

The debate on repressing features of the totalitarian regime seems to be the most difficult component of all hardships regarding Albanian society relationships in the communist past.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

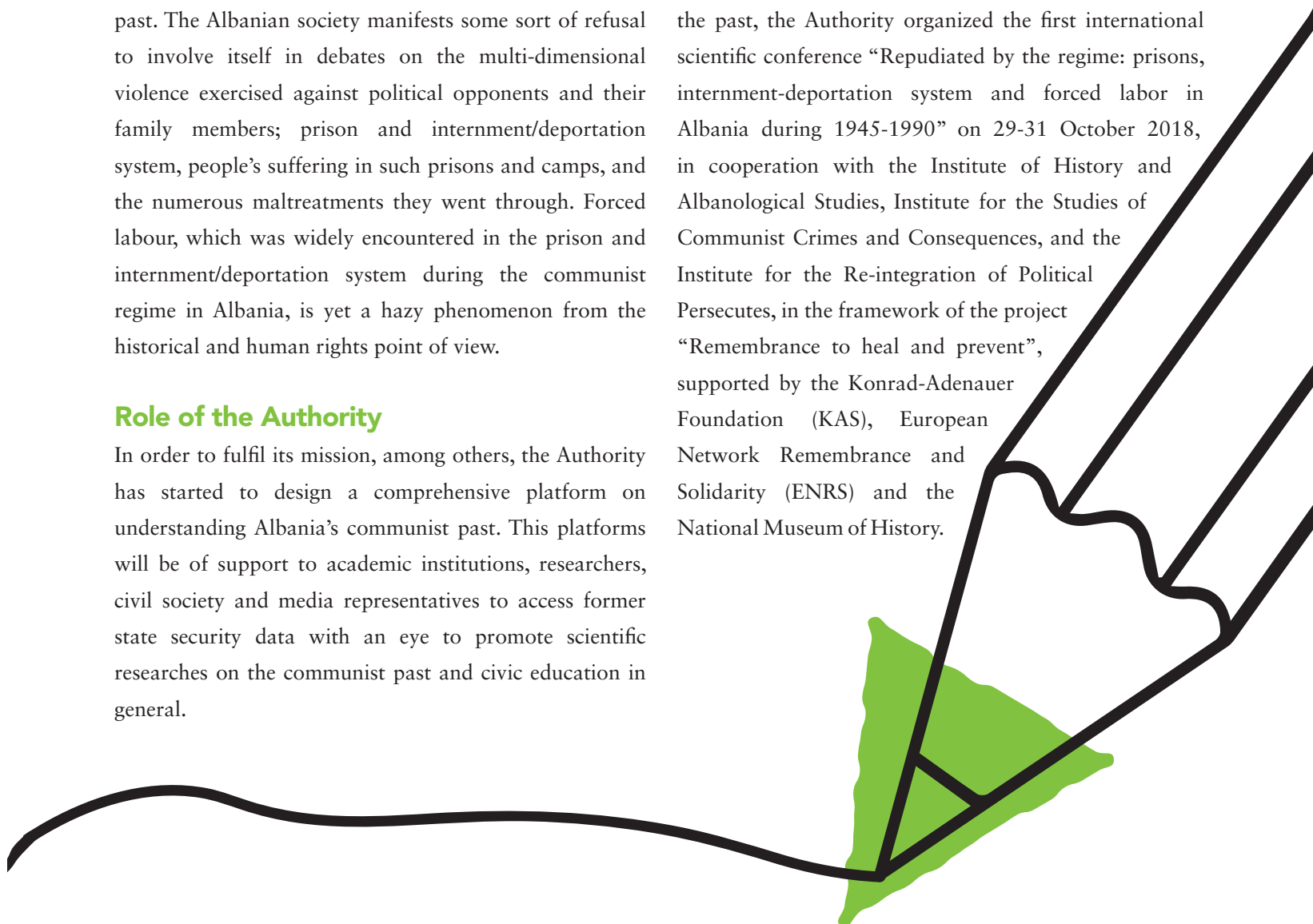
Issue

The debate on repressing features of the totalitarian regime seems to be the most difficult component of all hardships regarding Albanian society relationships in the communist past. The Albanian society manifests some sort of refusal to involve itself in debates on the multi-dimensional violence exercised against political opponents and their family members; prison and internment/deportation system, people's suffering in such prisons and camps, and the numerous maltreatments they went through. Forced labour, which was widely encountered in the prison and internment/deportation system during the communist regime in Albania, is yet a hazy phenomenon from the historical and human rights point of view.

Role of the Authority

In order to fulfil its mission, among others, the Authority has started to design a comprehensive platform on understanding Albania's communist past. This platform will be of support to academic institutions, researchers, civil society and media representatives to access former state security data with an eye to promote scientific researches on the communist past and civic education in general.

Therefore, convinced that the Albanian society emancipation can be nurtured only by adopting a bold, scientifically objective and empathic approach towards the past, the Authority organized the first international scientific conference "Repudiated by the regime: prisons, internment-deportation system and forced labor in Albania during 1945-1990" on 29-31 October 2018, in cooperation with the Institute of History and Albanological Studies, Institute for the Studies of Communist Crimes and Consequences, and the Institute for the Re-integration of Political Persecutes, in the framework of the project "Remembrance to heal and prevent", supported by the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation (KAS), European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (ENRS) and the National Museum of History.



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND TOPICS PRESENTED IN THE CONFERENCE

1. Prof. Dr. Beqir META, academician and historian: Analytical Overview of the Prison System, Internment and Employment of Forced Labor during the Communist Regime in Albania. This work explores violence exertion mechanisms during the communist regime and provides an overview of the prison system, internment, and treatment of the regime opponents within this system, and also analyses reasons for employing forced labor in prisons and internment camps.

2. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sabit SYLA, (Kosovo): Establishment of the Yugoslav Power in 1944/1945 and Albanians of Kosovo. This article addresses how the Yugoslav, nationalistic and communist factors unite to keep Kosovo within Yugoslavia's borders. The Order of the Main Headquarters of Serbia on 2nd December 1944: Massacres, executions, violence, individual and collective imprisonment took place in Kosovo; Albanian resistance was organized: Drenica Brigade under the command of Shaban Palluzha was created on December 1944, consisting of virtually 3000 soldiers; on January-February, 36,000 troops were mobilized against Drenica Brigade: 1st Brigade of Kosovo–Metohi, under the command of Zufer Musiqi, Bokel Brigade or "Bokelska", 6th Montenegrin Brigade, KNOJ Brigade, IV and V Kosovo Brigade, Serbian and Macedonian Brigades, as well as Albanian Brigades. A military Administration was imposed on Kosovo upon Order of Tito dated February 8th, 1945; Drenica resistance was defeated; Bloody 1945 spring: thousands of people were executed; over 20,000 people are imprisoned or deported to camps; thousands of families were isolated; thousands were transferred to Turkey; over 6,000 people were murdered outside Kosovo borders; one of the greatest tragedies struck- Tivar.

3. Prof. Dr. Nevila NIKA, historian: Treatment of Italian Citizens at the End of WWII, December 1944-1954 (cases: Prof. Venanzio Lozzisurgeon; geometer Paolo Saggiotti, accountant Giuseppe Terruzzi; priest Giacomo Gardin). Following the end of WWII, the remaining Italian citizens in Albania mark the start of a long period of efforts for repatriation and concurrently a period of prosecution (execution, imprisonment, murders in camps and prisons, labor camps), or disappearance without a leaving trace enforced by the new government established in Albania. Authentic documents of the Central State Archive, Ministry of Interior Archive and Ministry of Interior Archive have been referred to.

4. Prof. Dr. Gjergj SINANI, philosopher: Memory and history in the post-totalitarian discourse. This work explores current issues, such as the confrontation of the Albanian society with the communist totalitarian past; how we ap-

proach the past; paying attention to testimonies of the communist terror survivors; new existential relations between history and memory; differences between history and memory; creation of a society where human dignity is the fundamental principle of new democratic institutions and rule of law; why every story is a contemporary story, as stated by Kroçe. Being oriented by a scientific journal of the past is required for the spiritual rebuilding of the younger generation and the generation of the people who were faced with a distorted history, or more specific with the official history of communism.



5. Prof. Dr. Hamit KABA: Albanian Communism: Similarities and Differences with other Eastern and Central Europe Countries (1944-1948). This article analyzes how Albanian communists executed political opponents during the war, with the support of the YCP and Yugoslavia, and taking advantage of absence of other political parties, i.e. pluralism, managed to seize political power. Concealment and manipulation of this reality under the disguise of the so-called Democratic Front, by ostensibly illegalizing ACP, establishment of a communist model, and lack of diplomatic relations with USA and Great Britain and war of classes deteriorated the situation in the country, as well as its position in the international arena. Moreover, the regime embraced an aggressive stance towards all Eastern Europe countries.

6. M.Sc. Kejsi ZIU, LL.M. in European Law, Radboud University, Netherlands, part-time lecturer at UT. Topic: Spies and Saboteurs. Martyrdom of Maliq Engineers and Involvement of the American Spying Mission during the Communist Regime. The issues dwelt on in this work include war of the classes and continuous surveillance as tools of political power strengthening and consolidation, attack against

private property law notion and its nationalization, encouragement of war of classes, attack against people educated in the West by naming them "saboteurs", organization of legally manipulated trials, as well as opposition of diplomatic relations with the USA, leaving Albania without any international support.

7. Erald KAPRI, Master's Degree in Westminster University, London; member of AMA Complaint Council. Topic: Comparative Overview: Rehabilitation of Victims of Communism (Czech, German, Polish, Estonian and Romanian

thus state propaganda was employed to uncover and sentence the so-called enemy groups. Violence and propaganda mechanisms employed by the state and party bodies to create a gap among real or potential political opponents and the rest of the population were consolidated during the first years of the regime. Since the legitimacy of communists' power was based on their resistance during WWII, the analysis addresses three categories of opponents: the so-called collaborationists, anti-fascists and people who were politically indifferent during the war.



cases). This article presents a comparative approach of communist dictatorship victims' rehabilitation in Eastern Europe countries, applicable legal framework, status of the rehabilitated people, compensation programs and compensation forms, organization of victims in groups, social benefits and lessons learned. The data refer to Cevro Institution in the Czech Republic and several other studies.

8. Roland QAFOKU, journalist. He carried out interviews with former functionaries of the communist regime in Albania; former persecuted people; researchers and historians. Topic: Persecutors Confront the Persecutees following the Collapse of Communism. Discovering the truth by confronting many resources and interviews with many communist figures and people persecuted by them, with a comparative overview of the persecutors and the persecutees' feelings and stances about what happened during dictatorship.

9. Sonila BOÇI, Institute of History, ASA: Drawing the "Face of People's Enemy" during 1944-1949. Violence exerted against a group of the population would not be effective unless supported or opposed by the majority,

10. Asoc. Prof. Dr. Gjon BERISHA: Persecution of the Catholic Clergyman from Kosovo who served in Albania during the Communist Regime. Owing to the AIFSSD Archive documents, which are available the public now, we can find new data that provide either partially known or unknown information on the reasons, causes and "rationale" that the communist regime used to execute, imprison and intern 6 Catholic clergymen from Kosovo who served in Albania among 40 Church martyrs, including Father Serafin Koda, Dom Anton Muzaj, and Dom Shtjefën Kurti and others.

11. Dr. Klejd KËLLIÇI, Tirana University: European Gulag: Labor and Concentration Camp in Albania, Eastern Germany and Bulgaria, 1946-1950. This article highlights and compares Eastern German, Bulgarian and Albanian experiences. The camp system was reestablished after the war in communist countries, and saw communist parties building labor and concentration camps as a normal practice for the consolidation of power and population control. This process will be explored by reproducing the Gulag model in labor and concentration camps in Eastern Germany, Bulgaria and Albania.

12. Etleva DEMOLLARI, Director of the National Surveillance Museum "House of Leaves". Topic: National Surveillance Museum "House of Leaves" facing the past. This work overviews the communist past focusing on physical and especially psychological violence exerted in prisons and internment camps and how it is reflected in the National Surveillance Museum "House of Leaves", as one of the main former institutions of violence.

13. Enriketa PANDELEMONI (Papa), UT: Confession of Life Stories and Memories from Labor Camps and Prisons in Communist Albania. Cultural memory expressed in texts, ceremonies, images, architecture, monuments, etc., provide a public narrative of historical events. Life confessions of former political prisoners are analyzed in order to reconstruct the truth of the communist persecution and a new approach towards historical memory.

14. Dr. Femi SUFAJ. Topic: Life in Labor Camps through the Lenses of Official Reports. Official documents of the Camps and Prisons Branch and the Prosecutor's Office present the number of the convicts, internees and deportees who were active in labor and concentration camps, known as "education areas through labor". These documents provide data on the income generated by forced labor in various labor camps over the years; rights violations; arbitrary actions and torture, violation of legal procedures during sentences, denial of protection right and regular proceedings, internments and deportations before 1949, as decisions that were not based on the law.

15. Çelo HOXHA, Institute for Studying Communism Crimes and Consequences. Topic: Illegal Deprivation of Personal Freedom of Citizens carried out by People who represented State Institutions during 1944-1954. This speech tackles internments and sentences from a legal standpoint; abusive actions of the communist power that were not based on any law; isolation of the regime opponents' families in internment camps under the surveillance of the military or police; situation of illegality when thousands of people were interned and completed the internment period prior to the entry into force of the Law on Internments. The author poses the question on how we can legally define the deportation and isolation of a significant number of citizens by state officials and institutions, in absence of laws for such activities.

16. Sara ÇAPALIKU: Public Interest and Opening of the Files of the Former Intelligence Agency of Albania. The process of opening the files and implementing Law on Lustration is compared to the experience of implementing this law in Eastern Germany and Poland. Research questions are mainly based on a pragmatic and realist aspect of files opening, as well as on the value and moral aspect, seen from the perspective of international actors and the opinion of civil society.

17. Leonora LAÇI, MA. Topic: Albanian Totalitarianism through Writers. This study aims at analyzing the totali-

tarian phenomenon characteristics and its display in Albania during 1945-1990, and how these characteristics were adapted in Albania. The main referential source includes writers, such as: Atë Zef Pllumi, Arshi Pipa, Sami Repishti, Visar Zhiti, etc.

18. Blerina KËLLEZI (Senior Lecturer, Nottingham Trent University), Aurora Guxholli (Research assistant, Nottingham Trent University), Clifford Stevenson (Reader, Nottingham Trent University). Topic: Changes after the Dictatorship by the Standpoint of Affected People. This work provides a psychological perspective of the dictatorship violence consequences. Lack of and violation of human rights during and after the dictatorship or ethnic conflicts negatively impacts the mental health of the affected. Studies on trauma review the role of changes after dictatorship or conflicts. The study points out the negative influence on survivors from the lack of a social environment where they can talk about what they experienced.



19. Edlira AGOLLI: Role of the OSCE Presence in Albania in shaping collective memories and discussing human rights during the communist period in Albania. The study deals with the survey on the perception of the communist past in Albania and on the importance of the law on opening files; coordination of a national debate on the communist period in Albania; alignment and cooperation of institutions and organizations; reintegration and rehabilitation of communism victims; contribution of OSCE to the communist regime victims.

20. Dr. Gjon BORIÇI, historian. Topic: Statement of the Political Bureau of ALP on the violence against prisoners and internees by the bodies of the State Intelligence Service until 1953. This speech focuses on 1953: Discussion of the Political Bureau and Internal Affairs Ministry on the "mistakes" of the State Intelligence Service against prisoners and internees, responsibility of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mehmet Shehu, and his promotion as a reward. Official documents confirm the terror employed by the government against a considerable number of the population, who were murdered, imprisoned, tortured, deported and interned on no legal grounds.

21. AMY LORI: The Problem of Hoxha: History, Memory and the Architecture of State Terror. 27 years after the official fall of communism, the criminal nature of communist dictatorship has not been admitted by any government yet. Failure to face communism crimes is considered apost-catastrophic situation by Joseph Etkind. If we do not give justice to the unfair or completely understand the nature of what has happened and mourn the collective suffering of the nation, we shall enter the post-catastrophic period, where "the past penetrates citizenry, divides society and limits political elections". At both individual and collective level, silence, suppression, deformation, denial, fragmentation and polarization of people, disconnects the past and the present. The generation that experienced the terror lies in massive graveyards, whereas the first post-catastrophic generation suffers from an inherited trauma. After the fall of the dictatorship, many refuse to admit that the proletariat dictatorship was catastrophic. This refusal is expressed as Enverist nostalgia, apologia for the regime (many good things were achieved),

forever. Deportation from Tirana was carried out in 1968 along with 15-20 other families that were placed in the area of Dumre, in the most remote village of Dragot, where they were treated as enemies of the party and the people. The deportation cause: her grandfather's activity, Muamer Liço, who had studied law in the University of Harvard, and was a lawyer in Korça and as a nationalist he was involved in the movement of the National Front. The communist persecution victimized four generations of her family: her grandfather, executed in 1945, her two parents along with three other children deported and interned for 23 years, as well as Alma's children, who were born in the internment village, and spent the first few years of their childhood.

24. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fiona TODHRI, Dr. Eris DHAMO, lecturer, Tirana University: Identity and Profile of Politically Convicted Women in the Communist Period (1946-1979). This study describes in detail facts on the figure and resistance of the intellectual woman during the communist re-



cleansing of communist state crimes, communists who are in power nowadays, unwritten history books. The wound will only heal when we address the criminal nature of the government and its architect, Enver Hoxha; when we understand the terror state mechanisms, ideological components of the death and violence forms system.

22. Natasha PËRPUNJA, activist of human rights: Typology of Internment Camps and Areas. This article analyzes the small mining town of Selenica in Vlora, which was turned into an internment and isolation area for all opponents of the regime. The severity of the war of classes, loss of lives of miners' in mining galleries, added to the fear on who was next to be forced into mining or who was to be brought with Gas 69, frightening not only to directly affected families, but also to all citizens in the outskirts, such as Lubonja, Picar, etc.

23. Alma Liço MIRAKAJ, Merita Sauku BRUCI: Family Internments and Deportations in Dumre Area, 1968-1991: Testimonies and Reflections. Alma Liço Mirakaj provides direct testimonies on the period when her family members were interned and deported, and she reflects on their time, cause, manner and on how her family's life was changed

gime, 1946-1979. The condition for selecting figures under study are politically convicted women. The methodology employed is that of historical research. For the purpose of this study, primary data of the authentic documents of AIFSSD were used; about 821 A4 pages containing data from several active institutions of the former communist regime, such as the former High Military Court, former State Intelligence Service, and the former Investigation Bureau. The data authenticity is guaranteed by the responsible institution and the primary data information source.

25. Prof. Dr. Ana LALAJ, historian: Establishment of the post-war power/government as a tool of violence, 1944-1953. This commentary dwells on the process of establishing power, which at that time meant declaring the dictatorship of the majority over the minority, but it was actually a dictatorship of minority over the majority in its entirety. This process is viewed from a political perspective, displayed on the political platforms of the communists in power, as well as from a legislative perspective, totally depending on the political platform. In fewer than ten years, namely during 1944-1953, great disruptions occurred in the Albanian society. The most typical was declaring po-

litical opponents as "war criminals", "power saboteurs", "people's enemies", and quite often naming them with all these terms together. Such disruption was transformed into a massive epidemic, with a great part of the population being excluded from normal participation in social life, being deprived of their civil rights and overcrowding prisons and internment camps.

26. Selami ZALLI, AIFSSD: Shkodra during dictatorship establishment, 1945-1953, from the perspective of the State Security Background. The genesis and main moments of this opposition, displayed by the individual and citizens' reaction and resistance, first armed movements, such as the Malësi e Madhe uprising (January 1945), Postriba uprising (September 1946), Shkodra High School students' movement and also various democratic organizations, established and led by renowned intellectuals. Setting the stage for attacking and subjugating Shkodra, in order to make it abandon its progressionist role and historic mission, both at the national and its constitutive levels.

27. Assoc. Prof. Afrim KRASNIQI: Treating the Past in a Comparative Report: Albania and Eastern Europe. This paper addresses the main characteristics of the attitude towards the past in Albania, focusing on forced labor and state violence as compared to practices of other former communist countries, such as Romania, Poland, Czech Republic and Estonia, which presented sufficient identities to represent the whole picture detaching from the past. This work summarizes the political analysis of the attitude towards the past in these countries, legal progresses, government behavior, as well as the thus far balance of processes from a comparative perspective.

28. Doc. Dr. Agron TUFA: A Sad Literary and Memoirist Picture. This work re-addresses the issue of Maliq engineers, artistically tackling it into two novels: F. Gjata Marsh, written during the dictatorship according to the war schemes, that distort the historical truth (The novel was published over eight times, it was widely demanded and it was included in the school and university textbooks, published in the series of "the chosen novel", and it was mandatory in secondary schools, high schools and universities, as well as in all school anthologies). The other novel was "Death's Marsh" of Makensen Bungo, written after the 1990s. Makensen Bungo worked there as a convict and describes the horror, the turbid water of the marsh washing away human corpses and skeletons. Facing this tragic truth, "The Marsh" novel, is the party's only marsh.

29. Ermal FRASHËRI: Labor Regulation in Building Socialism: A Legal Perspective. Labor was the purpose of legal regulation by the Constitution, entirety of codified norms on labor, individual discipline, including repressive measures towards it. The tools available to the government included not only criminal processes and mechanisms, but also administrative tools, as well as a series of social norms on the ideal type of the new man and social

expectations of them. This perspective is essentially necessary to point out the phenomenon's systematization: labor, objectifying the individual and disciplining society through labor.

30. Dr. Etleva SMAÇI, Lecturer at the Armed Forces Academy: Use of the Workforce in the Engineering Units and Agricultural Military Enterprises. Discriminatory Treatment of Soldiers coming from Déclassé Families. This paper analyzes war of classes expansion in the mandatory military service, lack of trust in children of "class enemies" to equip with military armament, their appointment to mandatory service in engineering units, and after the 1970s, to Agricultural Military Enterprises, as well. The construction work volume in engineering units was equal to that of great works, and these youngsters were used as cheap workforce in building military premises of a great difficulty. Engineering units that were used to punish and isolate youngsters coming



from families with a suspicious past, could be considered labor camps, where freedoms and rights barely existed, and survival was equally tough as in labor camps established in various internment areas.

31. Greis HAXHIU- "Sami Frashëri" High School, XI grade; Arla HOXHA- "E Kuqe" School, IX grade; Tea KASHAHU- "Besnik Sykja" High School, X grade; Enxhi KODRAGJINI- "E Kuqe" School, IX grade; Dea RROZHANI- "E Kuqe" school, IX grade. Topic: Redbug- Application that brings back Communism through Testimonies of the People who experienced it. School programs for the period of communism are mostly related to political aspects and economic reforms. The human element and lifestyle at the time does not occupy an important place. We aim at creating an application that provides everyone the opportunity to see communism in the eyes of the people who experienced it. The name of the application, "RedBug", was inspired by the bugs that were used for spying, but unlike them, RedBug is an invitation to accept and learn from the past. We aim at collecting the memories of the survivors who suffered for a long time, but who did not have the chance to express themselves. Collecting experiences, this interactive plat-

form gradually transforms into a "Memory Repository" that is enriched by endless testimonies of various groups, who experienced this period. Everyone can write about their memories and anyone can read them.

32. Łukasz Kamiński, University of Wrocław: Communist Deportations and Forced Labor - the Polish Experience. History and Remembrance. This work provides data on the suppression of the Polish – considered kulaks – by the Soviet regime. The phenomenon of massive deportations and labor camps started in 1918, with 2,5 million prisoners and 1,6 million deaths according to official data; During WWII – Katyn massacre; Violent continuation of deportation policies after the war, 1944-1945, when 40,000 Polish people were sent to Gulag or were interned, 50,000 were sent to labor camps in the Soviet Union, Vistula operation took place in 1947, etc. The author emphasizes the need to recognize history, its remembrance and to be educated based on the truth.

ly 1,4 billion-man-days, mostly in the Soviet Union. Even in Albania, there were German prisoners of war, who were sent to prisoners of war camps, or rather forced labor camps. Researchers point out that an exhaustive study has not been conducted on German prisoners of war and their fates: there is no exact figure of how many they were. Moreover, data on their treatment is lacking, as well as works they carried out in Albania during their imprisonment years and their repatriation procedures

35. MS. Ornela Arapi, the Authority: Totalitarian Communication Features in Albania. The ways of political communication and the distribution of political information are significant factors defining political regime. The work deals with issues such as the intervention of totalitarian state structures in communication processes, communication policies, their motives, and the difference between totalitarian regimes, which are characterized by strict information control, with demo-



33. Dr. Dorian Koçi, director, National Historical Museum: The Stalinist Violence Apparatus in Prisons and Labor Camps in Albania, 1949-1953. Communism and fascism, being part of totalitarian ideologies or the plagues of the 20th century, exerted terror to achieve their aims of social engineering. Albanian communism was a derivative of Soviet communism aided by Yugoslavian assistance and support. The real horror of the terror is that it rules over a completely subdued population. Propaganda is a tool, maybe the most important tool of totalitarianism, to connect to the nontotalitarian world, whereas terror is the core of its governmental form.

cratic governments, which rest on the principle of the public's legitimate right to information.

34. Marenglen Kasmi, Ermira Shtino, the Authority: German Prisoners of War and Forced Labor during 1944-1952. The work provides information on the history of German prisoners of World War II, for over 17 years (September 1939-1956), when the last German soldiers in Soviet camps were repatriated. It deals with their treatment across Europe, when during 1941-1956, German prisoners of war counted approximately two billion forced labor days. In Eastern, Central, and Southeastern Europe, German prisoners of war counted approximate-

36. Tobias Wunschik: Forced Labour in the GDR, 1950-1990. The work analyzes the situation created in Germany after World War II, when the Eastern part was invaded by Soviet troops, whereby immediately establishing special camps. Soviet troops supported the communists and socialists' rise to power through the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and established the German Democratic Republic. The author uses the term "forced labor" within the GDR's legal system distinguishing them from the labor camps established by the Nazis prior to 1945.

37. Dr. Ardiana Topi, the Authority: The Typology of Documents created by Former State Security, 1944-1991. Based on the Authority archives, through archival documents created by State Security, the work presents a full structure of the surveillance system and the persecution established by state security bodies; the establishment of mechanisms aiming at absolute control and submission and ensuring that the citizens' discontent could never turn into an organized opposition.

Milestones

- The international scientific conference paved the path towards a structured academic discussion on historical memory issues, overt and covert communist crimes, violations of every single human right and freedom, used instruments, public manipulation, everlasting “enemies” persecution, dividing society into two opposing opponents until death according to the logic of the struggle of opposites: for the regime- people, against the regime-enemy.
- For the first time in Albania, the internment-deportation system was placed at the center of scientific research and the forced labor was viewed from a historical and juridical perspective. In the conference was presented framework study on the prison system, internment and forced labor during the communist regime in Albania focusing on the establishment of a memorial Museum.
- The first networks of scientific researchers interested in cooperating in this field both in and out of the country were set up. Local and foreign researchers in the area of history, philosophy, psychology, and law provided their contribution to the conference, thus ensuring a wide variety of outlooks.
- Researchers had sufficient time to consult inventories, files, statistics and various archive materials made available by the Authority or other archives.

Future work

Future research works may be carried out in the following areas:

- Encouraging researchers to engage in studying former state security files and shedding light on the untold truths of the communist regime structured violence.
- Conducting an ongoing and thorough study of the Albanian and foreign historiography and memorialization literature on forced labor during the communist regime in Albania and communist regimes all over the world. This would provide a clearer comparative overview of such phenomenon between Albania and other communist countries. Exploiting both domestic and foreign archival sources to their fullest on forced labor remains a priority.
- Conducting a thorough and detailed study of the legislation during the communist period which has directly or indirectly tackled forced labor and its special aspects. Reviewing the operation of labor or internment camps, individual files, and directives of dictatorship bodies is a potential area for follow-up researches in the field, intertwined with the criminal and administrative legislation.
- Conducting a comprehensive study on the forced labor history in Albania and Tepelena camp history. The primary goal of this research is to serve as a documentary and narrative basis for the design and construction of the Tepelena museum camp as a typology of forced labor in Albania.
- Organizing numerous national and international scientific conferences on forced labor issues and history during and after the construction of the museum.



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