far East.

Within this framework, it is quite clear that Hua Kuo-feng's coming to the Balkans aims at upsetting the present situation in the region, at causing hostilities between the Balkan peoples and at instigating a third world war. Regarding the Balkans as a powderkeg, just as the European and the U.S. imperialists have always regarded it, the Chinese leadership thinks that here some crown prince can be easily killed and war will break out in Europe. The world must not forget Sarajevo.

But the Chinese leadership is wrong in its reckonings. Not because the revisionist Soviet Union is not an aggressive imperialism, and does not cherish ambitions to occupy, oppress and exploit the peoples, but because the imperialist Soviet Union will surely take first that part of the world where its interests are greatest and the strength of the country it wants to attack the weakest. This is what the Soviet Union is doing with its various acts of interference in Africa. In the present-day situation, it is more likely to be launched against China, rather than against Europe. A war of the Soviet Union against NATO would be a large-scale world war, a nuclear war. Besides, the USA wishes and strives to have the two imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and China, clash with and destroy each other. U.S. imperialism, just as Soviet social-imperialism and China, is well aware of its own interests and where it can draw profits. Therefore the calculations of Chinese imperialism, to set Europe ablaze, the attempts it is making to instigate war between the Soviet Union and the USA and their allies for the sake of its own hegemonic interests cannot be realized.

But, the plans of the Chinese leadership cannot be realized for yet another very important reason—the fact that they run into resistance and opposition from the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, progressive world public opinion, the revolutionaries and the patriots everywhere in the world. The peoples of the Balkans and Europe have suffered a great deal from the two world wars in their countries, and have learned enough not to fall prey to the warmongering aims of the Chinese leaders. They know how to defend themselves and how to emerge victorious over the revisionists. The peoples of the Balkans and Europe have learned from their history that where there has been reconciliation with the policy of instigating imperialist war, in the name of whatever aim, this has been disastrous for both freedom and national independence, both genuine security and peace. They can never mistake for an olive branch the torch that Hua Kuo-feng brings from Peking to set fire to the boilers of war in the Balkans and Europe. They are aware that war in Europe and the world can be avoided not by listening to the ominous Chinese sermons which instigate imperialist war, which Lenin considered a crime, but by opposing the aggressive policy and plans for the preparation of war by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all other imperialisms, including those of Hua Kuo-feng's China. Therefore, anyone who plays the Chinese game today stands in opposition not only to the lofty interests of their own people but also creates new dangers for other peoples, joins those who want and instigate war.

In the press reports from Belgrade and Peking, both sides threw flowers at one another, and with stereotyped formulae referred to various problems of the peoples discussed at their meetings. We do not know what was actually said about Albania, but we are convinced that they have spoken against it. This does not intimidate the Albanian people. They have made it clear that nothing will take them unawares and never will they lack vigilance. They will foil the anti-Albanian plans whatever they may be, being convinced at the same time that they will enjoy the support of the Yugoslav people, the Chinese people and certainly the support of the other peoples of the Balkans. The aim of Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia, as the official agreements concluded indicate, was also the public proclamation of the complete and thorough reconciliation between the Communist Party of China and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In the past, Hua Kuo-feng and his group, which now lead China, had allegedly adopted a pronounced critical position towards Yugoslavia and its internal and external policies, whereas at present, it is precisely the Chinese leaders who have been paying the greatest honours to the Yugoslav revisionist trend and those who lead this trend. By going to Belgrade like a repentant son asking forgiveness from his father, Hua Kuo-feng seeks to rectify the wrongs allegedly

committed by the leadership of the Communist Party of China against this anti-Marxist trend in the past and to call it “genuine Marxist-Leninist”, just as the new leadership of the Communist Party of China regards itself as being “genuinely Marxist-Leninist”, though in reality it is a revisionist leadership. It was exactly the same with Khrushchov, in 1955, who, when he went to Belgrade, went down on his knees before Tito and laid the blame for the criticism of the Yugoslav revisionists on the doorstep of Stalin. Now; the Chinese leadership too states that its “erroneous stand” towards Yugoslavia had allegedly been imposed on them by Stalin and the meetings of the communist parties. It is clear that when the question is to denigrate Stalin and Marxism-Leninism the Chinese leaders do not feel ashamed to accept and repeat by heart Khrushchov’s thesis and employ his base methods.

By making self-criticism about the “mistakes” of the past, the Chinese leaders showed themselves ready to accord economic, political, ideological and other aid to Yugoslavia, where capitalist “self-administration” has been established. Hua Kuo-feng sought to present his visit to Yugoslavia as a testimony to the existence of a complete ideological unity between the two countries and parties, which “rely on Marxism-Leninism”, on- “similar experience”, the “common struggle”, etc. In reality; he seeks unity and union with the traitors to Marxism-Leninism to fight against socialism and the revolution. Choosing Belgrade, this long-standing centre of modern revisionism, to make such statements of “loyalty” to Marxism-Leninism, Hua Kuo-feng buried himself deeper in the quagmire of opportunism and demagogy of the Chinese leadership. He did not fail to bring forth his evidence of the “implementation of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Yugoslavia”, and the concept of “national equality” the League of Yugoslav Communists has been pursuing. The support for the policy of the Yugoslav revisionists as far as the alleged “resolving” of the “problems of the national minorities” is concerned, is valid, because they are in great need of this support. The Chinese logic is pretty strange. Mao Tsetung considered the settlement of the post-Second World War period in Europe erroneous, and prepared to rectify it, while Hua Kuo-feng considers “proper” the unjust decisions of the conference of the ambassadors of the great powers in 1913 on the Balkans. But, it should be said that Hua Kuo-feng is not able to judge whether or not the questions of the national minorities in Yugoslavia have been correctly solved. The national minorities which live in Yugoslavia today are more capable of judging this.

The Peking press, with *Renmin Ribao* in the lead, has fully exploited the arsenal of Chinese compliments to describe Hua Kuo-feng’s visit to Yugoslavia. The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China writes that “Hua Kuo-feng’s visit to Yugoslavia complies with the aspirations of the peoples of the whole world.” This may be the desire of the Chinese leadership, but not the viewpoint of the whole world! “The collaboration between the two parties has deep roots. The League of Yugoslav Communists is a glorious party,” writes the Chinese newspaper. No one knows where these deep roots spring from, but the Chinese propagandists are not ashamed of using high-sounding slogans. They do not feel ashamed either when they say that the League of Yugoslav Communists “applies Marxism-Leninism” and “builds socialism” in Yugoslavia. No revolutionary and no progressive man in the world accepts the Yugoslav revisionism which Hua Kuo-feng praises and advertises as a variant of the construction of socialism. This “socialism” not only has nothing in common with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but has also been refuted by Yugoslavia’s everyday practice, which shows that socialism is not being built there. Just as the efforts of all the opportunists who have engaged in such advertising until now, the Chinese efforts too, to deck out Yugoslav revisionism in socialist and Marxist-Leninist garb, cannot be successful either. The “policy of

equilibrium” of the Yugoslav leadership has never brought nor will it ever bring any good to the peoples of Yugoslavia.' The so-called “great diplomacy” of President Tito, which has transformed Yugoslavia into a dependent and not an independent country, now hangs it on China’s hook, on another imperialist power, into which China has now been transformed. The new friendship with China, so highly rated, as *Renmin Ribao* advertises it, adds to the dangers posed to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Balkan peoples. The bourgeois friends of the Yugoslav know the dangers that the acrobatic policy of Yugoslavia represents, but they instigate and support it. In the present situation it seems to them that they are weakening Soviet social-imperialism and they think they are omnipotent to avoid the catastrophe when the time comes and the contradictions are aggravated. They find it natural for the Soviet naval fleet to ride anchor at Yugoslav ports and to smile at the Chinese formula of the “struggle against hegemonism”, knowing to whom it is addressed. But the peoples of the world, Europe and especially the Balkan peoples, of Greece, Turkey and Albania, will not accept this.

Uniting ideologically and politically with Yugoslavia and Rumania, the Chinese leadership intends to consolidate and further deepen its political and economic positions gained in those two countries. In this case, a great role will be played by the Chinese market, which has opened to Yugoslavia and Rumania, which, in the grave conditions of the existing crisis and the great competitive power of better quality goods from the capitalist countries, have difficulty finding markets in the other countries of the world. In both Rumania and Yugoslavia the Chinese delegation concluded a large number of agreements on economic, trade and technical-scientific cooperation, made various offers, etc. The Chinese promises seem very generous on paper, but practice will show to what extent they will be realized. But one thing is already clear: the development of this “broad cooperation”, as the Chinese propaganda calls it, will be conditioned to a great extent by the influence China will succeed in imposing on these two countries, and especially by their agreeing to act according to its liking. At the same time the all-round ties of Rumania and Yugoslavia with the USA and the Soviet Union do not fulfil the designs of China in this field. In his speeches, Hua Kuo-feng raised some terms, such as “equal friendly relations”, “mutual disinterested aid”, “non-interference in the internal affairs”, “not seeking privileges”, “opposition to dictates”, etc. Such hypocritical and demagogic statements follow all the chauvinist, arbitrary and perfidious acts the Chinese leaders committed against our country. Those who believe them will soon be disillusioned.

On his visit to Rumania and Yugoslavia, Hua Kuo-feng did not speak about the “third world” and the Chinese “theory of the three worlds”, as he did during Tito’s visit to Peking, but he made extensive statements about the “non-aligned world”. It shows that on these questions China’s pragmatism prevails over its “ideological, principled stand”. But the praise lavished on Yugoslavia as one of the founding countries of the non-aligned movement can hardly cover up the Chinese attempts to inherit the leadership of this movement. The idea of non-alignment serves the counter-revolution and the preservation of neo-colonialism; it seeks to deceive the peoples while asking neo-colonialism to cede in regard to some worthless economic reforms, but which are important for those who take such handouts. Today, they want the peoples to place themselves completely under neo-colonialist hegemony and to submit to it. Hua Kuo-feng, who poses as the champion of the “third world”, by praising “non-alignment”, tries to show that his “third world” and the “non-aligned” world are one and the same thing, that the strategy of this world must suit the Chinese policy, that its centre must be in China, in Peking. When he criticizes the Soviet social-imperialists for trying to submit the movement of the “non-aligned” to their



expansionist aims, in fact, he proves that he is contending with them to achieve the same objectives and the same aims. But the people of the world are in need neither of the "non-aligned" theory nor of that of the "three worlds". These theories, advertised by the bourgeoisie and reaction with such great zeal and love, are not on the side of the revolution or the liberation struggles, but are against them. They do not assist the revolutionary struggle of the working masses of the people to get rid of oppression and exploitation, to do away with the national yoke and oppression, to secure freedom and national sovereignty, but assist imperialism to preserve the existence of the status quo, to strengthen and perpetuate the odious capitalist and colonialist system.

The truth, which we express openly and frankly, just as we think and judge it, will never destroy the friendship of our people with the Yugoslav peoples and the Chinese people, or with any, other people. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have never feared to openly air their own. Views without hiding them behind frills. The friendly peoples know and appraise these views. But when we defend our correct and confident policy, there are rumours, which have their source in Peking and Belgrade, that allegedly the stand of Albania assists Soviet social-imperialism. But no one believes these insinuations. With its policy and stand, socialist Albania has proved and will prove at any time that it is an irreconcilable enemy of Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism or any other imperialism. The Albanian people who know full well where danger comes from, who fight to defend their own freedom, independence, and sovereignty, will also make their contribution to the defence of the well-wishing and peace-loving neighbours who properly understand our unflinching stand and the dangers posed by the imperialist powers. But the rumours which are heard from Peking and from its friends about socialist Albania allegedly taking the side of the Soviet Union are spread to sow suspicion towards the policy of the Albanian proletarian state. The whole world should know, and must rest assured, that Albania does not stretch out a begging hand to any imperialist power and that Albania's territorial and coastal borders and airspace are inviolable. Under the Constitution, socialist Albania does not accept nor will it ever accept, credits from any foreign powers. But, in the capitalist and revisionist world, there exists a mentality which stems from their concrete practice, that no state, whether big or small, can survive without foreign credits. With its example, socialist Albania will put an end to this mentality. Just as until now, our country will continue to maintain normal trade relations with other states on the basis of mutual benefit. This does not in the slightest violate the principles sanctioned in our Constitution. But the imperialists, in pursuit of evil aims, confuse trade based on mutual interest with the granting of credit and "aid", which are two entirely different things. Hence, their deduction that Albania is isolated and cannot walk on its own. But the opposite happens and will always happen. Ensuring their own forces and, with unflinching confidence in the future, relying powerfully on the support and solidarity of international public opinion, the Albanian people, led by their Party of Labour, will boldly surmount the obstacles getting in their way and will carry the cause of socialism in Albania always forward. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have long warned against the intrigues of the super-powers and their attempts to introduce quarrels and conflicts into the Balkans. Comrade Enver Hoxha stated at the Sixth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania in 1971: *"The Balkans did not become a powderkeg of themselves. It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands, and they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans. It is only natural that our peoples*

*live free; that they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any one people or of all the peoples jointly."* These words of Comrade Enver Hoxha express the resolute and consistent stand of the Party, government and people of Albania which proceeds from the desire and determination to always live in peace and friendship with the peoples of the Balkans and the whole world.

## The Evolution of the Family in Albania

by Alfred Uci

It was Marx and Engels who first laid bare the dependence of, of the development of the family upon the development of property relations, who first clearly exposed the degeneration of the family under the conditions of decaying capitalism, and who foresaw that the construction of socialism would bring about radical changes in the family. Engels was at pains to point out that the liquidation of capitalist society in no way meant the *liquidation* of the monogamous family but its *elevation* to a new, higher level.

Since its foundation, our Party has always severely criticised the erroneous liberal-anarchist views on the family which appeared among certain Communist groups, notably the Young Communists. Considering the evolution of the family as an important social question, Enver Hoxha has emphasised that Albanian Communists are opposed to all weakening of durable monogamous conjugal relations and to all relations of inequality which adversely affect the family, and that the Albanian family must be founded on

“... just, free, equal relations of pure and deep affection”.

On the eve of Liberation, the Albanian family reflected the feudal-bourgeois social system then in operation in our country. For the most part marriages were arranged by parents, and their basis was the transfer and inheritance of property. Relations of great inequality existed between husband and wife, and between parents and children. Working class and peasant families languished in poverty, ignorance and backwardness. Prostitution, both legal and clandestine, was rampant.

Now, with the building of socialism, the old type of Albanian family is giving way to a new type, that of the socialist family, founded on mutual affection between equal, freely consenting partners. A recent investigation conducted by the State University of Tirana in Mirdita, where the old customs were most strongly entrenched until recently, reveals the extent to which the old ideas on marriage are giving way to new.

To the question: “Who will decide your marriage?”,

56.7% of young people replied: “Ourselves”;

36.7% replied: “Our parents and ourselves”;

6.6% replied: “Our parents”.

To an inquiry as to what these young people would principally look for in their future marriage partner:

55% replied: “Honesty, fidelity and love”;

12% replied: “Love of work”;

10% replied: “Physical attractiveness”;

7% replied: “A good education”;

6% replied: “Intelligence”;

5% replied: “Simplicity”; and

5% replied: “Understanding”.

To an inquiry among young married couples as to what they considered the basic condition for a durable marriage:

64% replied: “Fidelity and understanding”;

27% replied: “Love”;

5% replied “Economic security”;

2% replied: “Equality”; and

2% replied: "Preliminary mutual knowledge".

These data reveal that the motives for marriage which predominate among the younger generation of Albanians are fully in accord with socialist morality, but that motives remaining from the old society still survive.

### **The Marriage Rate**

One of the most important indices of the state of family relations is the number of marriages in relation to population. An increase in this index reflects, in general, a strengthening of family bonds.

Statistical data for our country indicate that, in the process of building socialism, the number of marriages per 1,000 population has risen from 5.8 in 1938 to 7.5 in 1960. There is little difference between the indices for town and country: in 1965 the marriage rate in urban areas was 7.3% per 1,000, in rural areas 7.5% per 1,000. This latter fact is linked with the fact that economic and cultural development is proceeding not only in the towns, but also in the countryside. Nevertheless, the marriage rate in the rural areas has shown a tendency to decline: from 10.3 per 1,000 in 1950 to 7.5 per 1,000 in 1965. This phenomenon is explained partly by the decline of patriarchal relationships in the countryside, partly by the migration of a significant part of the rural population to the towns.

### **The Age of Marriage**

Another important index of the state of family relations in society is the average absolute age at marriage, and the average relative ages of the partners. In societies where economic security is lacking, both men and women tend to marry later in life; and in societies where considerations of property, income and social prestige play a significant role in the motives for marriage, the number of marriages in which there is a marked difference in the ages of the partners tends to be unduly high.

In 79.5% of the marriages in 1964, the bridegroom was under 30 years of age, while the bride was under 30 in 93.7% of marriages in this same year. The number of marriages in which the bridegroom was under 19 fell from 15.4% in 1942 to 4.6% in 1964, but the number of marriages in which the bride was under 19 years of age was still, at 42.3% in this latter year, unsatisfactorily high in that it indicates that too many young women still marry before they are psychologically mature and have built an independent life. The campaign for the complete emancipation of women, which has been in full swing in our country in the last few years, should alter this factor to a more satisfactory level.

Data on the relative ages of bride and groom are available only since Liberation, but they show that there has been a significant tendency for average age difference between the partners to diminish.

The proportion of marriages where the partners were the same age or where the bridegroom was no more than 10 years older than the bride has increased from 84.4% in 1958 to 87.6% in 1964; the proportion of marriages where the bridegroom was more than 10 years older than the bride or where the bride was older than the groom has decreased from 15.4% in 1958 to 11.9% in 1964. Taking into account the fact that women mature physiologically and psychologically at an earlier age than men, these data show a progressive tendency.

### **Divorce**

Another important index of the state of family relations in society is the divorce rate. An increase in this index indicates, in general, a relaxation of the stability of marriage and a

weakening of the family. One of the gravest social evils of the capitalist and neo-capitalist (revisionist) world is the tendency for a rapid and alarming increase in the divorce rate, indicating that the social prestige of marriage and the family is declining in these countries in a catastrophic manner. In the United States there is now one divorce for every four marriages, in the Soviet Union one for every three marriages.

In Albania, apart from the years immediately following Liberation, the divorce rate has not altered substantially:

	Divorces per 1,000 population
1946	0.6
1950	1.0
1955	0.9
1960	0.5
1964	0.6

Our Party recognises that family life contains contradictions— that it can be not only a source of happiness but also a source of conflict and bitterness which makes a shared life insupportable. It is for this reason that the *right* to divorce is recognised by law. At the time the Party has taken a leading role in seeking to inculcate a serious and responsible attitude towards marriage and the family; it strongly condemns anarcho-liberal theories “of free love” which embody either opposition to or a frivolous attitude towards marriage, and a tendency to break up a family on the most trivial pretexts.

The relatively low divorce rate in Albania is partly due to acceptance of this social attitude by a majority of the people, but also partly to a negative factor: the survival of backward attitudes towards matrimonial relations, particularly in the countryside, the pressure of which limits the right to divorce even where this is clearly called for in the interests of all concerned.

The majority of divorce decrees invoke two principal causes for the dissolution of the marriage; serious incompatibility or disturbances in conjugal life, and adultery. Of the 1,104 divorce decrees granted in 1964, 57% were granted for the former cause. 32% for the latter. Often, however, the latter is not the real cause of the break-up of the marriage, but a reflection of the former.

The majority of divorces in Albania relate to couples without children or with only one child. In 1964 82% of the 1,104 divorces related to such couples. Of these divorces, 16% related to marriages of less than one year in duration, 44% to marriages of between 1 and 4 years’ duration, 24% to marriages of between 5 and 10 years’ duration, and 16% to marriages of more of more than 10 years’ duration.

### **The Family as Reproductive and Educational Unit**

Family relations are reflected also in the degree to which the family accomplishes its function of reproduction of the population. A marked diminution of the rhythms of reproduction is, in general, the expression of disorganisation and weakening of the family. It is not accidental that, as has been shown, conjugal troubles leading to divorce are more numerous among families having only one child or without children.

In the capitalist and neo-capitalist (revisionist) countries, as a result of the deepening of the processes which bring about the disorganisation and weakening of the family, the rhythms of reproduction have diminished in an alarming manner in recent years, so that the family has become less and less capable of fulfilling one of its traditional functions.

During the construction of socialism in Albania, in which the old conditions of life have been

overthrown, the Albanian family has given proof of great vitality in relation to population growth. This manifests itself above all in the high birth rate: in 1938 the number of births per 1,000 population was 34.7; in 1966 it was 34.0.

Since Liberation there has been a very considerable decrease in the death rate and increase in the expectation of life. In 1933 there were 1.8 deaths per 1,000 population, while in 1965 the rate was 0.9. In 1938 the average expectation of life was 38 years, in 1967 it was 67 years.

As a result of these combined factors, the natural increase of the population has risen from 16.9 per 1,000 population in 1938 to 25.4 in 1966.

This increase in the population is reflected in the numerical composition of the family. In 1923 the average family consisted of 5.6 members: in 1960 the figure was 5.8. The percentage of families having four members or less decreased from 39.8% in 1955 to 35.2% in 1960, while the percentage of families having five members or more increased from 60.5% to 64.1% in the same period.

But the family is concerned not only with the reproduction of living beings, but also with the social education of the new generation. As Enver Hoxha has pointed out:

“Education within the family plays an important role in the formation of young men and women.”

(E. Hoxha: “Mbi problemin e gruas”; 1967; p. 207).

For it would be a serious error to think that the education of the new generation can be carried out entirely outside the family. The special character of education within the family and its absolute necessity are due to the fact that it has an emotional character, that it is based on mutual affection between the members of the family.

On the other hand, the function of education cannot be a purely “private” family affair; it has a content and importance of a social character.

Education outside the family plays a special role because it is carried out by trained specialists and because it is, in general, exempt from the unilateral subjectivism engendered by the affection between parents and children.

In order that the new generation may be raised with a progressive, humane, socialist outlook, it is necessary, therefore, that the education within and outside the family be in harmony.

The philosophy of the Albanian state rests on the basis that state interference in the intimate life of the family is impermissible. Nevertheless, certain questions relating to the family are the necessary and legitimate concern of the state—in particular, it has the duty to ensure equal rights between husband and wife, to protect the interests of the children where necessary, and to ensure that the education of the children is such as to bring about a moral, humane, socialist outlook. As Enver Hoxha has said;

“At the heart of a family must prevail the new, socialist spirit; this spirit will strengthen and temper the healthy principles of our young people, and will bring about the mutual affection, solidarity, honesty, simplicity and patriotism which are now the characteristic features of the Albanian family.”

(E Hoxha: *ibid.*; p. 208).

Socialism has created in our country, on the social plane, the terrain most suitable for relations of harmony between the family and society.

## THE FAMILY QUARREL

*A short story by Kico Blushi*

The mule lay on the ground, rolling in the dust. Then it suddenly got to its feet and began to make its way along the street, as it did every evening, to join the other mules on the common. Each mule had a little bell tied round its neck, so that it could be found at night, and each bell had its own distinctive tinkle.

Outside his back door, a young man sat on the step. It overlooked the main street of the village, along which each evening people passed on their way home from the town, together with livestock returning from pasture.

Suddenly he heard the gate open behind him and, turning his head, he saw that his young wife Aferdita stood there.

“Are you coming in, Ali?”, she asked.

He shook his head, but the girl persisted:

“Let's go in! I've hardly seen you all day!”

They had been married less than two months. She came from the other side of the river, and they had met at a youth meeting at which Ali had been a delegate from his village. They had been strongly attracted to each other from the first, and had crept away from the meeting to make passionate love among the willows.

They had both taken it for granted that they would marry. At first her parents had been reluctant to countenance an engagement with a lad from the other side of the river. But all obstacles had been overcome, and they had married seven weeks ago. Now they were together outside their own back gate, and no one in the village knew they had been lovers before their marriage.

“Is something bothering you, Ali?” she asked, looking anxiously at his expressionless face gazing at the passers-by.

She sat down on the step close to her husband, feeling a tremor run through her body as his arm touched her breast and her thigh touched his.

“Let's go in!”, she said softly.

“I don't want to go in”, he replied.

“Is it me, Ali? Something I've done?”

He smiled and touched her cheek:

“Of course not”.

“Why aren't you happy like you were when we first met?”, she asked; “we've only been married two months”.

“I'm not unhappy”, he said; “I just don't like it in there”, and he jerked his head back towards the house.

“You mean... Your brother...”, she began!

“Yes, I mean Haxhi and Tinka”, he said; “it never bothered me very much before; but now—”, and he screwed up his face in distaste...

On her way to the stable to milk the cow, which had just returned from pasture, Ali's brother's wife saw through a wide crack in the gate that two people were sitting on the step outside, and she could tell by their clothing that one was a man and one was a woman.

“Let's go in!”, she heard the woman say, and she recognised the voice as that of the young wife of her brother-in-law. She paused on her way for a moment, trying to imagine herself sitting outside the back gate with her husband.

Then the girl outside gave a gay, provocative laugh, and Ali's voice said with mock sternness;

"You're a shameless hussy!

"Do you love me asked the girl,

"Um!", replied Ali.

"How much?"

"A lot!"

"Let's go in!", said Aferdita.

"Not while Haxhi's there!" ...

The mention of her husband reminded Tinka, for some reason, of how once, soon after they were married, she had come upon Haxhi in the stable and had felt a sudden desire to put her arms round him. She had not, of course, dared to do any such thing, but she had bent her head forward so that it fell upon his shoulder. And she remembered as if it were yesterday how he had caught hold of her hair and thrown her back from him, striking her on the face as he did so. She had cried—not so much from the pain of the blow as from something else she did not understand....

"In any case", Ali was saying, "I have to go out".

"Where to?"

"There's a council meeting", he answered.

"Stay here with me!" she said mischievously.

"No!"

"Then you'd better go; you'll be late".

"I shan't be late".

"There's a dance tomorrow'. We could go together".

"I know".

"Wear your lilac fustan—the one I like".

"All right!"...

When she heard Ali set off down the street; Tinka opened the gate.

"You here?", said Aferdita, and felt herself blushing slightly. "Let's go and milk the cow", said the older woman; she felt angry, without knowing why.

They went to the stable together, the girl following a few paces behind Tinka.

"You milk!", said the older woman, and Aferdita seated herself on the milking-stool and, as she took hold of the teats of the cow, the milk began to flow.

"What were you saying to your husband?", asked Tinka.

"My husband?", said the girl.

"I saw you sitting together on the step". The girl remained silent as the milk spurted into the pail.

"Do you love Ali?", asked the older woman suddenly. The girl stared in surprise at this unexpected question from her sister-in-law.

"Do you love him?", repented Tinka.

"Yes, very much!"

The older woman sniffed, and said:

"You're lucky I"

"Why?"

The older woman shrugged her shoulders. The girl let go of the cow's udder, and the animal shifted uneasily.

"You can talk to him!", said Tinka; "it's different with Haxhi and me".



The girl looked up at her sister-in-law, hesitated and then dared to say:

"Perhaps it's your fault I"

"My fault? How?"

"You let him treat you like a dog. I've heard him hit you".

"Not because I like it", said the woman; "but what can I do? He's a strong man".

"You don't need to put up with it if you don't want to I"

"Leave him, you mean? And where would I go?"

"Do you love him?", asked Aferdita.

The older woman looked thoughtfully at the cow:

"I don't know. I've often wondered. When we were first married..."

The cow, neglected, turned its head reproachfully, and the older woman collected her thoughts. "Here, let me finish it", she said, and displaced the girl from the stool, muttering something under her breath

Early next evening the two brothers were walking silently along the dusty street. These days they hardly spoke to each other, although neither was really aware of any reason for the apparent hostility.

Suddenly, Haxhi exclaimed bitterly:

"You need to do something about that wife of yours!"

"Aferdita?", said the younger brother, surprised; "why, what do you mean?"

"She's causing trouble in the family".

"What trouble?"

"She's putting ideas into Tinka's head", said Haxhi; "she's a trouble-maker!"

"I don't know what you mean".

"I mean there can't be more than one boss in a family. You mark my words, unless you take that wife of yours in hand, she'll be telling you what to do. You'll be washing the pots while she pops out for a drink".

"That's our business—Aferdita's and mine—surely", said Ali.

"It's my business when she starts interfering in my married life", said Haxhi; "do you know what Tinka said to me last night: 'Aferdita says I shouldn't put up any longer with the way you treat me!' Either you speak to your wife, or I will!"

"I'll speak to her about it", said Ali.

"Mind you do!", said Haxhi; "I'm going for a beer. I'll see you at home".

It was late when Haxhi reached home. As he approached the door, it was thrown open by Aferdita, who said with a saccharine sweetness:

"Sit down, Haxhi! We want to talk to you!"

Haxhi sat down on the bench at one side of the room. He looked with a frown at the three figures of his brother, his wife and his sister-in-law who faced him. For a moment he felt there was a strange atmosphere of menace in the room, but he dismissed the feeling as a foolish delusion.

"Well?", he said suspiciously.

It was Aferdita, of course, who spoke:

"It's about Tinka", she said; "We all know that you knock her about!"

"That's none of your business!"

"Tinka has asked us to make it our business!"

Haxhi rose to his feet and glared at his wife, who shrank back a step:

"Is it true what she says?"

“Yes, Haxhi; it’s true. I can’t go living like this”.

“Then you know what you can do!”, said Haxhi.

“We’ve all agreed on what must be done”, said Aferdita; either you promise never to lay a finger on Tinka again, or you go and live somewhere else!”

You re off your bloody head!”, shouted Haxhi, getting to his feet; “it’s my house!”

No, it’s been allotted to the family. And this is a family decision—by three to one”.

Haxhi glared at his brother in fierce hostility:

“You’re in this too, then?”

“I agree with Aferdita”, said Ali quietly.

“Then we know where we are!”, said Haxhi grimly. And he took off his jacket menacingly.

“And I wouldn’t advise any rough stuff”, said Aferdita, “or it’s you who’ll get hurt; it’s three against one, remember—and I’ve been learning judo at the youth club!”

Haxhi paused in the act of rolling up his right sleeve and pondered the situation for a long moment. Then he looked up at his wife and said in a tone of stunned, but almost admiring, surprise:

“I’d never have thought you had it in you!”...

## BELGRADE

*A poem by Agim Gjekova*

*Notes:*

- Beli-Dvor:** The White House.  
**C-Z:** The central prison.  
**Kossovans:** The Albanian minority inhabiting Kossova in southern Yugoslavia.  
**Udbashes:** Members of the UDB, the Yugoslav security police.

The fog begins to descend over the roofs,  
bringing silence.  
Like a cripple with paralysed limbs,  
the city lies motionless and still.  
The Sava bears along its turbulent waters;  
the waves of the Danube murmur... what?  
No-one understands.  
Mutilated ideas  
penetrate surreptitiously,  
on their way to the sealed museum of history,  
Belgrade is silent. The festival is over.  
Tomorrow they will reopen the pavilions of yesterday,  
bearing lings of krai, of tsar and king  
imported front abroad.  
Belgrade  
will leave behind it only serfdom.  
Belgrade, the scat of age-old crimes,  
is now a cancer on humanity.  
A heavy cross of gold crushes its people's backs.  
Presidents, shod in shining chamois-leather, walk on carpets;  
the people walk on cold, bare stone in worn-out boots;  
the mothers of heroes sweep the streets in their old age;  
the regime's ghastly flag waves in the breeze  
like a legal shadow,  
mocking the crimson flag of liberty.  
Silent Belgrade.  
struggling to pay its transatlantic rent.  
By night it sniggers and wiggles its hips like a harlot;  
by day it tries to look like a faithful wife.  
But behind the veil of its haggard eyes  
Is the hideous face of an old witch.  
The streets are not safe;  
the houses are not safe,  
the theatres are not safe;  
the restaurants are safe no more.  
At any moment, on any corner, one may stumble on  
a "political accident"

Everywhere is degradation,  
everywhere the old witch of treachery.  
Men lie down not knowing if they will wake;  
men wake not knowing if they will lie down.  
The wall of fog is dispelled by the dawn.  
In the street, the sweepers shake from their brooms  
the dirt of the gutters.  
At Beli-Dvor the actors rise,  
Make themselves up to look like turkey-cocks.  
But the C-Z is a cold building;  
no-one knows all its passages;  
Its many storeys soar towards the clouds.  
Half this "palace" lies entombed in the earth;  
but the upper half did not collapse  
with the earthquake,  
for men have built it recently.  
Those who struggle for liberty  
have made it their home.  
Water drips from its underground cells:  
"A shower is good for your health",  
laugh the gaolers  
as they carry boys to their place in the clay  
for "insulting the President".  
And around the Dvor  
Udbashes of every stamp  
guzzle their Bourbon.  
This way, sir!  
Be seated, sir!  
The table is laid, there are empty chairs.  
Tonight is our floor-show, and the spotlights are ready.  
While the Sava flows  
beneath the walls of Kamelogdan  
red with blood,  
while the Danube flows  
beneath the walls of Beli-Dvor  
yellow with cognac,  
it is American whisky too which warms the workers –  
with baton blows.  
We Kossovans drink neither whisky nor cognac,  
but tears and blood.  
They tell the youth  
of "glorious dawns" and "bright tomorrows".  
But tonight  
the glazed-eyed crowds  
prospect for gold in bingo halls,  
and pale-faced, long-haired youths

pass packets stealthily,  
twitching their punctured arms  
in flickering discotheques.

This is the avant-garde  
of degradation!

How gay  
are the nights of Belgrade!  
But in the real tomorrow  
the rents will rise once more like soaring birds of prey,  
and demonstrating students  
will study sociology  
beneath the batons of police  
the prize—a holiday in prison.  
Be grateful, youth,  
that Belgrade with its chains  
still stands.

When men first appeared on the earth there were no nations;  
perhaps one day there will be no more nations;  
but today there are men and nations,  
so let us revive an ancient myth:  
In the republic there is only one nation—  
the Yugoslav.

“Hey, you who pass in the street,  
what are you, noble citizen?”

“I am Yugoslav”.

“O.K. Vrlo dobro! Khoroch! Pass, Yugoslav.  
And you, citizen, in the white fez?”

“I am Albanian”.

“Na svinjo jedno! Pig!

To the sty with you!”

For we are strangers in this town.

We sweep the carpets at the Ministry,  
carry your luggage at the station.

We are aliens in this land,

Kossovans—

“Hey, you, Kossovan,  
with your tired eyes and hollow cheeks,  
we give you the chance  
to serve *treachery*.

Remember we are strong,  
with powerful friends”.

“Never!

Though we are flayed with your whips  
till the blood spurts like fountains.

We are and shall remain  
Albanians!  
Our wrath Is kindled by our suffering".

Belgrade!  
A marble palace for the President  
(or is he now the Emperor?),  
and hovels for the modern serfs,  
Belgrade!  
Chains on our hands and on our feet  
but never in our hearts.  
The Beli-Dvor, gleaming reptile house,  
quivers with fear  
as the people raise their fists.  
And in this fight for liberty  
we Kossovans shall not be in the rear.  
The fog begins to descend over the roofs,  
bringing silence.  
Like a cripple with paralysed limbs,  
the city lies motionless and still.  
The Sava bears along its turbulent waters;  
the waves of the Danube murmur... what?  
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