

# NEW ALBANIA



## A Small Nation, A Great Contribution !

In Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of Albania and the Victory of the People's Revolution

November 29, 1944 - November 29, 1984

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# Map of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania



This pamphlet is dedicated to Ruth and Jack Shulman, whose friendship for the Albanian people and tireless defense of their post-liberation achievements have been instrumental in educating a new generation of working class and progressive people about the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

## Preface

This pamphlet is presented in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution.

It is the result of a collective effort by organizations in the U.S. who have been working to bring the message of the Albanian experience and successes to the U.S. people, and in particular, the U.S. working class. Some of the participants in this project have visited Albania on many occasions since liberation and have seen with their own eyes the remarkable successes which are recounted in this pamphlet. Valuable resource materials were found in a variety of Albanian publications, including Portrait of Albania, The History of the Party of Labor of Albania, New Albania and Albania Today magazines, and the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

This year also marks the first time that organizations in several U.S. cities will be gathering together to hold joint celebrations of the anniversary of the liberation of Albania, on November 29, 1944. We urge you to join with us in celebrating this historic occasion and in building friendship between the peoples of the U.S. and Albania.

Albania Friendship Society  
of Southern California,  
Los Angeles, California

Albania Information Project,  
New Orleans, Louisiana

Albania Report,  
New York, New York

Chicago Area Friends of Albania,  
Chicago, Illinois

U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization,  
Boston, Massachusetts

## Introduction

Forty years ago on November 29, 1944, the people of Albania, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor), liberated their country from the Nazi occupation and the local ruling classes.

After liberation, the country stood in ruins, ravaged by the fascists. Not a single working factory was left standing, agriculture was virtually destroyed, and the people were plagued with starvation, disease, high infant mortality rates and an average life span of 38 years.

Today Albania is an independent, self-reliant, modern industrial-agrarian society. There are no exploiting classes. The great advantages of the socialist system with its planned economy, can be seen in the fact that there is no economic crisis in Albania, no unemployment and no inflation. There are also no taxes, while medical care, child care, paid vacations and paid maternity leave are provided at little or no cost to individuals. Albania has no foreign debts or credits and is free from domination by the imperialist powers. All these conditions result from the socialist system which now exists in Albania.

Today, Albania is the only socialist country in the world. It stands in firm opposition to the two super-powers -- the U.S. and U.S.S.R. -- and their preparations for imperialist war.

The lessons of how Albania achieved these remarkable successes in only 40 years have great importance to the people of the world and the United States. The imperialists and reactionaries have tried to hide the truth about Albania's liberation and the successes of the revolution because they know these victories are a tremendous inspiration and example for all oppressed people.



Outflanking the enemy deep behind their own lines, the Albanian National Liberation Army escaped destruction and undertook counter-offensive attacks against the Nazi forces.

# 1. Albania at the Crossroads: Annihilation or Liberation

At dawn on April 7, 1939, Italian fascist troops invaded Albania. This act brought Albania to the brink of extinction. Italy's goal was the subjugation and assimilation of the entire Albanian population and territory under its fascist flag. The Albanian nation, with the oldest indigenous population in the region, was to be destroyed. The desires and aspirations of the Albanian people who had fought empire after empire for their independence and for democracy, were to be drowned in Albanian blood.

Italy's brutal aggression against Albania was the culmination of many decades of intrigues and schemes by the Great Powers of pre-war Europe. These schemes were hatched in the early 1900s when the Ottoman Turkish Empire began to disintegrate, after occupying Albania for over 500 years. Like vultures, the Great Powers (Britain, Italy, France, Germany and Russia) competed to benefit from the Ottoman Empire's decay by dominating the newly emerging states. They sought to colonize and exploit the Balkan states, including Albania, because of their rich natural resources and strategic location. Balkan countries, such as Greece and Serbia, in alliance with one or another of these Powers, had designs of their own on Albanian land. Serbia had already annexed the Albanian region of Kosova in 1913. This success only whetted the appetite of the Serbian rulers, who wanted the northern half of remaining Albanian lands, while the Greek government laid claim to the southern half.

The conditions inside Albania in the early 1900s did not permit a strong independent state to emerge. Nonetheless in 1912 there was a general uprising; Albania declared its independence and a democratic government was formed headed by Ismail Qemali. The Qemali government was ousted by the Great Powers intrigues before the First World War.

In 1920, the Albanian people defeated Italy's attempt to annex Vlova and surrounding lands. In 1924, Albania's efforts were crowned by the establishment of the democratic government of Fan Noli, which proclaimed an independent Albania and defied the annexationist aims of the Great Powers and their Balkan allies. However, the Albanian landowners and merchants, high clergy and their imperialist allies did not support a democratic government.

Within 6 months, the Noli government was overthrown by a coup, carried out by Ahmet Zog and supported by Serbian, British and Italian capital. Zog came to power as the president of the Albanian republic, but shortly proclaimed himself King.

Zog's government proceeded to sell Albanian resources, labor and territory to the highest foreign bidder in exchange for riches and political and military support. From his coup in 1924 until the mid-1930s, Zog pursued an "open door" policy with Britain and the U.S., as well as with Italy. These countries were given "favored nation" status, and permitted to export large quantities of manufactured goods to Albania while extracting natural resources at very low cost. U.S. and British corporations were granted oil and mineral concessions; the Italian capitalists invested in mines and built factories which were worked by peasants driven from their land. In order to support these concerns' needs for roads, ports, electricity and other services, the Albanian people were heavily taxed and workers in these enterprises were paid extremely low wages.

As the Depression gripping the imperialist world deepened in the mid-1930s, the U.S. and Britain were unable to maintain close economic ties with Albania. Italian capitalists took advantage of this to increase their control over Albania. King Zog signed agreements which opened Albania to economic plunder and gave the Italian government such privileges as the right to intervene militarily in Albania if it were attacked. To protect its investments and to assist Zog in quelling any resistance to its plunder of the Albanian people, Italy provided troops which were housed and fed at the expense of the Albanian population.

As World War II approached, Zog paved the way for the Italian fascist invasion of Albania. Under his direction, the national defense of Albania was stripped; increasingly, the governmental policies of Albania were dictated from Italy. On April 7th, 1939, Italy invaded Albania. The invasion and the brutal occupation which followed were the logical conclusion of the schemes of the Great Powers, the long-term designs by Italy on Albanian territory, and the pro-imperialist "open door" policy of Zog, which had robbed Albania of the ability to

maintain its independence. The invasion was also a part of the plans of the fascist Axis powers to destroy the then-socialist Soviet Union and to establish world domination.

Despite tremendous obstacles, the Albanian people rose to defend their country and to fight for liberation in the face of Italian invasion. From the earliest days of the occupation, the working people, peasants and patriotic intellectuals organized a war of national liberation in Albania. This was from birth an anti-fascist war, aimed at defeating the fascist occupation and establishing a democratic, independent Albanian republic. It was, therefore, also an anti-imperialist war with the goal of achieving Albania's permanent independence from domination by any foreign power and in support of the whole coalition of anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces and governments.

Throughout 1939 and 1940, various groups were organized to fight the threatened destruction of the Albanian nation through assimilation into Italy. This broad resistance movement was initiated and led by small communist organizations which had formed shortly before the Italian occupation and by groups of patriotic and democratic Albanians opposed to foreign domination of their country. Under this leadership, armed units of fighters were formed in the cities and carried out sabotage and attacks on Italian posts. Secondary school students and teachers demonstrated against the Italianization of education and the suppression of the Albanian language and culture. Workers organized strikes and sabotage in the factories. Peasants hid or destroyed grain and animals rather than have them feed the Italian occupiers.

The political views and philosophy of the Albanian communists found support among the working people and progressive intellectuals of the country from the beginning of the national liberation war. This was the case because the communists were the only organized political force in Albania actively fighting the fascist enemy. Through this fight, they were proving themselves to be outstanding leaders, able to show the people the steps and methods by which liberation could be achieved.

In order to provide the necessary leadership and centralization of the anti-fascist struggle, in the fall of 1941 the communist groups and individuals joined to form the Communist Party of Albania (the CPA, now the Party of Labor of Albania). Representing the working class of Albania, this Party took up active battle against fascist occupation from its birth, in stark contrast to all other existing political groups. No other organization existed which was engaging in a war of national liberation, nor was any other group capable of leading such a war. Led by Enver Hoxha, the CPA was the only organization to call for the nation-wide war against fascism and the formation of an independent, democratic Albanian republic.

In the face of severe repression, the CPA undertook to lead the Albanian people in the anti-fascist national liberation war. During the winter of 1941-42, men and women were recruited by this Party to form guerilla units, based on the older armed groups in the cities. New units were established in the countryside, where they fought both offensive and defensive battles against the Italian army. In addition, these units broke into grain reserves to distribute food to the peasants, who were being forced to support the fascist occupiers while starving themselves. Together, the peasants and the armed guerilla units defended villages from fascist attacks and reprisals, cared for wounded and gathered supplies. At the same time, the guerilla units integrated with the population and helped to maintain the cohesion of Albanian society by planting crops, tending livestock and helping repair war damage to fields and homes. In the course of all these activities, the CPA showed the Albanian workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals that the Communist Party of Albania fought to rid Albania of occupation, that they undertook these battles for and with the working people and not for some personal benefit.

At the same time, the CPA was also fighting tooth and nail to build and protect the political unity of all anti-fascist Albanians. Victory against a large, well-armed occupation force like the Italian army was possible only

if every single able-bodied Albanian who was willing to fight was integrated into the struggle for freedom. Accordingly, the CPA worked with any individual regardless of religious or political differences.

In order to further the unity being produced through common battle, the CPA organized the first national conference of anti-fascist fighters at Peza in May of 1942. The Conference of Peza included representatives of communists and revolutionary patriots from every part of the country and from every fighting group. Under the political leadership of the CPA, these individuals adopted a unified basic program of struggle against the Italian occupation, with which all participants agreed. The two goals of this program were to conduct the armed struggle against occupation forces until liberation, and to establish an independent, democratic republic of Albania.

In order to achieve these goals, the Peza Conference also adopted the organizational structure of the national liberation councils. These councils acted as organs of war, through which the fighting was planned and carried out in particular regions, and civilians were organized to help the guerilla units. The councils were also the embryonic organs of political power or government. They were empowered to pass laws, adjudicate disputes, form police and self-defense units for villages, and represent towns or regions at national conferences of anti-fascist fighters. These local councils were elected, and were directed by the Provisional National Liberation General Council, the first national, elected, representative body of proven anti-fascist fighters, who directed the overall war effort and formed the nucleus of the future democratic Albanian government.

Following the Peza Conference, the liberation war made much progress, especially in the countryside. Partisan bands attacked fascist militia posts and government offices, driving the occupiers out of the villages and towns. They would then replace the puppet government with freely elected national liberation councils. The partisan units not only engaged in battles and skirmishes; they also protected the villages against reprisals, protected the people in liberated areas from thieves or spies, settled blood feuds and otherwise helped to establish a stable political and economic life for war-torn communities. From village to village the liberation battle

... was liberated, the vigorous, democratic political system based on the national liberation councils was formed and protected.

In response to these successes, the Italian fascists went on the offensive in the winter of 1942-43. The Italian army conducted massive retaliatory actions, burning villages and murdering villagers. Politically, the fascists sought to derail the liberation movement by uniting with the feudal landlords, the bourgeoisie and other reactionary elements, by sponsoring a group called Balli Kombetar.

Balli Kombetar was specifically created to oppose the CPA's leadership of the liberation war. Its program was in collaboration with the fascist occupiers; it believed the national liberation war to be unnecessary and wrong. Because it claimed to stand for national unity, strength and independence, Balli was initially able to influence some people, particularly in the countryside. However, because its policy was not aimed at complete liberation and the establishment of a democratic Albanian republic, Balli refused to participate in armed actions against the Italian army, despite invitation from the CPA for joint actions.

In early 1943, the fascist puppet government in Albania fell. Its inability to defeat the national liberation forces and to govern Albania was reflective of the defeats fascism was suffering across Europe at the time. In February of 1943, the Red Army of the Soviet Union had defeated the Nazi Army at Stalingrad, and the tide of the second World War was turning in favor of the anti-fascist coalition.

During the early months of 1943, meetings of the Albanian national liberation councils were held to discuss how to take advantage of this improved situation. Plans for a general uprising against the Italian army were approved. In July of 1943 these meetings culminated in the formation of a General Staff which was charged with creating the Albanian National Liberation Army (ANLA) from the ranks of existing partisan units. The General Staff was placed under the command of the outstanding communist and fighter, Enver Hoxha. Under his leadership and that of the General Staff, the newly reorganized army engaged in larger and more frequent attacks on fascist targets. The formation of the General Staff

reflected also the tremendous political growth and unification the Communist Party of Albania had been able to generate among the people by constant political education and involvement of the people in the democratic process of making political decisions.

The Party had also paid great attention to keeping morale in the army high. It raised the consciousness of the fighters to a high level so that they all knew what they were fighting for and had great faith in the triumph of their cause.

In addition to the military battles, the struggle was also carried out through large demonstrations against the fascist occupation, and various strikes and other battles. The partisans did tireless work to expose the fascists and local traitors and to organize cultural and educational activities among the people.

As the military and political conditions in Albania began to favor the victory of the national liberation forces, the Balli Kombetar began to show its true nature. Rather than taking up arms against the fascist occupiers who were slaughtering the Albanian people, Balli's leadership agreed to place their organization in the service of the Italian army. They guaranteed they would prevent attacks on the Italian army by national liberation forces and agreed to undertake punitive actions against the ANLA in southern Albania. A member of Balli was appointed to the fascist puppet government. These actions clearly exposed to the Albanian population that Balli supported fascism rather than the liberation of Albania.

In the early summer of 1943, representatives of the Anglo-American Mediterranean command entered Albania uninvited to investigate the status of the Albanian national liberation war. Their findings alarmed the U.S. and British governments. Instead of a disorganized, demoralized, scattered resistance movement, they found a highly organized national army, led by a vigorous communist party, supported by fledgling governmental units on the local and national levels and enjoying the complete support of the Albanian population. Later in the summer, both the U.S. and British armies established military missions inside Albania, under the watchful eye of the Albanian National Liberation Army. From the moment they set foot on Albanian soil, these missions

acted to support Italian fascism and King Zog. Their aim was to undermine the leadership of the national liberation war by the Communist Party and the Provisional General Council. They funneled money and weapons to Balli, which in turn used them against the ANLA, in support of the fascist occupiers. Britain and the U.S. demanded that the ANLA lay down its weapons, stop the national liberation war, and limit itself to supporting Allied military efforts to "liberate" Albania from outside.

Almost in unison with these Allied demands, very similar pressure was exerted on the CPA and the Provisional General Council by leading members of the Yugoslav Communist Party and its national liberation front. These leaders visited Albania during this period to express the opinion that the Albanian national liberation war was being waged entirely improperly. They too demanded that Albania abandon its independent anti-fascist liberation war, and fight primarily as an arm of the Yugoslav national liberation army. At this crucial juncture, the CPA and the Albanian people rejected all pressures to stop their national liberation war, and to unite with forces such as Balli, who had openly supported the fascist occupation of Albania. The liberation war was broadened and continued and in the late summer of 1943, Italy was unable to hold Albania any longer. Italy capitulated to the Allies and some of its troops then joined with the Albanian partisans to fight the Nazis.

The German Nazi army had been making occasional forays into northern Albania for some time, in battles against the liberation forces. In late September, 1943, they invaded Albania full scale. The Nazi occupiers were determined to decimate the Albanian national liberation movement. But the movement could not be crushed. Bloody battles occurred throughout the fall. In October, less than a month after the Nazi invasion, the ANLA shelled the Parliament building of the fascist government in Tirana.

In response, the Nazis unleashed a ferocious military effort called the Winter Campaign of 1943-44 in an all out effort to destroy the CPA and the ANLA and to force Albania into submission. They planned to reach these goals by encircling the ANLA and destroying it, while terrorizing the population into subjugation. A curfew was imposed and violators were shot on sight. The

Nazis proclaimed that they would hang ten to thirty people for every German soldier killed in Albania. Thousands of communists and anti-fascist fighters were sent to concentration and labor camps inside Germany and imprisoned in Albania, where they were tortured, starved or worked to death. Anti-fascist fighters captured by the Nazis were publicly hung to deter others. The Nazis also tried to destroy the national liberation movement by coming to terms with Balli Kombetar and using it against the ANLA in military actions. In addition, the Nazis supported the formation of another collaborationist political group, Legaliteti, which played a role similar to Balli, but with less influence.

Neither severe military repression nor political ploys could silence the Albanian national liberation movement. All through the terrible winter of 1943-44, the Albanian people grew closer to the CPA and the national liberation councils because it saw them continuing to fight for independence and democracy under the most difficult conditions. Outflanking the enemy deep behind their own lines, launching surprise attacks on supply lines to fortifications, undertaking long distance marches to attack at night where and when the enemy least expected it, the ANLA escaped destruction and undertook counter-offensive attacks against the Nazis forces. In April, having defeated the German offensive, the ANLA undertook one of its own, scoring major victories at Korca, Pogradec and Berat, among other locations.

The great unity between the Albanian people and the leadership of the national liberation war provided the political basis for holding the First Anti-Fascist National Liberation Congress at Permet in May of 1944. This Congress elected the Anti-Fascist Council which was responsible for laying the groundwork for the Albanian state of people's democracy. In addition, the Permet Congress took decisions of great importance to the newly emerging Albanian state: to prevent King Zog from returning to power; to not recognize any other government set up inside or outside of Albania against the will of its people; to continue the liberation war until independence and the formation of the people's democracy. Because it sanctioned the overthrow of the old ruling classes, the Permet Congress established a government in which the control and leadership of the workers and



By the force of their own arms the Albanian people expelled the last Nazi troops and proclaimed the establishment of an independent democratic People's Republic of Albania. (ANLA troops march into Tirana, November 28, 1944).

peasants, through the Communist Party, was ensured. Finally, the Congress agreed to launch a general offensive against the German occupiers.

Factors internal and external to Albania favored a general offensive at this time. Outside of Albania the Nazis were in retreat. The Red Army of the Soviet Union was already helping to free Romania from occupation. Inside of Albania, the failure of the Nazi Winter Campaign, the growing unity of the Albanian people, and the drafting of the new structure for the Albanian government all signaled that the time for a general offensive was at hand. In June of 1944, the offensive began.

With the initiation of the general offensive, all of Albania joined in a massive effort to expel the Nazis from its territory. At the same time, some final steps were necessary to ensure that the new Albanian state would be a democratic people's republic. Accordingly, one month before liberation, a meeting of the General Council in Berat proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic Government of Albania. Its officials were elected and agreement was reached to organize the election of a Constituent Assembly that would draft a new Constitution for the democratic People's Republic of Albania. The Berat meeting formalized the national liberation councils as organs of government and adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of Citizens" ensuring basic democratic rights to all individuals.

The new leadership of the Democratic Government faced immediate serious threats to Albania's independence. In late October of 1944, ignoring the Government's rejection of Allied armed intervention in Albania, Allied troops landed in southwestern Albania with the goal of occupying the whole country. The new Government stood firm, refusing to permit these troops to remain in Albania; under the direction of the National Liberation Army, they were removed from Albanian soil. At the same time, British troops in Yugoslavia attempted to cross into Albania from the north, but were prevented by the Albanian Army and population. Rather than giving in to Anglo-U.S. pressures and influence, the new Democratic Government established diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union, recognizing in that then-socialist country a staunch ally.

Despite the threatened invasion of Albania by Allied troops and despite the vicious military blows by the retreating Nazi Army, the ANLA liberated all of Albania on November 29, 1944. By the force of their own arms, the Albanian people expelled the last Nazi troops and proclaimed the establishment of an independent, democratic people's republic of Albania. The first step in the people's revolution in Albania -- the country's liberation -- had been taken.

The Italian and German occupation of Albania from 1939 to 1944 took a great toll on the Albanian people. 7.3% of the population of 1,200,000 was killed or maimed and up to 3.9% were deported to Germany as slave labor or imprisoned in Albania during this five years. Thirty percent of all villages were destroyed. One-third of all farm animals were killed. All electric power was disrupted and all bridges had been blown up. The few factories which were not destroyed had no raw materials with which to operate.

Despite massive losses and damage, the anti-fascist national liberation war of the Albanian people had scored a decisive victory. It had expelled the fascist occupiers and established an independent Albanian government. Additionally, the national liberation war had swept away the rule of the old exploiting classes, by preventing the return of Zog or the foreign or Albanian capitalists and merchants. The new democratic government, elected by the Albanian people, was composed of tested leaders from the working class and peasantry, the same people who had made up the national liberation councils and led the partisan units, the same people who were leaders and members of the Communist Party of Albania, the political party of the Albanian working class. However, the victory of the national liberation war on November 29, 1944 was not the end of a history of struggle for independence. It was the beginning of a new history of struggle in Albania to protect the triumph of the people's revolution and to initiate the uninterrupted construction of socialism.

## 2. Socialist Construction in Albania

### The People's State Power

#### The Establishment of Workers and Peasants Rule

After the liberation of Albania from Nazi occupation in November 1944, a new revolutionary government was established based on the National Liberation Councils, which had been democratically elected during the War. The provisional democratic government represented the power of the working class in Albania, in alliance with the poor peasantry. It was led by the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labor of Albania), the vanguard party of the working class. The representatives of the capitalists and landlords, organized in the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti organizations, were excluded from the government. The property of the large landowners and capitalists was expropriated.

The old state apparatus was completely done away with and a new revolutionary apparatus was built in its place. People's councils were elected in May 1945 and these councils became the new organs of state power. A Constitutional Assembly was elected on the basis of universal suffrage and by secret and direct ballot. On January 11, 1946, the Constitutional Assembly proclaimed the formation of the People's Republic of Albania.

#### The People's State Power

The Albanian government today is headed by the People's Assembly at the national level and the People's Councils at the local level. The deputies to these organs are elected democratically by the people. The selection of candidates takes place in the Democratic Front. The Democratic Front is the successor of the National Liberation Front built during the revolutionary war and it embraces all sectors of the population. The candidates of the Democratic Front are then submitted to the entire people to be voted up or down. After the elections, the people have the right to recall their deputies at any time if they are dissatisfied with their actions.

The People's Assembly appoints the ministers of the administrative organs of the government and exercises direct control over their activities. It also appoints the Supreme Court and has the final say in the interpretation of the laws. Local and district judges are directly elected by the people.

In the United States and other capitalist countries virtually all congressional or parliamentary representatives are wealthy business executives, bankers or lawyers. In Albania nearly two-thirds of the deputies in the People's Assembly are workers or peasants who work in the factories and fields. The other third of the deputies come from the intelligensia. Almost one-third of the deputies are women.

As the Albanian Constitution states, "The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all working people." (The name of the country was changed to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with the adoption of a new socialist constitution in 1976). In capitalist countries like the U.S., the government is controlled from top to bottom by a wealthy minority who exercise a dictatorship over the working people. In Albania, it is the working class which rules in alliance with the cooperativist peasantry.

The Albanian Constitution guarantees that all citizens "enjoy the freedom of speech, the press, organization, association, assembly and public manifestation. The state guarantees the realization of these freedoms, it creates the conditions for them, and makes available the necessary material means." These material means include the country's best meeting halls and buildings, and the country's press, television and radio. In Albania these things do not belong to a handful of wealthy exploiters but rather to the people as a whole. These public resources are opened up to mass meetings and debates where everyone is encouraged to put forward their constructive opinions and criticisms.

On the other hand, it is illegal to organize fascist or reactionary organizations. The people's government is quick to suppress any attempt at counter-revolution. This vigilant attitude is essential in order to prevent the restoration of the rule of the exploiting classes.

## The People's Army and the People's Militia

The socialist state is defended by the armed people, with the People's Army as the main force. The People's Army is the offspring of the National Liberation Army. Led by the Party of Labor of Albania, the People's Army is based on the principles of democracy and conscious discipline and is closely linked with the people. There are no ranks and the officers enjoy no privileges, nor are they permitted to domineer over the rank-and-file soldiers.

In addition to the active army, Albania is defended by its entire people, who are prepared to wage a people's war, as they did to liberate their country, in case of foreign attack. A powerful example of the popular and democratic nature of Albanian society is the fact that every citizen is armed, is trained in the use of weapons and participates in the people's militias. In contrast, in the United States and other capitalist countries, the ruling class is trying to limit the possession of arms to the police and military for fear of popular insurrection.

## The Party of Labor of Albania

In order for the working class to govern society it must have its own political party to organize and lead the masses of workers. This party must be composed of the most advanced and dedicated fighters, who place the interest and well-being of the people above themselves. The party of the working class in Albania is the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA). The PLA, headed by Enver Hoxha, led the armed uprising of the Albanian people against fascist occupation. Today it is leading the ongoing revolutionary transformation of socialist society. Unlike the parties of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet bloc countries, Yugoslavia and China, which have betrayed the working class and restored capitalist exploitation, the PLA has remained a true revolutionary fighter for the interests of the working class.

The ideology of the PLA is Marxism-Leninism, the scientific summation of the historical experience of the proletariat. The party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism, which combines centralized



The Party of Labor of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha, is leading the ongoing revolutionary transformation of socialist society.

leadership with the broadest possible initiative of party members. The central leadership bodies, elected by the party membership, define the party's program of action, which is discussed, worked out and endorsed by all of the communists. The party's basic organizations apply the party's leading role in practice, and are centers of revolutionary thinking and action in every community and work place.

The activity of the party develops in the atmosphere of principled criticism and self-criticism. The PLA admits its mistakes and channels the creative activity of its members to eliminate those mistakes. The life of the party is characterized by debate and confrontation in order to correctly solve problems based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The program of the PLA defines the content of the whole social and state life. The state organs decide all the major questions and always take account of the directives issued by the leading organs of the Party.

The PLA plays a leading role in all aspects of Albanian society. It is able to play this role because it has always maintained a correct revolutionary line and it enjoys the trust, respect and support of the Albanian people. The PLA was born out of the struggles of the working people and it has always been their champion. It has always been close to the masses of people, both learning from and educating them.

### **Socialist Democracy**

Because the rich exploiting classes have been overthrown in Albania, democracy means more than empty words. The working people have full democratic rights and the ability to govern society. Socialist democracy is characterized by the active participation of the masses of working people in the governing of society. The entire population participates in discussions and debates about the problems facing the country. Mass discussions are organized in every locality to take up such problems as the emancipation of women, educational reform, economic plans and policies, family relations, and the promotion of science and atheism. The reforming of the laws and the discarding of those which are out of date are the

subjects of country-wide debates. These discussions are held in all organizations, including the Democratic Front, the trade unions, the Women's Union and the Labor Youth Union take up these discussions. Special meetings are held in each locality, work place and school. When the new Albanian Constitution was drafted in 1976 over 1,500,000 people, nearly 3/4 of the population, took part in the debate. This Constitution serves as the basic law of the country to which all government organs and all citizens are bound.

An Albanian cooperativist farmer summed up the new attitude toward the laws in socialist society in the following words: "To the poor, the word 'law' once had a terrible sound. It meant a threat of starvation, a threat of imprisonment, a threat of death. Today, the people make the law themselves, and they adopt it for their own good."

The masses of working people in Albania are organized to follow all of the political, economic, social, military and cultural affairs of their country and to exercise their control over them. They are encouraged to criticize any mistakes or any bureaucratic tendencies among government officials. Mass workers' and peasants' control commissions (which are discussed more fully later) are organized in every work place to carry out the work of criticism and control, and they wield great authority.

When we speak about the working class governing Albania, this is no abstract concept! The leadership of the working class is exercised from both above and below. This leadership is exercised from above through the workers' political party, and through its state apparatus. Without this centralized leadership the working class could not govern society. But the working class also exercises its control over society directly, from below, through the control of the working masses themselves. This active participation of the working masses in governing society is made possible because this activity is organized and led by the workers' vanguard party, the Party of Labor of Albania.

# The Socialist Economy

## The Establishment of Socialist Property

Among the first actions taken by the people's government was the confiscation without compensation of all the industrial and commercial property of the Albanian and foreign capitalists. This included all of the major mines, oil fields, factories, means of transportation and the banks. This property, which had been used by the capitalists to exploit the people and increase their own wealth, now became the property of the people's state, to be used for the collective well-being of the people. Workers' control committees were formed in the enterprises to help manage production under the leadership of the PLA and the central government apparatus. The property of the small merchants and artisans was not taken and they were encouraged to build handicraft and trade cooperatives.

The rich landlords were also expropriated without compensation. Part of their large landholdings became the property of the state, while most was divided among the poor and landless peasants. The government and the Party encouraged the peasants to combine their tiny parcels of land and their livestock to build cooperative farms. The building of cooperative farms was a gradual process based upon the free will and full cooperation of the peasants. By 1960, 80% of the land had been collectivized and by 1967, all of the peasantry had taken the road of collectivization. Today, state-owned farms comprise 20% of the cultivated land and cooperative farms the remaining 80%.

The expropriation of the means of production of the wealthy landlords and capitalists eliminated the economic domination of these exploiting classes. It laid the economic foundation for the construction of socialist society and the elimination of class exploitation.

There are three types of property ownership in Albania today. The first is state property which includes all of the natural resources of the country, the factories and mines, the state farms, the highways, railroads and communications systems. State property belongs to the entire people. It is the highest form of socialist property

and the main foundation for the building of socialism.

Cooperative property belongs to collectives of rural working people who have voluntarily united in order to increase production, to improve their common well-being and to build socialism in the countryside. Cooperative property includes the buildings, machinery, equipment, vehicles, tools, etc. of the cooperative farm. It also includes the products of their labor, the harvest, the productive livestock, the orchards, etc. Cooperative property is a form of socialist property because it is not the property of any one individual but of a collective of working people.

Personal property also exists in socialist Albania. The state recognizes and protects it. This property includes income from work, as well as private family homes and other things used to satisfy personal and family material and cultural needs. All the things returned to the cooperativist family (grain and other produce) are also personal property. The source of personal property is the people's own work. It cannot lead to the accumulation of capital and cannot be used to exploit labor.

There are no rich parasites in Albania. No individual can own a factory, a bank or a large tract of land and exploit the labor of others. In Albania, everyone works for a living.

## Socialist Planning

Social ownership of the means of production makes possible the central planning of the economy. The goal of this planning is to continually raise the material and cultural well-being of the working people and to strengthen the independence and defense of the country. Since 1951, regular five year economic plans have been developed to ensure overall socialist economic development. The central plan mobilizes the country's human, material and financial resources in such a way to assure the proportional and harmonious growth of all sectors of the economy. What is produced, how much is produced, how much is traded with foreign countries and how much is reserved for internal use, what major new economic projects are undertaken, the prices of all goods and the level of pay of all workers is decided in a unified plan for the whole country. The national income

is consciously distributed according to the plan. Two great funds are created -- the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption. The fund of accumulation is dedicated to the building up of the country's economy. The fund of consumption is dedicated to meeting the social and individual needs of the working people.

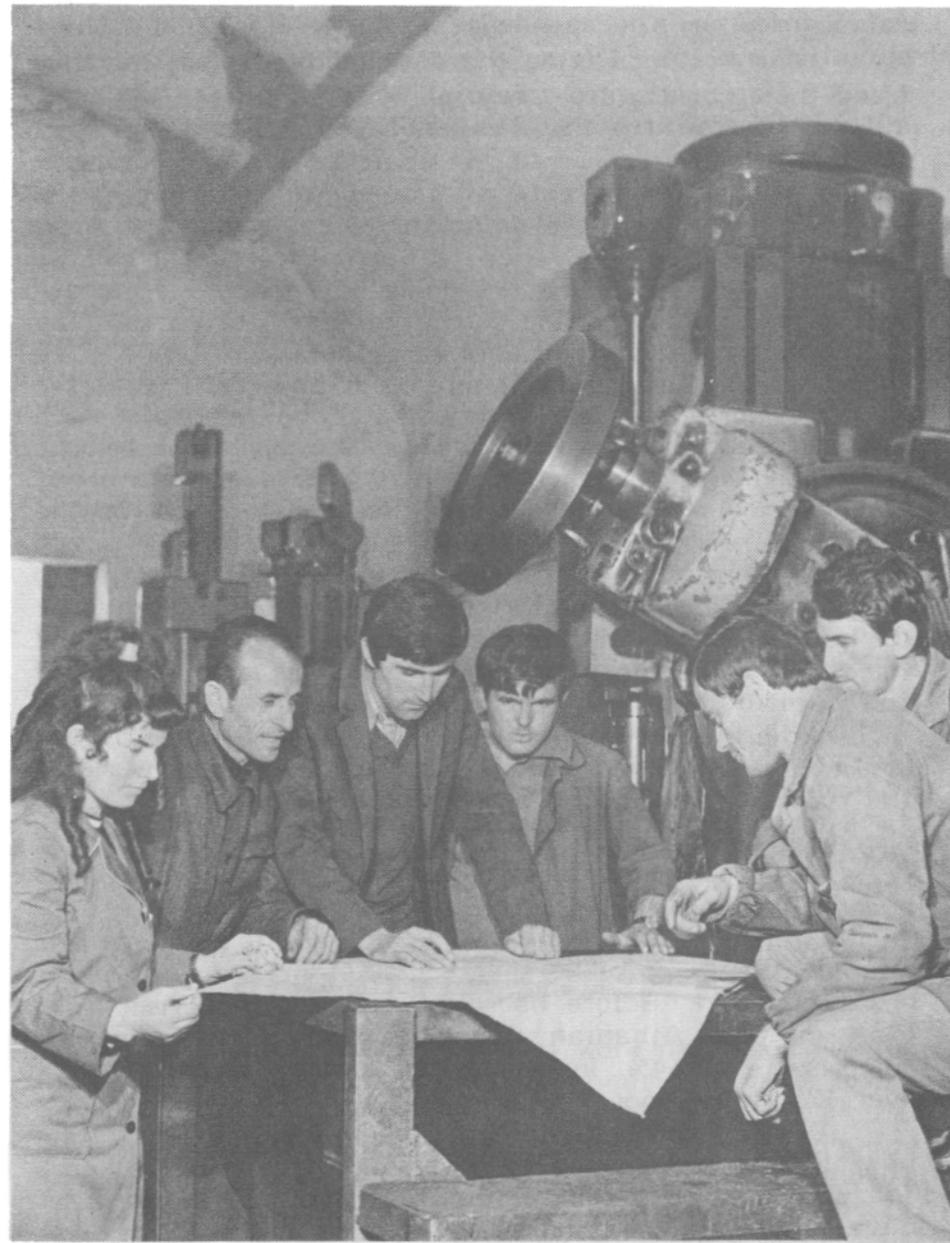
This kind of planning is impossible in capitalist society because the means of production are privately owned by capitalists whose only goal is to maximize their profits. This results in anarchy in production, economic crisis, stagnation, unemployment and inflation. Albania has not suffered from these crises which plague the capitalist world. Because of the superiority of the socialist system, the Albanian people can consciously plan the country's economic development for the collective well-being. Over the last 40 years there has been a steady and rapid rate of economic growth. During the current five year plan social production is projected to grow by 36-38%. In contrast, the actual output of the U.S. economy has declined over the last five years.

Central planning, like all of socialist society, is based on democratic centralism, i.e., central leadership as well as the conscious, general and direct participation of the working masses. A Central Planning Commission works out a draft five year plan. The draft is then thoroughly discussed at mass meetings in every work place. During the popular discussion of the five year plan for 1981-86, 69,000 concrete proposals were made by the masses of working people. Of these, 40,000 were adopted in the plan and 20,000 were held for further discussion.

The trade unions in Albania play an important role in the planning and carrying out of production. In socialist society the workers' trade unions not only concern themselves with defending the workers' rights, welfare and working conditions, but also take an active part in the management of production and the political and economic life of the country. In the trade union meetings the workers discuss and criticize the draft economic plan and control the implementation of the plan in their plant.

#### Self-Reliance

Socialism is being built in Albania by following the principle of self-reliance. The Albanians have always



In Albania every worker has a right to his or her job and participates in deciding what is produced and how it is produced.

relied mainly on their own forces and have in this way safeguarded their independence and sovereignty and their socialist system. During the national liberation war they freed their country from fascist occupation without the aid of foreign troops. They refused British and U.S. proposals to intervene. At the same time they recognized the role played by external forces, and particularly the Soviet Red Army, in the defeat of Nazi Germany. Today, the policy of self-reliance is particularly important, as the world's capitalist and revisionist powers seek to crush socialism in Albania and force the Albanians to succumb to their domination. Albania does not owe a penny to foreign banks and governments. It pays cash or barter for its imported goods. It now has trade relations with over 50 countries and has always recognized the benefit of exchanging goods, technology and knowledge with other countries. But Albania depends first and foremost on the creative initiative of its own people. It has never allowed investments by foreign capitalists. Utilizing central planning and self-reliance, Albania has been able to build a balanced and well-rounded agriculture and industry. While other developing countries have followed the capitalist path of credits and investments that leads to bankruptcy and economic collapse, Albania is living proof that the road for all the peoples of the world is the road of revolution, socialism and self-reliance.

### **Economic Development**

Albania was once the poorest and most backward country in Europe, with little industry and a very primitive agrarian economy. Since liberation, socialism has allowed Albania to make spectacular progress.

Industry: Before liberation, industry comprised only 6.7% of the Albanian national product. Today, it comprises over 64%. Industrial production has grown by over 125 times since liberation.

Albania is rich in natural resources, and socialism has allowed the people to develop these to their fullest. The powerful rivers that originate in the Albanian Alps have been harnessed and today produce more than enough electricity to satisfy the country's needs. Electrical power is now exported to neighboring countries. Albania is one of a relatively small number of countries in the world in which the entire country has been electrified, including the most remote mountain villages.

Albania has plentiful reserves of oil, natural gas and coal. Exploitation of oil began before liberation, but it was controlled by foreign companies who simply extracted it and shipped it out of Albania as crude oil to be refined and distributed in Italy. Today Albania refines its oil and uses it to power its own growing industrial plant. It is able to supply all of its own energy needs and it exports oil and coal.

Albania also has large reserves of copper, chromium and iron-nickel ore. In 1976 workers in the Elbasan Metallurgical Complex poured Albania's first steel. This steel is produced from Albania's iron-nickel ore by a complex process not used anywhere else in the world. In addition, a copper processing industry has been built, and in 1979 a ferro-chrome plant was completed in Burrell which greatly expanded Albania's chromium processing capacity. Albania now ranks as the fourth largest producer of chromium in the world, and exports high-grade copper products as well.

Before liberation Albania did not have a railroad. Today the country has an established network of railways. Albania builds its own motors, tractors, trucks, and produces 95% of the spare machinery parts needed by all sectors of production. This modern machine and engineering industry was built up from the small repair workshops that existed in Albania before liberation.

The remarkable growth of the oil, metals, machinery and chemical industries in Albania reflects the priority given to the building of heavy industry. This development of heavy industry makes possible the development of modern agriculture and light industry on the basis of self-reliance. Great strides have also been made in light industries such as textiles and food processing, and today about 85% of the consumer goods that Albania needs are produced within the country.

Agriculture: Before liberation, Albania was still at the stage of the wooden plow. The farmland was fragmented into tiny plots worked by the most backward means. Albania could not produce enough food to feed its own people.

Albanian agriculture has gone through an all-round transformation in the course of building socialism in the countryside. The state farms are the highest form of the social relations of production in agriculture and, using the

most modern techniques and machinery, they are the most productive farms. The socialist state created machine and tractor stations, also state property, to provide collective farms with the service of tractors, harvester-threshers and other agricultural machinery. Before liberation there were only 30 tractors in the country. Today tractors and modern machinery have almost completely replaced the use of work animals in the fields. The machine and tractor stations represent a powerful link between the socialist state and the cooperative farmers.

Socialist cooperation has made possible mass work actions to drain the coastal swamps and to terrace the highland terrain -- thus doubling the area of arable land. Socialization of agricultural production has opened the doors for modern irrigation and fertilization methods, and for scientific experimentation as well. Scientific work is closely connected to all production units, and it flourishes with the active and direct participation of the masses of cooperativists and agricultural workers. Scientific work is organized on many levels, from specialized research institutes to local research stations and a network of agricultural secondary schools that train specialists to carry the spirit as well as the fruits of scientific research into the smallest and most remote production units.

As a result of the socialist policies for the advancement of agriculture, production has increased by a phenomenal 500% since liberation. In 1976 Albania accomplished a long-time goal: self-sufficiency in the production of bread grains. Since then, Albania has begun to export grain. These tremendous accomplishments would never have been possible on the basis of the feudal organization of agriculture in pre-liberation Albania. This progress was realized through the building of the cooperative and state farms. In contrast with the results of capitalist agricultural development, the emergence of large-scale agricultural production, mechanization and modern agricultural technique in Albania has not resulted in the massive expropriation and destitution of the peasantry. It has been carried out in a planned way by the cooperativist peasantry themselves, under the leadership of the PLA. There has been, of course, a steady shift of the workforce from agriculture to industry, due

to the expansion of industrial production and the increase in agricultural productivity. But this shift has been carried out according to the general economic plan which has provided for the constant improvement of the well-being of the cooperativists and guaranteed work for all.

### Work and Wages in Albania

In many areas, Albania has not reached the level of technological development of the advanced capitalist countries like the U.S. But the overall well-being of the Albanian working people is vastly superior to that of working people under capitalist rule. This is so because of the highly advanced social system that places the needs of the working people at the center of social production. For this reason, the ills of capitalist society that torment the lives of workers do not exist in socialist Albania.

There is no unemployment in Albania. At a time when over 12 million U.S. workers are without a job, the Albanians are adding 40,000 new workers to the labor force each year. The Constitution guarantees everyone a job: "Work is a duty and honor for every able-bodied citizen. Citizens have the right to choose and exercise their profession according to their capacity and personal inclination, and in accordance with the needs of society." Not only is the right to work guaranteed, but the worker is protected from dismissal by an enterprise. Incapacity for health reasons does not condemn a worker to poverty and destitution as under capitalism -- in Albania the enterprise must find a job suitable for the worker in poor health.

Eight hours is the maximum work day, six days per week. Many workers have reduced hours (five to seven hours a day) at full pay, including night shift workers, workers attending night classes, miners who work underground and others who work at particularly strenuous jobs. The conditions for hazardous work are strictly regulated by the government. The workers themselves and their trade unions exercise control over the labor protection laws. In Albania the means of production are organized to use automation and mechanization to make work as light and safe as possible.



As a result of the socialist transformation of agriculture, production has increased by a phenomenal 500% since liberation.

There is no inflation in Albania. In fact, the prices of consumer goods are 5.87% lower today than in 1958. In the past three decades fourteen important general reductions in prices have been made in Albania, so that the purchasing power of the people has continually increased. The real income in Albania has increased by 250% since 1950. In contrast the workers' real income in capitalist countries is being decimated by inflation, wage cuts and taxes. Over the last decade the real income of the U.S. workers has declined by 8%.

There are no rich and no poor in Albania. The difference between the highest wage paid in Albania (that received by the directors of state ministries) and the average worker's wage is only two to one! This is far and away the narrowest wage differential in the world. In contrast, the wealthy in capitalist countries have incomes hundreds and even thousands of times higher than that of workers. The difference between high and low wages has been continually narrowed in Albania, and will be further reduced in the future.

The level of wages and prices in Albania is not based simply on the cost of production and the fluctuation of supply and demand. Instead wages and prices are consciously set to accomplish social aims, to ensure the just distribution of the national income, and to gradually improve the standard of living of the working masses. The prices that the government pays to the cooperative farms for agricultural goods have been steadily increased so that the income of the cooperative farmers will catch up with the income of the urban workers. As a result, income in the countryside has grown three times as rapidly as in the cities, and today the income of the cooperative farmers has risen to equal 80% of the income of the urban workers. Higher prices are paid for the agricultural goods produced in the mountainous areas because of the lower level of productivity in these areas compared to the coastal lowlands. Families who are raising children receive social compensation in prices in order to subsidize the larger families.

The wealth created by workers' and peasants' labor goes into two great funds, one for accumulation and one for consumption. The fund for consumption in Albania is divided into two parts, individual consumption and social consumption. Individual consumption funds include the

wages of the workers and the personal income of the cooperativist farmers. These are based on the socialist principle of distribution: from each according to ability, to each according to work. Everyone who is able works for a living in Albania. The fund for social consumption pays for the services provided by the socialist state, which are far more extensive than in capitalist society. These services include free education and health care, free or highly subsidized child care, cafeterias at work places and recreational and cultural facilities. Housing and utility costs are subsidized. In Albania, only 2% or 3% of a family's monthly income is required to pay a month's rent. The charges for gas, electricity and water are nominal.

The social consumption fund also includes social insurance and pensions, which are paid by the state, not by premiums or deductions from workers' wages. Pensions are fixed at 70% of the pay of the workers, and retirement is guaranteed at 60 years of age and 25 years of work for men, and at 55 years of age and 20 years of work for women. Workers in hazardous or difficult occupations may retire sooner. Other benefits include disability aid, family pensions and aid to the families of martyrs of the revolution. Social insurance and pensions are based, of course, on work, but cover all sectors of Albanian society, including the cooperativist farmers. Thus, social insurance constitutes an important factor for raising the material and cultural well-being of the people of town and countryside as well as for the protection of their health.

There are no taxes in Albania. A most remarkable aspect of the Albanian workers' wages is that they are not subject to levies or taxes of any kind. The tax system was abolished in Albania in November of 1969, after a series of gradual reductions. The development of the socialist economy and the socialist relations of production have freed the Albanian working people from the historical burden of taxes, the system which forces the working people of the capitalist countries to pay the costs of the system of exploitation and shifts the workers' wages back into the hands of the capitalists.

# The Revolutionization of Society

Socialist society is not static -- it must constantly change and develop. Eventually it will be transformed into a communist society, in which social classes will not exist. Communist society will be based on the principle: from each according to ability, to each according to need. The transition to communist society involves the constant revolutionization of socialist society, casting out the outdated remnants of capitalist society and developing the new and progressive aspects of socialism.

## Social Classes in Albania

Albania is still a class society. There are two social classes today, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, along with the stratum of the people's intelligensia which is drawn mainly from these two classes. There are no landlords or capitalist exploiters.

The working class is still a minority of the population, but it is the essential motor force of the revolution. The working class is composed of the workers employed in the state sector of the economy both in industry and in agriculture. With their hands they produce most of the wealth of the country. The development of industry and the state sector of the economy has led to a tremendous growth in the size of the working class since liberation. Today, workers make up over 36% of the work force. Before the turn of the century it is expected that the working class will become a majority of the population.

The cooperativist peasantry is made up of the members of the cooperative farms. Their social position is different from that of the working class in that they directly own the common property of their cooperative farms, and their income is dependent on the produce of their farms. The cooperativist peasantry today makes up a little less than half the population.

The people's intelligensia is the stratum of administrators, managers, engineers, scientists, teachers, writers, artists and other intellectual employees in socialist

society. It is derived mainly from the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, but is a distinct stratum in that its work is mainly in the sphere of mental, not manual labor. The people's intelligensia comprise about 14% of the working population.

## Eliminating the Differences Between Workers and Peasants and Between Mental and Manual Work

In order to eliminate class differences and arrive at communist society, a number of profound tasks face the Albanian people. One of these is the elimination of the historical distinction between city and countryside, between industry and agriculture, and between the workers and peasants. In capitalist society the countryside lags far behind the city and the great majority of the population live an impoverished and isolated existence, lacking the facilities for health care, education, and cultural development. In backwards countries, as Albania was before liberation, the peasantry remains bound by feudal relations. Before the revolution, the Albanian peasants, living under the domination of the landowners and rich peasants, and exploited by the town merchants, pinned their hopes on their individual property and work. Today, however, the peasantry sees its future in collective work and property. The advances of socialist construction have wiped out illiteracy and cultural backwardness in the Albanian countryside. As we have said, the government is carrying out a policy of increasing the income of the rural working people especially in the remote mountain areas, so that it catches up with income in the urban areas. It is also constantly improving all of the social services and cultural institutions in the countryside. Cooperativists are now entitled to the retirement pensions and other social benefits provided by the state.

The scattered, isolated rural existence of the past is being replaced by new planned communities on the state and collective farms, and new industrial plants are being located throughout the countryside. Cooperativist farmers are being encouraged to form higher-level cooperative farms which are more closely linked to the state sector. The members of higher-level cooperative farms enjoy

guaranteed annual wages (although these vary from farm to farm as they are in proportion to productivity). These higher-level cooperative farms are a step in the direction of transforming collective property into social property of the whole people, and in narrowing the gap in income between city and countryside, as well as within the countryside. Eventually all distinctions in the level and manner of getting income and in the social outlook between workers and the cooperativist peasantry will disappear.

Another profound task is the elimination of the historical division between mental and manual labor. The division between mental and manual labor arose with the development of class society. In capitalist society higher education is largely restricted to the wealthy exploiting classes and the intelligensia. Labor is broken down into mental and manual components and mental work is concentrated in the hands of the intelligensia while the working masses are not expected to think but simply to labor with their hands. Socialist society inherits these social distinctions and this division of mental and manual labor from capitalist society. Gradually this division of labor, which increasingly becomes a hindrance to social progress, must be done away with. A fundamental part of this effort is the ongoing development and revolutionization of socialist education. The aim is to provide an ever higher level of technical and cultural education for all of the working masses, enabling them to more effectively participate in the organization of production and the governing of society.

Mental and manual work are linked together in Albania in many ways. A close relationship exists between the planning of production and production itself, with workers directly contributing to planning and managers directly participating in production. Those involved in mental work live and work together with the masses and learn from them in order to combat any tendency toward contempt for manual labor and the working people and to avoid the growth of intellectualism and bureaucratism.

### Putting the General Interest Above Personal Interest

Along with the tasks mentioned above, an all-around campaign to combat the negative influence of capitalist and feudal ways of thinking is carried on. Fundamental to this is the promotion of the outlook of putting the general, collective interest above personal interest. This is, in the first place, an ideological campaign, but it has been connected with a whole number of concrete reforms. Among these have been the elimination of excessive bonuses and material incentives. The money formerly used for bonuses has been used to raise the lower-level wages and for social purposes, such as the improvement of child care centers in the work places. The entire structure of the wage system is also shifting from personal wages to social wages, with a greater and greater part of the state's fund for the people's consumption being spent on social services which are provided more or less equally and without charge to the people. Eventually, as the forces of production are developed to the point where there is a sufficient abundance of all goods, individual wages will give way to the principle of "to each according to need".

In the countryside the effort to put the general above the personal interest has been reflected in campaigns of persuasion to gradually eliminate private agricultural tracts and livestock. These are becoming unnecessary in practical terms as the cooperative farms are better able to provide for the needs of all cooperativist families. A new outlook toward work is growing in Albania. Labor in capitalist society is a burden, simply a means of survival. The worker is nothing but a pair of hands to the capitalist, to be hired as needed and then laid off. The worker has no say in what is produced or how it is produced, and has little concern about the product of his or her labor because it is appropriated by the capitalists for their profit. Under socialism exploitation is ended and labor becomes what it should be: a source of satisfaction and pride, in which everyone contributes their best to the collective effort. The worker is not simply a pair of hands. Every worker has a right to his or her job and participates in deciding what is produced and how it is produced. All of the workers



Each year thousands of young people join volunteer brigades to help build new roads, railroads, bridges, factories and houses.

share in the fruits of their labor.

The new outlook toward labor in Albania is reflected in the socialist emulation campaigns in which the workers of different enterprises engage in friendly competition to reach and surpass production targets and quality goals. These campaigns are especially challenging because the workers have control over the methods of production. This new outlook is also reflected in the volunteer brigades of young workers. Each year thousands of young people join volunteer brigades to help build new roads, railroads, bridges, factories and housing. This volunteer labor helps build the spirit of "All for One, One for All" that is the heart of the future society.

Other ongoing campaigns are being waged to promote the scientific outlook and atheism and to combat the centuries-old mystical, feudal, and religious ideas and to promote the emancipation of women and combat the reactionary ideas of male supremacy.

#### **The Struggle Against Bureaucracy and Liberalism**

The failure to continually revolutionize socialist society would lead to stagnation, and the degeneration back into capitalism. This danger has been powerfully demonstrated by the restoration of capitalist exploitation in the Soviet Union and other formerly socialist countries. Socialism did exist in the Soviet Union during the time of Lenin and Stalin, but within the Soviet socialist society a group of privileged bureaucratic officials gradually emerged. The Krushchevite revisionists, relying on this stratum, destroyed the Soviet Party and seized power. This paved the way for capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and defeat of the revolution there.

Recognizing that this same danger existed for Albania, the PLA took decisive action to prevent the growth of an aristocratic elite. Defects which developed in the Soviet Union --such as the separation of officials from production and a sharp division between mental and manual work, the failure to lay sufficient stress on moral incentives and ensure that the pay of officials was close to the average pay of workers, the failure to organize control over officials from below directly by the masses

-- showed that measures had to be taken on these fronts. After the 5th Congress of the PLA in 1965, a historic struggle against bureaucracy and capitalist degeneration was organized. The workers and cooperativist farmers were mobilized to criticize and eliminate any tendencies toward privilege and bureaucracy. Mass workers' and peasants' control commissions were organized in every work place. They include only workers and cooperativist farmers directly involved in production and do not include any management or technical officials. These commissions, under the leadership of the Party, review the entire operation of their organizations and have final authority on all matters, including the removal of bureaucratic officials. In the Army, similar commissions include only rank and file soldiers, excluding officers.

All managers and administrators are required to account for all of their actions before mass meetings of the workers and peasants. The mass organizations in Albanian society, such as the Democratic Front, the trade unions, the Women's Union and the Youth Union actively engage in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism and mobilize their members to collectively look at the state of affairs in their communities and throughout the country. Every citizen is encouraged to raise his or her voice to criticize every instance of bureaucracy and privilege. The suppression of criticism is illegal.

Specific measures have been taken to prevent the development of a privileged stratum of bureaucrats. As we have recounted, the wage system has been revised to narrow the gap between wages and to do away with excessive bonuses. Large wage differentials and bonuses were one of the most harmful factors which led to the creation of a privileged stratum in the Soviet Union. To combat intellectualism and elitism, all administrators and intellectual workers leave their offices to work in the factories and fields three months out of the year. Management positions are continually rotated with new workers being drawn into management positions and managers returning to production. Another important means to ensure that the workers can more actively play their role in the running of the entire life of the country is the constant elevation of their technical and cultural level.

All of these measures, along with ongoing ideological education and struggle, are designed to protect administrative workers from the dangers of bureaucracy and intellectualism. They serve to develop administrators as true servants of the working people who remain close to the people and share their world outlook.

The Party has also taken steps to assure that it does not become a caste of bureaucrats and technicians, as the party in the Soviet Union has become. It has stressed the recruitment of workers into the Party and restricted the recruitment of intellectuals. It has also carried into practice the idea that the Party must lead from the shop floor, stressing that all administrators need not be party members and that all party members need not be, and should not become, administrators. The real leaders in the party, says the PLA, should stay on the shop floor to lead the workers' control from below. And the PLA has waged constant struggle against revisionism and all influences of bourgeois ideology, thus increasing Party unity and ensuring that Albania remains on the socialist path.

Through their efforts to revolutionize socialist society and combat bureaucracy and liberalism, the Albanian people have made unprecedented advances and are trailblazing the path toward communism. They are building the socialist society that revolutionary workers around the world are fighting for.

### **3. Social and Cultural Development in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania**

#### **The Albanian Educational System**

The struggle for the Albanian school has a long history. From early times, the Albanian people have had to fight, weapons in hand, for their education just as they have had to fight for their freedom. During the late 19th century and early 20th century, there were few schools in existence in Albania. However, during the years of the reactionary Zog regime (1924-39) and those of the fascist occupation of Albania (1939-44), the situation was one of the gloomiest in the history of the school. The broad masses, over 85% of the population, remained illiterate. The number of schools was greatly reduced and the system of school fees meant that the doors of those few existing schools were open only to the children of the wealthy. During the period of the Nazi fascist occupation, the Italian and German policy of de-nationalization was stepped up. Hundreds of teachers left their schools and took up the rifle to fight in the ranks of the partisan units and brigades.

The foundations of the people's education in present day Albania were laid down during the National Liberation War. The Albanian Communist Party (PLA) led the organizing not only of the war effort, but also of the education of the people through the National Liberation Councils. The responsibility involved opening elementary schools and also organizing courses against illiteracy in all the partisan-liberated districts of the country.

After national liberation, Albania pursued a revolutionary course to make education truly the property of the working people, the workers and peasants.

In 1946, educational reform was carried out. Education was proclaimed general and free of charge, elementary schooling was made compulsory, equality of sexes in educational matters was declared, the state and secular character of the school was guaranteed, the right to education in the students' native language was ensured, and so on. In addition, the reform opened the way for the creation of a completely new, popular and democratic school. Radical changes were made in teaching plans, programs and textbooks, as well as in all the methods of teaching and educational work.

During the period from 1945-55, a broad campaign was conducted to abolish illiteracy. This campaign was turned into a major social and national action bringing about the complete liquidation of this age-old plague.

Before liberation, Albania was the only European country without a university. This deficiency was rectified when the University of Tirana was set up in 1957. Later, in Tirana and other cities, many higher schools as, for example, the Agricultural Higher Institute, the Higher Institute of Arts and pedagogical institutes, were set up.

Today, socialist Albania has a complete educational system with a wide network of full and part-time 8-grade schools, secondary schools and many higher schools, not to mention the large number of kindergartens for pre-school children.

In proportion to its population (some 2.8 million), Albania ranks among the first countries in the world today in regard to the number of persons who attend the various categories of school. Today, one out of every three persons in Albania attends a school. The University of Tirana has some seven faculties with 41 specialties and about 20,000 students, in addition to other higher institutes and its branches set up in the other centers of Albania.

The educational system underwent intensive study, discussion and constructive criticism in the late 1960s. The question of the revolutionization of education became a topic involving all of the Albanian people. Responding to the call of the Party, a great popular discussion was initiated all over the country of a massive character unseen before this time.

As a result of these mass discussions and meetings, the new educational system approved in November, 1969 became a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class for the formation of a people's intelligentsia loyal to socialism and for the education of the younger generation, which will carry the revolution through to its final and complete triumph.

The reforms have placed the school on the basis of the 'revolutionary triangle'--lessons, productive labor, physical and military training -- with a Marxist-Leninist ideology running through all of them. Its task is to impart to the youth sound, scientific knowledge, to inculcate the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, to give them



One out of every 3 persons in Albania attends school, one of the highest rates of school attendance in the world.

professional skills and a correct attitude toward work, to imbue them with a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, thus ensuring their moral, physical and cultural education. In Albania, education is under the control and direction of the workers and peasants.

The state pays the full cost of the school system in all its links; in Albania there are no fees to pay in any category of school. The state pays for the school buildings, their equipment, the salaries of the teachers and auxiliary personnel. The family pays only for textbooks, the total price of which is on an average only about one and one-half to two days of a worker's salary for each school year!

In addition, the state provides living expenses for students who attend high schools and colleges. It pays full grants to students from families with many dependents, that is, with the lowest per capita income. Other families with few dependents make a reasonable contribution.

On completion of the obligatory 8-grade school, students are free to choose whether they wish to continue with their education or enter the work force. The majority choose 4-year secondary education (general or vocational education) in which there are 65 to 70 topics to choose from. Vocational secondary schools admit students on the basis of the five year economic plan, because the state works out a correct proportion in the training, for example, of nurses, electricians, teachers, economists, etc. Admission to general education is unlimited.

As part of the program to reduce the differences between town and countryside, students from the countryside in the secondary vocational schools in Albania make up more than half of the total contingent of students. This gives greater impetus to the secondary education of the peasant students who, up until recently, had not, nor could they have had, the same opportunities as those students in the cities.

The programs of the vocational secondary schools are such that the subjects of general culture are the same as those of the secondary schools of general education and are designed to elevate the whole cultural level of the working class and peasantry. These effectively prepare the students so that they can continue

with higher studies if they wish to do so, and not feel deprived of these opportunities, as they do in many other countries.

Before entering the university, all students must complete a one-year probationary period of productive labor, working alongside the workers and peasants. On completion and as a condition of entry into the university, the students must have a positive recommendation from their fellow workers. Part-time higher schooling has become very extensive throughout Albania and thousands of workers and cooperativists are enrolled in night classes or correspondence courses with many of the schools being attached to the factories. Time off with pay is given to the students to prepare for and take exams.

The educational system also comprises schools for national minorities, taught in the mother tongue. In all the villages of the Greek minority there are 8-year schools, in which the lower cycle program is taught in Greek. The training of teachers for these schools and for the kindergartens is carried out at the teachers' training school in Gjirokastra, in which all the lessons are given in Greek. Likewise, all the textbooks and auxiliary literature for these schools are published in Greek.

Today, the ever-growing needs of the country for specialists with higher schooling are met by the higher schools with their courses in some 60 topics. To date, the Albanian higher schools have trained more than 41,000 specialists, who are making an important contribution to the construction of socialism and to the development of the new Albanian science.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that Albanian graduates do not find themselves confronting the insecurity of no employment when they finish their studies. Because of careful planning there is no unemployment and, while students are able to enter the occupation of their choice, the state organizes employment opportunities in accordance with the needs of society overall.

## **Health Care in Albania**

The example of Albania shows that only socialism creates the conditions needed for the care of the people's health.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania medical service is given free of charge. This includes hospitalization, office visits, analyses, treatments, home visits by the doctor, etc. Albania has undertaken this humane task and has spared nothing to ensure for the people total coverage by a qualified medical service established on a scientific basis. Treatment of patients and the distribution of medicines are under no financial restrictions whatsoever. Physicians place the care and cure of the patient above any question of cost involved.

No capitalist country, however highly developed, has such a humanitarian system, since it would run counter to the selfish interests of the rich who profit from the health care system. The cost of medical care and treatment in such countries is extremely high. The so-called "free of charge" medical care in certain bourgeois states, in fact, is based on the funds of "social insurance" created through the contributions of the workers themselves and is, therefore, not a "free medical service" at all. Moreover, health care in these countries is still divided into one system for the rich and a separate, inferior system for the poor.

The doctor-patient relationship in Albania is based upon mutual respect and socialist humanity. The doctors respect their patients, they listen to them carefully and do their utmost to alleviate their suffering. The patients, in their turn, respect the doctors and pay close attention to the advice they give. Today it has become common practice for the doctors to maintain constant contact with the people, meeting with groups of workers, city dwellers and villagers, holding talks and lectures with them in order to raise to a higher level the cultural and sanitary education of the workers.

Medical care in Albania tends to be as close to the people as possible. This is demonstrated by the fact that the network of health institutions has been extended to the most remote districts of the country. This network

comprises hospitals which are for the most part new and with the essential services, as well as sanatoriums, maternity homes, day nurseries for babies, dispensaries, health institutions for scientific studies, a wide network of institutions for dental treatment and a pharmaceutical industry. Today, there is one doctor and dentist for every 520 persons, whereas in 1938 the figure was one for about 8,500 persons. These and many other devices testify to the organization and planning on correct criteria for the proportional development of the entire medical service, providing it with the necessary conditions for normal work and the necessary personnel of higher training who constantly strive to serve the people conscientiously and with devotion.

In Albania's medical care institutions, a systematic struggle against various diseases is being waged not only by treating but also, more importantly, by preventing them. Thanks to this preventative and curative work the scourge of malaria has been completely eliminated. Also, there are no traces of syphilis and tuberculosis has been all but eradicated. The average life expectancy has increased from 38 years in 1938 to just over 70 years today!

In order to accurately assess the health service in Albania, it is illustrative to examine the health care for mothers and children, occupational health and treatment of disabled individuals.

Today, Albania has standards of obstetric-gynecologic and pediatric services comparable to or better than many industrialized countries. There are sufficient maternity beds to accommodate all the expectant mothers in both town and countryside. There are midwives in every village, no matter how small their population. In addition, there are day nurseries in every city and village in which a high percentage of Albania's children are growing up. For mothers, there is advanced legislation for paid leave before and after childbirth, for assuring them light work during pregnancy, as well as the right to leave their job every three hours to breast feed their babies. The provision of all medicines for children under one year of age and the supply of vitamins to expectant mothers and their children after birth free of charge, and the subsidizing of nurseries by the state are very important factors which exert an influence on constantly improving

the health of mother, fetus and child. Every woman, as soon as she suspects that she is pregnant, reports to the women's consultation rooms, both in the town and the countryside. The consultant keeps the mother under constant supervision, following the normal development of the child. Should any difficulty arise, a specialist is called in. The pregnant women prepare for the birth by consulting with the midwife or the doctor who is in charge of them, and also by attending special health education courses where they learn how to care for their babies once they are born.

The state also creates the best possible conditions for the broad masses so that they may spend their vacations in the most uplifting and relaxing ways at any of the mountain and seaside resorts where very comfortable, state-subsidized holiday homes have been set up. Vacations are guaranteed by law.

The state compels all enterprises to take the necessary precautions in order to protect the environment from pollution right from the first stages of work on new projects. In addition, the law also charges social organizations as well as every citizen with duties so that the environment may be protected against pollution. It is the people's responsibility to take a stand when violations of this law are noticed, since pollution is a problem related directly to the protection of the health of the working masses. According to the public health legislation in Albania, it is compulsory for every work center to take measures for the prevention of occupational diseases of the workers, in accordance with the work center and the material handled by the workers. The work center must secure the necessary equipment for ventilation or for the suction of harmful gases, smoke and dust during the production process, and to remove in good time all waste and left-over materials which may be harmful to the environment. The work center must also supply each worker with the necessary means and clothing for their protection during production. For their part, the workers are under an obligation to utilize these means of protection during the work hours. Every worker is given periodic medical examinations. Should the prospective worker be found medically unfit for a particular job, appropriate work will be found for that person.



In Albania medical service is given free of charge.

The state spares nothing in its approach and treatment of disabled children, making huge expenditures to insure them a normal life and to set up special institutions for the correction of various congenital diseases. There is also a central institution for mentally disabled children, where they undergo a psychological pedagogical treatment in addition to other treatment. The results have been very promising and many of these children have since entered the work force.

## **Women's Emancipation**

The emancipation and advancement of women are glorious achievements of socialist Albania.

Before liberation, the suppression of women was brutal, despite the fact that in the national folklore of Albania the woman was often treated as a dignified figure, represented in lovely colors and with special tenderness, particularly as a mother. In reality, the woman was divested of every economic right. She could not have a say in family gatherings, nor could she have a voice in the marriage of her sons and daughters. When a young bride, she did not have the right to call her husband by his first name, but had to speak of him as "he". In some sections women, no matter how young, were addressed as "old women" by their husbands. When travelling, the husband would ride while his wife had to follow behind him on foot. The "lashrope", from the bride's dowry that parents had to give their daughters, would be carried along by them when fetching water, going to the mountains for firewood, laboring in the fields or taking wheat to the mill. It was a symbol of medieval backwardness and feudal cruelty toward women.

Women were assigned separate places apart from the men, both in the church and in the mosque. Even at home they had their separate place in the waiting room where, from latticed windows, they were permitted to watch their husbands celebrating at weddings or other family celebrations. Even on mourning days men and women did not come together.

Muslim women had their heads covered with a kerchief and in the towns they wrapped themselves in veils or black cloaks. In the towns Christian women also

veiled their faces.

In some regions whenever a woman was spoken ill of, after having her hair cut off, she would then be mounted backward on an ass and paraded through the streets. An old canon said, "The husband is entitled to beat his wife, to bind her in chains when she defies his word and order."

Young women not only had nothing to say about their marriages but they were often sold, even when infants, for future betrothals. Women had a personal name, but after they were married they were referred to as so-and-so's wife, so that their names fell into disuse. And since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not considered worth remembering.

It was against this background of centuries-old tradition, based on the unwritten laws of the canons, that the Communist Party issued the call to women to join the partisan forces of the national liberation war to drive out the fascist invaders. Albanian women had on occasions over the years fought along side their men for freedom from national oppression, but the mass response to the Party's call was epoch-making.

The fascists and traitors to the country left nothing undone to estrange women from the Party, the National Liberation Front and the partisan army. Women were persecuted, imprisoned, deported, tortured and even hanged. But nothing shook them. They stood united in revolutionary combat around the Communist Party of Albania. They saw in the program of the CPA, at long last, the path for their own liberation.

Women joined the Communist Party, where they were assigned to posts of responsibility in the partisan detachments. They were commanders and commissars, and secretaries of Party cells. Of the partisan army of 70,000, 6,000 were women. Today too, they are cadres in the armed forces.

Thus they played a leading role in their emancipation. After liberation, the strength, bravery, maturity and patriotism of the Albanian women burst out with unexampled, ever-increasing vigor. The Party had set up women's councils everywhere, and the Anti-Fascist Women's Union was set up in 1944. The magazine, "Albanian Woman", became a powerful force in the mobilization of women. Today, the Women's Union of

ALBANIA is a strong organization, having 600,000 members. It plays an important role in the political, economic and social life of the country. It held its 9th Congress in 1982 and delegations from various women's organizations from 17 countries were present.

What was the path the Communists set out for the women? They said that there were two basic pre-conditions for the emancipation of women. The first was that she must be freed from wage slavery. As with all working people, without this, women would still face class oppression and all the ills of capitalism: insecurity, unemployment, inflation, imperialist wars, household bondage, lack of public care for her children, etc. The people's revolution in Albania has long since abolished wage slavery, so this first condition has been fully met.

The second pre-condition was that women engage in productive social labor. This provides the economic and social basis for equality, allowing women to be independent and equal participants in the struggle for socialist construction. This condition has also been fully met. Women have, for several years now, comprised 46% of the work force. This latter condition had to be organized. At the time of liberation women were not prepared for industrial work, aside from some training in handicrafts. They had to have their self-confidence built up after centuries of being considered mainly chattel. They were 90% illiterate. Today they are active in every field of industry and agriculture that is not injurious to their health. Half of all students are women and girls, and they are being educated in all the various fields of learning, including higher education.

The main ongoing tasks for the complete emancipation of women are to continually raise the participation of women on an equal basis with men in social productive labor and in the whole political and social life of the country, to deliver women from the drudgery of household chores, and to strengthen and promote relations of democracy and equality in the family.

Housework will not be completely eliminated for individuals until it is completely socialized, which requires a higher level of industrialization than Albania has attained at this time. But an educational campaign is being waged for the sharing of household tasks by the entire family. It is even written into law. The Code of

the Family, enacted in June, 1982, calls for the equal rights and duties of family members and requires that "spouses assist each other in the fulfillment of all family and social tasks." Increasing numbers of bakeries, laundries, and dining halls are being built. Electricity is available over the entire country and more household appliances are steadily being supplied. Considerable funds have been laid out by the state for women to be able to attend schools, courses, to take part in various political and cultural-artistic activities, or to lighten the burden of child rearing and household work by setting up social institutions and extending the service network to the remotest village. Albanian mothers have free health care, generous maternity leave, birth clinics and nurseries and kindergartens for children, including child care centers at most work places.

Both education and legal action are used to overcome backward attitudes toward women, fitted to suit the time, place and concrete conditions of every region. Hangovers from the past have been more pronounced in the more remote mountainous areas. Persuasion and education are given priority over legal action. In 1967, a plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA was held on just two questions, one of which was "On the Further Deepening of the Struggle for the Complete Emancipation of Women." In that same year, Enver Hoxha said in a speech, "The Party and the whole country should rise to their feet, burn the backward canons and crush anyone who would dare trample on the sacred law of the Party on the protection of the rights of women and young girls." After that speech, many infant betrothals were dissolved voluntarily by the parents. Now it is written into law that no marriages can take place without the consent of the two parties involved, and penal action is taken against violation of this law.

A further example of the educational work done is that Enver Hoxha has recommended that family income be handled by wives. He said, "Having money in her keep, the wife will not only manage it better, but she will also have equal voice in the discussions with her husband."

The new Constitution of Albania adopted in December, 1976, states:

"Equal pay is guaranteed for equal work."

"No restriction or privilege is recognized on the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex."

"The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holiday, social security, education, in all social and political activity, as well as in the family."

Under the conditions in Albania, the participation of women in the entire life of the country has become an objective necessity. The efforts, the physical and mental energies of women, too, are necessary to promote the increasing revolution, to strengthen the people's state power and further democratize it through the line of the masses. The efforts of women are necessary too, for the strengthening and defense of the homeland against any enemy through the training of the entire population.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has raised before the whole society that "the Party and the working class should measure the advance toward the complete construction of socialist society with the deepening and progress of the women's revolution within our (i.e. Albania's) proletarian revolution. If the women lag behind, then the revolution marks time." But the tremendous advances made by women in Albania are attested to by their ever increasing role in the entire life of the country. Today women comprise 30% of the membership of the Party of Labor of Albania, the only political party. They make up 30% of the deputies to the People's Assembly, the highest government body in the land. They are 41% of the People's Councils at all levels, 30% of the Higher Court, and some 44% of the leaders of the organizations of the masses. Certainly in no other country in modern history have women attained such a high degree of participation in the social and political life of the nation.

## **The Greek National Minority** **in Socialist Albania**

Located in the Dropull area of southern Albania is the center of the Greek national minority, most of whom have been living there for generations, although a few moved there in 1944 because of the right-wing activities



Women in Albania have attained a higher degree of participation in social and political life than in any other country in modern history.

of the National Democratic Greek League under General Napoleon Zervas.

In all there are some 50,000 Greeks living in Albania representing about 1.8% of the total population; many live in their own towns and villages.

The Constitution of Albania states in Article 42, the following:

"Protection and development of their people's culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities.

"Any national privilege and inequality and any act which violates the rights of national minorities is contrary to the Constitution and is punishable by law."

Many visitors from Greece have spent time among the Greek minority in Albania. To quote one visitor in a report made before the Greek Parliament on March 1, 1982: "Today Albania defends the interest of the minorities with the constitution and does not grant them fewer rights than those of the Albanian people. The newspaper of the Greek minority is published in the Greek language (Laiko Vima), the four and eight year schools function in Greek and there is also a school for training elementary level teachers." In addition to these, there are regular radio broadcasts on Radio-Tirana in Greek and also Radio Gjirokaster has regular programming in the Greek language for the surrounding area in which are located many villages of the minority (Dervican and Goranxi, for example). The continuation and development of their own national culture is encouraged; for example, at the 1983 National Folklore Festival in Gjirokaster, members of the Greek minority participated by presenting their own songs (old and new), dances and costumes. Members of this minority permeate all levels of Albanian society including the Central Committee of the PLA. In addition there are several well known writers, artists and actors from the Greek national minority; for example, Viktor Zhusti is a well known actor of the People's Theatre and in the cinema as well as a teacher at the Higher Institute of the Arts.

## Aspects of Albanian Culture : Past and Present

The key to Albania's cultural development since its national liberation was given by Enver Hoxha in a report in 1966:

"Our socialist art and culture should be firmly based on our native soil, on our wonderful people, arising from the people and serving them to the fullest. It should be clear and comprehensible but never vulgar and thoughtless. Our Party is for creative works in which the deep ideological content and the broad popular spirit are realized in an artistic form capable of stirring the feelings profoundly and touching the hearts of the people, in order to inspire and mobilize them for great deeds. We must intensify our struggle for a revolutionary art and literature of socialist realism...As in every other field, a sharp class struggle is taking place between the two ideologies, Marxist-Leninist materialist ideology on the one hand and feudal and bourgeois ideology on the other. Decadent bourgeois culture and art are alien to socialism. We oppose them and at the same time we appreciate and make use of everything that is progressive, democratic and revolutionary, critically viewed in the light of our own proletarian ideology."

### The Ancient Cultural Heritage Of the Albanian People

The Albanians are the direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians -- Indo-European tribes which occupied the western part of the Balkan peninsula at least as early as four thousand years ago. The Albanian language is a member of the Indo-European languages and is the sole surviving language derived from the ancient Illyrians.

Modern Albanians are justifiably proud of their long history. The knowledge that they are a very ancient people, established in the Balkan peninsula for several millenia, and that they are ethnically and linguistically distinct from their neighbors, has been an important factor in their struggle to gain and maintain independence.

Since liberation in 1944, the Party of Labor of Albania has given great encouragement to archaeology, as

well as to other cultural and educational activities and what has been achieved is truly remarkable. By 1944 most of the treasures found by foreign archaeologists had been taken abroad and the country possessed no experienced archaeologists. Today, as a result of the Party's enthusiastic support for archaeology, a large amount of field and restoration work has been accomplished, museums are found throughout the country and there is a great deal of popular interest as well as scientific accomplishment in the area.

### Albanian Folklore

Albania has an inexhaustible treasury of folk songs and dances which has been created through the centuries; since the establishment of people's power, the great wealth of Albania's folk art, the most varied melodies and dances, have been supported and promoted by the government.

Folk songs are the history of the Albanian people in music and each historical song is an expression of their confidence in victory. These songs, the war cry of the Albanians' forebearers, are still alive among the highlanders in the North and in the South. In the North the songs are one-voiced, while in the South a complex structure of polyphony exists, unlike any found in other countries.

Lyrical, love, ritual and allegorical songs constitute the fund of Albanian musical folklore, while wedding songs, both in the North and South, stand out for their joyous lyricism and optimism. The Albanian people sing to pure and sincere love with great depth of feeling.

The Albanians are optimistic people. The great wealth of folklore witnesses that they have always sung their songs in times of peace and war, at marriages and birth celebrations. They never wept for heroes who fell in battles; rather they immortalized them through their rhapsodies. The inclination, creative ability, temperament, endurance, optimism together with many aspects of life, are also reflected in the folk dances, which are without doubt, among the most beautiful and most interesting expressions of Albanian folklore.

Albanian folk dances are numerous and varied but in spite of this there are common elements which emanate from the unity of the Albanian tradition. In the past,

men and women would always dance in separate lines whereas today many dances have been created in which men and women dance together and new dances continue to be created.

The inventive spirit of the Albanian people manifests itself in the great variety of folk instruments, from percussion instruments such as the drum and tambourine, to the wind instruments such as the flute and bagpipe and to stringed instruments such as the 'lahuta' (a one-stringed fiddle used to accompany epic songs) and the 'ciftelia', a kind of long-necked mandolin with two strings used mostly by the Northern highlanders.

The people's government has made great efforts to preserve and record the traditional music, dance and costumes of the Albanian people. It organizes regular folklore festivals and has published and recorded thousands of traditional verses, prose, proverbs and instrumental music. At the same time it is delving into the roots of harmful and reactionary customs which degraded women and those pertaining to the system of patriarchal life because these have acted to impede the development of society and it is important to smash their idealistic reactionary philosophical basis.

### Albanian Literature

Although the Albanian language has been spoken for some 3,000 years, the earliest written document which has come down to us dates from only 1462.

At the start of the 18th century, after the mass conversion to the Islamic religion took place in the country, a whole literary trend began under the influence of Middle Eastern literature and this trend lasted for nearly two centuries. It included poets in whose works there is an obvious stress on social protest and anti-feudalism and who were the precursors of the bourgeois critical realism which developed in Albania during the first 40 years of this century.

The National Renaissance of the 19th century produced a flowering of secular romantic literature, but the writer who dominated Albanian literature in this period was the poet Naim Frasheri. Naim's brother, Sami Frasheri was one of the most outstanding Albanian patriots of the 19th century and also authored numerous political, philosophical, literary and scientific works. His



The great wealth of Albania's folk art has been supported and promoted by the people's government.

book entitled "Albania: What It Was, What It Is, and What It Will Be" (1899) became the manifesto of the national movement and was the cause of his arrest by the Turkish authorities.

Indisputably the greatest figure of Albanian science, literature and art who dominated the period following independence in 1912 was Fan Noli, the leader of the bourgeois democratic revolution in 1924. A state leader, historian, author, musicologist and composer, Fan Noli occupies a particular place among the most eminent figures of the Albanian world. The trend of Albanian bourgeois critical realism, with strong accents on social revolt, was a predecessor of the Albanian literature of socialist realism.

A new epoch in the development of Albanian literature began with the outbreak of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people and with it the historic triumph of the people's revolution which brought the country its national freedom, overthrew the old social order, and paved the way to the construction of socialist society and socialist culture.

The revolutionary literature of the war years which came into being in the clandestine communist press was the expression of the anti-fascist resistance of the Albanian people, an artistic portrayal of the patriotic spirit of the masses, of the people and their aspirations for a new world. These motifs were expressed mainly in war poetry, in the patriotic lyric.

Following liberation, revolutionary literature of the anti-fascist resistance was quickly changed into a literature of a new type, pervaded by socialist ideals and the spirit of communist partisanship. All progressive pre-war writers and artists identified with the process of socialist transformation in the country. In addition, a considerable number of young people emerged at the height of the anti-fascist struggle. In 1945 they got together and founded the Union of Albanian Writers. In 1952, artists also joined them.

The literature of the socialist epoch in Albania constitutes the highest stage of artistic development in Albanian society. This has found expression in the richness of content and motifs, in the flowering of all genres, in the variety of styles and the high level of artistic

expression. The ideas of the revolution and progress, the aspirations of the masses of the people, liberated once and for all from any sort of material and spiritual bondage, form the true content of present day Albanian literature. The object of its inspiration is the struggle of the masses of people for the thorough transformation of their life and themselves, for the construction of the new society, and the new man who has become the central hero of this literature. Centering its attention on the future of the people and the revolution, the new literature portrays the masses not as victims of history, but as a vigorous and active force, conscious of their historic mission of the construction of a new world, a new humane society, a new man and woman freed from the shackles of the old world. The historical optimism and confidence in the brilliant communist future which fills the spiritual life of socialist society has been turned into an inherent element of the literature which is being developed in present day Albania.

One of the most active genres in present day Albanian literature is poetry. Albanian poets have devoted their efforts mainly to the lyric-epic poem, in which the motifs of building the new life, the ideas of the historic vitality of the Albanian people and the theme of their resistance, and the historic destiny of the nation and revolution, cast in a vivid metaphoric language and powerful poetic symbolism, have revitalized this genre and opened wide vistas for its rapid development.

The best indication of the development of Albanian literature after national liberation, as well as of the artistic level present-day Albanian literature has reached in prose is its two most widely used forms, the short story and especially the novel. Today the novel has emerged as the leading literary form and a number have been translated and achieved world-wide recognition, for example, Ismail Kadare's "The General of the Dead Army" (1964), and "The Castle" and Dritero Agolli's "The Bronze Bust" (1970).

As an artistic expression of Albanian life, present day Albanian literature has a marked national character and a profoundly socialist content. The development of it testifies to the vitality of socialist realism as a new artistic method which gives wide possibilities for the all

round reflection of life and for the flowering of creative artistic styles and individuality.

Keeping in step with the development of literature are aesthetic thought and literary criticism, which base their analysis of artistic phenomena on Marxist-Leninist methodology. Outstanding in this field is Alfred Uci and his work, "Aesthetics, Life and Art" (1970).

Along with Albania's literary development goes the book -- a companion of every Albanian. It has become an inseparable companion not only to "academics" but also the masses of the people working in factories, plants, agricultural cooperatives, to people in the towns and in the remotest mountainous villages. This has been achieved not only because of the low price of books, and the exceptional increase of their editions in comparison with the past (today more than 800 different titles totalling 8.5 million copies are published each year) but especially because of their content, which responds to the requirements and aspirations of the readers.

### Musical Development

Albanian musical art, in the true sense of the word, was born in the mountains together with the flames of the liberation war. To the melodies that came down from the mountains with the partisans, were added the songs of the new life, the songs of work and joy. The ranks of composers increased with new talent who wrote not only songs, romances, rhapsodies and ballads, but also oratorios, cantatas and musical tableaux which had never been attempted by Albanian composers prior to this time.

In 1947 the Lyceum of Art was inaugurated in Tirana, which in addition to the branches for the training of middle level music cadres, also includes a branch of ballet. Now with the constant increase in artistic education in Albania there are five secondary schools of art in various districts and seven 8-grade art schools.

The Higher Institute of Art which also includes the Conservatory was opened in Tirana in 1961 and it is here that Albania trains its talented singers, instrumentalists, composers, conductors, musicologists and music teachers.

One of the distinctive features of musical development in socialist Albania is the mass participation in scores of workers clubs and in the houses of culture in cities which, together with some hundreds of cultural

centers in the countryside, carry out a wide range of artistic activities. Every year festivals of new songs are organized by the Albanian Radio and Television Service, as well as by the houses of culture and young Pioneer's centers in the districts. Every year the May concerts are organized in the capital, Tirana, as well as national contests of variety theater, bands, workers' ensembles, groups from agricultural cooperatives and especially the regional and national folklore festivals. All these contribute to the very vigorous concert life in Albania.

### The Theatre

During the war of national liberation, the partisans set up a number of theatrical groups to present the cause of the anti-fascist struggle to the people. On May 24, 1944, on the eve of liberation, the first professional theatre in the history of Albania was established in the historic town of Permet. Today the country has 8 professional drama companies, 15 variety theater companies and 26 puppet theater companies. In addition, almost every factory, cooperative farm and institution has its own amateur theatrical group, the professional and amateur theaters operating on the basis of mutual help. Although each professional theater company has its own well equipped premises, it must stage at least 40% of its annual performances in the enterprises and villages.

In addition to translations from the treasury of world dramas, from the works of Shakespeare, Moliere, Schiller, Ibsen, Brecht and others, there is now an extensive and growing repertoire of Albanian plays based on the artistic concept of socialist realism -- plays devoted to the struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence; themes recreating the times of the heroic resistance of the Albanian people to the invasion of the Ottoman Empire and others evoking the glorious epoch of the national liberation war; plays tackling problems connected with the great social transformations and the popular revolution, the land reform and the great socialist nationalizations or confiscations of property, those which take their subject from the work for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country. Others which deal with the description of the relations between the individual and the collective occupy an important place.

Additionally, many plays underline the role of the masses in the education and transformation of humanity, of the individual whose existence as such is not negated, but on the contrary is held in high esteem as far as this activity responds to the interests of the collective society. Also treated are the relations and contradictions emerging in the course of daily life and the way is shown as to how to overcome these problems.

With the spirit which animates it, it can be truly said of the Albanian theater that it serves both the political and aesthetic education of the broad working masses.

### Cinematography

In May 1947, all cinemas in Albania were made state property and in the same month the first Albanian film, a newsreel of the May Day celebrations, was screened.

The films made during the period after liberation bear the imprint of the new reality of Albanian life, of the march of the country on the road of the construction of the new socialist society. Today the films produced by the "New Albanian" film studio reflect the heroic life of the Albanian people, their rich traditions and customs, their aspirations and desires, the historic reality through which they have passed up to the liberation of the country and through which they are passing at present in the construction of socialism. The heroes of the film have always been ordinary people, workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals.

The art of film making has reached a high level and it has become over the years more mature from the ideological and aesthetic point of view. Although the youngest in Europe, the Albanian cinema has managed to present itself with dignity in many film festivals throughout the world and some of the films have been honored with awards, such as "Benny Walks On His Own" (1975) and "Poppies On The Wall" (1976).

The film has become a powerful means of educating and entertaining the masses of working people. From 12 small cinemas functioning before liberation, today the country has about 430 cinemas and portable cinematographic installations showing films every day in towns,

work centers, and in the most remote villages of the country.

### The Press, Radio and Television

Prior to liberation, 85% of the population of Albania was illiterate and there were only 6 newspapers in the country. The largest of these was published in an edition of only 6,000 copies. Today the country has 25 newspapers which total 47 million copies per year.

Also, with the complete electrification of the country in 1970, every Albanian family can now listen to radio and television programs. Unlike the United States, where radio and television are commercial and are primarily organized to make profits for their owners, mass communications in Albania are designed to educate and uplift the people.

### The Figurative Arts

The art of the National Renaissance begins after 1880, in the struggle for national independence and freedom from Turkish rule. It is secular, breaking away from the religious iconography and treats patriotic and ethnographic subjects. The main subject of the art of this period is the figure of Albania's national hero, Gjergy Kastriot Skanderbeg.

Following liberation in 1944, the new people's state gave great support to the arts, and painting and sculpture flourished. Since 1960 while socialist construction has been advanced in a fierce struggle against the internal and external class enemy, resisting the imperialist-revisionist pressures, art in general has become more profound in its content and artistic expression, and more firmly based on its own national experience. The 15th plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA in 1965 reached the conclusion that the artistic concepts of socialist realism had proven themselves and that they should play an even greater role in the education of the masses. Following this decision, a series of revolutionary actions and movements began, led by the Party. Painting, sculpture and graphic art responded to the directives of the PLA and the revolutionization of the country, reflecting the transformations that were taking place and sharpening their proletarian partisanship. With

the improvement of material conditions, the demands of the masses for art increased. Many important national and individual exhibitions were created and artistic expression was enriched. In all forms of the figurative arts, the defense of the homeland as a theme is extensively treated.

In 1973 the 4th plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA criticized bourgeois and revisionist modern influences. This ideological struggle strengthened the art of socialist realism, encouraged the further development of artistic creativity and deepened its proletarian partisanship and national character.

The forty years of socialist construction in Albania have been years of great and persistent work of the PLA for the creation of a new socialist culture, for socialist education and the cultural and ideological formation of the youth and all the working masses. This process has been carried out together with the constant discovery and reassessment and enrichment of all the progressive qualities of Albania's national culture of the past, of the progressive traditions and customs of the Albanian people. The most important events in the history of the people, the most outstanding personalities of their history and culture, their centuries-old experience expressed in their language, their songs, their dances, their proverbs and their customs, all have been made the object of study and research and have entered the treasury of present socialist culture and the spiritual wealth of the Albanian people. And this, not in any passive manner, as a mere testimony of the past, but in an active manner, as a creativeness which arouses aesthetic pleasure in the readers and spectators even today, assists their patriotic, cultural and artistic education and formation, and inspires the artists and writers in the composition and writing of their new works.

The practice of the cultural revolution in Albania proves that socialist culture cannot make progress and develop without relying on, without critically assessing and adopting the soundest and most progressive elements of the national culture of the past, the popular tradition, while on the other hand this tradition is valued, preserved, enhanced and given new life in the conditions of the socialist cultural revolution.

## **4. International Relations and the Foreign Policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania**

Albania is the only socialist country in the world today, and as such its foreign policy is different from the foreign policy of any other country. It follows an open, independent policy, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This means that Albania constantly guards and maintains its independence and defends the interests of the socialist homeland. This also means that Albania supports the revolutionary struggles of the working class and people throughout the world, for national liberation and socialism -- working always to assist these struggles and to increase the fighting unity of the people against their common enemies.

In taking this stand, Albania opposes the threats and interference of the two imperialist blocs, headed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In contrast to the two superpowers, who dictate and dominate over the world's people and whose rivalry for power is threatening all humanity with a new world war, Albania maintains a policy of peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems. It develops foreign trade, cultural and scientific exchanges based on equality and mutual interest, and respect for freedom and national independence. It has always worked to strengthen sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialism.

### **Self-Reliance Paves the Way For Foreign Trade**

On the basis of forty years of socialist construction, Albania has been able to build a strong and diversified economy. As a result it has increased its foreign trade, adding new products to its exports and achieving a balance of imports and exports. At present Albania has trade relations with over 50 countries and hundreds of firms. Its exports include fuels, electric power, chromium, ferrochrome, basic nickel carbonate, tobacco, fresh and canned vegetables, agricultural and artisans' goods and other products. Machinery and some kinds of raw and

primary materials for the expansion of production make up the overwhelming portion of imports. During this Five-Year Plan (the seventh), Albania is working to keep the growth of exports higher than imports. It gives priority to exports so as to ensure that the export-import balance results in the increase of their reserves for foreign currency.

In addition to foreign trade, Albania has cultural and scientific exchanges with many countries. It has always highly valued the friendship of peoples throughout the world, and their contributions to culture, science and the progress of humanity. It has worked to extend its friendly relations on every continent. The reports of trips to and from Albania in the magazine, "New Albania", give a vivid picture of the growing ties and friendship of Albania with the people of the world. Diplomatic relations have grown from year to year and in 1981 numbered 95 states and commercial and cultural relations exist with many more. These include countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as in Europe.

### **How Does Albania Conduct Trade Relations While Remaining Free From The Domination and Dictate of the Superpowers?**

One of the problems which confront the developing countries of the world is interference and control over their economies by one or the other superpower. The newspapers have been filled with the serious difficulties faced by the Latin American countries as they suffer under tremendous debt to the U.S. and particularly the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund. Using these debts as a club, the U.S. is demanding even greater sacrifice by the peoples of these countries and further increasing its control over these countries.

How is it that a small country like Albania is free from such domination? The answer lies in the socialist policies of Albania, beginning with the victory of the people's revolution and continuing today. Albania has never accepted any inequality, discrimination, exploitation and political or economic submission -- it rejects all imperialist attempts to gain a foothold in Albania under the guise of trade.

... were to do this by implementing from the beginning the Marxist-Leninist principle of establishing state monopoly on foreign trade. This means that the state, which is controlled by the working class, concentrates in its hands all foreign trade activity. Albania's economy is protected from indiscriminate flow of foreign goods and from the economic crisis of the capitalist countries. Thus, imports and exports are included in the economic plan. Albania trades its surplus of mineral products and energy in order to obtain products and technology it needs to sustain its industrial growth and meet the material needs of the people.

Since liberation, Albania has never allowed the resources of the country to be given away to foreign companies. As its Constitution states, "...In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the granting of concessions to, and the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited." Albania is completely free of foreign debt and the entanglement and domination by the superpowers and other capitalist states which these debts create.

Thus Albania is living proof that even a small country and one which started out very backward economically can achieve socialist construction and maintain complete independence from the big imperialist powers, by relying on its own resources and uniting all its people in a valiant struggle.

### **Albania and the Struggle Against Revisionism**

During World War II and after, Albania allied with the Soviet Union, then a socialist country. Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union provided assistance and fraternal aid to Albania. Based on a united struggle for building socialism and supporting the revolutionary struggles around the world, Albania and the Soviet Union had ties of mutual benefit and cooperation.

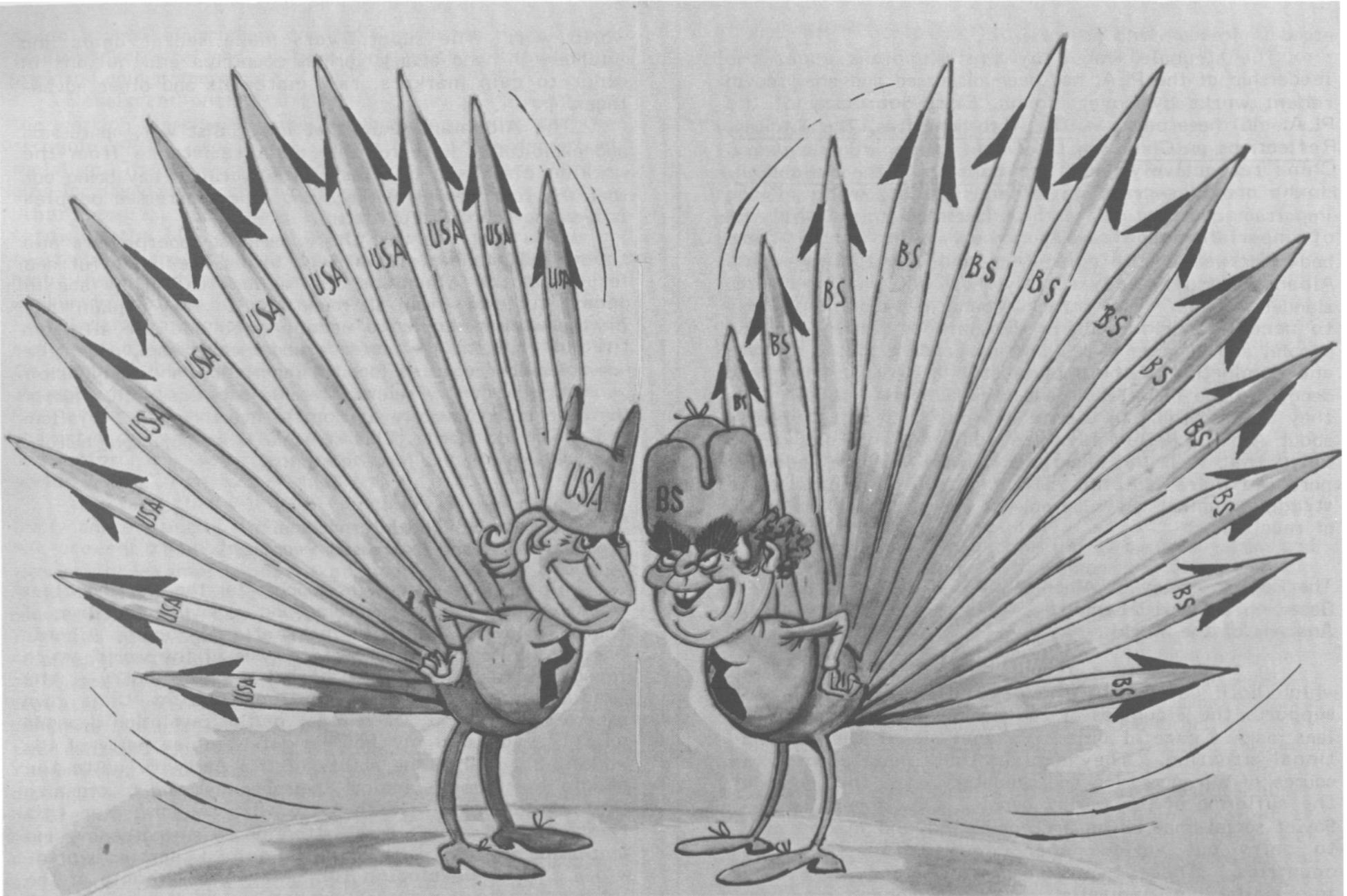
But with the death of Stalin and rise of revisionism in the Soviet Union, a struggle broke out -- not only

between these two countries but between all the true fighters for socialism in the world and the traitors of the Soviet Union, who destroyed socialism and re-established capitalism. This was a just and vital struggle in the interests of the people, and the Albanians, led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, the Party of Labor of Albania, played a leading role in exposing the Soviet revisionists. They put forward for all to see that the path the Soviets had taken was against the interests of the people and would cause the Soviet Union to become an aggressive, imperialist power. Reality today proves the Albanians right.

After World War II, the Albanians also had relations with Yugoslavia and China. In both of these cases, a similar struggle unfolded. The Yugoslav government and party tried to make Albania an appendage of the Yugoslav economy and to hamper the socialist industrialization of Albania. They tried to isolate Albania and exploit the country through unequal exchanges and hostile interference. And here too, an ideological struggle developed, with the Albanians once again exposing that the policies and stands of the Yugoslavs reflected not socialist ideals, not Marxism-Leninism, but capitalism and service to the rich.

The situation with China developed at a later date. Again there was a fierce ideological struggle, with the Albanian people fighting to defend the interests of the working class and people, and the Chinese taking a stand in support of U.S. imperialism. The Chinese, like the Yugoslavs and Soviets, promoted revisionist lines and policies which harmed the struggles of the people and caused great confusion.

In each case, the revisionists attempted to sabotage the economy of Albania, unilaterally cancelling contracts and agreements. They tried to fool the Albanians into accepting their dictate and when this didn't work they resorted to other means of attack -- leaving projects unfinished, providing false reports on mineral deposits and so on. In the face of this, the great strength and determination Albania has shown to oppose all forms of revisionist and imperialist attack and to continue on the socialist road is a great inspiration to all people inter-



Albania opposes the two superpowers, U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are the most savage enemies of the freedom and independence of the people and of peace and security in the world.

... in freedom and progress.

The struggle waged by the Albanians under the leadership of the PLA, has been discussed and analysed in recent works by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the PLA. In these books -- The Khrushchevites, The Titoites, Reflections on China (on the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and China respectively), and Imperialism and the Revolution, Hoxha provides great detail and insight, while making important contributions to the understanding and analyses of imperialism and revisionism on a world scale. These books, as well as the consistent and open policy which Albania pursues today readily show why the imperialists slander Albania. They attack Albania because it refuses to accept revisionism and the path of betrayal of the people, and because it remains independent of the dictate and domination of the imperialists. In fact, it is a great danger to the imperialists and social-imperialists and thus they do everything to silence its voice and confuse people about Albania. But day after day, Albania shows the world that it is the imperialist powers who are becoming more and more isolated, as the peoples increase their struggle against the superpowers and all their local tools of reaction.

#### **The Foreign Policy of Albania: Based on a Marxist-Leninist Analysis of the World**

In order to have a consistent internationalist stand which both safeguards the revolution in Albania and supports the struggles of the world's peoples, the Albanians make a careful objective analysis of the international situation. They explain that imperialism is the source of all aggression and predatory wars, the source of the suffering of the world's people. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are competing and maneuvering to carry out various aggressions and occupy other countries. These two superpowers, along with other imperialist and capitalist powers (European countries, Japan, China, etc.), are trying to outdo each other in gaining economic, political and military superiority and in capturing new strategic positions. This is what leads to dangerous tensions and threatens the peoples with a new

world war. The superpowers make secret deals and interfere in and attack various countries and nations in order to gain markets, raw materials and other advantages.

The Albanians show that imperialist war, oppression and exploitation have run into great resistance from the working class and peoples of the world. They bring out that the struggles of workers and other oppressed peoples is a cause for great optimism.

While analysing that the imperialist superpowers and their NATO and Warsaw Pact allies are powerful and ferocious, the Albanians also expose that they are in decay, suffering from all round crisis. They explain that for the world's people to escape once and for all from the suffering they experience under capitalism, under the neo-colonialist yoke of foreign imperialists and domination by local reactionary rulers, there is only one path. This is the path of socialist revolution, to overthrow imperialism and all reactionaries. This struggle is an objective historical process that no force can stop.

#### **Albania Supports The International Working Class and Oppressed Peoples**

Albania strengthens its support for the working class world-wide while safeguarding and defending socialism at home. In every available international forum, Albania presents a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world, which recognizes that the working class in every country is the leading force of the revolution. And as their own experience confirms, the victory of the revolution depends on the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class -- on the ability of this party to unite the people in struggle against their enemies and to organize the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. For this reason, the PLA pays great attention to strengthening and increasing its unity with Marxist-Leninist parties world-wide, and on developing the unity and strength of the international communist movement. Its consistent struggle against revisionism has been a very valuable contribution to the growth and development of the revolutionary movement world-wide. The great accomplishments of Albania in socialist construction and its firm

stand against imperialism and revisionism has made it the leading ideological and political force in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Consistent with assisting the unity and struggle of the working class world-wide is Albania's support for the struggle of all people for democracy, independence and socialism. The Albanians support each step in the struggles for freedom, independence and social progress won by other peoples, such as those of the Iranians in overthrowing the U.S.-backed Shah and the Nicaraguans in overthrowing the U.S.-backed Somoza. These triumphs help them and the other peoples of the world by weakening the common enemy.

In the international arena, the Albanians work to expose the superpowers and their allies and to put forward an internationalist stand in support of the just struggles of the people for national and social liberation. For example, the consistent exposure of the phony character of the disarmament talks by the superpowers is one effort the Albanians have made to prevent the world's people from being fooled.

The fact that Albania vigorously opposes, ideologically and politically, the stands of other countries does not prevent them from having friendly relations. Yugoslavia, for example, has taken hostile actions toward Albania and has attempted to destroy its socialist homeland. Despite the ideological differences with the Yugoslav revisionists, and their continuing plots against Albania, the Albanians aim to carry on normal diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. At the same time, they have repeatedly warned the Yugoslav government against continuing its brutal, chauvinist policy toward the almost two million Albanians in Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia. These people were separated from Albania during the imperialist dismemberment of the country before World War II. The Kosovars have demanded their own republic within the Yugoslav Federation, the right to develop their own national art and culture, to become acquainted with their own history and so on. The Kosovars have refused to reconcile themselves to an inferior status among the peoples of Yugoslavia, where their political, economic and national rights have been denied. Albania has never interfered in the internal

affairs of Yugoslavia, but it has defended and will continue to defend the rights of the Kosovars in Yugoslavia.

Albania works not only for good relations with Yugoslavia, but with all the Balkan countries (Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania) and with European states in general. It aims to create a friendly atmosphere and to relax tensions. It seeks to resolve disputes by protracted negotiations rather than by threats and violence. It has called on these countries (as well as those in the rest of the world) not to ally themselves with the superpowers, saying that there is no safety under their aggressive "nuclear umbrellas". It has also called on its neighbors to refuse to allow superpower military bases on their soil or to permit the superpowers to use their ports for refueling or rest stops.

Albania has formal diplomatic relations with China, but since 1978 when the Chinese social-imperialists lined up against the PLA and the Albanian people, there have been no other contacts. In 1978 the Chinese violated official agreements between the two countries, revealed information harmful to Albania's security and sabotaged projects underway.

As for the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the Albanians consider them the most savage enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world. They do not and will not have relations with these enemies of the people and will resolutely continue their exposure of these powers' aggressive and hegemony-seeking policy and activity. Albania also refuses to have diplomatic relations with South Africa and Israel.

The foreign policy of Albania is an open, correct and principled policy, which defends the victories of socialism and supports the progressive struggles of people in the world. Providing a clear example of what is possible when a people rely on their own efforts, and unite under the leadership of a true Marxist-Leninist party, the Albanian people and state have won the respect and sympathy of millions of people all over the world.

## Conclusion

In spite of the conspiracy of silence in all the U.S. bourgeois media the achievements of socialist Albania cannot and should not be hidden from democratic and progressive Americans. This pamphlet has been produced to help break this silence and to tell the inspiring story of this small country and its forty years of brilliant achievements since liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution.

Alternating with the capitalist media's usual silence have been lies and falsifications about Albania. But progressive organizations world-wide and many eyewitnesses to Albania's socialist construction insist on spreading the true facts about the new socialist life being developed.

Facts show the Albanians are blazing a historic trail. Socialist Albania, the first country in the world to abolish taxes, the only country without such capitalist evils as inflation and unemployment, is a country that anyone eager to learn how these "miracles" have been accomplished should investigate. Starting as the country which was the most backward in Europe before World War II, Albania has become completely self-sufficient in feeding its people and constantly provides a better material and cultural life for its people.

Albania has accomplished all of this despite constant attacks and pressures by the imperialist powers. In particular, the United States government has been responsible for ongoing attacks against Albania, in collaboration with Britain, Yugoslavia and other European countries. These provocations continue today.

Albania deserves the support of all democratic and progressive people. It provides a shining example of how the working class and people can completely change their lives for the better. Using the experience of centuries of struggle against foreign occupation, the Albanian people rose and developed their Communist Party, the strong leadership capable of meeting the historic challenge before them. This Party, now the Party of Labor of Albania, led the people in defending their rights and

waging a war of national and social liberation. Today after forty years of triumphant socialist construction the people, firmly united around the Party, are actively participating in the running and organizing of the state and economy, defending their homeland and joining with the people of the world to fight for peace, democracy and social progress.

Socialist Albania shows the reality that can be achieved when the working class and people take history into their hands and determine their own destiny.



## For More Information

The friends of Albania in the U.S. who have cooperated to produce this pamphlet in honor of the Albanian 40th anniversary encourage people in the U.S. to take the opportunity to learn about the important experience of the Albanians. Contact any of the organizations listed below for materials on Albania or information about celebrations or other gatherings in your area, or call on us to make a presentation about Albania for a meeting organized in your city.

Albania Friendship Society  
of Southern California  
P.O. Box 5984  
Mission Hills, California 91345

Albania Information Project  
P.O. Box 2686  
New Orleans, Louisiana 70176

Albania Report  
P.O. Box 912  
New York, New York 10008

Chicago Area Friends of Albania  
P.O. Box 87436  
Chicago, Illinois 60680

U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization  
Box 265,  
310 Franklin Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02110